

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL OKLAHOMA

Edmond, Oklahoma

Jackson College of Graduate Studies

FARM ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF FARM
CRIMES

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN FORENSIC SCIENCE

Jeanthè Strydom

University of Central Oklahoma

W. Roger Webb Forensic Science Institute

May 2022

FARM ATTACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON
OF FARM CRIMES

By Jeanthè Strydom

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE W. ROGER WEBB FORENSIC SCIENCE INSTITUTE

April 2022

By  _____

Dr. John P. Mabry Committee Chair

By  _____

Dr. Jennifer Schmitz Committee Member

By  _____

Alina Mizell, Lecturer Committee Member

Table of Contents

List of Figures ----- 4

Acknowledgements ----- 5

Abstract ----- 6

Chapter 1

Introduction ----- 7

 Background of the Problem ----- 7

 Problem Statement ----- 9

 Research Questions ----- 9

 Purpose of the Study ----- 10

 Significance of the Study ----- 12

 Definition of Key Terms ----- 13

Methodology ----- 14

Chapter 2

Review of Literature ----- 15

 The Prevalence of Farm Attacks and Specific Trends ----- 15

 Political Background ----- 21

 History of Farm Attacks ----- 23

 Profile of Suspects Involved ----- 25

 Types of Attacks ----- 26

 Underlying Contributors ----- 27

 Characteristics of Farm Attacks ----- 31

 Element of Torture ----- 32

Farm Attacks in South Africa

The Role of the Government and Prevention -----	36
“Farm Attacks are Aggravated House Robberies” -----	38
Agricultural Crime in Other Countries -----	40
Prevalence of Farm Crime in Other Countries -----	41
Types of Farm Crimes in Other Countries-----	42
Rural vs. Urban Crime -----	43
Factors that Contribute to Victimization -----	43
Profile of the Offender -----	44
Security Measures and Policing Strategies in Other Countries -----	45
Discussion -----	49
Conclusion -----	52
Limitations -----	54
Recommendations for Future Research -----	55
References -----	56

List of Figures

Figure 1: Number of farm attacks and farm murders in South Africa ----- 17

Figure 2: Provinces of South Africa ----- 18

Figure 3: Population estimates by province ----- 18

Figure 4: Total Farm Murders per Province 2019 ----- 19

Figure 5: Total Farm Attacks per Province 2019 ----- 19

List of Tables

Table 1: List of farm attacks and murders: South African Police Service (SAPS) & Transvaal
Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAUSA) ----- 16

Table 2: Percentage of crimes committed per incident ----- 20

Acknowledgements

Two years ago, when I decided to pursue a Master's Degree in Forensic Science, one of my first challenges was deciding on a topic for my thesis. As a citizen of South Africa, I was troubled at the time by the violence and escalation of attacks and murders against farmers in my home country. My advisor suggested I choose a topic I was excited about, and this was it.

I would be lying if I didn't say that I was apprehensive having selected such a sensitive topic, one with limited research and I'm trying to conduct research from another country. There were many obstacles and I thought I was going to fail many times. But here I am., done and very grateful!

First and foremost, I want to give all praise to God who blessed me with opportunities, my family, and support system in order to even dream of accomplishing a master's degree in a different country.

To my American family: Carla, Julie and the kids – thank you for believing in me and providing me with this opportunity. Thank you for all of the help, late night chats, support, and for encouraging me during the last 4 years. I could not have done this without any of you!

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr Mabry for all of his help and encouragement to tackle such a complex topic in a country where knowledge about this problem is limited.

Lastly – Mamma, Pappa, Von, Clar en Dustin: Baie dankie vir al julle ondersteuning deur al die jare se studeer. Dankie dat julle altyd daar was vir my sodat ek kon kla, en dankie dat julle nooit ophou om my aan te moedig, vir my te bid en in my te glo nie. Ek sou dit nie sonder julle kon doen nie! Dankie, dankie, dankie! Ek is oneindig baie lief vir julle!

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Abstract

This qualitative study focused on violent farm attacks in South Africa and the uniqueness of these crimes to that country. This was accomplished by reviewing all available literature on not only South African farm attacks but on agricultural crimes which occur there as well. The data was gathered through an extensive literature review of published reports, news articles, books, journals, government records, and collaboration with fellow researchers in South Africa on this topic. A detailed comparison of the characteristics of these crimes supports the conclusion that South African farm attacks present a unique crime problem unlike any other crime problem in the world. At present the government of South Africa does not view these violent rural crimes as a unique crime problem, but rather addresses them in the context of violent crimes in general. No special recognition or resources are applied to the problem which is only increasing in number of occurrences and violence. This study supports the argument that violent South African farm crimes present a unique challenge to law enforcement and should be addressed as a priority crime problem by the government of South Africa. In an effort to identify and propose strategies, the rural crime problems of Australia and the United States were examined for the most effective “best practices.” This study identifies several which may be viable strategies for the problem in South Africa. Acknowledging this problem and formulating political policies and law enforcement strategies for combatting these crimes will enhance the security and livelihood of rural farmers in South Africa, improve government-citizen relations, and provide an improved economic impact for the people of South Africa.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the problem

Crime on farms, better known as agricultural crime, is not a category of crime that only exists in poor, third world countries where the overall crime rate is high, but they also occur in wealthy countries. Even though this is an increasingly common occurrence, it is one of the least recognized and most under-researched crime problems with limited literature compared to other areas of research. In Australia and the United States crimes on farms primarily include theft of equipment, theft of fuel, stock theft, trespassing, illegal dumping and an occasional house robbery – in short, property crimes. In South Africa crimes committed on farms are more violent and personal in nature and have been labeled ‘farm attacks’ or ‘farm murders’.

Farm attacks in South Africa are not a new phenomenon, and have occurred both before as well as after the “apartheid”-era. These attacks are complex in nature and they are usually accompanied by a variety of different crimes including aggravated robbery, assault, abduction, vehicle theft, rape, arson and murder (Mokgoko, 2015). In some of the cases the victims had to endure hours of severe torture with little to nothing being stolen from them.

This study was motivated by the prevalence of these attacks and the frequency with which south Africans hear and read about them in the media. The alarming level of violence led me to explore these crimes further. Research indicates few if any other countries experiencing a similar problem. Farm attacks in South Africa have been an increasing problem for decades and seem to increase every year. In 2019 there were a total of 552 attacks and 57 murders. These attacks appear to be well-planned and are often accompanied by extreme violence and torture. To date the South African government refuses to acknowledge farm attacks as a problem or to

Farm Attacks in South Africa

consider it a priority crime leaving victims, citizens, and organizations frustrated (AfriForum, 2019).

Farming is considered one of the highest risk occupations in South Africa today. Agricultural and physical labor include working in extreme conditions and with dangerous equipment. However, in South Africa it is the nature of the risk of farming that is surprising. Previous research found that farmers are two to three times more likely to be murdered than the general public, and that it is more dangerous to be a farmer than a police official in South Africa. Although crimes on farms are not unique to South Africa, in general it is estimated that the rate is 700% higher in South Africa compared to other countries (Bezuidenhout, 2012).

Research has been conducted on possible motives behind the attacks, possible offender profiles, as well as the characteristics involved, all with the goal of finding a way to prevent future attacks. Nonetheless, South African farm attacks remain a common occurrence to this day. One of the biggest reasons for the unsuccessfulness of combatting this crime is the denial of it being a problem by the South African Government (Mokgoko, 2015). In 2007, the South African Police Service (SAPS) discontinued the release of statistics on farm attacks. The reason provided was that “farm attacks” was not a recognized category of crime and therefore would not pass auditing requirements for inclusion in the national statistics. With Farm attacks being prioritized, other crimes would need to be as well such as the killing of children and albinos for traditional medicine (Hamman, 2015). Given that the South African crime administration system does not provide a separate category for farm attacks, it is difficult to collect accurate data to define the scope of the problem. Private organizations are left to compile statistics by relying on victims to self-report their cases, as well as the media and social media to bring awareness of an attack.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

1.2 Problem Statement

In 2005, 25,000 South African farmers sought different employment due to the high-risk they perceived themselves to be in. It is estimated that one farm killing results in 20-30 job losses (Mokgoko, 2015). Research with regards to the characteristics and risk factors of farm attacks have been consistent over the years, but no research has been done comparing South African farm crimes with farm crimes in other countries to determine if this crime problem is unique to South Africa and what the reason would be. It is a sensitive topic and research is limited compared to other fields of study.

Considering the gap of an international comparison in existing literature, this study aims to explore these complex crimes and all accompanying elements. The main focus will be on South Africa and the problems that exist not only regarding the crime itself but also in the response to the crime. This study compares farm attacks to farm crimes in mostly Australia and the United States to determine if other countries share this problem or if it is truly unique to South Africa, and the reasons for that. The study further compares policing strategies implemented in Australia and the United States to those of South Africa to determine if there are crime solutions and strategies to be learned from other countries. The goal is to add to existing literature and suggest solutions to aid in the prevention of farm attacks. By determining how unique this problem is to South Africa and what other countries are doing to prevent similar crimes, possible solutions to the problem in South Africa can be explored.

1.3 Research Questions

Current research regarding farm attacks in South Africa identifies the multiple violent acts that accompany these attacks and suggests possible motives, including: a culture of violence,

Farm Attacks in South Africa

poverty, unemployment, negative working relationships, illegal immigrants, easy access and availability of firearms, political motive (including land issues and claims), intimidation, frustration, as well as revenge and hate (Strydom, 2005., & Haefele, 1998).

Research Question 1: Are farm attacks accompanied by extreme violence unique to South Africa?

Research Question 2: If South African farm attacks are unique in motive and manner, would it be reasonable to formulate political and proactive law enforcement strategies to address the problem?

Research Question 3: What are other countries such as Australia and the United States doing in order to prevent similar violent crime from occurring in rural and agricultural areas?

1.4 Purpose of the Study

In order to prevent farm attacks from taking place in South Africa, it is important to try and understand the problem that exists as a whole. “Farm killings should be recognized as a unique crime, committed in a unique country with a unique history” (Akinola, 2019, p.89).

This is difficult to do since the problem is so complex. The historical, political, social and economic influences are complex and deeply rooted. Whether the motivations behind farm attacks are political or criminal have been debated for decades. There are multiple variables that are present in the attacks and clearly there is no easy solution. Land in South Africa is important to everyone, no matter the race.

The role some of the political leaders have played in the past to fuel hatred or gain support have been prevalent throughout the years. From the Freedom Struggle to a 21-year-old farm manager, Brendin Horner, was murdered on a farm in Senekal resulting in protests by not

Farm Attacks in South Africa

only farmers, but farm workers, the public, as well as supporters of the Economic Freedom Fighters Party which is a political party in South Africa. The way not only political platforms but also news outlets are used is instrumental in the perceptions that exist within communities and the nation. Many argue that the government perpetuates the problem by denying that it exists or refusing to devote resources.

In early October 2020, Brendin Horner was found dead with a rope around his neck in an open space on the De Rots Farm where he worked in the Paul Roux district in the Free State. Horner had been tortured and he was found tied to a pole. He had sustained injuries to his head and face. A knife was found at the scene and his Toyota Hilux had been stolen and used to flee the scene. The vehicle was found abandoned close by. Two men were arrested in connection of this murder, both known stock thieves. Both were found not guilty and discharged on all counts of robbery and theft after the State withdrew the charges of murder based on not having substantial evidence and therefore had no case (SAPeople Staff Writer, 2020 & Chabalala, 2021).

South Africa has a high crime rate and violence can be found in every sector and sphere of relations. When evaluating the crimes that accompany farm attacks it is clear that there could be multiple motives for committing a farm attack including material or economical gain, the geographical location, and personal beliefs with regards to politics or race. The element of torture and the degree of brutality in which some of the attacks occur seems senseless when the perpetrators do not leave with a large number of valuable possessions. When there is a greater amount of violence present it might be indicative that the motive behind the attack could be more personal in nature whether it is emotional or political. It is also important to note that it is not only white farmers and workers that fall victim to these crimes, but includes victims of all races.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

In fact, during 2001 it was found that out of 1,398 victims a total of 61.6% were white, 33.3% were black, 4.4% were Asian, and 0.7% were mixed race (Burger, 2018). The majority of victims are white since the majority of farms are owned by white farmers. Characteristics of farm attacks seem to be consistent over the years with no difference mentioned between white and black farmers as victims (Strydom, 2005., Haefele, 1998., & Claasen, 2012).

There is a lack of research distinguishing between factors, motivations, and characteristics of attacks on black and white farmers respectively, therefore I do not make a clear distinction either. It is also necessary to ensure that the relationships between farmers and farm workers are positive and that workers are not underpaid or treated poorly.

There have been multiple suggested prevention strategies created by organizations and proposed to the government, but none have been implemented and even though a National Rural Safety Strategy is still in effect, it has yielded little success (Burger, 2018., & Burger, Zinn & Botha, 2021).

1.5 Significance of the Study

Farm attacks not only have an effect on the victims and their families, but also their employees, friends, neighbors and the farming community as a whole. Furthermore, the consequences of an attack are not only psycho-social since it creates fear for the victims involved, but the consequences are also political and economical for the country. Since violent farm crimes have an impact on the country it is important to give these attacks the attention needed in order to combat them. As stated before, crimes that take place on farms, even violent in nature, are not exclusive to South Africa. The difference is that it seems to be more prevalent and senseless when comparing it to other countries. For this reason, the goal of this study is to

Farm Attacks in South Africa

analyze the manner in which farm attacks take place, the motives behind them, the prevalence of these attacks, the characteristics of these crimes and criminals, and compare them to crimes on farms in other countries to see if there are any differences in the reasons behind it. Hopefully the research will help in understanding the problem and aid in finding solutions to prevent these attacks from happening in the future.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

Acts of violence on farms and smallholdings (referred to as farm attacks): Acts of violence against person(s) living in rural areas, including farms and smallholdings, refer to acts aimed at person(s) residing in, working in, or visiting rural areas, whether with the intent to murder, rape, rob, or inflict bodily harm. In addition, all acts of violence against the infrastructure and property in the rural community, which are aimed at disrupting farming activities or other commercial concerns, whether the motive(s) are related to the commission of other crime(s), ideology, land disputes, land issues, revenge, grievances, racist concerns or intimidation are included in this definition (South African Police Service, 2011, p. 8).

Agricultural Crime: Any property crime against a farmer, rancher, agricultural related business or other designated industry which takes place in the unincorporated rural areas of the state and impacts the victims' commercial production, distribution or economic livelihood derived from agricultural products, livestock, petroleum, chemicals, farm implements and equipment (Mears et al., 2007, p. 4).

Farm (SA): An area of land and its buildings used for agricultural and livestock purposes, including cattle posts and rural villages where subsistence farming takes place (South African Police Service, 2011, p. 9)

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Smallholding (SA): An agricultural holding that is smaller than a farm, excluding smallholdings where no agricultural activities take place and that is predominantly residential (South African Police Service, 2011, p. 9).

Robbery with aggravating circumstances: The unlawful and intentional forceful removal and appropriation in aggravating circumstances of movable tangible property belonging to another (South African Police Service, 2020, p. 158).

Traditional medicine: Refers to the sum total of skills and practices based on beliefs and experiences indigenous to African cultures, that are used to prevent, diagnose, improve or treat physical and mental illnesses. *Insangomas* and *inyangas* are the two main types of indigenous or traditional healers in South Africa (South African History Online, 2011).

Methodology

The research for this thesis is considered to be a qualitative study undertaken through traditional desktop research. The goal of this research is to gain as much information about this problem, not only in South Africa but in other countries as well, to determine the uniqueness of farm attacks. Early efforts to get access to South African police docket files of closed cases proved an impossible task. This resulted in heavy reliance on newspaper articles, published articles, journal reports, crime statistics and collaboration with fellow researchers in this field.

First, an exploratory approach was used to analyze South African farm attacks and all accompanying aspects to have a clear understanding of farm attacks as a whole. The second phase was to explore agricultural crimes and what they consist of in other countries like Australia and the United States. Policing structures and crime strategies in other countries were

Farm Attacks in South Africa

examined to identify best practices for the prevention of these crimes. Finally, shared commonalities as well as clear differences between South African farm attacks and agricultural crimes in Australia and the United States were analyzed to identify and suggest political and investigative strategies to address the problem in South Africa. Farmers are an important part of any country's success. Not only do they provide food, and add to the economy, but they provide employment opportunities in South Africa where the unemployment rate is already high. South African simply cannot afford to think of farm attacks as just another crime when the consequences of these attacks are so big and the prevalence keep increasing every year.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

When reviewing the literature in this topic literature regarding farm attacks in South Africa is addressed first, followed by literature on agricultural crimes in Australia and the United States. Australia and the United States were chosen because those two countries had the most information available regarding similar crimes.

The Prevalence of Farm Attacks and Specific Trends

As mentioned previously, the South African Police Service (SAPS) stopped releasing statistics on farm attacks to the public in 2007, resulting in private organizations collecting data and compiling statistics instead. Some of the organizations include the Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU SA) and AfriForum. These organizations rely on data provided by the media, social media, security networks and victims or their families to report these attacks. Each case is verified to ensure that the data is accurate, but since many incidents go unreported these figures are subject to change (AfriForum, 2016., AfriForum, 2017., & AfriForum, 2019).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

As an indication of how scant the statistics are and why the credibility is being questioned, three sets of statistics compiled by SAPS, TAUSA and AfriForum are provided. It should be noted that from 2018-2019 SAPS no longer counts the number of attacks but rather the number of incidents in which victims were killed. The reason for this change in terminology was not explained and only cause a further distortion of the crime picture with regards to farm attacks and farm murders (Burger, Zinn & Botha, 2021).

Statistics compiled by SAPS compared to those by TAU SA are as follow:

REPORT ON A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF STUDIES, OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS IN RELATION TO FARM ATTACKS AND HOUSE ROBBERIES IN SA
ANNEXURE B

Table 1: List of farm attacks and murders: SA Police Service (SAPS) & Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAUSA)

Period		Farm Murders		Farm Attacks/Incidents	
SAPS	TAUSA	SAPS	TAUSA	SAPS	TAUSA
2001/02	2002	140	119	1 069	229
2002/03	2003	103	89	903	145
2003/04	2004	88	115	773	116
2004/05	2005	82	55	694	82
2005/06	2006	88	46	636	82
2006/07	2007	86	60	794	94
2007/08	2008	-	79	-	184
2008/09	2009	-	71	-	152
2009/10	2010	-	64	-	115
2010/11	2011	71	48	665	96
2011/12	2012	56	53	514	174
2012/13	2013	59	59	567	231
2013/14	2014	57	61	517	279
2014/15	2015	60	64	490	318
2015/16	2016	49	71	446	369
2016/17	2017	66	82	478	423
2017/18	2018	62	33	561	206
2018/19	2019	50	56	44*	419
2019/20	2020	49	71	46	397

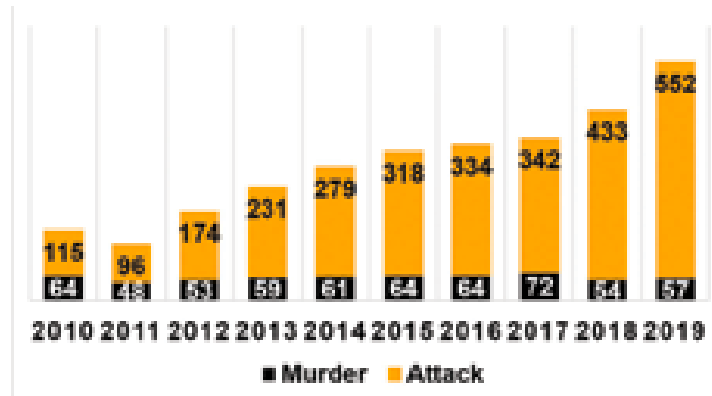
Note: The SAPS use financial years and TAUSA calendar years. The SAPS did not make statistics available for 2008 to 2010.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

(Burger, Zinn, & Botha, 2021).

Statistics compiled by Afriforum for 2010-2019 are as follow:

Figure 1: Number of farm attacks and farm murders in South Africa



(Statistics provided by courtesy of AfriForum.)

AfriForum not only releases statistics on a yearly basis, but they also publish reports on the associated trends and characteristics of these crimes. In 2019, AfriForum found that the most attacks happened during the month of May while most murders occurred during the month of March. There was no significant difference between attacks on different days of the week. The time of day was consistent with previous years with the most attacks committed between 6pm and 3am.

For reference, below is a map of the country of South Africa with the population estimated per province:

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Figure 2: Provinces of South Africa



(Provided by Wikimedia.org).

Figure 3: Population estimates by province

Mid-year population estimates by province, 2019

	Population estimate	% of total population
Eastern Cape	6 712 276	11,4
Free State	2 887 465	4,9
Gauteng	15 176 116	25,8
KwaZulu-Natal	11 289 066	19,2
Limpopo	5 982 584	10,2
Mpumalanga	4 592 187	7,8
Northern Cape	1 263 675	2,2
North West	4 027 160	6,9
Western Cape	6 844 272	11,6
Total	58 775 022	100,0

(Provided by courtesy of Business Tech, 2019).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Figure 4: Total Farm Murders per Province 2019

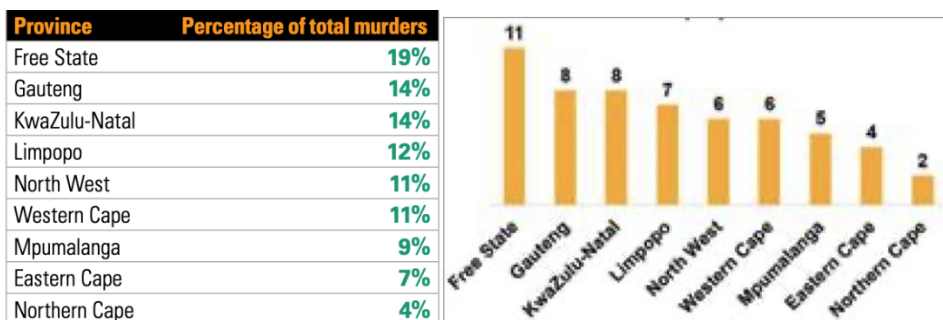
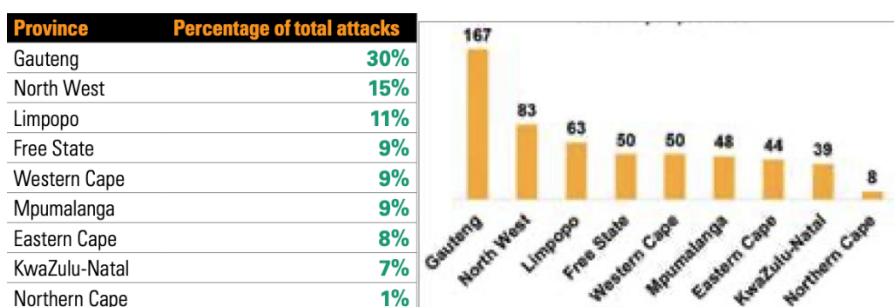


Figure 5: Total Farm Attacks per Province 2019



(Statistics provided by AfriForum.)

Looking at the prevalence of farm attacks per province, researchers found that most of the farm murders were committed in the Free State Province (19%), while most farm attacks were committed in Gauteng Province (30%) (AfriForum, 2019).

Out of 552 farm attacks, there were a total of 905 victims. Sixty-six percent were the owner and/or their family, 26% were the worker and/or their family, and eight percent were guests. Farm workers are most commonly black. The average age of the victim was 55 years, with the majority of victims between the age of 60 and 79 years. The total number of reported perpetrators were 1, 575 across all events with an average of three attackers per incident. However, this number could be higher since the victims are often unable to see all of the perpetrators involved. Some of the attackers often hide in the bushes or wait in the getaway car

Farm Attacks in South Africa

while the crime is being committed. In 26% of the total reported cases, the attackers attempted to murder one or all of the victims. Multiple crimes are committed during an attack, for instance assault, attempted murder, rape and other crimes listed in table 2.

Table 2: Percentage of crimes committed per incident

CRIME RECORDED	PERCENTAGE OF INCIDENTS WHERE SPECIFIC CRIME IS RECORDED	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCIDENTS
Assault with the intent to cause grievous bodily harm	20%	9%
Attempted murder	61%	26%
Rape	7%	3%
Kidnapping	5%	2%
Torture	9%	4%
Victims murdered (number of incidents)	21%	9%

(Statistics provided by AfriForum.)

During attacks, weapons of the perpetrators included sharp objects such as knives, pangas (a broad, heavy knife of Eastern Africa used as a tool or weapon), axes, torches, sheep sheers, screw drivers and other tools. These weapons indicate that the perpetrators are willing to come into close contact with victims to cause them harm. They are also armed with firearms.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

In order to attempt to understand farm attacks, knowledge about the history of the country and the culture within is relevant.

Political Background

In order to understand the issue of farm attacks, it is important to have an understanding of South Africa's history and cultural diversity of the rainbow nation that exists today. Farming dates back hundreds of years and has always been the socio-economic vocation for survival and livelihood in general. To the Khoi, the natives of the land, farming practices played an important role in socio-economic and socio-political aspects of their lives. The Bantu-speaking people, who were farmers as well, came and acquainted the land with the Khoi and this was the majority of people in the southern Africa. Traditionally, all African people were subsistence farmers where they farmed in order to produce enough for their own needs, instead of farming with the goal to sell. Land was communal and not individual property. The encounter of Europeans in the mid 16th century advanced farming to a certain degree, but as Europeans moved upwards into the hinterland, farming became the main economic activity and therefore required extensive labor. The black population became the source of labor as they had no other option other than to live and work on white-owned farms and they were integrated into structures of settler society. By the 19th century the minority white population owned the majority of land which was a total of 87% (Resane, 2018., & Akinola, 2019).

Under British rule many discriminating laws existed before "apartheid" started. Apartheid was a system of legislation that upheld segregation. The National Party gained power in 1948 and consisted of an all-white government which enforced existing policies of racial segregation until 1994 (History.com Editors, 2010).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

The *Native Land Acts 1913 & 1936* allocated 13% of total land area to the black population for their use, while the *Native Trust and Land Act of 1936* prohibited black people from owning land in white areas. Apartheid had two characteristics: class differentiation and racial discrimination. These laws that were enforced against blacks resulted in hatred for the white Afrikaners who possessed the political power, and the 'Boer' (farmer) was seen as the 'architects of apartheid'. This hatred for the Afrikaner was repeatedly inflamed by radical political leaders who would use distorted, biased and unfounded political arguments. Between 1950 and 1980 multiple discriminatory laws were enforced that caused further damage to the relations between white and black people in the country. One of the laws was the *Terrorism Act* which provided that a suspected terrorist could be detained without trial for an indefinite period. This law resulted in thousands of "heroes of the black struggle" wanting to use this law to gain international recognition as "genuine black leaders" and they were looked upon as being part of the black elite "comrades" and "heroes" of the black struggle. It became a status symbol to be detained under the *Terrorism Act*. The hatred for Afrikaners was a motivating factor for the freedom struggle (Moolman, 2000).

The post-apartheid government beginning in 1994, ruled by the African National Congress (ANC) has tried to implement land reform with the goal to redress historical land dispossession, inequality and poverty experienced by the majority of black people today, but land reform has become emotive and political. It was found that little is known on how successful land reform has been in attaining its goal to promote justice and reconciliation when 90% of agricultural land that was transferred to black South Africans has not been utilized productively. Recently, the government implemented 'Land Expropriation Without

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Compensation' which caught international attention by leaders of the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom (Akinola, 2019).

History of Farm Attacks

Given South Africa's political history, it is clear to see how deeply rooted farming is and the importance of land ownership for both black and white citizens, but also how deeply the conflict about land lies within. Farm attacks took place before as well as during Apartheid. It is not realistic to assume that none of these attacks were politically motivated when the majority of people in the country have been oppressed and discriminated against and were forced to follow rules that only benefited one race at the cost of another.

During 1997 it was reported that Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), an underground military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) movement formed in the 1960s, actively held camps where they offered military style training to people with the goal for them to commit farm attacks and farm murders and drive the farmer off the land and occupy it for themselves (Moolman, 2000). APLA supported the ideology of "Africa is Ours" and "Bring back Africa" and was associated with attacks on and murders of White South Africans.

According to evidence provided before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), these attacks were random acts of violence and not politically motivated. The TRC concluded that the group often acted with hatred and not with justice. Not long after the TRC findings APLA disbanded (South African History Online, 2011).

Struggle songs like "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" and "One Settler, One Bullet" was also chanted at political rallies and social gatherings. During the last quarter of 1997 farm attacks took place on a daily basis (Haefele, 1998).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

In 1998 former president Nelson Mandela held a Safety Summit to address the seriousness of farm attacks and said:

While killings on farms, like crime in general, have been a feature of South African life for many decades, the incidents of murder and assault in farming areas have increased dramatically in recent years... Beyond the immediate human suffering, lack of security and stability in our rural and farming community causes serious disruption to our economy. It threatens to bring reduced growth or production, loss of wages and profits and in time unemployment. It brings the specter of a deepening poverty and potential social instability and upheaval (Summit on Rural Safety and Security Midrand, 10 October 1998).

Mr. Mandela gave farm attacks the status of a priority crime. With this status, organized agriculture, representatives of the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) and the South African Police Service (SAPS) met regularly to plan, execute and integrate strategies in order to reduce the occurrence of farm attacks (Mistry, 2003). The Rural Protection Plan was implemented, and it relied mostly on the commandos which was a system of army reserve units that were used during the apartheid era for border defense (Manby, 2001).

Research suggests that the Rural Protection Plan's effectiveness was reflected by a noticeable decrease in farm attacks. There was a 40.5% decrease in incidents from 1,069 in 2001-2002 to 636 incidents in 2005-2006. Farm murders also decreased by 41.4 % going from 140 cases reported in 2001-2002 to 82 cases in 2004-2005 (Burger, 2012).

In 2003, then president Thabo Mbeki announced that the commando system would phase out over the next six years, and despite promises of a different system to replace it farmers felt the absence in their communities. Farm attacks were not recognized as a priority crime anymore

Farm Attacks in South Africa

and in 2007 the SAPS stopped releasing annual statistics of farm attacks altogether. This led to private organizations having to collect data in order to accumulate statistics to share with the public. Since they have to rely on the media or victims to self-report it is hard to establish how accurate these statistics are, but it still shows the prevalence and how the numbers increase every year. After eight years SAPS implemented the National Rural Safety Strategy in 2011, but attacks are still increasing every year. The denial of the government that this is an issue continues to this day and political leaders like Julius Malema continues to chant “Shoot the Boer” on gatherings (Roets, 2012., Bezuidenhout, 2012., Moolman, 2000., Pretorius, 2014., Burger, 2012., Burger, 2018., & Akinola, 2019).

Profile of Suspects Involved

Hornschuh (2007) referred to previous research based off a study done with 48 participants, all black males convicted of this crime, that a profile for suspects involved in farm attacks indicates the following characteristics:

- The majority were unmarried South African males
- They were between the ages of 15 and 35, with 23% of the perpetrators being under the age of 18
- 71% were unemployed
- 6% attacked because of their hatred for white people
- 56% were raised in a single headed household
- Attacks were planned with military precision
- Heavy-caliber weapons were often used
- They preferred to work in groups of 2-3

Farm Attacks in South Africa

- 46% had a low level of education
- 48% decided to attack due to their prior knowledge that money and valuables were present on the farm (Mokgoko, 2015).

Types of Attacks

Taking the history into account, we can see why these attacks are so unique and complex. Looking at the definition we can see that the attacks do not only happen against farmers, but that attacks also occur against the farmer's families and the workers. In 1998, Haefele identified different types of attacks which included attacks on farmers, workers, and families; armed robbery; brutal murder; incidence of arson; and stock theft.

Attacks of farmers usually include attacks on the whole family. Often times the farmer himself is not home during the day, the attackers gain access to the house and wait inside where they ambush the spouse and kids and keep them hostage until the farmer returns where they would also ambush him. They keep the family in the house and would often use threats and torture to gain information on where the safe is, etc. These attacks can last for hours due to the remoteness and isolation of the location and the perpetrators are not rushed because no one will hear the help cries.

Armed robberies on farms occur often because weapons in South Africa are easily accessible and available. The perpetrators attack farmers in vulnerable areas on the farm, such as the gate of the farm or the garage at the house, rob them at gunpoint and kill them. The tendency of brutality was (and is to this day) a concerning element of these attacks. Some victims have been tortured and mutilated to such an extent it was nearly impossible to identify them. In certain cases, the perpetrators kill the wife in front of the farmer in order to demoralize the farmer so

Farm Attacks in South Africa

that he would vacate the land. With incidents where arson is involved it has been found that arson is indicative of a motive of revenge. The intention is to destroy the property and crops either out of hatred or resulting from previous conflict (Strydom, 2005., Haefele, 1998., & AfriForum, 2016).

As an example, is the case of Mr. Adam Hefer and Mrs. Johanna Oosthuizen.

Mr. Adam Hefer (87) and Mrs Oosthuizen (84), both white, were attacked on their smallholding in Bapsfontein, Gauteng on two occasions. The first attack was in December of 2020 when suspects broke into the couple's home and left with cash, a firearm, a cellphone, and a television. The couple was not harmed in this incident. The second attack was in in February 2021. The suspects broke into the house and ambushed the couple when they returned home at 8pm. They were assaulted and tortured before they were both shot and the house, with their bodies inside, was set on fire. The police had no leads on who the suspects were and nobody was arrested in connection with this attack. It was also unclear if something was stolen as the contents of the house were burned (Van der Merwe, 2021).

Stock theft increased over the years as well. Thieves are mostly heavily armed, and it becomes increasingly more dangerous to retrieve stolen cattle. Farmers often act against stock thieves, resulting in retaliatory attacks by stock thieves (Haefele, 1998).

Underlying Contributors

As mentioned before, there is no separate category for farm attacks. In a SAPS Report in 2003 it concluded that although the majority of crimes are motivated by a financial gain, when compared to robberies in urban areas, farm robberies are accompanied with much more violence and there is a higher risk for white victims of these attacks to be killed than black victims (South

Farm Attacks in South Africa

African Police Service, 2003). Since the nature of farm attacks and the crimes that accompany them are complex with historical, political and cultural factors that have an influence as well, it is unrealistic to assume there is only one motive. Some believe the motive is purely racial or political, while others believe race and politics have nothing to do with it and it is just another crime in a high crime country. One element that everyone can agree on is that farms and smallholdings are soft targets due to their geographical locations (Olivier & Cunningham, 2006).

This debate is clear in interviews conducted by the Human Rights Watch with Commissioner of the SAPS at the time Johan Burger in 2000 and Jack Loggenberg from the Transvaal Agricultural Union in 2000 in Pretoria. Mr. Burger stated: “Every attack is perceived by the farmers as having a political motive, based on an organized political attempt to dispossess them, though we can’t find a shred of proof that that is the case.” Mr. Loggenberg stated: “We say it is not only crime but something else; the way the people are handled, not only killed, but also tortured brutally, and sometimes nothing is stolen” (Human Rights Watch, n.d., para. 18 & 19).

Through previous studies they have found that some motives can be identified through investigation, while others are deduced from circumstantial evidence. Others should be viewed against the background of perceptions held by certain organizations or members of the public. Possible motives for farm attacks have been found to include: the culture of violence; poverty; unemployment; retaliation; hatred and negative working relationships; illegal immigrants; availability of weapons; inflammatory statements; political movements; and land claims (Haefele, 1998 and Strydom & Schutte, 2005).

In 2021 a political party, the Freedom Front Plus, requested three well established and known researchers on this topic to compile a report and compare existing literature in order to

Farm Attacks in South Africa

identify any research gaps and make appropriate recommendations. In this report one of the findings of previous research done by the National Operational Coordinating Committee was reviewed. The committee found that between 1998 and 2001 the primary motive in the majority of cases was robbery. In 2,631 cases where clear motives could be established, they found that 89.3% were robbery, 7.1% were intimidation, 2% were political or racial, and 1.6% were labor related. Today the main motivation has similarly found to be financial gain (Botha, Burger & Zinn, 2021).

The main elements that help create a culture of violence involves the intolerance, lawlessness and socially unacceptable manners in which conflict is being handled, often for either political or personal gain. It is important to keep in mind that the freedom struggle lasted for 25 years which means there is a whole generation who grew up with experiencing violence on a daily basis. Poverty, unemployment and hardships are the main reasons for crime and violence in South Africa. Because of South Africa's history there is a disparity in wealth in the nation. Another factor is that wages for farm workers are often low and the workers usually do not belong to unions that help provide protections for labor purposes which leads to unresolved disagreements and conflict. Hatred and negative working relationships could be the result of lack of service delivery from the government, a lack of knowledge of economic and social rights and/or the lack of proper housing. In certain instances the motive is on a personal level where there were disagreements between the farmer and the perpetrators, who sometimes are previous farm workers, and attacks are because of retaliation or because the workers are unfairly dismissed, but in other instances attacks occur even when proper dismissal procedures were followed. The employment of illegal immigrants on farms have been found to contribute to farm attacks as well. The practice not only impacts social-economic infrastructures but also adds to a

Farm Attacks in South Africa

decline in job opportunities for citizens resulting in intergroup conflict and an increase in crime. When farmers employ illegal immigrants, the illegals are often paid very little. As soon as conflict arises, or the workers complain about their wages farmers are not reluctant to report them to immigration officials. This could result in an attack by illegals out of retaliation (Haefele, 1998., and Strydom & Schutte, 2005).

There is no question that weapons are easily accessible in South Africa. It is common for these offenders to use automatic weapons during robberies and other attacks. Because weapons are easily accessible it contributes to the lethality of farm attacks as farmers are almost always in possession of firearms themselves. The fact that perpetrators could gain access to a farmer's weapons has been the main motivation for many farm attacks over the years. This allows the perpetrators to commit other crimes with the licensed but stolen firearms.

Although denied by the government, political motives are not something that can be ignored, even though they are rare. Many attacks are accompanied with extreme brutality and torture and cause a lot of suspicion especially when it does not involve robbery. Inflammatory statements and hate speech by politicians are used to fuel hatred against farmers based on the belief that white farmers were the "architects of apartheid" and that they "stole the land". Multiple promises made by the government with regards to land claims and land redistribution creates unrealistic expectations among the public. Some people feel the need to take matters into their own hands, and through intimidation and violence claim land for themselves. These types of actions are encouraged since the notion that "farmers are settlers to Africa" and that "the land is supposed to be the property of black farmers" are invigorated by some politicians (Moolman, 2000, p. 53 & 55).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Characteristics of Farm Attacks

Although there are a variety of similar characteristics that are found in farm attacks, each attack has its own combination of different dynamics, variables, circumstances, motives, and behaviors of the perpetrators. Claasen (2012) reported perpetrators had to use violence because the victims were not compliant to their demands and instead of doing as the perpetrators request and give up the information, they tried to fight instead or simply refused to cooperate. In order to identify an attack as a farm attack, and possible motives that accompany it, certain characteristics have been consistent over decades. One of the most prevalent characteristics is that these attacks are organized and planned “with military precision”, therefore the attacks are premeditated. Once perpetrators have selected their target, they often gain knowledge and information about the people on the farm, the routine, and the general layout. They would stake out the farm weeks in advance, talk to the workers, pretend that they want to buy produce to gain access and even disguise themselves as security or police to gain as much information about their target as possible. In many cases the farmer would receive threats before the attack happens. Threats include putting sand into diesel tanks of tractors; setting sheds on fire; stealing or setting crops on fire; or occupying the land after a land claim has failed (Strydom & Schutte, 2005).

As previously mentioned, attacks involve more than one attacker with an average of at least three. In some cases, at least one attacker was known to the victim while in other cases all attackers were strangers. Initial contact usually occurs through ambush, surprise or by luring the victim outside. More often than not the perpetrators gain access to the house during the day while nobody is home and wait inside until the family returns home where they are ambushed either inside the house or at the entrance. In other instances the attackers wait until everyone goes to bed, gain access through windows and surprise the victims while they are already asleep.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Victims are sometimes lured outside by the perpetrators by pretending to be interested in buying produce, asking for a job or pretending to be security or police. In other scenarios they would make a sound outside the house where the cattle are so that the farmer would go outside to go check on the animals and then attack him and gain access to his house. Victims are immediately overpowered, assaulted, and restrained (Haeefe, 1998 & Strydom, 2005).

Robbery of firearms, cash and vehicles are a common characteristic in many attacks. There is often an added element of brutality and torture in order to gain information regarding the location or access to valuables and the attacks can last for several hours due to the isolation of their location. The perpetrators flee on foot, have a getaway car, or would take the vehicle of the victim and abandon it a short distance from the farm (Claasen, 2012; Haeefe, 1998; and Strydom & Schutte, 2005).

Element of Torture

When reading about farm attacks in the news, the shock value does not lie in the fact that there was an attack. South Africa is a high crime country where citizens hear about murders, robberies and rapes every day. The shock lies in the brutality in which the attacks were executed.

The following three cases serve as examples of the brutality associated with South African farm attacks. These are the cases of Mr. John and Mrs. Bina Cross, Attie, Wilna and Wilmien Potgieter, and Mrs. Lena-Maria Jackson (Roets & Claasen, 2014).

John and Bina Cross

This attack took place on April 16, 2000. The victims, both white, were 77 and 76 years old and lived on a farm in Gravelotte, Limpopo. Mr. and Mrs. Cross were ambushed by two men when they returned from church. The two men, both black, broke into their house around 8:30am

Farm Attacks in South Africa

and waited until 3:15pm when the victims returned home. They shot Mrs. Cross three times through her knees as well as her back. While she was alive the attackers poured boiling water over her body. She did not die immediately but bled out after some time. Mr. Cross suffered gunshot wounds to his kidneys. The attackers tied a noose around his neck and dragged him around the house. They tied him up in the bathroom and used the shower nozzle to force hot water down his throat. After he endured hours of torture, they shot him at close range in the head with a shotgun. The postmortem findings concluded that his internal organs were burned and his stomach was filled with water. The attackers fled with household items, clothes, cash, and firearms. The attack lasted five hours. The two men were caught and were sentenced to 50 years for murder. Both had worked on the specific farm for many years (Roets & Claasen, 2014).

The Potgieter Family

Attie, Wilna and Wilmien Potgieter were attacked on December 1, 2010, on a farm in Lindley in the Free State Province. They were white, and 40, 36 and 2 years of age. Mr Potgieter was tortured outside his house. He received 151 stab and cut wounds across his body, with only 14 of them being fatal through the use of pangas and knives. He was found with a garden fork through his neck. Mrs Potgieter was found inside the house where she was shot execution style and had a deep laceration to her head. The attackers grabbed Wilmien, their two-year-old daughter, as she was running to where her father was laying and threw her in a box head first. She was shot in the back of the head execution style at a close range in an outside room. The attackers fled with R3 300 (approximately \$220). A total of six black men were arrested in connection with this attack. They were found guilty and sentenced to charges of murder, robbery, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and robbery with aggravated circumstances. One of the men was an employee of Mr. Potgieter (Roets & Claasen, 2014).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Lena-Maria Jackson

Mrs. Jackson was attacked on August 30, 2014 on her farm in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. She was overpowered by three men in her room around midnight. They tied her hands with rubber bands and demanded money. She was stabbed with knives and burned with a hot clothing iron on her back when she revealed she only had R40 (approximately \$2.50) with her. The attackers fled with her light delivery vehicle, two cheap cellphones and her shotgun. They found a little box with her late husband's ashes while they were looking for valuables and scattered his ashes in her living room and walked over it. Two of the three attackers were arrested (Roets & Claasen, 2014).

These cases illustrate that the perpetrator's focus is not always just to kill the victim, but that their intent is to make the victim suffer. The element of torture also indicates that in some cases the motive might be more than just profit, or not profit at all. Unlike most robberies or home invasions, in many cases victims were severely tortured and either nothing or a very small amount was stolen (Roets & Claasen, 2014). It is important to note that torture is not a part of every farm attack that occurs. In 2019, torture only occurred in 4% of all cases, but when it does it is quite brutal (AfriForum, 2019).

The international definition of torture as set out by Article 1 of the United Nations Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UNCAT) reads as follow:

‘...“torture” means and act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or

Farm Attacks in South Africa

coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.’ (Roets & Claasen, 2014, Defining Torture Section, para. 1).

According to Bezuidenhout (2012) the political connotation in this definition is problematic. He prefers to define it in the context of farm attacks as: “the threat or use of violence and aggression to intimidate or assault a farmer, his family, friends from farm workers and farm dwellers. The sole purpose of this violence and aggression is to cause the victim(s) severe emotional and/or physical distress” (p. 14).

Torture during farm attacks is used to obtain information with regards to the location of the safe; passwords; money etc., to take revenge or to create fear within the community. The true extent to which torture occurs in cases is hard to determine as information is sometimes limited due to the victim dying from their injuries, investigations still ongoing, and only limited details being released to the public, families of victims needing to be respected, and the extent to which the violence was gratuitous, or SAPS does not release information on this topic (Roets & Claasen, 2014).

Bezuidenhout (2012) established that there are two types of torture: instrumental and non-instrumental torture. Instrumental torture is when torture is implemented as a means to an end. This includes gaining information or exercising control, and without applying it offenders would not succeed, therefore they deem it as necessary. Non-instrumental torture is an act that has no other purpose than to cause physical or emotional pain to the victim. This usually occurs after

Farm Attacks in South Africa

instrumental torture in cases where the torture continues even after the offenders have gained the information they needed. There are also two forms of torture: physical and psychological torture. The most common form is physical torture and includes beatings, stabbings, burning the victims with boiling water, detainment, and assaults on the sexual integrity of the victim, tying the victim to a truck and dragging them around, as well as mutilation. Psychological torture included threats to the victim, threats against their family, belittling, and in some cases victims are forced to undress and their sexual integrity becomes the focus of defamation.

Roets & Claasen (2014) noted that the method of burning victims with boiling water or a hot clothes iron indicates the amount of time the perpetrators have during an attack. It is time consuming to apply these methods, and it shows how comfortable the perpetrators are in taking their time and knowing that they do not have any fear of getting caught. The authors further concluded that by using torture the focus is more on creating fear in the farming community and the population than it is to gain information about the whereabouts of the material objects they want, a goal rooted in terrorism.

According to Mokgoko (2015), the reasons for the use of torture can be attributed to a climate of lawlessness, intolerance, and the violent manner in which conflict is the preferred method to attain objectives. Since the torture is extreme in cases where it is applied it is questionable whether or not there is a personal or emotional element to the case and it is clear that the goal of the perpetrators might not be material gain at all, but instead to incite fear.

The Role of the Government and Prevention

Farm attacks have been a common phenomenon for decades and many pleadings have been made to the government to step in and acknowledge the seriousness of the problem South

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Africans face. The government, however, appears to believe that the problem of farm attacks in the country is being overstated (Burger, 2012). The consequences of farm attacks are so much more than a life that is taken out of the community. Farmers are responsible for employment in a country where unemployment numbers are through the roof. They are also responsible for providing food to the country and contribute to the economy through exports. The denial by the government and refusal of creating awareness makes the perception that there is a political agenda behind these attacks look plausible.

Although the National Rural and Safety Strategy was implemented in 2011, the SAPS do little to enforce it and successful results have yet to be shown. Multiple recommendations have also been made throughout the years with no follow through. It is also problematic that a specific category for farm attacks does not exist, that there is no clear definition provided by the South African statutory or common law, and that SAPS is not releasing any statistics on the prevalence thereof.

The police play an important role in crime control as well as in the reaction to crime through criminal investigations and presenting evidence before the courts. SAPS is a national police force and is responsible for investigating crime and security throughout the country. If the police performance is flawed, it is hard to restore relationships through intervention of the criminal justice system which results in conviction rates for contact crimes being low. This is the case in South Africa. An Institute for Security Studies report found that few of the crimes reported to police result in an arrest, and many cases are withdrawn due to insufficient evidence (Roelofse & Helm, 2012).

Conviction rates for not only farm attacks, but crime in general is low in South Africa. South Africa does not have an integrated criminal justice system that links cases between law

Farm Attacks in South Africa

enforcement agencies and the courts. The process from when a crime is committed to the case going to court can be broken down into phases. First, SAPS must investigate the crime and arrest the suspects. During investigations forensic evidence is collected and presented through SAPS dockets to state prosecutors. The prosecutor decides if the case warrants charges. If charges are instituted the courts evaluate the case and pass judgement. Successful prosecutions are dependent of efficient police work. Most reported crimes do not end up in court, and it can be expected that the number of crimes will always be higher than the number of prosecutions. It is the responsibility of the criminal justice system to ensure that the successful conviction of violent crimes is as high as possible (AfriForum, 2022).

Between 2016 and 2020, AfriForum recorded 311 farm murders committed during 276 incidents. It is estimated that a total of 671 attackers were involved. Only 318 were arrested, while only 107 were sentenced (AfriForum, 2022).

In order to prevent farm attacks, organizations are encouraging farming communities to take it upon themselves to keep themselves safe. Even though this sounds like an easy-enough solution, it should be taken into account that there are almost always multiple perpetrators and that they are heavily armed. The modus operandi of the perpetrators is to collect useful information on their target before they attack and the farmers are immediately overpowered and restrained, so even if the farmers armed themselves, they have little chance to succeed if they are ambushed or surprised. The rural nature of farming presents many advantages for attackers.

“Farm Attacks are Aggravated House Robberies”

In most South African farm attacks, the offenders are charged with house robbery with aggravating circumstances. According to research done on house robberies in urban areas of

Farm Attacks in South Africa

South Africa, there seems to be a lot of similarities with regards to the motives behind these crimes as well as the modus operandi. In a study done by Zinn in 2008, thirty convicted robbers were interviewed about their crimes. A quarter of these offenders also committed farm attacks. The explanation was that they “follow the money” and where there is information from an insider on valuables that justifies the risk whether it is residential or on a farm.

Based on this study, Zinn was able to put together a profile for offenders of house robberies:

- The majority are between 19-26 years of age
- Mostly male
- 90% were black, 10% were mixed race and white
- The majority are South African citizens, but there were also Zambians, Mozambiquans and Zimbabweans
- 80% would commit a robbery in the area they knew well because they lived or worked there, while 20% preferred to commit the crime further away making it harder to get caught or identified
- 70% were from broken homes
- 53% had an education level of less than seventh grade; 20% completed high school; none of the participants received any higher education
- The majority’s motivation was poverty
- 70% were unemployed
- The majority of the proceeds went to non-essential expenditures such as expensive shoes, jewelry, entertaining girlfriends, paying for movies, drinks and parties.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

- Until convicted participants committed an average of 103 crimes per person and committed over 100 crimes by the time they were arrested

According to Zinn, farm attacks had become politicized and farm attacks are similar to house robberies, the only difference lies in the location. He further states that participants in public debates ‘forced’ people into two camps. The first would be those persons advocating that farmers were significantly more of a target for criminals and that those criminals who committed farm attacks were purely motivated by politics. The second would be those arguing farm attacks are part of a bigger problem of violent robberies in South Africa but that farmers are not at a higher risk than people in other occupations. If you do not agree with either of those views, you are seen as “part of the problem”. This could be the reason why the government and SAPS could be reluctant to take a more decisive stance against farm attacks (Burger, Zinn & Botha, 2021).

According to Zinn, the SAPS’s inability to effectively combat house robberies in South Africa is due to “the police’s reactive style of policing and the fact that they do not use crime intelligence to inform a defined and affective intelligence-led policing approach” (Zinn, 2010, p. 27).

Agricultural Crime in Other Countries

Finding research focused on crimes committed on farms in other countries was not easy, thereby substantiating the uniqueness of this crime to South Africa. The majority of literature on agricultural crimes related to Australia and the United States; therefore, these are the countries compared in this study to South Africa. Even though these are not considered your typical high crime countries, crime still occurs and both countries considered farm crimes to be problematic. Evidently, crimes on farms in other countries mostly consist of property crimes and not violent

Farm Attacks in South Africa

crimes. First, research was done on agricultural crime in general, followed by finding information on violent crimes that took place on farms or rural areas in the United States and Australia to determine if there are anything similar to what South Africa experience.

In 2001 a literature review was created where the author not only discussed agricultural crime between different parts of Australia, but also included research done overseas. The reason for this research was because crime on farms was of “rising public concern” and throughout the country there had been a “public and political debate over how best way to deal with the problem” (Barclay, 2001, p1). Crime on farms have been a part of Australia’s history and over hundreds of years little has changed.

The problems that arise from farm crimes are widespread and involve both financial as well as personal losses for farmers. According to Barclay (2001), farms in Australia are easy targets due to the isolation of these rural areas, easy access to the properties, the increasing value of equipment on these farms, and the portable nature of equipment as well as livestock. A further point of interest was that until 2001, farm crimes in Australia were not recorded separately in official data which means the exact nature and extent of agricultural crime in Australia was unknown (Barclay, 2001).

Prevalence of Farm Crime in Other Countries

Australia

The National Farm Crime Survey (NFCS) determined that in Australia, 17% of farms surveyed in 2002-2003 experienced some type of crime. They further found that livestock theft, theft of materials and illegal hunting and fishing are more prevalent on larger farms that are more remote. Farms located closer to urban areas were more likely to experience theft of farm

Farm Attacks in South Africa

machinery, equipment, tools, farmhouse robbery, theft of farm vehicles or vandalism (Anderson & McCall, 2005).

In a survey conducted in New South Wales with 620 respondents, 69% reported that they had experienced some type of property crime with the most common type of crime being theft of tools and other small equipment. There were no consistent patterns in the time of day that these thefts occurred (Barclay, 2001).

United States

Multiple studies were conducted in the 1980s on the prevalence of crimes on farms around the United States. In Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi and Arkansas vandalism followed by theft and burglaries were the primary concern. Interestingly, in Kentucky crime on farms were not a primary concern as 77% of 462 respondents reported not falling victim to these crimes in the previous year. In Arkansas, farmers reported low rates of crime in areas with a small holding where the farmer lived on the property (Barclay, 2001; Lynn, 2020). Mears, Scott and Bhati (2007) have determined that between 12% and 25% of farmers are victimized over any two-year period and in some parts of the country these rates could be up to 60% (Lynn, 2020). The rates of victimization in later studies were found to be higher compared to studies done in the 1980's which shows that there is an increase in rural or agricultural crime.

Types of Farm Crimes in Other Countries

In both Australia and the United States, crimes that take place and fall under agricultural crimes include theft, vandalism, arson, breaking and entering, fraud, trespassing illegal shooters, dumping rubbish and drug use or production (Barclay, 2001; Anderson & McCall, 2005).

Researchers further note that it is rare to find incidents of violent crime occurring among the

Farm Attacks in South Africa

farm population and that most of these incidents take place at off-farm/ranch sites. Further, they found that personal crimes of theft are rare on agricultural operations but that it could occur (Anderson & McCall, 2005).

When the respondents to the survey compiled in Australia were asked to rate the seriousness of crime on farms in their districts, only 13% thought of it to be serious or very serious while 40% of respondents thought it was not serious at all and the majority of farmers do not report crimes to the police. Reasons for not reporting a crime include the farmer believed they had no proof, the farmer are unsure that a theft had occurred, too much time passed, the belief that the police would be unable to catch the offenders, it is considered to be a waste of time and the farmer would rather deal with the problem themselves (Barclay, 2001).

Rural vs. Urban Crime

Since agricultural crime only cover property crimes, I looked into violent crime rates in rural areas versus urban areas in the Unites States. In 2017 the National Center for Victims of Crime summarized crime trends by distinguishing between crimes that took place in rural areas and crimes that took place in urban areas. Some of their findings concluded that victims from rural areas accounted for 10% of rapes and sexual assaults, 6% of robberies, and 18% of aggravated assaults. They acknowledged that differences in crime rates may be related to population size but that local factors such as rural policing agencies could also play a role.

Factors that Contribute to Victimization

According to research in both Australia as well as the United States, there are several factors that contribute to the victimization on farms that has been consistent over the years. The

Farm Attacks in South Africa

size of the farm, the layout, proximity to urban areas, the road networks, visibility of the buildings, type of terrain, presence of security measures, and a tendency of farmers to have routines are some that are included (Barclay & Donnermeyer, 2011; Lynn, 2020).

Profile of the Offender

Although this is only a tool and does not apply to every offender, researchers over the years were able to identify certain commonalities between offenders of agricultural crime in the United States. These characteristics indicate that offenders of these crimes are most likely (Lynn, 2020):

- Young, white males
- Lived in the same jurisdiction as those they targeted
- Uneducated
- Unemployed
- Tend to subscribe to “good’ol boys system” meaning they do not think the law applies to them
- Had a background in agriculture but were not farmers
- Often had a connection to the owner of the property even if it was meeting the owner only once
- “Inside jobs” were common
- Motivation are usually financial in nature. It has been found that 80-90% of the offenders steal to support a drug or alcohol habit.
- Many of these crimes are planned but they also occur without any planning.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Security Measures and Policing Strategies in Other Countries

Security measures employed by farmers themselves in both Australia and the United States include locking their house when gone for the day, maintenance of fences, storing tools out of sight, and having someone watch over the property when the occupants are away. The Australian based survey found that there was a lack of association between crime prevention on farms and crime. When 22 security measures were compared with the nine most frequent crimes none of the precautions except one resulted in reducing victimization. The only prevention measure that reduced crime was the presence of a watch dog. Within the sample a large proportion of the respondents believed that it was the responsibility of the farmers to safeguard their property and possessions but called for tighter legislation with regards to agricultural crime and tougher enforcement of laws in the court system (Barclay, 2001).

In studies compiled in the United States in the 1980s, different areas reacted with different security measures to protect the farms and prevent agricultural crimes from occurring. Some of the strategies included removing keys from vehicles, getting dogs, acquiring firearms, installing security lights, and adding warning signs against trespassing. In the 1980s in California, the Tulare County Sheriff's Department formed an Agricultural Crime Unit where six deputies wore jeans and used unmarked cars. They were trained and had knowledge of the agricultural industry. Educational programs were developed for the farmers, legislation was reviewed, and police operations were conducted which resulted in a 95% conviction rate. Because of the success rate this encouraged eight other countries to follow (Barclay, 2001).

Next it is important to include prevention strategies through law enforcement.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

United States

In the United States law enforcement has three levels in which they operate. There is a local level which include smaller municipal police departments, and county-level sheriff departments. There are statewide levels, also known as state-level agencies that serve as an added resource in most rural communities. The United States also have tribal law enforcement but was not specifically focused on during this research. Interestingly 97% of the land mass in the United States considered to be rural, but only 19.3% of the population live in rural areas. It is important then to talk about the distribution of law enforcement. In 2018, 29% of all officers were employed in rural areas. This distribution is to be expected when comparing it to the distribution of the population. What is surprising is that there are a higher number of rural law-enforcement agencies than urban agencies. Rural law-enforcement agencies tend to be much smaller with fewer officers who tend to cover a variety of roles – from traffic controller to criminal investigator, from animal control to patrolling (Lynn, 2020).

With farms being spread out it could make it hard to respond to crimes in a timely manner when compared to urban areas. It has been found that rural- law enforcement officers tend to solve more of their cases since they have access to a strong social network in the community and with fewer people it is easier to recognize or identify a perpetrator than it is in urban areas (Lynn, 2020).

By 2020, 11 states have formed Agricultural Crime Units whose mandate are to address various forms of agricultural, but combatting agricultural crime has multiple challenges and the successfulness has yet to be evaluated.

Other possible solutions to these challenges is to form *Farm Watch* programming which is a prevention program implemented at local levels and involves not only the police departments

Farm Attacks in South Africa

but the residents and community as well. It can be described as a variation of neighborhood watch in rural areas. People within the community remain alert and report any suspicious activity to the police and other members of the network. However, the effectiveness of these programs is unknown (Lynn, 2020).

A second option was the concept of the “fortress farm” where the approach is designed to shift the responsibility of crime deterrence from the police onto the farmers. The goal is to create a community that is less reliant on the police and therefore less likely to be negatively impacted by the challenges that rural officers face that might restrict their successfulness. The first steps include actions by farmers themselves by pinpointing security weaknesses of a farm and improving them. This is followed by community prevention strategies such as *Farm Watch* as many farmers relied on their neighbors to keep an eye on their property. The use of technology such as security cameras and yard or motion lights were seen as an important aspect as well and were recommended by several investigators (Lynn, 2020).

A strategy that has been assessed by researchers is the Agricultural Crime, Technology, Information and Operations Network (ACTION) program created in California. This program was created to prevent agricultural crime by changing the behavior of both the farmers as well as law enforcement officers. The focus was on target hardening and how to make it more difficult for farms to be victimized by increasing the risks for offenders. Increasing the investigative efforts, utilization of resources and the sharing of technology and information between counties were helpful in changing the behavior of the law enforcement officers. These changes have been found to be successful (Lynn, 2020).

Private security with special jurisdiction is another helpful security measure that the United States has in place in several states to address agricultural crimes specifically. An

Farm Attacks in South Africa

example is the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association (TSCRA). This Association consists of 30 peace officers who are special rangers and investigate agricultural crime cases. This organization was formed in 1877 when 40 cattlemen joined together out of a common interest to stop livestock theft. Today they provide a broad range of services to their members directly involved in ranching and beef production primarily in Texas, Oklahoma and throughout the Southwest (TSCRA, 2022).

Another example of a private security entity is the Oklahoma Agriculture Investigative Services Unit. This Unit was created to investigate crime victimizing Oklahoma agriculture. All their special agents have expertise in areas of agriculture and are certified Peace Officers of the State of Oklahoma. They are stationed throughout the state. The agents work with local, county and other state law enforcement agencies and specialize in the investigation of crimes of wild land fire arson, and theft of livestock, equipment, and timber. This Unit does not only aid in investigating agricultural crimes but also in the prevention thereof (Oklahoma Department of Agriculture, Food and Forestry, 2022).

Many countries including the United States as well as Australia utilize criminal intelligence-based policing. Criminal intelligence is defined by the Australian Criminal Intelligence Model as “insights and understanding obtained through analysis of available information and data on complex offending patterns, serious organized crime groups, networks or syndicates and individuals involved in various types of criminal activities” (Australian Intelligence Commission, 2020, Foreword Section, para. 2). Intelligence involves the collection, processing, integration, evaluation, interpretation, and analysis of available information. Information is usually obtained by the police through interrogation, questionnaires, and/or interviews with sentenced offenders. Information regarding the modus operandi, the motives of

Farm Attacks in South Africa

the offender, the type of crime, geographic details, selection of the targets, victim details, and disposal of evidence is gathered. Knowing certain information about a crime aids in not only the prevention of the crime but also the formulation of rehabilitation programs in correctional centers for offenders of these crimes (Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission, 2020 & Zinn, 2010).

Discussion

When exploring agricultural crime, even though it consists primarily of property crimes, there are a number of shared commonalities in the way agricultural property crimes are committed when compared to how violent farm attacks are committed. First, it was surprising that both crimes are under-researched as well as underreported even while they are considered to be of concern and have long term effects on a country. In South Africa it could be for political reasons, but I did not expect it to be the case internationally. In both Australia as well as South Africa agricultural crime and farm attacks have a long history with little progress to prevent it from occurring. Further, the fact that South African farm attacks are not regarded as a separate crime and therefore not recorded correctly is similar to Australia which does not have a separate crime category for agricultural crimes and is therefore unable to determine the true nature and extent of the crime. With SAPS not acknowledging farm attacks as a separate crime category and not recording it correctly, the public and researchers are limited in knowing the true extent of the problem in South Africa (Barclay, 2001., Moolman, 2000., Burger, 2012., Lynn, 2020., Resane, 2018., burger, 2018., Roets, 2012., Bezuidenhout, 2012., Akinola, 2019., & Roelofse & Helm, 2012).

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Both Australia as well as the United States acknowledge that farms are easy targets due to their location, the isolation of the area, the fact that police take longer to respond and that farmers have routines throughout their day. Research revealed that a lot of offenders would gain inside information about the routine of the farmer as well as valuables on the property and plan the crime accordingly. This is consistent with South Africa where offenders rely on inside information and watch everyone on the farm for weeks in advance to determine routines and when the best time would be to commit the crime. The main motivation behind these crimes is similar, namely financial gain, and in most instances the offenders are young males with low education levels (Barclay, 2001., Burger, 2018., Burger, Zinn & Botha, 2021., Hornschuh, 2007., Mokgoko, 2014., Zinn, 2010., Haefele, 1998., Moolman, 2000., Olivier, 2006., van Zyl, 2008., & Swart, 2003).

Although there are some shared similarities between farm attacks and agricultural crimes there are some very distinct differences. The first being the nature of the crimes taking place on farms and rural areas in the different countries. Even with farms being soft targets and isolated, farm attacks in South Africa are on a personal level and the offenders prefer to make contact with the victims. Where the main motivation behind both crimes is financial gain, it seems that even having a personal connection to the farmer, offenders of agricultural crimes are able to stay within the realm of financial motivation. In South Africa there are accompanying elements and motivations that make the crime in itself more complex. If it was purely financial the offenders could still break into the houses when people are not home. One would also think that because South Africa is known for its poverty and these attackers are often unemployed, they would spend the profits on needs instead of wants or luxury items as it has been found. The element of igniting fear with the victims and within the community is something that stands out as being

Farm Attacks in South Africa

akin to terrorism. There is an element of control over the victims in farm attacks in order to commit the crime which is an element that agricultural crimes lack (Zinn, 2010., Bezuidenhout, 2012., & Roets & Claasen, 2014).

The political nature and backgrounds of the different countries was an interesting element when exploring these crimes. In all countries farmers are considered valuable. In all countries the farming community can be regarded as tightknit where they rely on their neighbors and a handshake is as good as a contract. The United States had similar experiences to South Africa when it comes to race and segregation, but there simply is no hatred towards farmers resulting in crimes targeted specifically towards the farmer and their family.

In the United States an example would be the tensions that exist between Native Americans and white landowners. Native Americans were forcefully removed from their land and relocated with the colonization by Europeans of the Americas in the 1800s. Even in the present day there is still a source of tension as land was never fully restored to its rightful owners, but none of it results in Native Americans targeting farms or farm occupants in the way farms are targeted in South Africa.

In all other countries, the crime rates in urban areas are higher than in rural areas. Comparing aggravated house robberies in urban areas to those robberies taking place on farms, Zinn found that the location and isolation of farms play a role in house robberies on farms being more violent than those committed within the city as the offenders have more time, fewer witnesses and risks, and an easier way to flee without being noticed. Zinn also found the longer the offenders stay in a house, the more likely associated crimes, such as rape, murder, or assault, are to be committed. There are also more co-conspirators involved in farm attacks than in the cities which makes it easier to gain control over the victims (Burger, Zinn & Botha, 2021).The

Farm Attacks in South Africa

element of torture and the brutality of some of these attacks are worrisome; farm attacks are not just another robbery in a high crime country.

Conclusion

After analyzing all the existing research, I would like to circle back to the research questions posed earlier. First, it is evident that farm attacks are unique to South Africa in the way these crimes are committed, the targets, the different possible motives as well as the response towards it. The two other countries analyzed are not faced with violent crimes on farms or rural areas to the extent of South Africa. There is no question that the definition in itself is problematic to start off with as it is not a clear definition but rather an explanation of possible crimes that would be considered to be a ‘farm attack’. When looking at the definition of a farm attack, any violent crime is included as long as the location is on a farm, with any accompanying motive. The inclusion of smallholdings pose another problem as there is no way to “accurately determine how many smallholdings are involved in legal farming activities as a commercial concern” (Burger, 2018, p. 3). When it comes to recording these crimes in official data, statistics show either murder, sexual assaults, or aggravated robberies blended into urban crimes and do not portray farm attacks in the context in which they occur. South Africa has a unique problem – these crimes are unique in nature and a separate crime category with a more specific definition is of the utmost importance. This does not mean that farm attacks are considered more important than other crimes but recording the data correctly would already shed some light on the prevalence and seriousness of the problem. The inclusion of smallholdings in the definition is problematic as well. The activities on smallholdings are often different from those on farms and therefore does not meet the requirements of the definition as is.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Second, when looking at security measures taken by farmers themselves and by law enforcement it seems that the most success comes when all parties are educated on the topic and where the community as a whole works with law enforcement. One of the biggest disadvantages in South Africa is that there is a lack in criminal intelligence being collected, not only on farm attacks, but in general. Criminal intelligence is instrumental in preventing crimes from occurring. Zinn (2010), based his studies on car hijackers, house robberies and farm attacks by conducting interviews with convicted offenders. There is simply no better way to understand all elements of a crime, all the 'why' and 'how's', without talking to the offenders themselves. With the lack of detailed information on farm attacks by SAPS, the manner in which offenders are charged and sentenced are impacted as well.

I believe the biggest part of this problem is SAPS and their inability to respond to these crimes correctly. The United States identified the limitations that exist with law enforcement agencies in rural areas and responded with specific units and prevention programs. Separate units should be implemented that are trained and knowledgeable on farm attacks, how to respond to both the victims as well as the offenders. They should collect all necessary intelligence when responding to an attack to make it easier to record the data and provide preventative strategies for farmers and the farming community. Relying on the government and the fact that there is a National Rural Safety Strategy that exists but not enforced, or the existence of continuous recommendations being made with no follow through is not going to prevent these attacks from occurring. There is a need to respond to these attacks with the seriousness and urgency that it requires.

Limitations

As mentioned before, information and research on farm attacks as well as agricultural crime in South Africa is limited therefore, I did not only rely on journal articles but also on newspaper articles, reports and conversations with other researchers on this topic from South Africa.

The published statistics were problematic in themselves since private organizations are left to compile statistics independently, therefore the statistics between organizations differ and it is unclear how reliable existing statistics are and their credibility is often questioned. The only similarity was that there is a yearly increase in both farm attacks and murders.

The reluctance of government officials to communicate and share information on these crimes or the types of offenders involved because of the Protection of Personal Information Act (also known as the POPI Act) served as an additional limitation. Even though the cases have already been closed and the offenders sentenced, the officials are reluctant to disclose or share any information although it should be considered public information at this point. This could be because they are either unwilling to put in the effort to go through the workload it would take to even access the dockets since there is not a separate crime category for farm attacks, or due to a lack of understanding what the POPI Act entails. Regardless, gaining access to dockets or information that should be considered public information on these cases was an impossible task.

Another limitation was the fact that this topic has become heavily politicized in South Africa. Different organizations and political parties write, publish and debate about farm attacks from an angle that could only benefit them. It was common to come across articles that were not written objectively.

Recommendations for Future Research

Recommendations for future research should include and focus on finding ways to make information on this topic more accessible. The original goal of this research was to create typologies of offenders of this crime, but it was impossible since there is no way to gain access to the information I needed, namely dockets, a list of offenders convicted for this crime specifically, and reliable statistics were impossible to come by.

I do agree with the opinion of Zinn that research through national studies and gathering criminal intelligence on this crime should be a priority. Surveys in farming communities should be completed to gain information on their victimization rates, most common crimes, what preventative strategies they have in place with the success rate thereof, and relationships with the police in their area. By not treating farm attacks as a specific or separate crime, prevention of these crimes from taking place cannot be successful.

References

AfriForum Research Institute. (2016). *Farm Attacks and Farm Killings: Trends in 2016*.

<https://afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Plaasaanvalle-en-plaasmoorde-in-Suid-Afrika-2016.pdf>.

AfriForum Research Institute. (2017). *Farm Attacks and Farm Murders in South Africa:*

Statistics Point to Drastic Increase in Farm Murders. <https://afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Plaasaanvalle-en-plaasmoorde-in-Suid-Afrika-2017.pdf>.

AfriForum Research Institute. (2019). *“Farm Attacks and Farm Murders in South Africa:*

Analysis of Recorded Incidents. <https://afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Farm-attacks-and-farm-murders-in-South-Africa-Analysis-of-recorded-incidents-2019.pdf>.

AfriForum Research Institute. (2020). *Analysis of Recorded Incidents 2020*.

<https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/farm-attack-and-murder-statistics-for-2020--afrifo>.

AfriForum Research Institute. (2022). *Trends in Farm Murders and an Analysis of Arrests and Prosecutions (including statistics on farm attacks and murders for 2021)*.

<https://afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/20220301-Johan-N-Plaasmoordverslag-2022-ENG-GFdB.pdf>.

Agriculture Investigative Services Unit. (2022). Oklahoma Department of Agriculture, Food and

Forestry. <https://ag.ok.gov/agriculture-investigative-services-unit/>.

Akinola, A. O. (2019). Farm Conflicts and the South African Unresolved Land Question.

Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict, 8(2), 75-92.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

- Anderson, K. M. & McCall, M. (2005). *Farm Crime in Australia: A Monograph Prepared by the Australian Institute of Criminology*. Australian Institute of Criminology: Australian Government Attorney'- General's Department. Canberra.
<https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-05/farm-crime-in-australia.pdf>.
- Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission. (2017). *Australian Criminal Intelligence Management Strategy 2017-20*. <https://www.afp.gov.au/sites/default/files/PDF/ACIM-strategy-2017-20.pdf>.
- Barclay, E. (2001). *A Review of the Literature on Agricultural Crime: Report to the Criminology Research Council*. Armidale. Institute for Rural Futures, University of New England.
- Barclay, E. & Donnermeyer, J. F. (2011). Crime and security on agricultural operations. *Security Journal*, 24(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1057/sj.2008.23>.
- Bezuidenhout, C. (2012). Overview of Farm Attacks in South Africa and their Potential Impact on Society. *An Overview of Farm Attacks in South Africa and the Potential Impact thereof in Society* (pp. 8-29). Compiled by the Solidarity Research Institute.
<https://www.onteiening.co.za/en/an-overview-of-farm-attacks-in-south-africa-and-the-potential-impact-thereof-on-society/>.
- Burcher, & Whelan, C. (2019). Intelligence-Led Policing in Practice: Reflections From Intelligence Analysts. *Police Quarterly*, 22(2), 139–160.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611118796890>.
- Burger, J. (2012). From Rural Protection to Rural Safety: How Government Changed its Priorities. *An Overview of Farm Attacks in South Africa and the Potential Impact thereof in Society* (pp. 58-71). Compiled by the Solidarity Research Institute.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

<https://www.onteiening.co.za/en/an-overview-of-farm-attacks-in-south-africa-and-the-potential-impact-thereof-on-society/>.

Burger, J. (2018). Policy Brief: Violent Crime on Farms and Smallholdings in South Africa. Institute for Security Studies. 115. 1-12.

Burger, J., Zinn, R. J., & Botha, C. (2021). *Report on a Comparative Analysis of Studies, Official Reports and Publications in Relation to Farm Attacks and House Robberies in South Africa*. Unpublished report requested by Freedom Front Plus in Gauteng.

BusinessTech (2019, July 29). *Population in South Africa now at 58.8 million*.

<https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/331843/population-in-south-africa-now-at-58-8-million/>.

Chabalala, J. (2021, November 11). *Brendin Horner case: State drops murder charge against accused*. News24. <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/brendin-horner-case-state-drops-murder-charge-against-accused-20211118>.

Claasen, L. (2012). Investigating the Psychological Aftermath of Farm Attacks. *An Overview of Farm Attacks in South Africa and the Potential Impact thereof in Society* (pp. 36-44). Compiled by the Solidarity Research Institute. <https://www.onteiening.co.za/en/an-overview-of-farm-attacks-in-south-africa-and-the-potential-impact-thereof-on-society/>.

Claasen, L. (2012). The Significance of the Level of Brutality and Overkill. *An Overview of Farm Attacks in South Africa and the Potential Impact thereof in Society* (pp. 46-57). Compiled by the Solidarity Research Institute. <https://www.onteiening.co.za/en/an-overview-of-farm-attacks-in-south-africa-and-the-potential-impact-thereof-on-society/>.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

- Clack, W., & Minnaar, A. (2018). Rural Crime in South Africa: An Exploratory Review of 'Farm Attacks' and Stock theft as the Primary Crimes in Rural Areas. *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, 31(1), 104-136.
- Donnermeyer, J. F. (2018). The Impact of Crime on Farms: An International Synthesis. *Acta Criminologica African Journal of Criminology*, 31 (4)/2018 Special Edition: Rural Crime.
- Doss, J. P. (2018). South Africa, 'farm attacks,' and deadly language games. *New Pittsburgh courier (City ed.)*, 109(35), B6-B6.
- Duncan, J. (2021, February 1). *Why SAPS Crime Intelligence is a hot mess*. Daily Maverick. South Africa. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-02-01-why-saps-crime-intelligence-is-a-hot-mess/>.
- Dyer, J. (2020, January). *The Fruits (and Vegetables) of Crime: Protection From Theft and Agricultural Development*. J-Pal. <https://www.povertyactionlab.org/evaluation/farmers-and-fear-crime-improving-agricultural-productivity-through-farm-protection-kenya>.
- Erasmus, C. (2020, October 14). *White farmers, Malema's EFF square off over South Africa's farm murders*. The Citizen. <https://allafrica.com/stories/202010150136.html>.
- Freeman, G. (2018). *South African Farmers are Trapped in a Brutal Reality*. The Sydney Morning Herald, 21. <https://vortex3.edu.login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=n5h&AN=DOC6ZD4D7Z5AGP1MENFK14X&site=ehost-live>.
- Fuller, G. (2014). Where and When: A Profile of Armed Robbery by Location. *Trends % issues in crime and criminal justice* no. 479. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tand/tandi479>.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

- Giblin, M. J., Burruss, G. W., Corsaro, N., & Schafer, J. A. (2012). Self-Protection in Rural America: A Risk Interpretation Model of Household Protective Measures. *Criminal justice policy review*, 23(4), 493-517. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887403411421215>.
- Haefele, B. (1998). Violent Attacks on Farmers in South Africa: Is There a Hidden Agenda? *Acta Criminologica*, 11(2), 9-18.
- Hamman, N. H. (2015). Farm Attacks in South Africa: Poverty, Torture and Murder. [Unpublished] London Metropolitan University. https://www.academia.edu/27356447/FARM_ATTACKS_IN_SOUTH_AFRICA_Poverty_Torture_and_Murder.
- Hornschuh, V. (2007). A Victimological Investigation of Farm Attacks with Specific Reference to Farmers' Perceptions of Their Susceptibility, the Consequences of Attacks for Farmers and the Coping Strategies Applied by Them After Victimization. [Master's thesis, University of Pretoria]. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.996.786&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Human Rights Watch. (n.d.) "*Farm Attacks*": *Violent Crime Against Farm Owners*. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/safrica2/Safarms7.htm>.
- Kelder, N. (2012). A Proposed Model for a Basic Community Safety Network. *An Overview of Farm Attacks in South Africa and the Potential Impact thereof in Society* (pp. 30-35). Compiled by the Solidarity Research Institute. <https://www.onteining.co.za/en/an-overview-of-farm-attacks-in-south-africa-and-the-potential-impact-thereof-on-society/>.
- Lynn, B. (2020). *Policing Farm Crime: An Exploratory Study of Agricultural Crime Units*. Electronic Theses and Dissertations Paper 3820. [Master's Thesis, East Tennessee State University]. <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd/3820>.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

- Macharia, J. (2016, November 14). *South Africa's Malema Tells Backers To Seize White-Owned Land, Defying Court*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-safrica-politics/south-africas-malema-tells-backers-to-seize-white-owned-land-defying-court-idUSKBN1391EO>.
- Manby, B. (2001). *Unequal Protection: The State Response to Violent Crime on South African Farms*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Mears, D. P., Scott, M. L., Bhati, A. S., Roman, J., Chalfin, A. & Jannetta, J. (2007). *A Process and Impact Evaluation of the Agricultural Crime, Technology, Information, and Operations Network (ACTION) Program*. The Urban Institute. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/217906.pdf>.
- Mears, Scott, M. L., & Bhati, A. S. (2007). Opportunity theory and agricultural crime victimization. *Rural Sociology*, 72(2), 151–184. <https://doi.org/10.1526/003601107781170044>.
- Mistry, D. (2003). Ploughing In Resources: The Investigation of Farm Attacks. *South Africa Crime Quarterly*, (6), 7-12. <https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2003/v0i6a1057>.
- Modiri, J. (2013). Race, Realism and Critique: The Politics of Race and AfriForum v Malema in the (In)Equality Court. *South African Law Journal*, 130, 274-293.
- Mokgoko, K. M. (2014). *Towards the Recognition of Farm Murder as a Distinct Crime in South Africa: A Multidisciplinary Human Rights Approach*. [Mini-dissertation, University of Pretoria]. <https://hdl.handle.net/2263/50706>.
- Mollica, R. F. (2004). Surviving Torture. *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 351(1), 5-7. <https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJMp048141>.
- Moolman, N. (2000). Farm Attacks: Are There Any Ulterior Motives? *Acta Criminologica*, 13(2), 64-74.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Moolman, N. (2000). The Socio-Political Background of Farm Attacks in South Africa. *Acta Criminologica*, 13(1), 49-56.

National Center for Victims of Crime. (2017). *Urban and Rural Victimization*.

https://www.ncjrs.gov/ovc_archives/ncvrw/2017/images/en_artwork/Fact_Sheets/2017N_CVRW_UrbanRural_508.pdf.

Newman, A. (2012). Genocide & Communism Threaten South Africa. *The New American* (Belmont, Mass), 28(21), 10.

Olivier, J. & Cunningham, P. (2006). Victims' Perception of Attacks on Farms and Smallholdings in The Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Acta Criminologica*, 19(1), 115-126.

Parry, J. T. (2011). *Understanding torture: law, violence, and political identity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.155927>.

Phillips, L. (2021, January 6). Farm murders increased in 2020, despite lockdown -TAU SA. Farmers Weekly. <https://www.farmersweekly.co.za/agri-news/south-african/farm-murders-increased-in-2020-despite-lockdown-tau-sa/>.

Pretorius, J. (2014). “Dubula Ibhunu” (Shoot the Boer): A Psycho-Political Analysis of Farm Attacks in South Africa. *PINS: Psychology in Society*, 47, 21-40.

Resane, K. T. (2018). A Missing Hand at the Dinner Table: The Response to the Plight of Farmers in South Africa. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 39(1), e1-e8. <https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v39i1.1827>.

Robyn, D. (2004, November 05). *Crime in South Africa More Vexing and Vicious; Brutal Attacks on Farms, Robberies and Rapes of Children Keep the Nation on Edge*. The Los Angeles Times.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

<https://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/docview/421906236?accountid=14516>.

Roelofse, C., & Helm, M. A. (2012). Rural Safety in South Africa: A Study on Rural Self-Protection Units in the Soutpansberg Area of Limpopo, South Africa. *Internal Security*, 4, 193-216.

Roets, E., & Claasen, L. (2014). *The Reality of Farm Tortures in South Africa*. AfriForum Research Institute. <https://afriforum.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/The-reality-of-farm-tortures-in-South-Africa.pdf>.

Salfati, C. G., Labuschagne, G. N., Horning, A. M., Sorochinski, M., & De Wet, J. (2015). South African Serial Homicide: Offender and Victim Demographics and Crime Scene Actions. *Journal of Investigative Psychology & Offender Profiling*, 12(1), 18-43.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.1425>.

Sorochinski, M., Salfati, C. G., & Labuschagne, G. N. (2015). Classification of Planning and Violent Behaviours in Serial Homicide: A Cross-National Comparison Between South Africa and the US. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 12(1), 69-82. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jip.1427>.

South African History Online (1999, March 20). *Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) disbands*. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/azanian-peoples-liberation-army-apla-disbands>.

South African History Online. (1998, October 10). *Address by President Nelson Mandela to the Summit on Rural Safety and Security Midrand*.

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/address-president-nelson-mandela-summit-rural-safety-and-security-midrand-10-october-1998>.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

South African History Online. (2011, May 28). *Indigenous Medicine and Traditional Healing*.

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/indigenous-medicine-and-traditional-healing>.

South African Human Rights Commission. (2014). *Report of the SAHRC National Investigative Hearing into Safety and Security Challenges in Farming Communities: 15&16 September 2014 and 6 October 2014*.

<https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/SAHRC%20SAFETY%20AND%20SECURITY%20IN%20FARM%20COMMUNITIES%202015%20pdf.pdf>.

South African Police Service. (2009). *Annual Report 2008/2009*.

https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/sapsanrep-0809.pdf.

South African Police Service. (2011). *National Rural Safety Strategy*. Pretoria: South African Police Service.

South African Police Service. (2018). *The National Rural Safety Strategy*. Pretoria: South African Police Service.

https://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/national_rural_safety_strategy_2019.pdf.

South African Police Service. (2020). *Annual Crime Report 2019/2020*.

https://www.saps.gov.za/about/stratframework/annual_report/2019_2020/annual_crime_report_2019_2020.pdf.

Steyn, A. S. (2019). Story of a South African Farm Attack. *Africa Today*, 66(2), 56-81.

Strydom, H. (2005). A Theoretical Perspective On Farm Attacks In The South African Farming Community. *Acta Criminologica*, 18(1), 115.

Strydom, H., & Schutte, S. C. (2005). A Theoretical Perspective on Farm Attacks in the South African Farming Community. *Acta Criminologica*, 18(1), 115-125.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Strydom, H., & Schutte, S. C. (2005). An Empirical Investigation Into The Experience Of Farm Attacks In The South African Farming Community. *Acta Criminologica*, 18(2), 90-99.

Swart, D. (2003). Farm Attacks In South Africa - Incidence And Explanation. *Acta Criminologica*, 16(1), 40-44.

TSCRA Mission and History. (2022) Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association. (2022). <https://tscra.org/who-we-are/>.

Van der Merwe, A. (2021, February 11). *Bapsfontein-paar 'erg gemartel' tydens aanval*. Maroela Media. <https://maroelamedia.co.za/nuus/sa-nuus/bapsfontein-paar-erg-gemartel-tydens-aanval/>.

Van Zyl, L. (2008). Victims of Farm Attacks: Psychological Consequences. *Acta Criminologica, CRIMSA Conference Special Edition* (3), 134-149.

Western Cape Government. (2020). *An Introduction to the Protection of Personal Information Act (or POPOI act or POPIA)*. <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/site-page/introduction-protection-personal-information-act-or-popi-act-or-popia>.

Wikimedia Commons. (2010). *File: Map of South Africa with English labels.svg*. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_South_Africa_with_English_labels.svg.

Wines, M. (2003, September 26). South Africa Study Says Race Is Not Behind Attacks on Farmers. *The New York times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/09/26/world/south-africa-study-says-race-is-not-behind-attacks-on-farmers.html>.

Zinn, R. J. (2010). *Home Invasion: Robbers Disclose What You Should Know*. Tafelberg Publishers Ltd.

Farm Attacks in South Africa

Zinn, R. J. (2010). Sourcing Crime Intelligence from Incarcerated House Robbers. Institute for Security Studies. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 32, 27-35.

Zinn, R. J. (2011) The Value of Crime Intelligence in Combatting Violent Crime. Inaugural lecture. Unisa. <https://hdl.handle.net/10500/7649>.