

## **Small-Scale Pig Farming as a Tool for Unemployment Alleviation in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape of South Africa**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The study examines the effect of small-scale pig farming on unemployment alleviation in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape of South Africa. This is against the backdrop of the extreme youth unemployment and increasing poverty rate being witnessed in South Africa (SA) due to the unstable global economic environment that has impacted most economies of the world. On its part, the government made an appreciable number of investments, especially in the agricultural sector, to address the unemployment challenges, which has yielded varied levels of success. The unemployment situation in SA was compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in approximately 33% of the labour resources that were productive before the pandemic to idle. This necessitated a government injection of R100 billion as a stimulus package into the economy to support small businesses and the agricultural sector, especially small-scale farmers. Mixed methods were adopted to gather primary data from 164 pig farmers, which were randomly selected. XLSTAT and SPSS 28 were used to analyse the quantitative data, and NVivo was used for the qualitative data. The results revealed that farming activities provided a source of income for most pig farmers, with several households depending on it for their livelihood. The collective advantage among pig farmers was the availability of space for farming activities, and most of them engaged in pig farming as a necessity. The government plays a crucial role in the sustainability of pig farming activities in the area through the various interventions that create the needed enabling environment for the farmers to thrive.*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the effects and viability of small-scale pig farming on unemployment and poverty alleviation in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape of South Africa. This is against the backdrop of the extreme youth unemployment and the increasing poverty rate being witnessed in South Africa (SA) due to the unstable global economic environment that has impacted most economies of the world with the resulting increase in the cost of living (Gourinchas, 2022). Joyce and Pholoho (2014) analysed the South African government's policy in agriculture for the development and support of new smallholder farmers. Support for smallholder farmers is an important area for development that could positively impact poverty alleviation and household food security. South Africa, to a large extent, has achieved food security at the national level, but more still needs to be done at the rural level due to the level of unemployment and poverty rate (Altman et al., 2009).

In recent times, South Africa has been experiencing a high level of unemployment and poverty while facing food security challenges (Gourinchas, 2022). The published poverty levels and trends indicate a significant rise in poverty levels (Stats SA, 2017). This level fluctuates continuously. The World Bank suggests that "approximately 55.5% (30.3 million) of the population are living in poverty at the national upper poverty line (ZAR 992) while a total number of 13.8 million people (25%) are experiencing food shortage" (World Bank, 2022:1). The World Bank (2016) indicates that economic growth is required to improve income-generating potentials and opportunities of the underprivileged through agriculture and industrialisation.

It should be noted that at the onset of the pandemic, which subsequently led to the country's lockdown to reduce the pandemic's adverse effects on human lives, the South African fiscal position was weak, as indicated by the 2020 budget review. During and after the lockdown, enormous job losses were witnessed in the country owing to the COVID-19 pandemic that necessitated several months of lockdown. Additionally, implementing lockdown regulations negatively affected most businesses in the country. To kickstart the economy after the lockdown, the government introduced several intervening measures to boost economic activities to help create jobs and reduce unemployment (Geza et al., 2022). Some of the measures include tightening financial conditions, discretionary policies to support incomes and

ease financial conditions of households, injection of R100 billion for SMEs and an informal business stimulus package to support small businesses and the agricultural sector, among others (PMG, 2022). Despite all these efforts, the country's youth unemployment level remains a critical economic issue for the government (Geza et al., 2022).

Unemployment has been an ongoing challenge for the government for years. In the second quarter of 2022, according to Stats SA (2022), the unemployment rate stood at 33.9%. Steenkamp (2015) asserts that the unemployment rate remains high, with several populations still lacking necessities such as food and shelter. Ferreira (2016) suggests diverse reasons for South Africa's high unemployment rate. Some areas of the country, such as the Eastern Cape (EC), are surrounded by under-used land, which can be used for crop or animal farming, including pig farming. Despite the large expanse of unused land, the region still suffers from extreme poverty and high unemployment rates. In the second quarter of 2022, the unemployment rate in the area was about 33.9%, while the highest unemployment rate during the period recorded in the EC was 42.8% (Stats SA, 2022).

The extreme unemployment and poverty rates also contribute negatively to revenue generation. Fewer people are in the income bracket able to pay personal income tax and are more dependent on social grants (De Vos, Obokoh & Abiola, 2020). Given the lean tax base and revenue generation, which the government depends on to fund social and economic spending programmes, it fell short of projections by R48.2 billion in the 2017/18 financial year (Stats SA, 2018). Considering the recent crime statistics, unemployment is a challenge. It was reported that "Housebreaking, theft of motor vehicles, murder and consumer fraud increased between 2017/18 and 2018/19" (Stats SA, 2019).

Because of the vast available agricultural land in most provinces and the economic opportunities created by government incentives for small businesses and, by extension, small-scale pig farmers, how can we understand the relative effect of small-scale pig farming towards the alleviation of unemployment and poverty in Buffalo City and South Africa in general? Hence, the reason for the study.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The global economy faces an increasingly gloomy and uncertain outlook revolving around the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the higher-than-expected

inflation in the United States and major European economies, the tightening of global financial conditions and the slowdown in China's economy resulted in the contraction of global output in the second quarter of 2022 (Gourinchas, 2022). The contraction in global output has implications for developing countries' poverty levels and unemployment rates, as evidenced by the high cost of living index. Sekhampu (2013) asserts widespread poverty is among the most challenging global concerns. The fundamental causes and issues need to be identified to overcome poverty.

Prior studies have highlighted the causes of poverty and factors that exacerbate poverty in Africa, such as structural inequality and lack of access to resources, poor infrastructure and government corruption. Included are low income and unemployment, less development, climate change, conflict, and civil wars (Mayekoo, 2023; Addae-Korankye, 2014; Francis, 2006; Hulme & Shepherd, 2003). However, Chumika et al. (2010) conducted a study on 500 emerging farmers across the nine provinces of South Africa. They applied factor analysis on fifteen infrastructure indicators to determine the accessibility and use of infrastructure. The results indicate that services infrastructure was generally more accessible to emerging farmers than before. The study implications are that government policy should be formulated to address farmers' access to services. Furthermore, locating services in areas near farmers is critical because nearness to amenities stimulates agricultural and rural development towards reducing unemployment and poverty.

On the other hand, Ramukumba (2014) remarks that inadequate employment is one of the most significant challenges to overcoming poverty. According to Buerger (2012), employment remains one of the most effective ways to combat poverty as it provides resources for the poor to meet their basic and welfare needs. Employment opportunities in small or underdeveloped regions are scarce due to a lack of development and investment opportunities that would have provided employment. This indicates that regions are often neglected (Teschner, 2012). It has been argued that only a few living in extreme poverty regions find local employment or can establish small businesses due to a lack of access to resources (Mayekoo, 2023). The most observed occupations among such people in those resource-scare regions are farming, managing cattle and livestock, and other small labour-intensive occupations due to the availability of farmland. In some cases, the land is restricted by ownership. However, government asset redistribution has, to some extent, been set to reduce land-restricted access

to favour small-scale African farmers who were previously deprived of land due to the apartheid past (Francis, 2006; Hall, 2004).

### **2.1. The Effects of Pig Farming on Poverty Alleviation in South Africa**

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, 2015) remarks that poverty rates remain high in several countries, especially in rural areas. Reports show that 77% of the deprived rural communities globally rely on farming for their livelihood (FAO, 2015). An increasing number of studies established that agriculture significantly reduces poverty, considering that most poor people live in rural areas and depend mainly on agriculture. Katagame, Fanani and Nugroho (2017) argue that most small-scale farmers have increased their educational levels and financial authority attributable to pig farming. Today, pig farming has created jobs for people engaged in pork production, pig farming education, pig feed production businesses, transport companies, and markets.

Ryan (2018) contends that pig farming is a viable system of livestock production that provides pork meat for a balanced household diet, sale, consumption, and poverty reduction. Access to formal and external markets is influential in predominant pig farming. Pig farming is no longer a source of income but a form of investment while reducing socio-financial risks, providing protein to household members and manure to crop fertiliser (Russo & Von Blottnitz, 2017). Matabane et al. (2015) remark that pig production is vital for improving the uncertainty of household food and for poverty reduction in poor countryside areas. Pig farming is particularly appealing due to the ease of rearing and the availability of materials and feed for the pigs. With the continuous government incentives for small-scale farmers, it will be safe to assume that more people will go into pig farming due to the high rate and ease of production.

### **2.2. The Constraints Of Pig Farming**

Mokoele et al. (2014) assert that nutrition and feeding are vital in animal production and health. Pigs, therefore, require a healthy and balanced feed with nutrients. This is important for their production and reproduction. According to Lapar and Staal (2010), feed amounts to 64-96% of production costs in small-scale pig farming. Due to financial constraints, Mokoele et al. (2014) claim that emerging small-scale pig farmers are prone to poverty and exposed to low-quality feeds with a potential outcome of disease spread. Krüger, Van Marle-Köster, and Theron (2017) remark that the other constraint hindering pig farming engagement is the shortage of

breeding pigs (boars). An adverse perception prevails among pig farmers in South Africa about the small-scale breeding of boars since boars are used only for breeding. This discourages farmers from keeping their pigs (Gouws, 2019). The high maintenance costs for a boar are another constraint hindering pig farming despite abundant farmland.

Matabane et al. (2018) remarked that pre-weaning mortality remains a leading constraint to pig farming and production. Numerous factors can influence deaths in pigs, “mainly during the first 48 hours after farrowing, crushing by the sow being the first cause” (Mainau, Temple, & Mantec, 2015:1). Wabacha et al. (2004) attribute 69% of pig death to overlay. Pre-weaning mortality decreases pig farming profitability. Feeding the pig energy feeds throughout farrowing lessens the time of farrowing and rates of pre-weaning mortality (Roy, Mondal, & Moktan, 2018). Disease outbreaks are pig production's biggest threat, causing economic losses. Mokoele et al. (2015) remark that the frequent outbreak of diseases is a constraint or threat to pig farming to small-scale pig farmers in view of their limited resources. Diseases affect not only the production output but also the quality of pork meat and the safety of consumers who may consume infected pork meat. Antwi and Seahlodi (2017) identified the lack of finance, poor marketing information access, lack of access to the existing high-value markets, inadequate market infrastructure and smaller herd sizes as some of the major constraints facing small-scale pig farmers in South Africa.

### **2.3. Theoretical Base of the Study**

This study is underpinned by two theoretical frameworks, the conflict theory and resource-based view theory (RBV). Firstly, conflict theory is a sociological theory that considers the apartheid past of South Africa. It looks at the societal power struggle between groups within the society over limited resources under a post-industrialised capitalist environment in which resources are the modes of production (Hayes, 2022). The conflict theory contends that society is always in conflict because of the endless competition for finite resources. This theory implies that those who own wealth and resources protect and store them, while those who do not do what they can to protect the resources. Hegde (2020) suggests that Karl Marx's social theory focused on social class conflicts. Marx explained the conflicts between the lower class and the upper class. Both theories relate to this study as unemployment and poverty are social concerns, where government and citizens are a function because the means of production still reside in the hands of a few influential people.

Secondly, the resource-based view theory propounded by Birger Wernerfelt underscores how small-scale pig farming has become a tool for unemployment alleviation in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape of South Africa (Wernerfelt, 1984). The RBV theory focuses on how firms or individuals leverage their unique resources and capabilities to achieve sustainable competitive advantage. In the context of small-scale pig farming, the RBV theory analyses how the resources available in Buffalo City, such as land, water, and community support, contribute to the success of pig farming ventures and their role in alleviating unemployment.

According to the RBV theory, sustainable competitive advantage stems from possessing valuable, rare, inimitable, and non-substitutable (VRIN) resources. In this case, the abundant land space, availability of water, and community support serve as valuable resources that enable individuals to engage in pig farming for income generation. These resources may be rare or scarce in other areas, giving pig farmers in Buffalo City a competitive advantage in the agricultural sector.

The RBV theory also emphasises the importance of organisational capabilities in effectively leveraging resources. Pig farmers in Buffalo City possess unique skills, knowledge, and networks that enable them to manage their farming operations efficiently despite constraints such as limited access to financial services or marketing barriers. By leveraging their capabilities, pig farmers in Buffalo City have overcome challenges and created sustainable livelihoods for themselves and their communities.

Similarly, the RBV theory suggests that the sustainability of competitive advantage depends on the ability of individuals or firms to renew and continuously develop their resources and capabilities over time. In the context of small-scale pig farming in Buffalo City, this involves initiatives to improve farming practices, access new markets, or adapt to changing environmental or economic conditions. Government interventions and policies that support the development of pig farming infrastructure provide access to financial resources or facilitate market access, which has also contributed to the long-term sustainability of pig farming as a tool for unemployment alleviation in Buffalo City.

Overall, the RBV theory provides a theoretical framework for understanding how the resources and capabilities available in Buffalo City contribute to the success of small-scale pig farming ventures and their role in addressing unemployment challenges. Applying the RBV lens makes

it crystal clear that specific resources, capabilities, and strategic actions of the pig farmers in Buffalo City drive the success of pig farming initiatives.

### 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to the 2016 community survey, Buffalo City in the EC has an area density of 2 750km<sup>2</sup> and a total population of 834 997. The target population was those between the ages of 15 and 64 in Buffalo City, estimated at 510 000 in the fourth quarter of 2017 by Stats SA. Unemployed individuals and existing farmers were randomly selected to better understand the relative effect of unemployment in South Africa and to provide more insight into the phenomena.



**FIGURE 1: Study Area Presenting Buffalo City (Source: Municipalities.co.za)**

This was considered because it was believed that discussing pig farming could create employment opportunities for the unemployed. Officials of the Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform were interviewed to obtain a complete representation of the problem while observing the policymakers' opinions. According to Turner (2020), sampling is a subset selection of the population of research interest. The study employed a simple random sampling technique, “in the simplest case of random sampling, each member of the population has the same chance of being included in the sample, and each sample of a particular size has the same probability of being chosen” (Welman, Kruger & Mitchellet, 2005). The total sample size for this study was 164 respondents with an 80% confidence level, 50% expected frequency and 5% acceptable margin of error. Participants were randomly selected from Mdingi, Tolofiyeni, and Masingatha. Some participants assisted in directing data collectors to other pig farmers in their respective communities.



The study used semi-structured telephonic interviews and open-ended questions to collect data. Interviews were recorded with the participant's permission and transcribed after that. The questionnaires used for primary data collection consist of open and closed-ended questions. Before administering the questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted at Langa Township, a few kilometres outside Cape Town, to test the reliability and validity of the instruments. The data collection period was from 6 January 2020 to August 2022, which was prolonged by the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. The pandemic greatly influenced telephonic data collection due to social distance regulations and the compulsory use of face masks.

The quantitative data was analysed and verified using Excel and other data analysis software. The qualitative data was analysed through a thematic approach using NVivo software.

#### **4. PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS**

This section presents the findings and discusses the results on the effects of small-scale pig farming on unemployment and poverty reduction. Additionally, it covers the constraints that may hinder people from engaging in pig farming in Buffalo City in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The city has abundant unused farmland with many unemployed youths given government efforts at securing food sufficiency at the rural level. All the tables displayed in this section contain analyses of the results of the questionnaire unless otherwise stated.

##### **4.1. The Effects of Pig Farming on Poverty Alleviation in Buffalo City, Eastern Cape**

The analysis indicates that 80% of the respondents have a secondary school certificate, which means that most are literate. To some extent, this tends to reflect the unemployment level in South Africa and impacts the poverty rate. It follows the recent rating, presenting South Africa as the most unequal nation globally, as revealed by the Gini coefficient 0.6 (STAT SA, 2019; De Vos, Obokoh, & Abiola, 2020). Given the impact of poverty on the standard of living, the respondents resorted to pig farming as a way out to change this endemic situation.

Respondents were asked how pig farming affected them. As recorded in Table 1 below, 70% responded that it provided food for their families, while 19% indicated that pig farming is their only source of income. Another 31.7% said they embarked on pig farming to get additional income to their existing jobs. This is because some pig farmers are employed full-time or part-time in other jobs but have to farm as additional work to boost their income. From the table,

11.6% indicated that they received their pigs as gifts to start pig farming, while 25.0% received funding for their pig farm.

**TABLE 1: Effects of Pig Farming on Poverty Alleviation**

<b>Purpose of farming</b>	<b>%</b>
To feed your family with the pigs you raise	70.1%
It is your only income	18.1%
To add to your other incomes	31.7%
The pigs were provided to you, or you already had pigs	11.6%
Funding was provided to farm with pigs	25.0%

The first significant response during the interviews confirms the inimical high unemployment rate in the community. Several respondents affirmed the high rate of unemployment in the community. In this regard, a respondent remarked:

“The community is impoverished, and there is a lack of job opportunities”.

According to this respondent, the poverty state of the community is appalling, and this is attained by the exhilarating rate of joblessness in the community. From their responses, it could be deduced that employment at a certain age will be difficult. A respondent remarked that, for those above 35, employment is dismal. Many pursued and considered several resources in their attempts to overcome this disheartening, impoverished state. According to the respondents, many community residents are jobless while having sufficient space around them. It was suggested that they could explore the resources for their survival. Considering their responses, several factors lead to involvement in pig farming in the communities, such as:

#### ***4.1.1. Availability of Land and Other Resources***

More than 80% of the respondents revealed that abundant land space in the community is a sufficient push and a sure instrument supporting pig farming. The availability of land space and adequate water further contributes to the success of pig farming. This was corroborated by the respondents' remarks that pig farming is feasible on land with enough space and water.

According to one of the respondents, besides the land space spurring pig farming in the community, there is abundant water and stability of power supply. This means that factors like water and power supply are major considerations in piggery and pig farming. This view contradicts Mayekoo's (2023) and Addae-Korankye's (2014) assertion that the lack of resources is part of the cause of poverty. Although the lack of farmland and power supply might hold true in some geographic locations, it might differ for other areas. This depends on the ability of the inhabitants to put the resources to proper use to combat unemployment and poverty.

Additionally, it points to similar conditions in most developing countries with abundant resources controlled by a few. This has led to significant conflicts and armed struggles in different parts of the world. It points directly to the theoretical underpinning of this study (Hayes, 2022; Hegde, 2020).

#### ***4.1.2. Affordability of Pig Farming***

Another factor that stirs people up to pursue pig farming is that pig farming is inexpensive and easy to manage and sustain. In the words of the respondents:

“It's easy to look after them; all we have to do is to feed them and ensure they have enough water”.

“Pig farming is viable in my community because we are hardly affected by drought and even by animal diseases such as swine flu. We have been only hit once or twice”.

“It is easy to farm pigs because they can almost eat anything even when you don't have feed; you can go to your neighbours and ask for leftover food and even supermarkets to ask for expired food to feed them”.

Respondents indicated they could only have pigs in their gardens and backyards, even if they could not afford larger land for large-scale pig farming. Many found it inexpensive to manage because they have farms producing mielies (maize) to feed the animals. Furthermore, they would not always need to bear extra costs to maintain their farms. This is because pigs can comfortably be fed rice, bran, broken rice, maize, soya beans, cassava, vegetables, restaurant leftovers, food waste products and distillers' residues, which are considerably inexpensive. The respondents further said they worked one hour per day for every 120 farrowings per week.

#### **4.1.3. Community Business**

Respondents confirmed that pig farming is viable in their area because it is a community business. They practised it over the years, obtaining sufficient experience in pig farming. The interest of the upcoming adults is also intensely aroused by their sight of this agelong venture in their land. A respondent remarked:

“Pig farming is valuable because people from my community love pigs, and all my life I grew up knowing people in the community farming pigs”.

This demonstrates that pig farming has been widely practised in their land as the sole source of economic sustenance. The community sometimes offer pigs and piglets as gifts instead of money. This stimulates the receiver into embarking on pig farming on a small scale. A youth knowing the benefits of pig farming, being offered pigs will cherish and nurture it. They could sell it for an income or could slaughter it for food. The economy of the land will receive a boost, as stated by the respondent.

“Because most people from my community enjoy pork meat. I don’t see anything that can stop us from farming pigs as we are not from the Muslim community whereby, we might not have been allowed to farm them”.

The above statement is consistent with Matabane et al. (2015), who remark that pig production is vital for improving household food uncertainty and poverty reduction in poor countryside areas. Pig farming is chiefly workable and achievable in the community because no religious bias exists. The community are non-Islamic. Therefore, they could proceed with raising pigs with no religious constraints. It can be concluded that the involvement of people in pig farming helps the community alleviate poverty. Therefore, pig farming has a statistically significant and positive effect on poverty alleviation in Buffalo City in the EC. This is consistent with Ryan’s (2018) assertion that pig farming is a viable system of livestock production that provides pork meat for a balanced household diet, sale, consumption, and poverty reduction.

#### 4.2 Constraints to Pig Farming Despite the Abundant Farmland in Buffalo City

**TABLE 2: Constraints That May Hinder Pig Farming Engagement**

Items	Disagree	Neutral	Agree
Lack of access to new knowledge in pig farming technologies in Buffalo City	17 (10.4%)	42 (25.6%)	105 (64%)
Buffalo City Municipality lacks disease control programmes for pigs	13 (8.0%)	13 (7.9%)	138(84.1%)
Many farmers in BC lack access to financial services	11 (6.7%)	15 (9.1%)	138 (84.2%)
Many pig farmers encounter marketing barriers, insufficient market amenities	37(22.6%)	20 (12.2%)	107 (65.2%)
The government lacks a proper policy on pig production in the national livestock development programme	18 (11%)	33 (20.1%)	113 (68.9%)

The results in Table 2 observe that 64% of respondents had inadequate access to knowledge of new pig farming technologies. This constitutes a significant barrier on the path of the farmers in raising their pigs. This is consistent with Antwi and Seahlodi (2017), who identified constraints that small-scale farmers face in pig production. It was observed that 84.1% of the respondents indicated the absence of disease control programmes in the municipality. This could lead to losses should there be an outbreak of diseases in the area. Furthermore, 84.2% of the respondents believe that several Buffalo City farmers lack access to financial services to engage in commercial pig farming. This confirms the assertion that structural inequality and lack of access to resources, poor infrastructure, low income and unemployment, and less development, amongst others, compound poverty (Mayekoo, 2023; Addae-Korankye, 2014; Francis, 2006; Hulme & Shepherd, 2003).

Most respondents (65.2%) observed that several pig farmers encounter marketing barriers, such as insufficient market amenities, loading ramps and scale pens, scarce market data, low prices, and high costs of transactions. These barriers present a great threat to marketing their products. Most (68.9%) stated that the government lacks a proper policy on pig production in the national livestock development programme. This is contrary to the study by Joyce and Pholoho (2014), which revealed prioritised policy development and support for smallholder farmers. Various

respondents strongly expressed that support from the government is the lubricant for their enthusiastic participation in pig farming. The equipment and medicine pig farmers need could sometimes be too expensive for these impoverished farmers to survive. This view is consistent with Chumika et al. (2010), who assert that proximity to facilities diminishes the impact of government support, especially for farmers. Investment in the farmers' area indirectly expands the government's revenue opportunities and development.

## **5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

This study has examined the viability of small-scale pig farming in Buffalo City in the EC and its effects on reducing unemployment. The results revealed that pig farming impacts the unemployment situation and standard of living in the province. It provides a source of income to several households who depend on pig farming for their livelihood. The collective advantage among pig farmers was the availability of space for farming activities. It was revealed that farmers engaged in pig farming as a necessity. The government plays a crucial role through its interventions for the province's sustainability of pig farming activities. Since pig farming does not need a high level of expertise for success, pigs can be reared in backyards. However, the findings did not indicate whether Buffalo City in the EC is developing and upgrading its infrastructure, such as roads, communication lines, and farming facilities. This can be a basis for guiding government departments in planning, monitoring, and service delivery in rural areas.

The government has implemented farming programmes that are not specific to pig farming. The findings can set the foundation for policy development that targets small-scale farmers, especially pig farming. The environment is highly conducive to pig farming. However, adequate support is required for it to succeed. The young or new pig farmers need financial support to set up farms. The government should provide funding for other farming activities. A future study should investigate why more residents are not involved in farming despite ample land and funding. The government should continue to play a crucial role in providing the needed environment for job creation through policy intervention. This will assist in continually addressing the province's unemployment rate and ultimately impact the national youth unemployment rate.

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