



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

**LIVING IN NYANGA: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON RESILIENCE AMONG
VIOLENCE-AFFECTED MALE YOUTH FROM A COMMUNITY IN CAPE TOWN**

Dissertation

By

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November 2022

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V. Dikeni

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to extend my sincere appreciation and gratitude to those who have made this journey possible:

- My supervisor, Professor Leon Holtzhausen for his expertise, prompt feedback, valuable guidance and patience. His ongoing support has assisted immensely in writing this dissertation.

- The University of Cape Town's Department of Social Development for allowing me the opportunity to do this research and assisting with the bursary that allowed me to complete my studies.

- The organisations and participants who participated in the study for sharing their time, information and experiences and for trusting the research process.

- My partner and family for the unfailing support through the research process. Your encouragement during the completion of this dissertation means the world to me.

- My Lord & saviour Jesus Christ, who has led the way throughout the research process and provided me with the strength to get through.

ABSTRACT

Violence is prevalent in contemporary South Africa and is considered one of the country's primary challenges. There are many reasons for the skyrocketing levels of violence, all of which can be seen at the individual, familial, and societal levels. Not many studies have considered the resilience of people in violent communities, particularly young people. This study aims to understand the resiliency factors of the youth of Nyanga who are not involved in crime and violence.

To achieve this, the objectives were to explore the perceptions of the youth of Nyanga regarding crime in their community, the impact it has on their lives, and their views on resiliency factors that have buffered them against crime and violence.

This study uses an exploratory qualitative design to delve into the resilience of youth in violent communities and learn about the various crimes committed. It identifies factors that lead youths to a life of crime and asks what keeps their peers, who do not perpetrate crime and violence, from doing the same. Furthermore, this research looks into the policies and frameworks that impact the youth.

A purposive, non-probability sampling technique was used to select the participants from two local youth organisations, the Nyanga Arts Development Centre and IkamvaYouth Nyanga. Qualitative data was gathered through individual semi-structured interviews and a thematic data analysis method was applied. To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, the relevant data verification was also done.

The findings of this study confirm that there are many resilient youths in violent communities faced with adversities. The participants were able to engage in the topic thoroughly, sharing their experiences and practical advice that ensured they stayed away from violence. Interpersonal relationships with family and role models in the community were seen as buffers against violence for many of the participants in the study, as they indicated that these support structures gave them perspective and helped them cope with life challenges.

The most important recommendation from the study is the need for resources for the community of Nyanga to help fund mentoring programmes for young boys, sporting initiatives to keep them occupied and teach them new skills, and visible community and police patrolling. Such positive inputs will help build and protect the youth and

birth resilient youth who can distinguish between what is productive and beneficial to them and others in the community, and what is not.

When aiming to understand the phenomenon of youth resilience in violent communities such as the Nyanga township, a holistic approach is of paramount importance when working with the youth. Publishing and addressing the findings and recommendations of this study will aid in promoting resilient and self-sufficient youth, which in turn helps curb the rate of violence in communities such as Nyanga.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1. Introduction

South African youth from disadvantaged communities face significant challenging social ills such as substance abuse, gangsterism, poverty, unemployment, and violence within their communities. Resilience amongst the youth in these violent communities is an increasingly important research theme which needs to be explored, as the scarcity of literature on the phenomenon leaves a gap in the knowledge regarding the ability of some to have little to no engagement in the violence perpetuated by their peers in the community.

Youth growing up in violent communities often lead lives marred by poverty, having high exposure to violence and crime, both inside and outside the home. The focus of this study is to understand the resiliency factors that youths who do not engage in such behaviour, possess (Van Breda, 2015).

As a developing country, South Africa experiences high rates of violence, often to a much greater degree in the poverty-stricken communities located on the outskirts of cities. Such populations are more vulnerable to engaging in violence and require resilience to withstand and recover from the many difficulties they face. This is essential for both individuals and the community at large to break the cycle and thrive in the face of adversity.

Youth are resilient when they can tap into their inner strength in dealing with challenges, managing adversities and healing from traumatic experiences. The ability of the youth to become resilient is also supported by their positive relationships with others (Van Breda, 2015).

To better understand resilience and encourage the factors that promote such ability and behaviour, this study focuses on understanding the behaviour of the youth and their buffer against violence in their community. In this chapter, the rationale and significance of the study are explored, and the topic, research questions, objectives and clarification of the key concepts are clearly outlined. A review of the literature is undertaken in the next chapter.

1.1 Problem statement

In this study, the researcher explores the youth's resilience in the violent community of Nyanga. Violence has become a common feature in the lives of many South Africans, according to Bradby (1996), while Leoschut (2008) also pointed to the prevalence of violence in South African societies, stating that it has become one of the primary challenges facing South Africa. Crime statistics between 2004-2005 revealed that the murder rate per 100 000 people was 40.3 (Leoschut, 2008). As in many countries, young people are at the receiving end of this escalating violence, with research showing that children and youth residing in crime-ridden communities are more susceptible to criminality and other adverse effects (Leoschut, 2008).

With exposure to violence being the norm in these communities, one in five youths have witnessed family members intentionally hurting another (Leoschut, 2008). Such exposure harms their perception of people and relationships, as children who live in homes where violence is modelled become far more likely to act likewise, compared to those not exposed to such behaviour (Leoschut, 2008). Additionally, affected youths are more susceptible to dropping out of school, low academic performance, and delinquent behaviour (Leoschut, 2008). But there are those who, though exposed to violence, do not take on the behaviour and become violent and delinquent. This begs the question: what could be their buffer? In a community rife with violence, many develop coping mechanisms in response to the threat of their safety and well-being (Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008). Of interest to this study are those who become resilient, which is defined as functioning better in one or more life domains than would be expected given their vulnerability and exposure to risk. It is also seen as the capacity to adapt successfully and function despite experiencing stress and being faced with adversity (Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008).

1.2 Rationale and significance of the study

Much has been written on violent communities, the various types of crimes committed in these communities, and possible risk factors contributing to such crimes (Leoschut, 2008; Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008; McKelvey et al., 2011). According to 2018/2019

crime stats, Nyanga is South Africa's murder capital (Cape Times, 2019), while media reports paint a picture of rampant lawlessness. In one article, Eye Witness News (2017) reported that over one weekend, 200 suspects were arrested in Nyanga over drug possession, illegal firearms, and alcohol-related offences. Eye Witness News (2018) also reported on the murders of three taxi officials at the Nyanga taxi rank, while in 2017, four people between the ages of 12-28 years were murdered in a gang-related drive-by shooting (EWN, 2017). These crimes were committed by members of the Nyanga community, and in most cases, the suspects were youths.

Because youth resilience in crime-prone communities such as Nyanga remains largely unstudied, this research will pursue factors that help create resiliency among youths facing adversity (Van Breda & Theron, 2018). Having reviewed the work of other scholars who have done similar work in the field, this study will contribute to a greater understanding of how youth in violence-prone communities keep from engaging in crime when faced with temptation and peer pressure. The findings will provide insight for youth who seek to better themselves and will inform policymakers and government departments dealing with community violence.

1.3 Research topic

The research topic is *Living in Nyanga: An Exploratory Study on Resilience Among Violence-Affected Male Youth From A Community in Cape Town.*

1.4 Research goal

The purpose of this study is to explore 'resilience' amongst youth living in communities in Cape Town with a history of violence, particularly the perceptions of the youth of Nyanga.

1.5 Research questions

According to Creswell (2009), the research questions serve to narrow and focus the purpose of a study. These questions are:

- What does it mean to be resilient against violence?
- What factors increase resilience amongst youth living in violent communities in the Western Cape?
- How do youth cope with violence in their communities? (Recommendations)

- What do you need to become more resilient in violent communities?
- What are the youth's views on resiliency factors as a safeguard against violence in their community? (Protective factor)

1.6 Research objectives

Research objectives are the steps the researcher takes to reach the desired goal (De Vos et al., 2011). Three main objectives were identified:

- To gain an understanding of the perception of the youth regarding crime in their community.
- To explore the impact crime has on the youth of Nyanga.
- To understand the youths' views on resiliency factors that have been their buffer against crime in their community.

1.7 Main assumptions

Not all youth members in violent communities become violent.

Some who have been exposed to community violence have chosen not to be involved in criminal activities.

Many youth members who grow up in violent communities join extra-curricular activities to avoid being drawn into community violence.

1.8 Clarification of terms

Violence (Community Violence) - An intentional act to degrade the basic human rights and needs of others (State University of New York Press, 2007).

Resilience - The process of adapting in the face of adversity, tragedy, trauma or threat (Burton et al., 2009).

Protective Factors - A characteristic at the biological, psychological, family, or community (including peer and cultural) level, which is associated with a lower likelihood of problem outcomes or that reduces the negative impact of a risk factor on problem outcomes (O'Connell et al., 2009).

Risk Factors - Biological, psychological, family, community, or cultural level characteristic that precedes and is associated with a higher likelihood of problem outcomes (O'Connell et al., 2009).

Youth - Persons between the ages of 15- 35 (The African Youth Charter)

Abbreviations

GBV - Gender-based Violence

FAMSA - Families South Africa

SADAG - South African Depression and Anxiety Group

SAPS - South African Police Services

1.9 Ethical considerations

In research, ethics are guidelines and procedures to guide the researcher in preventing any harm done in the research (Resnik, 2011). Researchers have two categories of ethical obligations – human and non-human (De Vos et al., 2011). Human obligations are towards those included or affected by the study, while non-human refers to the discipline of science where accurate and honest reporting of research is ensured (De Vos Et al., 2011). The researcher will consider the following ethical guidelines:

1.9.1 Informed consent

According to De Vos et al. (2011), informed consent is the voluntary agreement to participate in a study after being given all relevant information on the study, including any potential risks of participating. It is the heart of ethical conduct, ensuring proper and responsible sharing of information and a true understanding of the study and its objectives and risks (Bhutta, 2004).

Before the interviews, participants received informed consent forms explaining all the study's ethical considerations, the benefits of participating, and how the data will be used after the research is completed. Having read the informed consent form, the researcher answered the participants' questions and encouraged them to speak up if they felt uneasy or wanted to withdraw from the interview process. They were assured

that records are stored in a secure cabinet in an access-controlled work office and when disposing of the data after a period of storage, it would be done in line with recognised best practices.

1.9.2 Harm to respondents

It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure participants are not placed in harm's way (De Vos et al., 2011; Dennis, 2014). To ensure this, sensitive issues were handled discreetly, and the researcher did not press interviewees to answer or unpack anything that made them uncomfortable. In this type of research there are no foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to the participants, but emotional harm is not easy to predict. People react differently and a researcher may set a participant off, as studies have people reflecting on their experiences, some being positive and some negative. This evokes emotions and suppressed feelings (Dennis, 2014).

The researcher avoided questions that required sharing feelings or reflecting on traumatic experiences. As a precaution, the researcher also informed the participants that a debriefing session was available if necessary. Gilston (2021) maintains that debriefing is paramount in studies that involve human participants, as per the code of ethics. The process of debriefing involves a reflective conversation between the researcher and participant following data collection (Gilston, 2021).

If the need for further intervention was identified, the participant would be referred to Families South Africa (FAMSA) and the South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG). SADAG is Africa's largest mental health support group, providing free telephonic counselling (South African Depression and Anxiety Group, 2021).

1.9.3 Deception of respondents

De Vos et al. (2011) refers to deception as misleading respondents by misrepresenting and omitting facts. To avoid deception, the researcher disclosed and explained all relevant information to the participants, acting in their best interest.

1.9.4 Confidentiality and privacy

De Vos et al. (2011) emphasise the researcher's responsibility to protect the identifying details of the research participants and the information they share. Transcribed data

was anonymised and stored in a safe place with strict access control. The researcher took a sensitive approach to the interview process, handling all data as confidential information as this is considered privileged information. The researcher changed the identifiable characteristics of the participants, thereby maintaining the confidentiality of the data provided.

The Protection of Personal Information Act of 2013 (POPI) is the legislation governing privacy and data protection. In terms of research, it requires that any identifying information gathered must be stored in a secure, private and access-controlled area where third parties will not have access to it (Adams et al., 2021). Data that is not kept private and secure poses a risk for the participants, including a loss of privacy and unconsented identification, risk of stigma, discrimination and trauma (Adams et al., 2021). As such, all data related to this study is stored in a safe, passcode-protected cabinet that only the researcher, the university supervisor and the external examiner have access to. The data stored on the researcher's personal laptop is kept private and secure via a password-protected file.

To ensure anonymity, the researcher used pseudonyms for the participants and the research location. No other identifying information is used in the research except for the documentation containing the raw data, which only the researcher can access.

1.9.5 Actions and competence of the researcher

The researcher conducted the research respectfully and professionally, preparing for the interviews well in advance to conduct the interviews effectively.

1.9.6 Publication of findings

When releasing the findings, the researcher generalised the findings to maintain anonymity, ensuring that the published results represented the majority. The participants were informed how their data would be used before and after data collection, having signed a consent form whereby they permitted the researcher to use the same. It is stressed that the data gathered is for academic purposes only and that all data is processed and stored in line with established university protocols.

The research report is available to the community of Nyanga and at the Nyanga library, the report is also accessible online via UCT Open-Access platforms.

1.10 Structure of the research report

The structure of this report is outlined below.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This chapter introduces the research, clarifies concepts used in the research and explains how the researcher went about the study and provides the rationale for the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the literature review, theoretical models used, and the policies and legislation pertaining to the research topic.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter speaks on the methods used in the study and their applicability. It also presents the methods followed to get the data collected and the manner and process the researcher used to conduct the interviews.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This chapter provides the findings of the study after collecting and unpacking the data in categories before being analysed using Tesch's model.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter concludes the research by providing feasible recommendations to various stakeholders.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the intended research through the researcher's lens, including the aim of the study and the ethical considerations that apply when working with the research participants.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

It is important to understand that young people are shaped within the broader social context in which they grow up. Their behaviour is influenced by experiences of their families, neighbourhoods and schools. Practitioners who understand how these influences help to build resiliency in young people are more likely to successfully intervene to reduce and prevent community violence and improve the lives of young people.

Resiliency factors are traits that support the healthy development of individuals, families, schools, and communities and help build capacity for positive relationships and interactions. Protective and supportive influences exist at the individual, family, school, and community levels. This research aims to understand these factors, which help young people resist the pull of violence and crime.

This chapter provides context to the study while acknowledging, understanding, and presenting the existing literature dealing with the phenomenon of youth resiliency in violent communities.

2.2 Review of literature

According to Randolph (2009), the purpose of a literature review is to present existing knowledge on the research phenomenon and gain insight into what others in the field have observed and recorded. A literature review also helps formulate the research problem, identify the gap in research, and make recommendations for future research.

Nyanga Community

Nyanga is one of Cape Town's oldest townships after Langa, which came about through housing migrant workers (Edelstein et al., 2020). The development of Nyanga dates to 1946 and areas within Nyanga are Mau-Mau, Zwelitsha, Newlands and White City (Sikwebu, 1984). Nyanga is located 26 kilometres from the city centre and close to Cape Town International Airport. In 2011, Nyanga had a population of 57 996 people, and the number of households totalled 15 993 (Edelstein et al., 2020). Between 2006 and 2018, Nyanga recorded 3 236 murders and 6 136 aggravated

robberies, making it evident that the Nyanga community has an extremely violent nature (Edelstein et al., 2020).

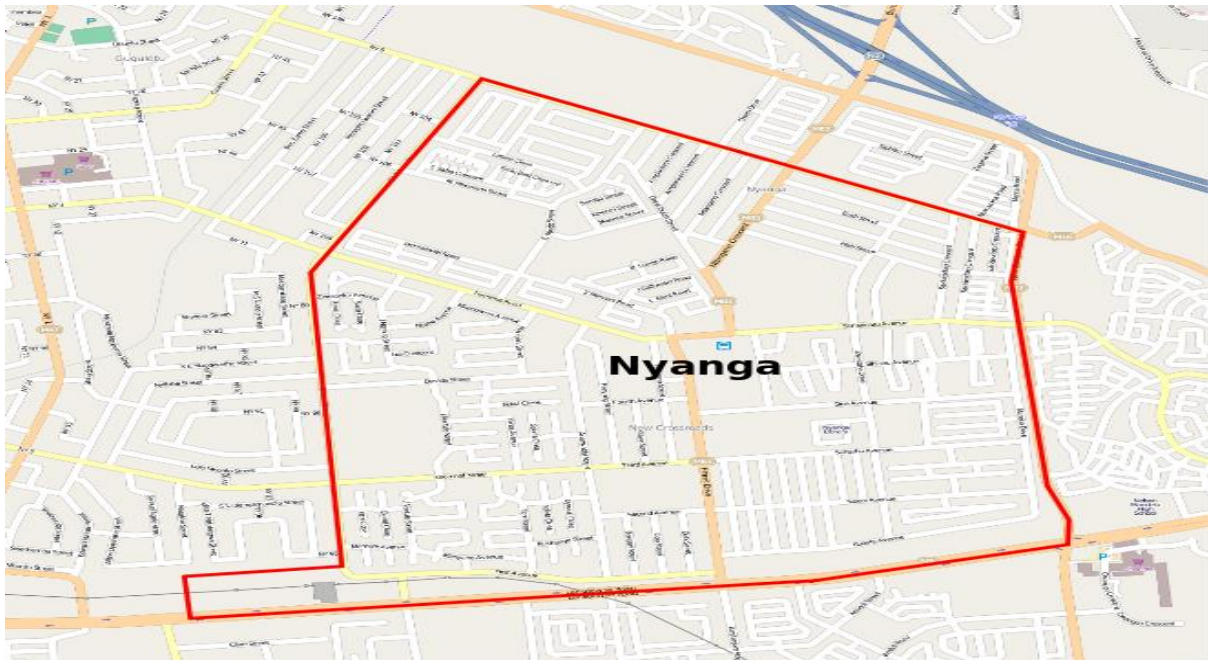


Figure 1: Illustration of Nyanga community in Cape Town.

As illustrated in figure 1, Nyanga is a big community on the outskirts of Cape Town. Nyanga has three fields where the residents play soccer, rugby and netball. In addition to the sporting facilities, the community has a recreational art centre called Zolani Community Centre, where they host pageants, contests, meetings, dancing, karate and film shows (Sikwebu, 1984). These activities have dwindled over the years because of increasing crime and gang fights (Sikwebu, 1984).

According to Sompeta (2017), in the early 1980s, Nyanga became known for its black-on-black violence many believe was secretly instigated by the local police. At the time, the community was less integrated, and people grouped themselves according to their different ethnic backgrounds and cultures, a fact that the police used to stir up violence for political ends. These divisions gave rise to the notoriously violent gang called “the witdoeke” (the white headscarves) (Sompeta, 2017). In response to the violence in the community, the Tambo Square Centre was established, while the youth started targeting shebeens, destroying them with petrol bombs and stones and forcing the establishments to close down (Sompeta, 2017).

Nyanga is not only a violent community but a poverty-stricken one. A 2005 study focussing on urban poverty in the townships of Khayelitsha and Nyanga revealed that more than half of households (52%) reported not having any income and almost two-thirds (64%) of the adults in the community were unemployed (De Swardt et al., 2005). In the 2011 Census, it was revealed that 55% of Nyanga's population between the ages of 15 and 64 were employed (City of Cape Town Census, 2011-2013).

With regard to crime and violence, Persens (2021), reporting for Eye Witness News (EWN), wrote an article on taxi violence in Nyanga where two taxi owners were killed three months after five others had been shot and killed due to the taxi violence. During the spate of taxi violence, the Golden Arrow bus service was also affected, as Nyanga taxi drivers burned buses and consequently halted transport in the township. Ludidi (2021) laments the violence in a Weekend Argus article, indicating that robbery in Nyanga was at an all-time high. It reported that a 37-year-old man was shot and killed for his home contents when his home was broken into. In response, the outraged community called for more visible policing.

Violence

RSA: APRIL TO MARCH 2019_20												
CRIME CATEGORY	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017	2017/2018	2018/2019	2019/2020	Case Diff	% Change
CONTACT CRIMES (CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)												
Murder	15 893	15 554	16 213	17 023	17 805	18 673	19 016	20 336	21 022	21 325	303	1.4%
Sexual Offences	64 921	60 539	60 888	56 680	53 617	51 895	49 660	50 108	52 420	53 293	873	1.7%
Attempted murder	15 360	14 730	16 236	16 989	17 537	18 127	18 205	18 233	18 980	18 635	-345	-1.8%
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	197 470	191 612	185 050	182 333	182 556	182 933	170 616	167 352	170 979	166 720	-4 259	-2.5%
Common assault	184 103	180 165	171 653	166 081	161 486	164 958	156 450	156 243	162 012	165 494	3 482	2.1%
Common robbery	54 442	52 566	53 196	53 505	54 927	54 110	53 418	50 730	51 765	51 825	60	0.1%
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	101 039	100 769	105 488	118 963	129 045	132 527	140 956	138 364	140 032	143 990	3 958	2.8%
Total Contact Crimes (Crimes Against The Person)	633 228	615 935	608 724	611 574	616 973	623 223	608 321	601 366	617 210	621 282	4 072	0.7%
Total Sexual Offences												
Rape	48 158	47 069	48 408	45 349	43 195	41 503	39 828	40 035	41 583	42 289	706	1.7%
Sexual Assault	7 006	7 194	6 967	6 597	6 087	6 212	6 271	6 786	7 437	7 749	312	4.2%
Attempted Sexual Offences	3 599	3 535	3 293	2 913	2 641	2 573	2 073	2 066	2 146	2 076	-70	-3.3%
Contact Sexual Offences	6 158	2 741	2 220	1 821	1 694	1 607	1 488	1 221	1 254	1 179	-75	-6.0%
Total Sexual Offences	64 921	60 539	60 888	56 680	53 617	51 895	49 660	50 108	52 420	53 293	873	1.7%
SOME SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY												
Carjacking	10 541	9 417	9 931	11 180	12 773	14 602	16 717	16 325	16 026	18 162	2 136	13.3%
Robbery at residential premises	16 889	16 766	17 950	19 284	20 281	20 820	22 343	22 261	22 431	21 130	-1 301	-5.8%
Robbery at non-residential premises	14 637	15 912	16 343	18 573	19 170	19 698	20 680	20 047	19 991	20 651	660	3.3%
Robbery of cash in transit	290	182	145	145	119	137	152	238	183	164	-19	-10.4%
Bank robbery	39	35	7	21	17	6	3	13	4	0	-4	-100.0%
Truck hijacking	999	821	943	991	1 279	1 184	1 183	1 202	1 182	1 202	20	1.7%

Figure 2: Illustration of crime statistics in South Africa for March 2019 - April 2020.

As defined by the World Health Organisation, violence is the intentional use of force or power, threatening or actual, against self, another person or a group or community which results in injury, death, emotional harm, psychological harm or maldevelopment (Krug et al., 2002).

In South Africa, violence is viewed as a pandemic that takes many forms, such as physical violence where force is used to cause harm or limit others' self-determination. Van Soest and Bryant defined it as an injury to another through direct attack on a person (1995). It includes the scourge of sexual violence. Verbal abuse is when one uses written or verbal language to cause harm to another person and psychological violence occurs when a person uses threat or fear to control another person (Krug, 2002).

South Africa has the unenviable reputation of having one of the highest rates of gender-based and gang-related violence, as well as homicide. The youth are particularly vulnerable to the effects of violent crime, as those aged 12-22 years are more likely to be victims (Holtzhausen, 2016). It is estimated that half of the annual violence and transport-related deaths (59 935) in South Africa are due to interpersonal violence (Holtzhausen, 2016). Youth between the ages of 10-29 years account for 48% of all violent deaths in South Africa with rates being particularly high in Cape Town's underprivileged communities, of which Nyanga is a part (Holtzhausen, 2016). Figure 2 shows that, according to South African Police Services (SAPS) statistics for the period April 2019 to March 2020, crime in South Africa is on the rise. Murder rose by 1.8% between 2018/2019 and 2019/2020, where 21 022 murder cases were opened in 2018/2019 versus 21 325 the following year. Contact crimes such as assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm remained alarmingly high. Communities like Nyanga face many challenges, with youths continually facing threats and high levels of danger they must navigate and adapt to (Holtzhausen, 2016).

Community Violence

Position	Station	Province	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017	2017/2018	2018/2019	2019/2020	Case Diff	% Chang
1	CAPE TOWN CENTRAL	WESTERN CAPE	14 596	14 759	15 775	15 575	15 191	14 754	15 952	15 422	13 747	12 801	-946	-6,9%
2	MITCHELLS PLAIN	WESTERN CAPE	19 668	20 967	20 073	17 664	14 966	14 258	12 894	11 382	11 374	10 811	-563	-4,9%
3	JHB CENTRAL	GAUTENG	15 801	14 251	12 961	12 842	13 641	12 912	13 044	12 221	12 199	10 639	-1 560	-12,8%
4	HONEYDEW	GAUTENG	11 710	10 885	11 472	11 427	11 721	11 127	10 965	10 506	9 981	10 214	233	2,3%
5	PARK ROAD	FREE STATE	12 160	11 630	13 703	13 214	11 925	10 296	9 870	9 611	10 664	9 688	-976	-9,2%
6	DURBAN CENTRAL	KWAZULU-NATAL	12 328	11 887	12 142	11 772	10 641	10 854	10 945	10 146	9 798	9 164	-634	-6,5%
7	WITBANK	MPUMALANGA	9 090	9 917	9 449	9 721	9 867	9 285	9 343	9 034	8 916	8 288	-628	-7,0%
8	PRETORIA CENTRAL	GAUTENG	11 840	10 330	9 902	10 237	9 793	9 033	9 108	8 796	8 941	7 866	-1 075	-12,0%
9	HILLBROW	GAUTENG	11 401	10 709	9 264	9 043	9 277	9 704	9 522	8 663	8 252	7 558	-694	-8,4%
10	SANDTON	GAUTENG	9 722	8 124	8 095	8 350	9 658	8 617	8 368	7 616	7 181	7 483	302	4,2%
11	RUSTENBURG	NORTH WEST	10 056	10 453	11 228	9 602	9 252	9 126	8 766	8 332	7 124	7 286	162	2,3%
12	PINETOWN	KWAZULU-NATAL	8 741	8 398	9 565	8 414	8 365	8 342	8 451	7 473	7 208	7 245	37	0,5%
13	DELFT	WESTERN CAPE	4 162	4 402	4 502	4 654	5 168	5 286	5 360	6 380	6 920	7 210	290	4,2%
14	BROOKLYN	GAUTENG	9 018	7 862	8 630	8 450	7 212	7 222	7 409	6 833	6 608	7 127	519	7,9%
15	PHOENIX	KWAZULU-NATAL	8 838	9 092	9 399	9 026	8 779	8 048	7 102	6 622	6 285	7 099	814	13,0%
16	DOBSONVILLE	GAUTENG	5 240	4 820	4 991	5 181	6 004	6 495	6 550	6 709	7 009	7 066	57	0,8%
17	SUNNYSIDE	GAUTENG	9 302	8 296	8 131	8 406	8 493	7 754	7 657	7 477	7 833	7 044	-789	-10,1%
18	KIMBERLEY	NORTHERN CAPE	7 037	6 346	6 356	7 254	6 652	6 378	7 025	6 378	6 977	6 939	-38	-0,5%
19	MIDRAND	GAUTENG	7 344	6 832	6 690	7 278	6 995	7 026	8 097	7 418	6 905	6 872	-33	-0,5%
20	STELLENBOSCH	WESTERN CAPE	7 539	7 105	7 811	8 138	7 903	9 503	9 298	8 119	6 959	6 830	-129	-1,9%
21	TEMBISA	GAUTENG	6 678	6 444	6 641	6 659	5 526	5 583	5 154	5 818	5 679	6 715	1 036	18,2%
22	KRAAIFONTEIN	WESTERN CAPE	6 461	7 214	7 069	7 759	7 784	8 035	7 946	7 745	6 603	6 564	-1 039	-13,7%
23	WORCESTER	WESTERN CAPE	8 245	9 358	9 171	9 253	9 665	8 924	8 098	7 144	6 379	6 470	91	1,4%
24	PLESSISLAER	KWAZULU-NATAL	5 838	5 772	5 618	5 655	5 580	6 293	6 050	6 503	6 436	6 460	24	0,4%
25	EAST LONDON	EASTERN CAPE	7 878	7 903	6 683	6 819	5 639	5 404	5 658	6 241	6 435	6 428	-7	-0,1%
26	MFULENI	WESTERN CAPE	4 357	4 435	4 885	5 512	5 742	5 988	5 632	6 006	6 412	6 308	-104	-1,6%
27	RANDFONTEIN	GAUTENG	6 729	6 317	6 305	6 427	6 233	6 482	6 818	6 744	6 555	6 293	-262	-4,0%
28	TEMBA	GAUTENG	8 149	8 516	7 812	7 870	7 640	7 419	6 975	6 267	6 202	6 259	57	0,9%
29	AKASIA	GAUTENG	6 901	6 885	6 920	7 195	6 451	6 051	6 185	5 871	6 497	6 206	-291	-4,5%
30	KEMPTON PARK	GAUTENG	7 561	7 215	7 130	7 038	6 940	6 918	7 014	6 818	6 900	6 117	-783	-11,3%

Figure 3: Illustration of 17 community reported serious crimes: Top 30 stations.

The levels of violence in South African communities are irrefutably one of the highest in the world (Leoschut, 2008). Community violence refers to all forms of violence such as direct victimisation and witnessing of violence in the areas where people live (Saigh, 1991; Cooley-Strickland et al., 2009). According to Leoschut (2008), community violence often represents an underlying issue in many South African homes already suffering from adversities such as unemployment, poverty, lack of basic services, and adequate housing.

These stats show that home burglary, possession of illegal firearms, car hijackings and common robbery all increased between 2018/2019 and 2019/2020. Over 1 919 495 counts of serious crimes were reported in the 2019/2020 financial year, with the Western Cape having the second-highest figures after the Gauteng province. As depicted in Figure 3, Cape Town Central and Mitchells Plain stations reported the highest number of serious crimes in South Africa.

Leoschut (2008) explains that many scholars describe South African society as very violent and that young people are continuously exposed to community violence perpetuated against their family members, friends and neighbours (Leoschut, 2008). Although violence is a national phenomenon, over 80% of youth in violent communities have witnessed community violence and over 70% have been victims of violence (Cooley-Strickland et al., 2009). When role models in these communities are continuously modelling violent and aggressive behaviour, youths are not exposed to other ways of dealing with conflict and can ultimately become perpetrators themselves (Leoschut, 2008).

The risk of exposure to community violence includes physical harm or even death, and can disrupt the psychosocial functioning of anyone exposed, including psychological problems and developmental delays (Voisin, 2007). Youth who have observed violence in their homes and communities tend to be from poor areas with high crime rates. They tend to feel that they have no place to seek refuge, heightening their susceptibility to becoming victims or offenders (Leoschut, 2008). This is often worsened by the lack of social and recreational opportunities that characterise many contemporary South African communities (Leoschut, 2008).

The provision of such services would support youth empowerment and help break the cycle of violence, preventing youths from becoming the victims or perpetrators of crime (Leoschut, 2008).

Gangsterism

Gang violence involves a suspect or victim who is a member of a gang, or the incident involves a gang activity such as territoriality, recruitment or retaliation (Brantingham et al., 2012). In 2020, Nyanga experienced a surge in shootings, and most were gang-related. Writing in the Cape Argus, Mlamla (2020) reported on gangsters who unleashed a reign of terror in the community as a result of vigilantism caused by ongoing tension between gangs. What brings people together to form gangs is the need for a sense of belonging and common experience within a particular geographic space. Youth join gangs for status in the community, income from dealing in substances, protection fee extortion from Spaza shops, and protection from other gangs.

Resilience

Antisocial behaviour amongst the male youth is viewed as an effect of a range of factors mainly the social and environmental context in which they reside in. Data which is less explored are the reasons some youth remain resilient to crime despite being exposed to social ills in their communities.

The term resilience is defined by some scholars as competencies or capacities, or as positive functioning when faced with adversity (Van Breda, 2018). Burton et al. (2009) state that resilience is the process of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances. Furthermore, resilience is also known as protective factors (or characteristics) that counter risk factors (Burton et al., 2009).

Factors that foster resilience against violence

Resilience factors play a role in reducing the potential to participate in certain behaviours, providing a safeguard between exposure to risk factors and the start of criminal involvement (Burton et al., 2009). Resilience factors can be categorised as individual, home, school, or community factors, as well as extra-familial relationships (Burton et al., 2009).

Individual Factors

Individual factors include having a sense of purpose, personal belief in a positive future, the ability to act independently, problem-solving skills, self-efficacy, resourcefulness and a feeling of control over your environment (Burton et al., 2009).

Research has shown that developing relationships with caring adults protect at-risk youths against becoming involved in violence. Home or familial factors include supportive relationships, clear boundaries, family rules, monitoring, family members emphasizing the importance of school, family cohesion, and parents who offer affection (Burton et al., 2009). Those with physically present parents in the home are less likely to engage in violent behaviour, showing that involvement and support from the family system has a positive outcome as it contributes to the individual's resiliency (McWhirter and McWhirter, 2014). The recent National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health found that young people's sense of connection to their parents and

other family members was the most consistent protective factor across all the health outcomes.

School and Community Factors

Youth who feel they are engaged in their school, are treated fairly, and have positive teacher influences are less inclined to engage in violent behaviour or drug and alcohol abuse and are less likely to experience suicidal thoughts (Burton et al., 2009). Students whose parents express high expectations for their academic performance in school are less likely to engage in violent behaviour, which also builds on their self-efficacy and esteem.

Community factors that strengthen resilience are strong community infrastructure, opportunity for youth participation in activities, decision-making power and shared responsibility (Burton et al., 2009). Creating opportunities to participate and contribute would include involving learners in decisions and policymaking, which is key to helping create an inclusive, respectful and safe school environment (Burton et al., 2009). The same researchers also state that participation in community networks, school organisations, and religious and neighbourhood associations help youth develop strong formal and informal ties with adults and increases their sense of connection and self-efficacy (Burton et al., 2009).

When students are offered opportunities to acquire skills and engage in social activities, their communication, analytical and problem-solving skills improve. In addition, they demonstrate enhanced leadership and autonomous decision-making and are more likely to reach academic goals such as graduating from school. Such factors all help protect against involvement in violent activities (Burton et al., 2009).

2.3 Theoretical framework

Resilience theory

Carlson et al. (2012) define resilience as the ability to adapt to changing conditions and withstand and rapidly recover from disruption due to emergencies. This view is supported by Masten (2018), who defines resilience as the capacity of a system to adapt successfully to significant challenges that threaten its function, viability, or development. Research on human resilience emerged around 1970 following years of

observation, research and practice concerning the impact of trauma and stress on the functioning and development of individuals and families (Masten, 2018). The resilience theory stems from research on adversity and how adverse life experiences negatively impact people. It is therefore seen as pathogenic, as it focuses on the breakdown in social functioning (Van Breda, 2018). Resilience theory is the study of what adversity and its outcomes mean, and the scope and nature of the resilience process (Van Breda, 2018).

When looking at individual resilience, one has to bear in mind that people exist and interact within a social context, not in isolation. In the case of this study, the context is a community managing to survive despite being plagued by violent crime (Magis, 2020). Moore (2021) and Magis (2020) define community resilience as the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise. The resilience theory was used to frame the study and inform the formulation of the interview questions, as the researcher sought responses that would confirm or contradict what the resilience theory scholars have asserted.

Athens' Violentization Theory

Violentization theory is the belief that people become who they are as a result of a series of social experiences and processes, not necessarily due to poverty, psychopathology or genetic inheritance (Athens, 2015).

Lonnie Athens describes the four stages one goes through in becoming violent as brutalization, defiance, violent dominance and virulency.

Brutalization involves three distinct experiences; violent subjugation, where violence is used in the home to discipline, harm and control the child; personal horrification is where the child witnesses a loved one undergo violent suppression; and violent coaching, where the child is taught to fight against others (Holtzhausen, 2016). In summary, this stage involves teaching and demonstrating violent behaviour.

Defiance, or belligerence, is where people resort to and justify violence in a desperate attempt to find a solution for the violent treatment experienced during brutalization. Such justification of the use of violence then marks the birth of a violent person, who

is highly likely to become a violent community member, though this is not inevitable (Athens, 2015).

Violent dominance is the stage of the violentization process where the individual tests their power and transition from threatening to the actual use of violence (Athens, 2015). Before progressing to the virulency stage, the violent person achieves several triumphs over opponents (Athens, 2015).

Virulency unfolds in three stages. Violent notoriety is the general or public recognition of a person's aggressive character and propensity for violence. This leads to social trepidation, which is the stirring of nervous or fearful feelings people have when encountering the violent individual, leaving them agitated and apprehensive. Malevolence is the point where subordinates embrace the violent person and would even kill for them (Athens, 2015). At this point, there is a willingness to use violence with little or no provocation. The person perceives themselves as a dangerous and violent person and is also viewed in that light (Athens, 2015).

This theory supports the views and experiences of the participants through the data collected, as it shows that the youth of Nyanga believe people are the way they are as a result of their social experiences and traumas.

Social learning theory

Cochran et al. (2017) refer to Aker's social learning theory as a principal theory of criminal behaviour used to understand deviance and criminality. Armstrong (2014) states that the social learning theory explains how behaviour can be acquired by mere observation, while Aker explains that deviant behaviour can spread through secondary learning by modelling and imitation. The deviant behaviour will persist if it is reinforced in the social environment, as young children are primed to learn via modelling (Cochran et al., 2017).

The social learning theory helps to understand the youth and their affiliation with gangs and criminal activities, particularly how it gains momentum with the recruitment of children at a tender age by providing gratification and satisfaction coupled with material gain (Ndabandaba, 1987). Burdick (2014) concurs that behaviours are learned through daily interactions with various socializing agents that influence an individual's identity, social relationships and abilities. The high rate of unemployed plays a part, as

the youth want to support their families but are not finding employment. This pressures many into getting involved in crime. Burdick (2014) mentions four basic components of social learning: imitation, definitions, differential associations and differential reinforcements.

2.4 Policy and legislation

International legislation

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Article 19 of the CRC requires all signatories, including South Africa, to “take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures” to protect children from all forms of physical and mental violence. In endorsing the CRC, South Africa has committed itself to ensure the safety and well-being of all children in their communities by upholding their right to a life free of violence (Leonschut, 2008).

Domestic legislation

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996)

Section 28 of the Bill of Rights in our Constitution states that every child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter, healthcare and social services, as well as the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation (Dutschke & Monson, 2008). In violent communities, it is difficult to safeguard these rights as government does not adequately address the criminality that infringes on them, which in turn frustrates the community and results in strikes, gang-on-gang violence and other crimes.

National Youth Policy 2009-2014 (NYP)

This policy aims to develop opportunities for all young men and women in South Africa, though certain priority groups have been identified due to specific difficulties they face (NYP 2014). This policy identifies youth at risk, including those faced with the disintegration of supportive communities, the involvement of youth in high-risk activities such as alcohol and substance abuse, and participation in criminal activities (NYP 2014). In order to get the youth occupied in productive pursuits, it is of paramount

importance to equip them with skills and formal training that will help improve their lives and communities.

National Youth Policy 2015-2020

Some of the obstacles to having more young people involved in the mainstream economy include poverty, unemployment, and inequality (NYP 2020). Point 6.1 of this policy speaks to youth unemployment and joblessness, stating that the youth unemployment rate is high despite the country's continued economic growth over the years (NYP 2020). If this is not addressed, it will continue to have a ripple effect on the country's crime rate. This is very evident in the community of Nyanga.

2.5 Conclusion

Much has been written about the role of young people in community violence. However, not much has been published on the resiliency aspect of the youths in these communities. The researcher hopes to contribute valuable new insights and knowledge on the topic.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3. Introduction

This chapter explains the data collection process to explore the youth of Nyanga's resiliency to adversities in the violent community. It also discusses the research methodology used in the study and outlines the research design, the population and sampling, the approach to data collection, the instrument, and data recording.

3.1 Research design

Green and Thorogood (2009) describe research design as the overall technique specifying how a study will be piloted and analysed. The research design for this study is the exploratory qualitative design. According to Fossey (2002) and Creswell (2009) qualitative research is explained as being used to describe, understand and explore individuals' perceptions on a social phenomenon. There the most applicable design in accordance with the qualitative research approach is the exploratory and descriptive design.

The main objective of a research design is to ensure that the findings obtained help the researcher address the research problem effectively and unambiguously. The research paradigm identified as the most appropriate design for this study is a qualitative paradigm, as it allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. It gives the researcher insight into the youths' perception of crime in their community and the buffers that protect them from negative influences. Hutter and Bailey (2020) clarify that the use of qualitative paradigms allows the researcher to identify and understand issues from the perspective of the research participants.

The researcher did not use quantitative or mixed methods designs as this works with quantifiable data and variables. For this study, the researcher sought rich data, making an explorative qualitative design the most suited choice.

3.2 Population and sampling

De Vos et al. (2011) define a study population as the set of individuals from which information is gathered to achieve the aim of the study. This study selected 20 young people from the Nyanga community in Cape Town who are not involved in any criminal

activities. This is significant, as the Nyanga community has one of the highest crime rates, not just in the Western Cape, but South Africa as a whole.

Alpaslan (2010) describes a sample as the subgroup of the greater research population, as do De Vos et al. (2011). Using sampling, a small group can accurately represent the larger population as there are many shared experiences within a particular environment. As such, a selection of individuals can provide insight on behalf of a larger group (De Vos., 2011).

Sampling technique

Non-probability or purposive sampling is a non-random technique where the researcher selects specific participants who can provide insight or knowledge by virtue of experience (Babbie, 2013; Etikan et al., 2016). There are three types of non-probability sampling groups – quota sampling, haphazard sampling, and purposive sampling. The research will use a purposive sampling technique as it interprets how the researcher wants to conduct the sampling process and is based on the researcher's knowledge, understanding and judgment of the population selected (De Vos et al., 2011).

Etikan et al. (2016) describe purposive sampling, also known as judgement sampling, as the deliberate selection of participants based on specific criteria. It involves selecting participants who are well-informed on the phenomenon of interest, also noting the importance of willingness to partake in the study and the ability to articulate experiences effectively (Etikan et al., 2016). Acharya et al. (2013) assert that when conducting a study, it is not feasible to study the entire population, therefore a sufficiently large subset of the population is selected.

Sampling characteristics

Fossey et al. (2002) explain that qualitative research uses a small sample size because the information is rich and therefore does not necessitate a big sample.

Participants had to be males, born and currently residing in Nyanga. The researcher knew that lifelong residents would provide more comprehensive, insightful information than those who moved there later in life. The reason for excluding females is that young

males are more exposed to violence in communities and perpetrators of violence are predominately male. This is echoed by Scorgie et al. (2017), who state that violence is experienced differently by boys and girls as environmental exposure varies between the two sexes. Their study highlighted that more restrictions are placed on girls, and their activities and behaviour are monitored more closely than boys, who are allowed greater freedom. This view is lamented by (Fagan and Wright, 2012) who states that girls spend more time supervised at home while boys are unsupervised outside, leaving them more prone to social factors.

Twenty youth participants were purposively selected for inclusion in this study. According to the National Youth Policy of South Africa (2015), a youth is someone aged between 18-35 years. The participants were drawn from two community youth centres; half from the Nyanga Arts Development Centre Organization and half from the Ikamva Youth Non-Government Organization (NGO). All have been exposed to crime in the community but are not involved in it.

Sampling procedure

The researcher accessed the research site by writing a letter to the Nyanga Old Location Community Leader (Appendix A) requesting permission to enter the Nyanga community, this was then followed up by telephonic communication to further explain the intent of the research and its expectations.

After permission was granted, the community leader acted as a link between the researcher and the two youth centres, where ten participants were sourced from each. The researcher met with the prospective participants, giving them an overview of the study and sharing the qualifying criteria. Once identified, the researcher provided a letter (Appendix B) formally explaining what the research is about and what would be expected of them and requesting their agreement to participate by signing a consent form (Appendix C). When less than 20 participants from the initial sample population consented to take part, the researcher asked the participants if they could recommend other people who fit the criteria, which were:

- Youth 18–35-year-old

- Born and currently residing in Nyanga
- Male
- Not involved in criminal activities
- They are exposed to and are aware of crime in the community

Due to Covid-19, the researcher told the participants that they had the option of face-to-face individual interviews or WhatsApp voice notes. In adhering to the Covid-19 protocols the researcher wore a mask at all times, sanitized hands regularly and sat 1.5 meters away from the participant.

3.3 Data collection

Data collection is outlined as the technique used to gather information relevant to a particular study (Maxwell, 2018). The data collection method used in this study is individual, face-to-face semi structured interviews. Referring to data collection methods, De Vos et al. (2011) defines semi-structured interviews as organised interviews with a particular focus, yet they are flexible. This data collection method ensures anonymity and enables participants to express their actual experiences with questions being used merely as a guideline.

3.4 Data analysis

Grinell and Unrau (2010) define coding as grouping applicable information into diverse subjects. Data analysis is the process of organising and understanding the data collected (De Vos et al., 2011). With this qualitative data, this was accomplished through Tesch's model of data analysis (Creswell, 2009):

- The researcher went through the transcribed data and made notes on themes that came to mind.
- The researcher went through one transcript and highlighted emerging topics.
- The researcher did this for several participants and made a list of all the topics that came up. The researcher grouped similar topics and labelled them as either common, unique, or other.
- The researcher abbreviated the topics from the list above as codes and wrote the codes next to the data section.

- The researcher changed the wording for the topics, changed them into categories, and grouped those that were related.
- The researcher coded the themes and sorted them in order.
- The researcher assembled the data content belonging to each theme.
- The researcher re-coded the existing data.

3.5 Data verification

Data verification is the process of checking the accuracy of the findings from all the data gathered, using certain procedures (Creswell, 2009).

Credibility

De Vos (2006) describes credibility as showing that data collection and analysis accurately identified and defined the research topic, while Anney (2014) describes it as the truthfulness of the findings. De Vos (2006) explains that establishing credibility is paramount to see if the participants' views are accurately and include all the intricacies of the research topic.

The researcher ensured credibility by audio-recording all the interviews while collecting data and transcribing the interviews verbatim, ensuring that the participants' input was precise.

Transferability

Transferability is the extent to which the findings of a study can be transferred to a similar context and population (Anney, 2014). This is done through purposeful sampling and detailed descriptions that allow the researcher to see the fit of the study in other contexts. It includes clarifying the research, from the study context and data collection through to the production of the final report. The thoroughness assists other researchers in duplicating the study within a similar context and with a similar population group. The researcher ensured transferability by being explicit and thorough in the detail and descriptions of the study.

Dependability

Dependability is the process where the researcher speaks of changing conditions in the phenomenon and the design, which are created by an increasingly refined

understanding of the setting (Anney, 2014). The researcher used the code-recode strategy, which meant coding the research twice with a week-long interval between the first and second coding sessions.

3.6 Limitations of the study

Price & Murnan (2004) define limitations as challenges encountered during the study, these are also characteristics of the research which affect the interpretation of the findings from the research.

3.7 Reflexivity

Researcher reflexivity refers to how personal perception and interests could have an influence on the qualitative research process (Anney, 2014). To eliminate bias, the researcher journaled the process and the events that took place in the field while collecting data and did a personal reflection on the events.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research design, the population and sampling, and how data was collected and analysed.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings. The researcher used Tesch's model for analysing the data collected from the participants. Data analysis is the process of unpacking and sorting data into categories, themes and subthemes (Leedy, 1997).

This study set out to investigate resilience amongst youth living in violent communities in Cape Town, particularly by exploring the perceptions of Nyanga's youth. This study set out the following research questions which were answered in this study:

- What does it mean to be resilient against violence?
- What factors increase resilience amongst youth living in violent communities in the Western Cape?
- How do youth cope with violence in their communities?
- What do you need to become more resilient in violent communities?
- What are the youth's views on resiliency factors as a safeguard against violence in their community?

To answer the main research questions, the below objectives were set out:

- To gain an understanding of the perception of the youth regarding crime in their community.
- To explore the impact crime has on the youth of Nyanga.
- To understand the youths' view on resiliency factors that have been their buffer against crime in their community.

4.2 Demographic profile

Twenty people participated in the study. The following table directs the distribution of the sample across the diverse demographics.

Table 4.1 Sample demographic distribution

Participants	Gender	Age	Race	Occupation
Sipho	Male	21	Black	Student
Xolani	Male	24	Black	Administrator

Nkosinathi	Male	21	Black	Student
Siphamandla	Male	27	Black	Teacher
Musa	Male	18	Black	Student
Sinethemba	Male	25	Black	Student
Boitumelo	Male	30	Black	Journalist
Lwandle	Male	20	Black	Student
Athenkosi	Male	21	Black	Student
Bonginkosi	Male	18	Black	Student
Ntlahla	Male	22	Black	Unemployed
Monwabisi	Male	19	Black	Student
Zenande	Male	25	Black	Retail
Owam	Male	22	Black	Retail
Sithembele	Male	29	Black	Student
Bongani	Male	25	Black	Unemployed
Mkhululi	Male	19	Black	Student
Bomibam	Male	23	Black	General Worker
Kenneth	Male	26	Coloured	Call Centre Agent
Thandolwam	Male	23	Black	Unemployed

**Note that the names of the participants have been changed to protect their identities.*

All twenty participants were males aged between 18 and 31. In terms of ethnicity, the sample was not diverse as it consisted of nineteen (19) black males and only one (1) coloured male. This did not present a problem, as the Nyanga community is a predominantly black community. All the participants passed Grade 12 and ten (10) are furthering their studies. Of the remaining ten (10), three (3) are unemployed and seven (7) are employed.

Theoretically, the participants were all capable of engaging with the research topic and questions. Phajane and Moipane (2014) note that according to the Department of Basic Education, a Grade 12 pupil needs to be able to read, write and engage in literature. As matriculants, it is expected that the participants can apply critical thinking and engage with various topics affecting them and their community.

4.3 Framework of analyses

Analysed data was sorted into themes. The researcher further categorised similar themes and compared to look for variations for the sub-categories.

Table 4.2 Themes, categories and sub-categories of the resilience of the youth in the violent community of Nyanga.

Themes	Categories	Sub-Categories
<p>Theme 1: People</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth • Family • Chuma Matsaluka • amaGintsa 	<p>1.1 Socio Economic Status- Vulnerable to Violence</p>	<p>1.1.1 Sub-C: Social Economic Status- Vulnerable to Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Macro Level:</u> Poverty, Unemployment, Community Violence
<p>Theme 2: Violent Acts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence • Rape • Murder • Crime • Money Heist • Gender Based Violence • Extortion • House break-ins • Stabbings • Mob justice 	<p>2.1 Surviving Community Violence</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Meso Level:</u> Family, Peer Pressure, SUD's • <u>Micro Level:</u> Personal Factors, SUD's
	<p>3.1 Buffer Against Youth Violence</p>	<p>2.1.1 Sub-C: Surviving Community Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Violent Crime:</u> Rape, GBV, Robbery, Housebreaking, Grievous Bodily Harm, Murder
	<p>4.1 Family & Peer Influence</p>	
<p>Theme 3: Causative Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty • Drug & Alcohol Abuse • Unemployment • Lack of education 	<p>5.1 Factors that Influence Community Resilience</p>	<p>3.1.1 Sub-C: Buffer Against Youth Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Opportunities for Recreation:</u> Cricket, Soccer, Rugby,

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of income • Lack of opportunities <p>Theme 4: Community Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South African Police Services • Councillor • Zolani Centre • Nyanga • Stadium • Role models • Boy Child Mentoring • Street Committee • Patrol • Taxi owners • Neighbourhood watch • School • iLagunya rugby club • Government <p>Theme 5: Effect & Outcome</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropout • Teenage Pregnancy • Gangsterism 		<p>Basketball, Marimba, Music, Dance, Arts, Gym</p> <p>4.1.1 Sub-C:Family & Peer Influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Family & Peer Influence Against:</u> Violence, Peer pressure, SUD's, Gangsterism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Internal ❖ Family ❖ Peers <p>5.1.1 Sub-C:Factors that Influence Community Resilience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Positive Modelling:</u> Community Role Models • <u>Influence Of Community Role Players:</u> Police, Patrol, Street Committee, Councillor, Community
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<p>Theme 6: Extra curriculum activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Soccer • Basketball • Dance • Drama • Parks • Marimba • Arts • Events <p>Theme 7: Places</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nyanga • Crossroads • Philliphi • Mau Mau • Lack of facilities • Lack of recreational centres • Mobile library • Gym • Street games • Sports 		
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4. 4 Discussing of findings

In analysing the data, five categories emerged, namely socio-economic status and vulnerability; surviving community violence; buffers against youth violence; family and peer influences; and factors influencing community resilience. The discussion of the categories follows the study's objectives, which are to gain an understanding of the perception of the youth regarding crime in their community; to explore the impact crime

has on the youth of Nyanga; and to understand their views on resiliency factors that have buffered them against crime.

As mentioned, females were excluded from the study as it is known that young males are more exposed to and more prone to commit violence (Flannery et al., 2001; Buka et al., 2001). Fagan and Wright (2012) confirm that exposure to environmental (or neighbourhood) influences varies between boys and girls, as girls' activities and behaviour is more closely monitored than boys, who are allowed greater freedom. These are important considerations, given the research objectives.

4.4.1 Theme 1: Socio-economic status and vulnerability to violence

To understand youth resilience in violent communities like Nyanga, one must first explore violence as a phenomenon on the macro, meso, and micro levels.

Macro Level: Poverty, Unemployment, Community Violence

Youth of Nyanga's understanding of violence

The participants expressed similar views of what violence is. This is indicated by the following responses:

My understanding of violence [is when] one uses force, physical force maybe, to harm, destroy or damage ... the surroundings or the community (Siphamandla, Male, 27).

I would say violence [is when] a person uses their power or weapons, wanting to kill another person or wanting to hurt them ... killing each other using physical force, meaning that you use weapons (Sinethemba, Male, 25).

My understanding of violence is when there is conflict between two people arguing about something. They end up wanting to fight, one would recruit other people in the township into the fight ... it escalates, and more people join in (Owam, Male, 22).

My understanding of violence is when a person [harms] others or disturbs the peace of people in the community (Mkhululi, Male, 19).

I would say it's disruption. In many cases it begins with girls. Dating one in this area [while also] dating in another area ... so it brings a lot of squabbles, challenges ... (Sithembele, Male, 29).

So, my understanding of violence [is that] it is anything affecting someone in a negative way, whether it's like physical or emotional or affects the community as a whole. Things like crime and all of that ... that's what my understanding of violence is (Kenneth, Male, 26).

I think violence is [hurting or killing] another person, or not killing per se, but [doing] a bad thing ... for example robbing, you know? (Musa, Male, 18).

The responses indicate an understanding of what violence is. These are in line with Van Soest and Bryant (1995), who define violence as acts or situations where people injure each other psychologically or through a direct attack. The findings from this theme pose more questions regarding the types of violent acts, what ignites violence, and what attracts some youth to violence and keeps others away.

Poverty

The study discovered that poverty plays a significant role in igniting violence in the community. Participants were asked about the various reasons their community was vulnerable to violence. Opinions were mixed, but eleven (11) of the twenty (20) mentioned poverty as the main reason for criminality:

[There are] people who live in poverty, who live in bad circumstances. So, they do what they have to do ... (Sipho, Male, 21).

People [don't] have much, they are struggling and stuff ... they have families that they have to look after and they're not privileged like other people (Owam, Male, 22).

There is no food in many households, parents are unemployed ... there are few employed people in Nyanga. So, people go out and hustle the wrong way (Bonginkosi, Male, 18).

Causes of high rates of violence in Nyanga ... There is no food in many households (Ntlahla, Male, 22).

Lack of opportunities ... people not having anything to do. If I don't have money myself, as a young person, I need to figure out a way to make money. Crime and violence go up, you see (Bongani, Male, 25).

When discussing poverty, one must consider the economic status of the individual, their family system and the community. The economic status of the family has influenced the development of individuals. For many in these communities, delinquent criminal behaviour becomes a viable means of survival.

Patterson (2002) believes that economic support ensures that basic needs are met, and resources to enhance the development of people are provided for, thus strengthening the capacity of the family system. There is a relationship between poverty and crime, though crime is certainly not driven by poverty alone. In an attempt to provide for their families and households, many turn to illegal means to meet their immediate needs.

Unemployment

The findings of this study revealed that five (5) of the eleven (11) participants viewed unemployment as the main reason the community was vulnerable to violence and crime. In response to the question, the participants explained:

Unemployment is one of the biggest [as is] lack of facilities ... when I say lack of facilities, I mean sports fields, recreational centres ... (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

One thing we don't have aphe Nyanga East ... is opportunities. [Nyanga East is] like a cage ... like a rat cage and then we stay and there is like no food [sic] and we end up eating each other. That's Nyanga East for you (Thandolwam, Male, 23).

The high rate of violence is caused by unemployment. People wake up and go stand on the street corner and beg. They do not have anything to do and there are no opportunities, they are always at home ... it's hard (Zenande, Male, 25).

Unemployment ... because of the [lack of] basic services that are supposed to be given [by the] government ... instead of people working, they turn to... turn to [violence] and like the... robberies, and stuff (Siphamandla, Male, 27).

I think it's the fact that people are unemployed because people try looking for jobs and don't get them, and end up doing wrong things [sic] (Bomibam, Male, 23).

Many participants expressed frustration with the rate of unemployment within the Nyanga community. The participants felt that the lack of opportunities and resources in the community made people turn to crime. De Swardt et al. (2005) refer to a 2005 Urban Poverty in Cape Town study of Khayelitsha and Nyanga that revealed more than half of the households (52%) had no income and almost two thirds (64%) of the adults in the community were unemployed. The 2011 Nyanga Census revealed that 55% of the population between the ages of 15- 64 were employed (City of Cape Town Census, 2011, 2013).

Substance abuse

Four (4) of the twenty (20) participants mentioned drugs as one of the most serious issues in the community of Nyanga. The study revealed that peer pressure, family dysfunction and community pressure are the main contributing factors. Many young people use substances as a means of escaping the violence and poverty in their homes and community. When the participants were asked what fuelled violence in their community, they stated:

I'd say drugs and alcohol because [it makes them feel] stronger, they have more power ... especially drugs, it's one of those reasons ... and alcohol (Nkosinathi, Male, 21).

What makes the violence so high in Nyanga [sic] is the influx of guns and drugs (Boitumelo, Male, 20).

Drug dealing ... killings and [things] like robbing (Mkhululi, Male, 19).

I would say it is drug abuse and poverty (Kenneth, Male, 26).

From these statements, it is clear that drugs are quite accessible in the community of Nyanga, especially among the youth. According to the social learning theory, people learn deviant behaviour through observation and imitation, and these behaviours will persist if not combated in the social environment (Cochran et al., 2017).

Community violence

Participants were asked about the common violent crimes they were exposed to in their community and all participants expressed having personally been exposed to crime. Participant seven (7) stated:

There is violence in Nyanga ... it's actually rated number one, the most dangerous area in South Africa (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

Leoschut (2008) and Holtzhausen (2016) state that South Africa has some of the highest rates of gang-related violence, homicide and gender-based violence in the world. In their reports, Persens (2021) and Ludidi (2021) also reported on the high crime rate in the Nyanga community.

Referring to the crime rate in the township, some of the participants said:

What makes the violence so high in Nyanga is the influx of guns, drugs and ... this might sound [like a] cliché [but as] black individuals living in communities that are [over]populated ... the economy is not run [very well] so a lot of people resort to crime to find better ways of living (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

People get into fights, other people murder each other [sic] ... [they] stab each other ... people get robbed almost every day ... (Sipho, Male, 21).

As of late, [I'd say] it is the taxi violence, this thing of them always shooting when they have strikes. [They abuse] people from Golden Arrow, resulting in them not being able to [operate] as per usual (Bomibam, Male, 23).

Below are some of the responses regarding specific types of crime and violence in the community, including housebreaking, gender-based violence, grievous bodily harm, murder and gangsterism:

I think the question [should be] what kind of violence I haven't seen in the township [sic]. I've seen housebreakings ... men beating women, mob justice ... I've seen a lot (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

Gangsterism, hijacking, people getting shot (Ntlahla, Male, 22).

Its gender-based violence and rape mostly. There is shooting but it only happens when [people come] from other areas. There is lots of gender-based and domestic violence (Zenande, Male, 25).

It's gangsterism, first of all, robbery, murder ... those are the three [uhm] big elephant in the room [sic]. [Then there's] stealing, kidnapping ... and violence [against] women and children (Xolani, Male, 24).

Growing up like around violence you get used to that, it's not something new. It's like every day we hear gun shots and it's like, "oh, I wonder who's dying." We are not even shocked [they break into] neighbours' homes (Thandolwam, Male, 23).

Responses like these leave no doubt that violence permeates the culture in the community of Nyanga in Cape Town. This is supported by Ludidi (2021), Mlamla (2020), Holtzhausen (2016) and many others, as detailed in the literature review in Chapter Two of this study.

Meso Level: Family, Peer Pressure, SUD's

The participants' responses highlight the reasons for their community being vulnerable to violence on a meso level, including the familial factors:

Most of the time [it comes] from the background of the family ... they [struggle]. Someone lost their parents and everything, then they decided that they can join any gang because of the peer pressure that they are having outside [in the] world [sic] (Sinethemba, Male, 29).

People do not have much, they are struggling ... they have families that they have to look after and they're not like privileged like other people are (Sipho, Male, 21).

Participants believe that family circumstances can play a destructive role in children's lives. This includes turning to substances as a means of coping with their family issues and poverty. According to Burdick (2014), behaviour is learned and reinforced through social and environmental conditions (social learning theory).

Some participants spoke to peer pressure, saying that:

In my opinion ... [there are] people who want to be accepted by other people (Sipho, Male, 21).

When you do not have anything to do, you do not play sport, you just hang with friends you think about smoking, you think about ways of making money and end up joining crime [sic] (Zenande, Male, 25).

People are struggling. I don't know if you could include peer pressure as one of the challenges ... but I want to say peer pressure (Participant 1, Male, 21).

Most people have joined gangs ... they have put education aside (Owam, Male, 22).

Young people succumb to peer pressure when trying to deal with life stresses. Being affiliated with a group or gang and following through with what they do reflects their need to belong. Erickson's developmental stages speak of the psychosocial crisis of identity vs role confusion, where the person searches for a sense of self and identity (Louw, 2014). This sometimes leads them to make destructive decisions, such as experimenting with substances or engaging in violence.

Pertaining to Substance Use Disorders (SUDs), two participants expressed that:

Lately there is a trend of smoking drugs, you would find lots of them in a spot smoking dagga during the week and another drug on weekends. They call it, what is it again? I don't know but it's a drug that makes them hyper (Sinethemba, Male, 25).

Small children are into alcohol, drug abuse and all of that. Then it is things people see others do ... let me just try it out, maybe I'll feel whatever they are feeling [and they] get hooked like that ... [that] escalates and leads to violence (Kenneth, Male, 26).

These statements indicate that substance abuse is a coping mechanism and a ripple effect of poverty, unemployment and peer pressure. Individuals who don't have the coping skills to deal with stressors are more prone to turn to narcotics or alcohol as a means of escaping reality (McWhiter et al., 2014).

Micro Level: Personal Factors, SUD's

Speaking to the personal factors that make those in the community vulnerable to violence on a micro level, participants said the following:

Some people are like ... forced to live the life they live. Some people are forced [into] crime because of circumstances ... that's the only thing I wanted to add (Sipho, Male, 21).

It starts with you. Parents can raise you in a certain way, as we are not raised the same way. You are then brought up well, a top student at school, then you end up taking drugs. Therefore, it is up to you (Thandolwam, Male, 23).

Sometimes being a coward helps. I am a coward when it comes to some things. I try by all means, for example weekends, to not be this side and be far away from things happening around here [sic]. I would say its cowardice that has stopped me from being involved in the things happening here ... I see all these things happening and see that no, they are not for me ... (Sinethemba, Male, 25).

The above-mentioned statements touch on aspects of social learning and the violentization theory, which holds that people are the way they are because of their social experiences (Athens, 2015). The type of significant experiences that contribute to making people dangerous criminals do not all happen at once. Instead, it happens gradually over time. But while the odds are against young people in these communities, every challenge presents an opportunity to overcome. Two of the participants allude to the fact that personal choice does exist, saying “it is up to you” and “it starts with you”.

4.4.2 Theme 2: Surviving community violence

To understand the resiliency factors amongst the youth of Nyanga, the researcher explored how the community responds to or copes with violence and its consequences. The participants' responses were varied. Eight (8) of the twenty (20) participants remarked that the community does ‘nothing’ about the situation:

There's nothing the community does. There's absolutely nothing they do ... out of fear, there's nothing they do (Sipho, Male, 21).

To be honest, in order to live, you mind your business or else there might be some consequences for being [so] forward about [those kinds] of activities (Siphamandla, Male, 27).

I don't want to lie, I haven't seen any ... I don't notice much [that] happens in the township, my sole focus is on the children (Sinethemba, Male, 25).

I wouldn't say there is anything that gets done. Sometimes [community] meetings are called ... it depends who called them. People are not united. It's not easy to even make any suggestion because there is no unity (Zenande, Male, 25).

There is nothing that is being done by the community, instead they hide the criminals from the police. They know who and where these people are, instead of going to stop them, they hide them (Owam, Male, 22).

Twelve (12) of the twenty (20) participants stated that the community of Nyanga does try to combat violence in the community. Some mentioned the higher visibility of law enforcement during the Covid-19 lockdowns, with their curfew times:

The community of Nyanga [has] committees [that] look at those crimes that are happening in our areas, especially those ones I've mentioned. [We are] involved in a police forum whereby [the community members and councillors discuss] what is happening, how can we avoid such ... crimes. Most of the crimes have improved whereby now the police have given assistance [sic] ... they put law enforcement in our streets, [patrolling hourly, every thirty minutes] ... the community is very aware of the things that are happening. When there's something that is not acceptable, the community calls a public meeting [to discuss and resolve] them immediately (Xolani, Male, 24).

Ever since [lockdown] ... there have been law enforcement going out around [sic], and then traffic cops and all the police officers ... there are patrols going around, from the law enforcement and all of that (Nkosinathi, Male, 21).

[The police were] patrolling so by 8 o'clock everyone should be in, I think [sic]. If you are seen walking on the streets around that time you get beaten up (Musa, Male, 18).

The first point of call would always be [the taxi drivers]. They know how to discipline people, neighbourhood watches have started to emerge. There are community groups, people from the communities that basically look after their own areas. In my area, I unconsciously started this thing where there is a group of kids who are between the ages of 16-18, if they see something happening, we literally try to kill that bad vibe ... [we try] to resolve situations before they go out of hand [sic] (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

A meeting is called, each parent calls their own children. They sit and discuss and ask the children to stop the criminal act (Bonginkosi, Male, 18).

I would say we try ... I remember when I was on the area team committee ... we faced quite a lot of challenges you know, the burglaries [in] our area. Which are people [that are] living here with us [sic]. So, it did play a big role, even now we are still fighting [to bring crime under control] ... the old location specifically is a quiet place, [criminals take advantage of that] (Sithembele, Male, 29).

According to Leoschut (2008) and Saign (1991), levels of violence in South Africa are among the highest in the world. From the feedback gathered, there seems to be an underlying issue in the community where some residents are reluctant to address crime, to the point where some just “mind their own business”. However, perceptions regarding the involvement of the community members in combatting crime are divided, with most of the participants indicating the specific ways in which violence is being addressed in the community.

Theme 3: Buffer against youth violence in the community

This theme identifies some of the resiliency factors that act as a buffer against the violence experienced in the community of Nyanga.

Buffer Against Youth Violence in the Community: Cricket, Soccer, Rugby, Basketball, Marimba, Music, Dance, Arts, Gym

All participants expressed the importance of recreational activities such as sports and arts & culture in Nyanga. It is believed to have “saved the lives” of many youths in the community. The respondents were eager to comment on the activities available to the residents and their value to the greater community:

Sports, that's one thing about Nyanga – its good [at] sports (Thandolwam, Male, 23).

Growing up in a soccer academy, being taught discipline, respect and understanding ... what is right from wrong [sic] (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

[The] cricket and rugby club has been in existence for a very long time, both these clubs have produced players that have [gone on] to play internationally and nationally (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

There are sports ... there's basketball, there's rugby and football, and also, there's music ... the children are being helped out by Siya, [so there's] music, arts and sports (Sipho, Male, 21).

There are many other ways whereby I kept myself up [sic] ... I had a choir that I joined and I had my own choir. Then I started doing music, that's how I distanced myself from gangsterism (Nkosinathi, Male, 21).

Sport and recreational activities are noted as being buffers (or resiliency factors) for the community of Nyanga. The youth in the community find solace in recreational activities which insulate them against the influence of violent, antisocial behaviour. Nyanga has three fields where the residents play soccer, rugby and netball. Other recreational facilities include the Zolani Community Art Centre, where they host pageants, dancing and karate (Sikwebu, 1984). As expressed throughout the interviews, these are resilience factors that have kept youngsters out of trouble, as many within the Nyanga community are involved in sports and recreation.

4.4.4 Theme 4: Family & peer influence

The findings below revealed that, in addition to sport and recreation, family and peer influence is a contributing factor in the participants' resilience.

Family & Peer Influence Against: Violence, Peer Pressure, SUDs, Gangsterism

In pursuit of the resiliency factors amongst the youth of Nyanga, participants expressed the positive influence their family and peers have on them and the choices they have made in their lives.

Internal Factors

To understand the traits and resilience factors that the participants possess, they were asked who or what had motivated them despite the challenges in their community. Four participants said that their motivation was internal:

[Firstly], I think [it would] be me ... as much as I'm not at a level or where I wish to be [sic] ... It's always been a matter of, I don't want to be the same, I don't want to be part of the cycle, right? So, I've always motivated myself to be different from the rest and also try [to be] in a good position (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

I just stay away from [that] stuff, I just stay away. Like, that's the only thing I do (Sipho, Male, 21).

I didn't think about crime and I've seen people that play sport being successful without [committing] crime. So, I decided to stay in my lane (Ntlahla, Male, 22).

Seeing people who are involved in crime, having their lives cut short because they die and most of them died young ... that's another thing, I got woke and saw that this is not a life I want for myself because I have dreams. I don't want to die young ... (Musa, Male, 18).

The responses highlight resiliency factors such as having a sense of purpose, personal belief in a positive future, the ability to act independently, self-efficacy, and exercising control over your environment (Burton et al., 2009). The findings shed light on the importance of individuality when exposed to violence. One participant ascribed their resilience to social learning and the ability to differentiate right from wrong.

Family

The participants identified the support and guidance of family and role models:

My family ... I come from the same background as most people from the township, so I know how it is to struggle. I know how it feels to starve. So, I think

working towards making sure that I can build a sustainable [and secure] life for my family is one of the motivations that push me to try and prosper in life (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

I would say it's my family members and [those] in the community that have succeeded ... so they try and speak to us and encourage us in the form of, they motivate us to become better people in the community (Xolani, Male, 24).

My grandmother played a huge role, right ... she educated me a lot about crime and the end result of it ... the fact that my grandfather was also a lawyer played a huge role, so he always knew how to [be on] the right side of the law (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

For me, growing up, I had strict parents ... if I'd go outside [then I would look] who's playing soccer ... then go and play with. It's always been like that for me (Sipho, Male, 21).

There is my mom, she was strict. So when there are things like gangsters [sic], she would take me to stay in the house and not go out (Ntlahla, Male, 22).

This other day I almost got robbed. I didn't want to report at home, but I did. I told my uncle, and he went to confront the robbers (Monwabisi, Male, 19).

I would say [my] uncle because my uncle was one of those guys [who was involved] in crime during those days ... he has changed, now he's busy with politics ... he's a politician (Nkosinathi, Male, 21).

One of the reasons I never joined a gang is because [of my] siblings, my older siblings. I'm a last-born so my older siblings inspire me because they all have degrees, they all work, driving cars, beautiful cars. So I am inspired by that, not to go astray. It would be a disgrace to the family ... so [that's] one of the things that pushed me to not join those gangs and crime [sic] because I was going to be a black sheep at home ... And it was going to be strange, where I got that from, because my parents raised children that have degrees ... they really played a big role (Musa, Male, 18).

Burton et al. (2009) mention that positive familial or home factors include supportive relationships, clear boundaries, family rules, monitoring, family members emphasizing

the importance of school, family cohesion, and parents who offer affection. Most of these points were mentioned in the participant interviews. Many families in the township have the grandmother as the head of the household and the voice of reason. The struggle of raising children alone is noticed by young people, who in turn do not want to disappoint their guardians, motivating them to avoid antisocial behaviour and striving to bring them joy and pride instead. This is another way family can be a source of motivation. The participant feedback reveals that the family unit can buffer the youth against exposure to violence. This is supported by McWhiter and McWhiter (2014), who state that where there is family support and involvement, resiliency is promoted.

Peers

When asked why the participants stayed away from violence and substances, some participants mentioned their friends:

My circle, the people I chill with, my friends and family ... I think they also played a huge part in me not getting involved in violence, because they always told me that violence is not okay ... my friends were more focused on school and the good life [rather than] engaging in things that are wrong (Kenneth, Male, 26).

There's a saying that says the company you keep affects you, you see (Thandolwam, Male, 23).

I would notice that a certain person does not align with who I am and I would separate from them. This is how I got to be friends with Obrie, Monwabisi, Darrell ... we [all focus] on sport. We are known as good children (Zenande, Male, 25).

Participants spoke of the importance of positive peer influence on the outcome of an individual. Peers can have a negative or positive influence on each other and in this instance, the positive prevails and supports these young people in becoming better individuals and not succumbing to the pressure to engage in antisocial behaviour. Referring to resilience factor categories, Burton et al. (2009) identify one of the categories as extra-family relationship resilience factors.

4.4.5 Theme 5: Factors that influence community resilience

As part of exploring resilience against the backdrop of a violent community, the researcher identified tools and ways for young people to succeed, including role models other than family or friends.

Positive Modelling: Community Role Models

Community factors highlighted by the participants were:

We are very patient with matters. We are very [determined]. We are also dedicated to [improving] our area. The discipline is very much high and is the top of them [sic]. Creativity [comes with] the strengths, because now we have seen as a community that we need to be creative, so that [crime] in our area will be very less rather than the time before [sic] (Xolani, Male, 24).

It's my coach ... he trained me in the beginning until I was able to play ... I was batting [at] number 11, with their help I'm batting number 1 (Monwabisi, Male, 19).

It's mostly sport and being encouraged by coaches asking me not to join violence [sic]. I decided at an early age that I will not [get involved in] gangsterism. I grew in sports, I played lots of sports including cricket. I travelled to places I never thought I would go to because of sport ... also not wanting to disappoint the family (Zenande, Male, 25).

These views confirm the observations of Burton et al. (2009), who highlight community resilience factors such as infrastructure, opportunity for youth participation in activities, decision-making power and shared responsibility.

Finding a source of motivation inside one's community aids the youth in making progressive decisions, the role models who come from the community demonstrate resilience and determination, giving young people something positive to strive toward (Masten, 2018).

Influence Of Community Role Players: Police Patrol, Street Committee, Councillor, Community Members, Taxi Owners

Participants were asked about the role players in their communities who have played integral roles in their resiliency and upliftment of the community. The feedback was insightful:

Well, the community [is] a family, different families [making up one big] family ... and you know, we have to meet each other halfway [to go] forward (Sithembele, Male, 29).

uLindile, uLindile ... because he's like someone I grew up under ... I see him, he'll take knocks, things wouldn't work out for him but still ... he's still gonna [sic] keep on, keep on trying [to] pursue his dreams (Sipho, Male, 21).

It's easy from my side, I grew up in the old location. [It's] worse for people in Mau-Mau and New Cross. People living in those areas have difficulties compared to us [sic]. We grew up next to the field with well-known people like brother Nhonho who coached South Africa years ago. We got exposure and got matured at a young age because of people like brother Saider, so we never got [involved in] violence (Zenande, Male, 25).

Participants expressed the importance of role models as a protective buffer in the community. Shared responsibilities and opportunities for youth participation create support networks between people, showing that the spirit of *ubuntu* is alive in the township communities.

On the influence of street committees, the following statements stood out:

There is a committee, people from the community that are trying to make sure that their community is a better one ... so that is a positive (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

The community of Nyanga [has] committees [that] look at those crimes that are happening in our areas, especially those ones I've mentioned. [We are] involved in a police forum whereby [the community members and councillors discuss] what is happening, how can we avoid such ... crimes. Most of the crimes have improved (Xolani, Male, 24).

Street committees play an important role in the decision-making process of the community, helping to shape and organise the community and acting as the

disciplinary committee. They deal with various community issues and promote resilience in the process.

On the influence of taxi owners, the following statements were made by different participants:

The first point of call would always be [the taxi drivers]. They know how to discipline people, neighbourhood watches have started to emerge. There are community groups, people from the communities that basically look after their own areas. In my area, I unconsciously started this thing where there is a group of kids who are between the ages of 16-18, if they see something happening, we literally try to kill that bad vibe ... [we try] to resolve situations before they go out of hand [sic] (Boitumelo, Male, 30).

Although taxi owners are notorious for striking, disrupting bus services, and shooting one another (Persens, 2021), they are the same people who act as a pillar of the community when faced with challenges.

On the influence of the police, the following statements were made by different participants:

Patrolling, definitely patrolling ... [there are] times [when they're] going around searching for people ... it might seem extreme, but the way people live in the location, I think it's necessary ... (Sipho, Male, 21).

The police have [assisted] ... they put law enforcement in our streets, [patrolling hourly, every thirty minutes] (Xolani, Male, 24).

Ever since [lockdown] ... there have been law enforcement going out around [sic], and then traffic cops and all the police officers ... (Nkosinathi, Male, 21).

Police visibility brings a sense of comfort to the residents of a crime-ridden community. Statements made by participants indicate that community members and police patrol the streets of the Nyanga township to help clamp down on crime. This helps build up and protect resilient youth who can distinguish between right and wrong.

A holistic approach to any problem is always best and is more likely to yield more resilient and self-sufficient young people to help curb instances of violence in the community of Nyanga.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presents the demographic profile of the participants in tabular form. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews and analysed according to common themes, whereafter the empirical findings were presented to highlight the resiliency factors that apply to young people in violent communities such as Nyanga, who choose to distance themselves from violent criminal activity.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, the researcher concludes the study and makes recommendations on the process and the key findings of the study as per the objectives. The data collected from the participants of Nyanga regarding their resiliency in the violent community have led to the recommendations the researcher reports on for the benefit of the community and various government departments.

5.2 Synthesis and conclusion

The journey of discovering the voice of Nyanga's youth has been a thought-provoking and eye-opening experience. In turn, it has led to the researcher devising feasible recommendations which are practical, realistic and achievable. The research participants have been an integral part of the study and have expressed their thoughts and feelings. They embraced the opportunity to be a part of such a thought-provoking study, as the youth of Nyanga who are not involved in criminality are in the minority and seldom have their voices heard. This speaks to one of the core values of qualitative research, transformation, as the aim is to give participants a platform to share their stories and make a meaningful impact.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Regarding the research process and findings

Before the data collection process, it is important that the researcher builds rapport, therefore, the researcher should make contact with participants before the interview to promote a comfortable and relaxed, free-flowing interview. This is paramount as it encourages interviewees to fully disclose information, not only from a professional view but from a personal point of view as well, as part of the short-lived working relationship.

5.3.2 Recommendations for government

For the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) which was established by Parliament (Act 54 of 2008) to address challenges faced by youth in South Africa, to

have training and development programmes such as the Entrepreneurship Development Programme for youth in communities which are identified as violent such as Nyanga and internships once training has been successfully completed through their JOBS programme. Equipping the youth with entrepreneurial skills and assisting them find employment will address unemployment and poverty as in the study it was established by the participants that there are no opportunities for training and employment within the community.

With aim to increase literacy and employment as expressed in the study, the study findings outlined the need for the ward 37 councillor to approach the City of Cape Town to bring back the mobile library which was assisting many community members increase their literacy in Nyanga and making them employable for over 60 years.

5.3.3 Recommendations for the South African Police Services (SAPS)

The study revealed that the South African Police Services (SAPS) in the Nyanga community are not as visible as the community needs them to be with the high rate of crime and violence in the community, this could be because of lack of resources within this government department. With the minister of police Mr Bheki Cele adding more patrol vehicles and employing more police officers in the communities with high crime and violence will assist in having SAPS become more visible in these communities. The adding of such resources will translate into SAPS acting promptly and swiftly and having the rate of crime and violence decrease significantly.

As noted above, the findings outlined several challenges the community members of Nyanga face with SAPS in the community. Another recommendation the study produced was for SAPS to crack down on corrupt officers who work with criminals and provide them with guns to commit crimes, or release suspects brought in by community members. When a community member lodges a complain about police misconduct to have the station commander act swiftly and have Independent Police Investigate Directorate (IPID) investigate the matter, have the persons investigated and should they be found guilty to have a harsh punishment imposed as to send a strong message across to the police officers who may have been involved in illegal activities.

5.3.4 Recommendations for the community

The findings from the study showed that the community of Nyanga do not have any established well organised neighbourhood watch patrol units, having this patrol unit in the community of Nyanga which will alert residents of activities happening in the community and have community members support one another and come out when complaints and concerns are reported is of paramount importance.

In having community members take initiative and establishing the neighbourhood watch patrol units, community members will be taking charge of their communities and residents will feel safer knowing they have direct contact with people who can assist them in times of need.

Launching this patrol unit will assist residents organise awareness programmes on violence in the community and encourage street sports tournaments to stimulate and occupy the youth to becoming responsible citizens.

Community members need to come together, have WhatsApp groups formed where the community members will communicate and select residents to do patrols around the clock in shifts.

5.3.5 Recommendations on increasing resilience against violence

Ukwakha sports leadership and training programme

To increase resilience against violence one of the ways this study has discovered is through a sports leadership and training programme, as expressed in the interviews, sports has been a way of life for many youths in violent communities as an escape from the violence and crime in their communities. Having a sports leadership and training programme which focuses on training the youth from the community, teaching children various sports and life skills will create coaching jobs for youth where they can receive stipends for their work and motivate the youth who are passionate about sport in participating in the programme where they may have the opportunity to be scouted to play for clubs.

This programme should be pioneered through the regional offices of the Department of Sports and culture as they have the resources to connect to organisations in and

around the communities and would provide funding for the programme in order to make it sustainable.

A similar programme to this initiative would be sporting chances- street cricket programme. The street cricket programme was piloted in 2004 in the Langa township on the outskirts of Cape Town and has had 14 500 children involved in this programme since its inception and has contractually employed over 1500 coaches who are from the violent communities, as a result has made a difference in many children's lives <https://www.sportingchance.co.za/sporting-chance-foundation/street-cricket/>

(Accessed: 15 February 2023).

Boys to Men Mentoring Programme

Informed by the study's findings a recommendation for increasing resilience against violence in violent communities is establishing a mentoring programme which will be community led and mainly focused on males, as discussed in the paper they are seen as more at- risk of engaging in violence.

Since the programme is community led, the ward councillor with the street committee leaders should pioneer it where they mentor the youth at- risk by providing support, check in and positive social relations, this programme will aid the youth in coming up with healthy coping mechanisms when dealing with stress.

An existing organisation which does work with similar objectives is Waves for Change, which helps children from stressed environments to develop healthy and meaningful social connections, experience respite from difficult thoughts and feelings and adopt health ways in coping with stress. This programme is aimed at children who are exposed to trauma and adversities in their environments and are unable to cope with difficult thoughts and feelings <https://waves-for-change.org/> (Accessed: 15 February 2023).

Speaking Through Arts and Culture Programme

In aim to increase resilience against violence in violent communities such as the Nyanga community, establishing an arts and culture initiative which provides youth with alternative ways in expressing themselves such as music and dance which will encourage the youth to play instruments and strive for excellence in their respective

instrument, music or dance, which will provide them with the opportunity to travel and see other communities and places which will inspire them to strive for greatness as they would have been exposed to different places. This programme will teach the youth life skills, such as discipline, commitment, management of feelings and emotions and provide a sense of belonging to the youth in this programme.

This programme should be community led as communities have community members who have a passion for the arts and have the necessary knowledge and skills to run the programme, with assistance from the Department of Arts and Culture. The department will assist with funding for equipment and any resources needed to ensure the programme is a success. Communities such as Nyanga have Zolani Centre which is used for community activities and can be used as a base for the programme.

An established programme which is rooted in similar views is the Bom Combat non-profit organisation that aims to explore violence and its causes in adolescents and channels emotions into proactive and prosocial behaviour through teaching Martial Arts as well as individual support services. This programme uses a framework that intervenes for different target and at-risk populations <https://www.saferspaces.org.za/events/entry/saferspaces-webinar-building-youth-resilience-for-a-safer-south-africa> (Accessed: 14 February 2023).

5.3.6 Future research

It is recommended that future studies should expand the research to other communities that are deemed as violent, as the research question can apply to the national context. A comparison of resilience in violent communities across the nation should also be embarked on, as all the data and other perceptions could provide rich studies.

5.4 Conclusion

Although Nyanga is notorious for having one of the highest rates of violent crime, the community has tremendous potential. It has birthed role models for the youth, individuals who excel all over the world and fly the South African flag high. In formulating these recommendations, the researcher hopes to get all community stakeholders working together to develop the community and make it known for the greatness it possesses.

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[\[UPDATE\] Four killed in Nyanga shooting \(ewn.co.za\)](#)

[Tensions high in Nyanga following triple murder of taxi officials \(ewn.co.za\)](#)

[Over 200 suspects arrested in police operations in Nyanga \(ewn.co.za\)](#)

[2 men shot dead in suspected taxi violence in Nyanga \(ewn.co.za\)](#)

[Robbers kill Nyanga man for his TV set, amid calls for greater policing in province \(iol.co.za\)](#)

Figure 1: Illustration of Nyanga community in Cape Town.

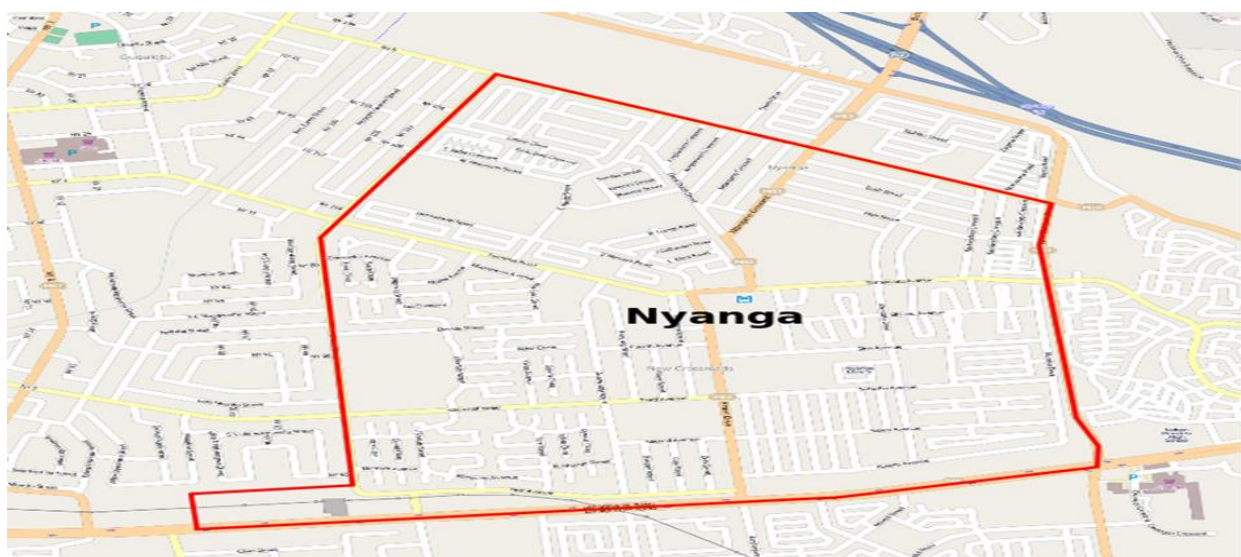




Figure 2: Illustration of crime statistics in South Africa between March 2019/ April 2020.



CRIME CATEGORY	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017	2017/2018	2018/2019	2019/2020	Case Diff	% Change
CONTACT CRIMES (CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)												
Murder	15 893	15 554	16 213	17 023	17 805	18 673	19 016	20 336	21 022	21 325	303	1,4%
Sexual Offences	64 921	60 539	60 888	56 680	53 617	51 895	49 660	50 108	52 420	53 293	873	1,7%
Attempted murder	15 360	14 730	16 236	16 989	17 537	18 127	18 205	18 233	18 980	18 635	-345	-1,8%
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	197 470	191 612	185 050	182 333	182 556	182 933	170 616	167 352	170 979	166 720	-4 259	-2,5%
Common assault	184 103	180 165	171 653	166 081	161 486	164 958	156 450	156 243	162 012	165 494	3 482	2,1%
Common robbery	54 442	52 566	53 196	53 505	54 927	54 110	53 418	50 730	51 765	53 825	60	0,1%
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	101 039	100 769	105 488	118 963	129 045	132 527	140 956	138 364	140 032	143 990	3 958	2,8%
Total Contact Crimes (Crimes Against The Person)	633 228	615 935	608 724	611 574	616 973	623 223	608 321	601 366	617 210	621 282	4 072	0,7%
Total Sexual Offences												
Rape	48 158	47 069	48 408	45 349	43 195	41 503	39 828	40 035	41 583	42 289	706	1,7%
Sexual Assault	7 006	7 194	6 967	6 597	6 087	6 212	6 271	6 786	7 437	7 749	312	4,2%
Attempted Sexual Offences	3 599	3 535	3 293	2 913	2 641	2 573	2 073	2 066	2 146	2 076	-70	-3,3%
Contact Sexual Offences	6 158	2 741	2 220	1 821	1 694	1 607	1 488	1 221	1 254	1 179	-75	-6,0%
Total Sexual Offences	64 921	60 539	60 888	56 680	53 617	51 895	49 660	50 108	52 420	53 293	873	1,7%
SOME SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY												
Carjacking	10 541	9 417	9 931	11 180	12 773	14 602	16 717	16 325	16 026	18 163	2 136	13,3%
Robbery at residential premises	16 889	16 766	17 950	19 284	20 281	20 820	22 343	22 261	22 431	21 130	-1 301	-5,8%
Robbery at non-residential premises	14 637	15 912	16 343	18 573	19 170	19 698	20 680	20 047	19 991	20 651	660	3,3%
Robbery of cash in transit	290	182	145	145	119	137	152	238	183	164	-19	-10,4%
Bank robbery	39	35	7	21	17	6	3	13	4	0	-4	-100,0%
Truck hijacking	999	821	943	991	1 279	1 184	1 183	1 202	1 182	1 202	20	1,7%

Figure 3: Illustration of 17 community reported serious crimes: Top 30 stations.



Position	Station	Province	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017	2017/2018	2018/2019	2019/2020	Case Diff	% Change
1	CAPE TOWN CENTRAL	WESTERN CAPE	14 596	14 759	15 775	15 575	15 191	14 754	15 952	15 422	13 747	12 801	-946	-6,9%
2	MITCHELLS PLAIN	WESTERN CAPE	19 668	20 967	20 073	17 664	14 966	14 258	12 894	11 382	11 374	10 811	-563	-4,9%
3	JHB CENTRAL	GAUTENG	15 801	14 251	12 961	12 842	13 641	12 912	13 044	12 221	12 199	10 639	-1 560	-12,8%
4	HONEYDEW	GAUTENG	11 710	10 885	11 472	11 427	11 721	11 127	10 965	9 981	10 214	233	2,3%	
5	PARK ROAD	FREE STATE	12 160	11 630	13 703	13 214	11 925	10 296	9 870	9 611	10 664	9 688	-976	-9,2%
6	DURBAN CENTRAL	KWAZULU-NATAL	12 328	11 887	12 142	11 772	10 641	10 854	10 945	10 146	9 798	9 164	-634	-6,5%
7	WITBANK	MPUMALANGA	9 090	9 917	9 449	9 721	9 867	9 285	9 343	9 034	8 916	8 288	-628	-7,0%
8	PRETORIA CENTRAL	GAUTENG	11 840	10 330	9 902	10 237	9 793	9 033	9 108	8 796	8 941	7 866	-1 075	-12,0%
9	HILLBROW	GAUTENG	11 401	10 709	9 264	9 043	9 277	9 704	9 522	8 663	8 252	7 558	-694	-8,4%
10	SANDTON	GAUTENG	9 722	8 124	8 095	8 350	9 658	8 617	8 368	7 616	7 181	7 483	302	4,2%
11	RUSTENBURG	NORTH WEST	10 056	10 453	11 228	9 602	9 252	9 126	8 766	8 332	7 124	7 286	162	2,3%
12	PINETOWN	KWAZULU-NATAL	8 741	8 398	9 565	8 414	8 365	8 342	8 451	7 473	7 208	7 245	37	0,5%
13	DELFT	WESTERN CAPE	4 162	4 402	4 502	4 654	5 168	5 286	5 360	6 380	6 920	7 210	290	4,2%
14	BROOKLYN	GAUTENG	9 018	7 862	8 630	8 450	7 212	7 222	7 409	6 833	6 608	7 127	519	7,9%
15	PHOENIX	KWAZULU-NATAL	8 838	9 092	9 399	9 026	8 779	8 048	7 102	6 622	6 285	7 099	814	13,0%
16	DOBSONVILLE	GAUTENG	5 240	4 820	4 991	5 181	6 004	6 495	6 550	6 709	7 009	7 066	57	0,8%
17	SUNNYSIDE	GAUTENG	9 302	8 296	8 131	8 406	8 493	7 754	7 657	7 477	7 833	7 044	-789	-10,1%
18	KIMBERLEY	NORTHERN CAPE	7 037	6 346	6 356	7 254	6 652	6 378	7 025	6 378	6 977	6 939	-38	-0,5%
19	MIDRAND	GAUTENG	7 344	6 832	6 690	7 278	6 995	7 026	8 097	7 418	6 905	6 872	-33	-0,5%
20	STELLENBOSCH	WESTERN CAPE	7 539	7 105	7 811	8 138	7 903	9 503	9 298	8 119	6 959	6 830	-129	-1,9%
21	TEMBISA	GAUTENG	6 678	6 444	6 641	6 659	5 526	5 583	5 154	5 818	5 679	6 715	1 036	18,2%
22	KRAAIFONTEIN	WESTERN CAPE	6 461	7 214	7 069	7 759	7 784	8 035	7 946	7 745	7 603	6 564	-1 039	-13,7%
23	WORCESTER	WESTERN CAPE	8 245	9 358	9 171	9 253	9 665	8 924	8 098	7 144	6 379	6 470	91	1,4%
24	PLESSISLAER	KWAZULU-NATAL	5 838	5 772	5 618	5 655	5 580	6 293	6 050	6 503	6 436	6 460	24	0,4%
25	EAST LONDON	EASTERN CAPE	7 878	7 903	6 683	6 819	5 639	5 404	5 658	6 241	6 435	6 428	-7	-0,1%
26	MFULENI	WESTERN CAPE	4 357	4 435	4 885	5 512	5 742	5 988	5 632	6 006	6 412	6 308	-104	-1,6%
27	RANDFONTEIN	GAUTENG	6 729	6 317	6 305	6 427	6 233	6 482	6 818	6 744	6 555	6 293	-262	-4,0%
28	TEMBA	GAUTENG	8 149	8 516	7 802	7 870	7 640	7 419	6 975	6 267	6 202	6 259	57	0,9%
29	AKASIA	GAUTENG	6 901	6 885	6 920	7 195	6 451	6 051	6 185	5 871	6 497	6 206	-291	-4,5%
30	KEMPTON PARK	GAUTENG	7 561	7 215	7 130	7 038	6 940	6 918	7 014	6 818	6 900	6 117	-783	-11,3%