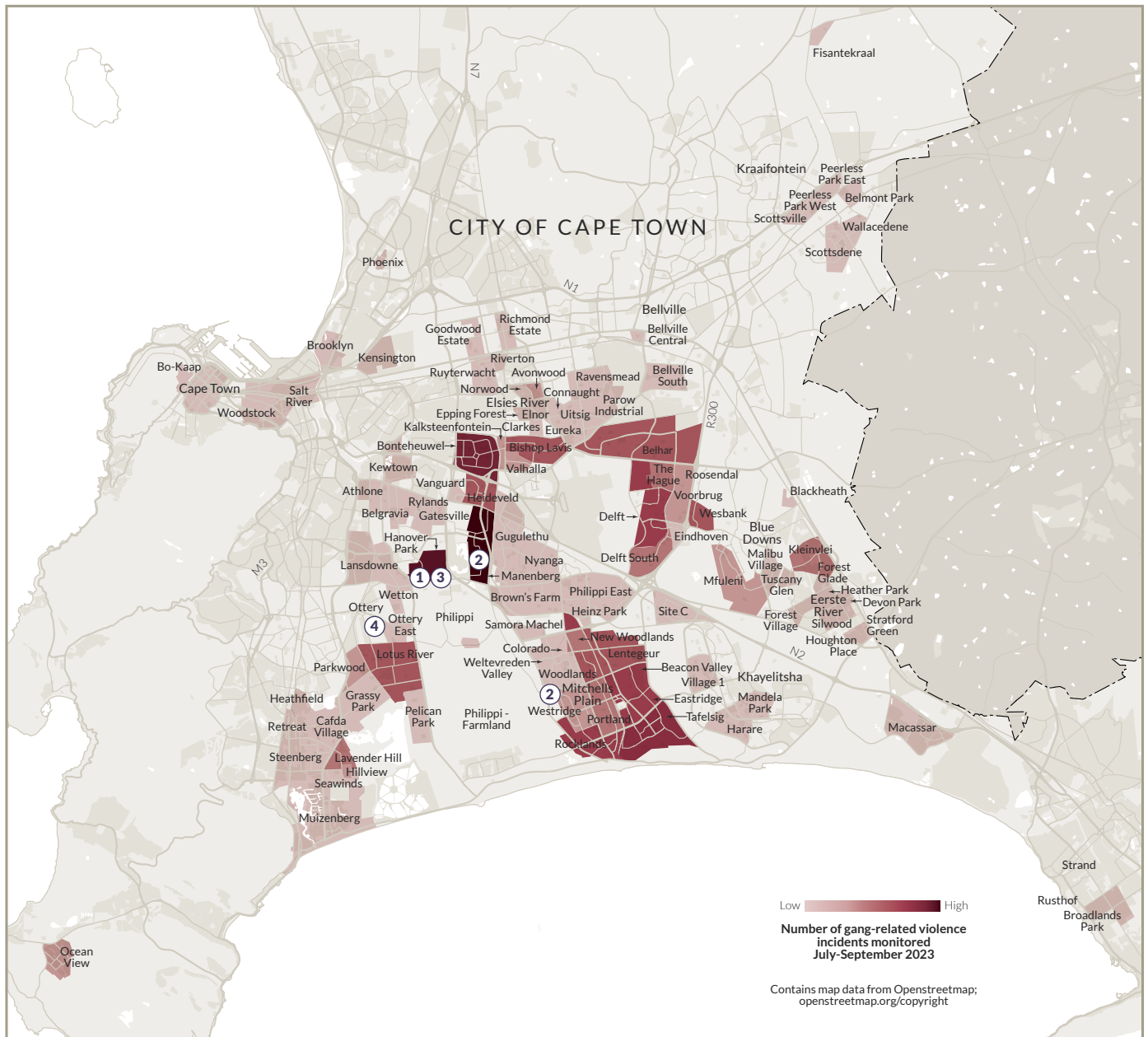




WESTERN CAPE GANG MONITOR



KEY FINDINGS

- ① This quarter has been characterized by increased infighting between splinter groups within gangs. Conflict between Americans groups in Hanover Park provides a key example.
- ② The Fancy Boys are on an aggressive campaign to expand territorial control, including in Mitchells Plain and Manenberg.
- ③ Pagad G-Force has become more vocal and visible in anti-gang campaigning. A shooting in Hanover Park may indicate that the group is taking a more militant stance.
- ④ There has been an increase in young child gang recruits forming breakaway groups, as exemplified by a recent case in Ottery.



About this report

This is the first report of the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime's Western Cape Gang Monitor, an output of our new Observatory of Organized Crime in South Africa. This series of bulletins will continue to track developments in Western Cape gang dynamics each quarter, to provide a concise synthesis of relevant trends to inform policymakers and civil society.

The monitor draws on information provided by field researchers working in gang-affected communities of the Western Cape. This includes interviews with current and former gang members, civil society and members of the criminal justice system.

Over the past three months, our team has monitored and recorded almost a thousand instances of gang-related violence, which are unpacked here to provide a picture of some emerging trends in gang behaviour. The key findings analyzed here have been selected, as they would appear to be emblematic of broader trends in gang social dynamics, and because they have been under-reported elsewhere, or may have repercussions for how we understand developments in Western Cape gang violence.

In this first issue of the Gang Monitor, we also include a summary of key dynamics to watch, which draws on a longer-term view of how the gang landscape has changed in recent years. The analysis is based on the GI-TOC's research over several years identifying how Western Cape gang dynamics have developed, and to help us understand how they may continue to in future.

Key findings

- 1 **This quarter has been characterized by increased infighting between splinter groups within gangs. Conflict between Americans groups in Hanover Park provides a key example.**

In Hanover Park, recent months have seen infighting between the Americans and the Dollar Kids, one of the Americans' splinter gangs. The Dollar Kids are one of several sub-groups that have broken away from the Americans; others are the IGBs (In-Glorious Bastards), Junior Mafia, Spoilt Brats, Pitbulls and West Siders. This current conflict gained momentum in August and came to a head in September. It comes amidst a crescendo of gang violence, which prompted Hanover Park residents to protest with anti-gangsterism campaign group Pagad G-Force in late August, calling for gang leaders to negotiate a peace treaty.¹

One incident is seen as a critical moment in the Americans' internal conflict in Hanover Park. This is the murder of a prominent local hitman, Suleiman Isaacs, alias 'Booitjie', on 16 September. Isaacs had recently been released from prison after a murder charge dating from January was dropped.²

Local sources in the Americans leadership in Hanover Park told the GI-TOC's research team that in August, Isaacs, whom they claimed as one of their own, had begun selling heroin in territory claimed by the Dollar Kids.³ These same sources allege that this was seen as an encroachment by members of the Dollar Kids on their drug-selling points in Hanover Park. Disregarding any allegiance that one might expect between Americans-aligned gangs, and not recognizing Isaacs's authority to sell drugs in their area, the Dollar Kids assassinated him.⁴ This conflict is not over, local Americans sources warn.

Other sources familiar with Isaacs's criminal career and local media, however, reported the incident differently, claiming that Isaacs was himself a shooter for the Dollar Kids, but had been killed after he allegedly broke ties with the gang.⁵ Either way, the competing narratives about Isaacs's death can be seen as an example of how unpredictable the criminal ecosystem currently is, as gang actors can cross the floor between the different splinter groups, blurring the lines for many involved.

This case is a good example of the kind of infighting between splinter gangs that has been widespread over the past three months. Other examples include an ongoing rift between the Ghetto Kids and their breakaway group known as 'Only the Family'. This split dates back some time to 2019 after the death of the Ghetto Kids' leader, but the violence continues to flare up today in Manenberg and Hanover Park as the two groups battle over their historical turf.⁶ This is the latest escalation in a longer-term trend that sees gangs becoming more fragmented.

Conflict between different gang factions is a critical trend to monitor, as it adds a new layer of complexity – and unpredictability – to gang behaviour (see more analysis in the 'key dynamics to watch' section below).

- 2 **The Fancy Boys are on an aggressive campaign to expand their territorial control, including in Mitchells Plain and Manenberg.**

The Fancy Boys have expanded their territory across the Western Cape with remarkable speed. They have achieved this in part by incorporating smaller gangs and rounding other gangs' members into their ranks, after having attacked these gangs' territories, in a strategy akin to a corporate raid. In the past three months, these territorial gains have included turf in Manenberg and Mitchells Plain, specifically in Beacon Valley and Westridge.

This is the latest expansion drive in a campaign that has been going on for more than 18 months. In Manenberg, civil society groups have reported since early 2022 that the Fancy Boys have aggressively targeted the Americans and Hard Livings, in a bid to be 'the gang that controls everything'.⁷ Members of the local Community Policing Forum likewise reported that other gangs' members have been 'crossing over' to the Fancy Boys.⁸

The expansion of the Fancy Boys today can be compared to the aggressive takeover of gang territories by the Americans in the 1980s and 1990s. One American gang leader commented that it is ironic that the Fancy Boys are usurping the role of the Americans, as the Americans themselves were known as the Fancy Boys decades ago.⁹

The Fancy Boys' new aggressive strategy is unique, in that they have been able to consolidate territory across a large swathe of the Western Cape very quickly. Sources explain that this has been possible due to the large cash reserves the gang has at its disposal. These, in part, come from the legitimate business interests that one of their leaders has in the retail sector.¹⁰ This has enabled the Fancy Boys leaders to buy firearms and drugs in large quantities. The guns, along with drugs and cash, are then distributed to the gang's footsoldiers. These trappings are an attractive incentive to lure lower-level members from other gangs hungry for firepower and money, and the status these bring.

As one former Fancy Boys member in Mitchells Plain explained: 'For a gangster, it is a big thing to have your own weapon. That is what the Fancy Boys are doing. Now, the soldiers in many other gangs, including members that are high up in those gangs, choose to join the Fancy Boys.'¹¹ For this reason, former members of the Hard Livings and 28s in Mitchells Plain have crossed the floor.

The Fancy Boys' success in bringing other gangsters into their fold has also been linked to a generational divide in attitude between the old guard of gang members and the younger generation. Younger gang members are reportedly more inclined than their older peers to lay aside traditional gang rivalries if an economic opportunity presents itself.¹²

The splintering of other gangs – as outlined in the cases above – also plays a role. Splinter groups have been more amenable to forming new allegiances and some are becoming part of the Fancy Boys. There has also been no coordinated response to the Fancy Boys' aggressive tactics from gangs such as the Americans, in part, perhaps, because they are tied up in their own internecine battles.

3 Pagad G-Force has become more vocal and visible in anti-gang campaigning. A shooting in Hanover Park may indicate that the group is taking a more militant stance.

Since late August, there has been increasingly frequent campaigning by the anti-gang group Pagad G-Force. A march led by the group on 20 August – with videos shared widely on social media – reportedly gathered over 3 000 participants calling for a gang ceasefire in Hanover Park.¹³ Local American gang members said the community

was spurred to action after a young man was killed in gang crossfire outside a mosque in mid-August.¹⁴ On its marches, the G-Force has raided the homes of alleged drug dealers.¹⁵ Video footage appears to show G-Force members marching with firearms.¹⁶

Videos shared on the group's social media show masked G-Force members chanting 'one gangster, one bullet',¹⁷ which, as media commentators have pointed out,¹⁸ is a mantra associated with the vigilantism of Pagad (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs) in the 1990s, and the campaign of bombings and assassinations the group waged against Western Cape gangsters. Meanwhile, Pagad has publicly dissociated itself from the G-Force group (some of whose members were once part of Pagad but broke away), reinforcing this in a statement after the march in Hanover Park to the effect that Pagad 'will not negotiate with gangsters or mediate peace treaties between gangs'.¹⁹

A shooting on 6 September in Hanover Park potentially shows a new dimension to G-Force's strategy. Two young students were killed in what the media has reported as a suspected hijacking.²⁰ The killing sparked an outcry from residents and the broader Muslim community. The two young men were described as devout and beloved members of the Islamic community.²¹ A local American gang member, alias 'Keff', turned himself in after residents and G-Force circulated his image online, accusing him of the murders.²²

Yet sources within both G-Force and the Americans in Hanover Park have confirmed that, instead of a hijacking gone wrong, the two men were members of G-Force and had gone to the area to buy guns from Keff.²³ It was an ambush: as they inspected the guns on offer, the two young men were shot. One G-Force member confirmed that they were buying firearms on behalf of the organization, because G-Force is planning to take a more 'substantial' approach in response to the highly volatile and violent gang culture that is pervasive in areas like Hanover Park today.²⁴ G-Force shared a post commemorating one of the deceased as 'a true warrior fighter against gangsterism and drugs'.²⁵

That G-Force members were targeted by the Americans is also indicative of rising tension, suggesting that the well-publicized G-Force marches have courted the attention and anger of gangs in the area. The G-Force member said that the killing was perceived by the organization as gangsters making a statement that Pagad has been too militant in these areas for the gangs' liking.²⁶

In interviews and online posts in response to Pagad's statements, residents in the Hanover Park community and other areas have voiced support for a comeback of the radically violent Pagad. Among communities whose patience is eroded by chronic, widespread violence, the appetite for a reinvigorated vigilante approach is palpable.

④ **There has been an increase in young child gang recruits forming breakaway groups, as exemplified by a recent case in Ottery.**

As described above, the fragmentation of gangs into splinter groups has become a widespread phenomenon. There has also been meanwhile an increase in the formation of splinter groups made up of very young gang recruits, teenagers and even younger, breaking away from more senior gang structures.

One example is evident in a recent case in which five young boys were arrested in connection with a murder in Ottery in late September. According to a local gang leader, the group – aged between eight and sixteen – are active members of the Junky Funky Kids.²⁷ The youngest is a primary-school learner. In carrying out this killing, which reportedly followed a dispute with the victim, the young group had acted without the authority of JFK's leadership. A local JFK leader denied any responsibility for the actions of these young members.²⁸ This is reportedly not the first killing associated with this young splinter group, which has also been in conflict with members of the Ottery community.

All five have been released from custody after appearing in Wynberg Magistrate's court.²⁹ Two, the older members of the group, are charged with the murder. Bail was granted after these individuals were initially (mistakenly) held in Pollsmoor prison before being transferred to a juvenile detention facility.³⁰ The case has not been reported in local media, though this is indicative of restrictions on media coverage of cases involving juvenile offenders.

Aside from the extremely young age of some of the offenders involved, this case is perhaps not remarkable in the broader picture of Western Cape gang violence. It is an example of a discernible shift among a new generation of very young gang recruits. Besides this case in Ottery, juvenile groups in Manenberg, Kraaifontein and elsewhere are beginning to set their own rules. More senior gang members describe the phenomenon as breaching the boundaries of respect for gang hierarchies in ways that have not been seen before.

This risk is that young, uncontrolled violent offenders, keen to establish themselves in the gang landscape, will cause flare-ups of violence in already volatile areas such as Ottery, where the Yuru Cats, Mongrels, Junky Funky Kids and others all claim territory within a small radius. Gang shootings are becoming concentrated along these closely linked boundaries.³¹ ■

KEY DYNAMICS TO WATCH

Over recent years, gangs in the Western Cape – which are a complex, deeply embedded social phenomenon – have changed rapidly. The key findings from the past three months described in the cases above touch on some major social shifts that have been under way among the gangs for much longer. These include an increase in splintering and fragmentation, and a growing role for younger recruits.

These shifts can be subdivided into four main categories:

1. Changes in social structures of gangs make them become more volatile – and violent.
2. Gangs have diversified their illicit income streams.
3. The COVID-19 pandemic, the lockdowns and their economic legacy have helped trigger these first two changes.
4. Systemic challenges in South Africa's criminal justice system are hampering an effective response to gangs.

These four dynamics are the most critical to help us understand how Western Cape gangs have evolved, and why policing and justice responses have struggled to manage this threat. The analysis of these trends that follows draws on extensive research over several years.

DYNAMIC 1: Changing social dynamics within gangs are leading to increased volatility and violence.

The continual churn of territorial losses and gains, with new groups forming as older ones decline, has been characteristic of Western Cape gangs for generations. But the frequency of this fragmentation and the number of new groups emerging have accelerated notably. For example, the Flakka Boys, an offshoot of the Junky Funky Kids, emerged in 2018/19; this new gang now claims territory in areas including Lavender Hill. The Dollar Kids are another (as described above). These are examples of several splinter gangs that have gained momentum in recent years.

A significant number of major gang leaders, who had held sway over their organizations for decades, have been assassinated since 2019. They include Rashied Staggie of the Hard Livings, killed in December 2019;³² Ernie 'Lastig' Solomon of the Terrible Josters (November 2020); William 'Red' Stevens of the 27s, (February 2021);³³ the Americans leader known as 'Nigga' (September 2021); and Kaldimola 'Dimes' Madatt of the Ugly Americans (November 2022). Other gang leaders have evaded (sometimes multiple) assassination attempts.

Their killings are both a symptom and a cause of increased gang fragmentation. After several of these high-profile murders, there was no retaliation against other gangs, which is a strong indicator that they were carried out internally. Sources suggest many were internal plots, or conspiracies between one faction and another gang to eliminate a leader. High-level assassinations of this sort create power vacuums and instability among the top leadership, opening the door to a young generation of leaders who must prove themselves, often by demonstrating their capacity for violence.

Some gangs have capitalized on this fragmentation and infighting in established gangs to expand their territory and recruit on a grand scale. The Fancy Boys, for example, as detailed above, have contested for territory traditionally held by the Americans, and recruited former members of other gangs (including the Hard Livings, Terrible Josters, 28s and Americans splinter groups) into their number.

Meanwhile, throughout the Western Cape gang landscape, it is now commonplace for senior, established gangs to have a junior gang counterpart, made up of younger recruits. A case in point is the OTFs (Only The Family), who branched out from the Ghetto Kids. These junior gangs contribute to the factional fighting and instability, as they can be used by high-ranking gang members to take out senior leadership. Once established in its own rights as a senior gang, a (formerly) junior group must fight for its position among well-established and older Western Cape gangs, often through overt violence.

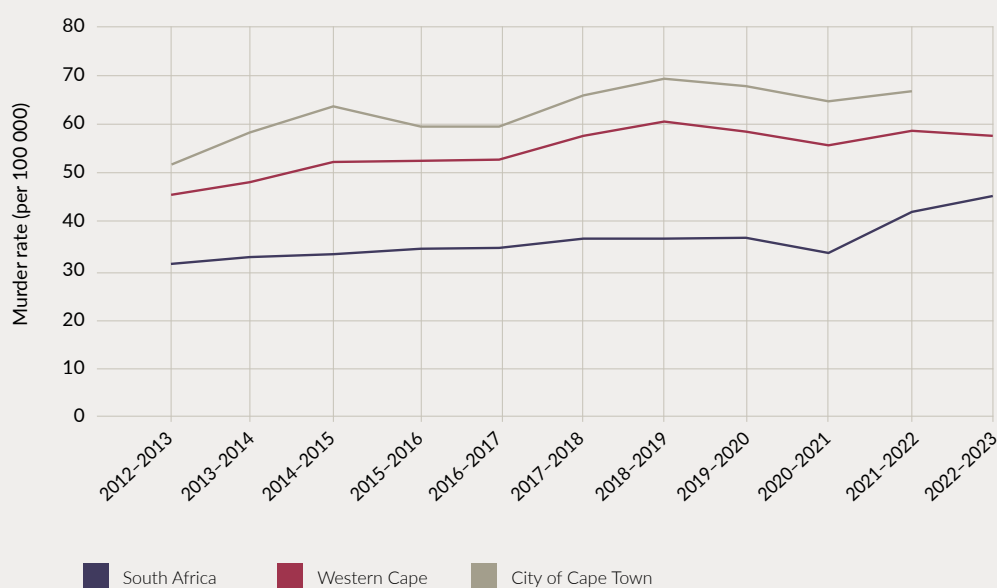
Increasing fragmentation is also changing how rivalries between different gangs play out. In previous generations, gangs would

commonly fight along the lines of long-held, embittered rivalries, such as the notorious historical conflict between the Americans and the Hard Livings. Now, fragmentation of gangs into splinter groups and internal conflict have become more common. Yet even splinter groups that are fighting may, if the situation arises, form a truce and ally to see off an external rival. There are two levels of rivalries – internal and external – which play off against each other. This makes gang violence harder to predict.

Another contributing factor to this dynamic has been the huge rise in the volume of illicit firearms supplied to Western Cape gangs. This was triggered largely by the 'Prinsloo guns' scandal, whereby police armoury firearms were sold to gangs in their thousands throughout the early 2010s.³⁴ Since then, ammunition and firearms have continued to flow to criminal networks, including from police firearms stores and as a result of corrupt practices in firearms licensing processes.³⁵

Before this transformational influx of weapons, gang bosses in the Western Cape would generally control and allocate use of all the firearms within their gangs. Today, however, many gang members are armed with their own weapons. Lower-level footsoldiers turn these weapons on rival gangs, their own leaders or civilians, contributing to a much more hostile, violent and volatile gang landscape.

These shifts in gang social dynamics and the surge in firearms are contributing factors to the rising rates of violence in the Western Cape, and particularly in the city of Cape Town, which show a steady mean increase over the past decade (see the homicide graph).



Comparative homicide rate, Western Cape, Cape Town and South Africa, 2012–2023.

SOURCES: SAPS crime statistics, Statistics SA and Western Cape Government data

DYNAMIC 2: Gangs have increased and diversified their forms of illicit income.

Competition to control territory for drug sales profits has always been the key driver of gang violence. However, gangs are now exploiting more sources of income. Extortion carried out at construction sites, for example, has become more widespread across the province (although this practice has long been part of the fabric of life in communities where gangs operate). Gangs have closed in on municipal contracts for school or road construction, and the like, and forced contractors into paying 'protection' fees.

This is not just a local phenomenon: so-called 'construction mafias' became prevalent in KwaZulu-Natal from around 2016.³⁶ However, the phenomenon has spread nationwide,³⁷ and in the Western Cape, it is manifested through the gangs increasing their historical influence in the construction sector, holding contractors to ransom and hindering service delivery. As the Western Cape Government's data shows, millions of rands' worth of infrastructure and housing projects have been put at risk.³⁸

Organized extortion of the construction industry is but part of a broader proliferation of gang-related extortion practices. Xenophobic extortion of foreign shop owners, for example, has also spiralled. Extortion activities targeting a range of businesses proliferated during the COVID-19 pandemic and have remained pervasive since.³⁹ Competition among gangs to collect protection money from the taxi industry has also increased. The Terrible Josters, for example, have provided supporting firepower to the Hard Livings at certain taxi ranks to force out the Americans, the former's biggest rival for taxi protection income. Smaller gangs have also increased their presence at taxi ranks, muscling in on this competitive market.

Nationwide, the past three years have seen an unprecedented rise in copper theft from infrastructure systems in response to soaring international copper prices, with copper being stripped out of the country's railways, electricity grid and communications networks.⁴⁰ Gangs have facilitated this illicit market in the Western Cape, running informal scrapyards to collect stolen metal and get a slice of the profits of copper theft.

These new patterns of market exploitation have been matched with a shift in gang culture. Gang members and observers in the criminal justice system have described how gangs have become much more entrepreneurial in recent years. Mid- and lower-ranking gang members have become involved in their own criminal money-spinning sidelines, unauthorized by their leaders. This has driven gang diversification into more criminal markets and extortion rackets. Their behaviour is now, more than ever, driven by financial gain, displacing once honoured traditional gang codes and norms.

This is exemplified in how gangs today govern drug markets. New business partnerships have emerged whereby gangs, in return for protection payments, allow foreign criminal networks to distribute drugs in their territories or supply them at discounted rates. Previously, Western Cape gangs would violently oppose foreign criminal networks distributing drugs in their turf. Today, these more fluid arrangements are facilitating international drug flows to the Western Cape, leading to far higher volumes of drugs available on the streets. Among these are rising imports of methamphetamine from Afghanistan supplied by Pakistani networks⁴¹ and supplies from Nigerian and Congolese networks. Powder cocaine has also become increasingly popular for local consumption.

DYNAMIC 3: The legacy of the COVID-19 pandemic has strengthened gangs' support bases and income streams.

The pandemic impacted gangs' behaviour, including recruitment, internal governance and financial flows. It also shaped their relationship with the communities around them. The legacy of the pandemic continues to have knock-on effects on Western Cape gang dynamics today.

During the COVID-19 lockdown, gangs diversified their operations, exploring new opportunities, such as the illicit cigarette and alcohol markets, which emerged out of supply restrictions ushered in during the pandemic. Former rival gangs collaborated in joint business deals for these illicit sales of cigarettes and alcohol. This way of working unlocked new sources of revenue and helped catalyze the more money-driven focus of gangs, which, as described above, continues today. In particular, the COVID-19 lockdowns resulted in a pattern of lower-level gang members engaging in independent, sideline criminal operations outside the purview of their gang roles. This marked a definitive change from previous norms, as in earlier years gang leaders exerted more centralized control over gang finances and activities.

Gangs have always recruited young children. However, the target age for recruitment has become younger than ever before (as the story above would indicate). This shift began during the lockdown period when schools closed, giving gangs more opportunity to recruit school-age children.⁴² Young recruits are also more frequently deployed as assassins. In the past, such young members would have been entrusted only with minor roles, such as working as the gang lookouts and runners. Today, gang leaders are entrusting them with firearms and instructing them to carry out hits. This poses a challenge for the police and courts, as some of these offenders are below the age of criminal capacity. These younger, less experienced shooters are also seen by police as more unpredictable and liable to cause harm to community members in addition to their actual targets.

The economic impact of the pandemic has contributed to rising unemployment levels among already marginalized communities. This has boosted gang recruitment of impoverished and alienated young people. Gang leaders entrenched their social stature within these communities by providing financial support and 'philanthropic' gestures in return for loyalty, and by offering people protection from rival gangs, a welcome service in insecure areas.⁴³ Amid growing unemployment, gangs have preyed on vulnerable women in impoverished communities, who are recruited into prostitution rackets, in which Western Cape gangs have collaborated with foreign human trafficking networks.

DYNAMIC 4: Systemic issues in the criminal justice system are hindering the response to gangs.

Many of the key challenges facing South Africa's criminal justice system – emerging from the disastrous years of state capture – are acutely felt when it comes to prosecuting perpetrators of gang violence in the Western Cape.

Many prominent gang leaders stand accused in cases at the Western Cape High Court. Yet these cases are mired in delays and overwhelm the workload of judges, investigators and prosecutors. The Western Cape judiciary stated in August 2023 that complex, high-profile gang-related cases are contributing to a case backlog in the High Court.⁴⁴ The consequent delays make the prosecution's work more challenging as evidence deteriorates or is lost and witnesses withdraw or die. Meanwhile, victims are left waiting for justice.

For example, the high-profile murder trial involving alleged gang leaders Jerome Booyesen and Mark Lifman as co-accused was postponed from July 2023 to 2024, as the Western Cape High Court did not have an available judge, a decision deplored by civil society observers.⁴⁵ Other cases are also reportedly at risk of being postponed for the same reason.

These major cases are indicative of a broader problem: the inability to secure prosecutions of gang-related offences. The conviction rate for gang violence in the province is just 2–3%, according to figures from May 2022.⁴⁶

Recent research in Grassy Park – as a case study among many similar gang-affected areas – found that impunity in gang-related cases was a source of frustration and anger among the community. The same shooters are used by gangs for multiple killings with impunity, as even if they are arrested these gang members are often swiftly released, either with charges dropped or bail granted. Intimidation of witnesses, police corruption, an unmanageable caseload of investigating officers, and incompatible priorities between the police and the court system were all cited as contributing factors. This leaves communities frustrated and at risk of further violence.⁴⁷

The impact of corruption, which has reached even the highest echelons of the Western Cape policing structures, has also become a major issue. A ground-breaking Western Cape High Court judgment warned in October 2022 that members of the 28s gang had infiltrated the highest levels of police management in the province.⁴⁸ This is reflected in our research findings: gang sources report in interviews that corruption of police and government officials has become ever-more normalized across many gang-affected areas. This has the effect of sowing mistrust among the different Western Cape policing structures – Metro Police and SAPS – which discourages cooperation and stymies effective investigations into gang activity.

Looking ahead

The Western Cape is facing an ever-more complex challenge from gangs. As prosecutors are struggling to convict gang leaders in a court system mired in stasis, new leaders and new, violent splinter gangs are emerging frequently. While the legacy of the pandemic continues, casting a long shadow of unemployment and financial hardship, gangs have diversified and strengthened their economic base, enabling them to entrench their social power among financially strained communities. As public works get under way to improve infrastructure and service delivery in areas that need it most, these projects are then derailed by gang extortion and intimidation. The government's approach must be to respond to these new dynamics in gang behaviour and tackle the major obstacles to effective investigation and prosecution.

This new gang monitor will aim to play a role in this, by providing a sound, data-driven evidence base – through regular updates – to inform effective, sustainable policy-level interventions. ■

Notes

- 1 See Mandilakhe Tshwete, Hanover Park residents march for peace, frustrated by ongoing gang warfare, IOL, 28 August 2023, <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/hanover-park-residents-march-for-peace-frustrated-by-ongoing-gang-warfare-81d6c7ff-4b46-44fc-9a06-fcc78331f30c>.
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- 3 Interviews with gang members in Hanover Park, October 2023, including one with an Americans gang leader, 5 October 2023.
- 4 Interview with a 28s member, Manenberg, September 2023.
- 5 See also Byron Lukas, Slain flats 'hitman' murdered by his pal, Daily Voice, 28 September 2023, <https://www.dailyvoice.co.za/news/slain-flats-hitman-murdered-by-his-pal-8c9481d3-8813-4983-aa86-c5581440bf8a>.
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- 10 Interview with a high ranking member of the Americans gang, September 2023.
- 11 Interview with a former member of the Fancy Boys, Mitchells Plain, September 2023.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 See Byron Lukas, 'G-Force isn't Pagad, we'll never talk to criminals', Daily Voice, 23 August 2023, <https://www.dailyvoice.co.za/news/g-force-isnt-pagad-well-never-talk-to-criminals-39d95046-416a-461f-b169-0123fb43ce2a#:~:text=STATEMENT%3A%20Pagad%20refutes%20links%20to,own%20area%2C%20he%20explained>.
- 14 Interviews with Americans gang members, Hanover Park, September 2023.
- 15 See one example from Hanover Park, August 2023, shared by iReport South Africa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgZsvWOL-RY>. See another example from Athlone, shared by Pagad G-Force on Facebook Live: <https://www.facebook.com/pagadgforce/videos/276852808262762/>.
- 16 See iReport South Africa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgZsvWOL-RY>.
- 17 Video shared to TikTok by an account under the banner of Pagad G-Force, August 2023.
- 18 Caryn Dolley, Horsemen with bows and arrows confront gangsters in Cape Town during 'Pagad G-Force' march, 23 August 2023, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-08-23-horsemen-with-bows-and-arrows-join-pagad-g-force-march/>.
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- 22 Images shared to TikTok by an account under the banner of Pagad G Force, August 2023.
- 23 Interview with an Americans gang leader in Hanover Park, September 2023; interview with Pagad G-Force member, September 2023.
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- 26 Interview with Pagad G-Force member, 4 October 2023.
- 27 Information shared by a source familiar with the case, 4 October 2023.
- 28 Interview with a JFK member, Ottery, 23 September 2023.
- 29 Observation of proceedings at Wynberg Magistrate's Court, 21 September 2023.
- 30 Information shared by a source familiar with the case, 4 October 2023.
- 31 This will be reported in a forthcoming research paper for the ENACT Africa project: <https://enactafrica.org>
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