

THE PROBLEM OF THE "DUCKTAIL" IN
THE GREYVILLE AREA OF DURBAN.

Being a Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of
Social Welfare in the Department of Social Science
University of Natal, by :

Joan Maryana Zoe Huthwaite,
University of Natal,
Durban.

February, 1961.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The investigator expresses her indebtedness to Dr. Kathleen Hill of the Faculty of Social Science, University of Natal, for her valuable guidance and assistance; to the Management Board of the Bellhaven Club, Greyville who made the investigation possible; to the Social Worker of the Club, Mr. John Bosman for his untiring help and to the late Mr. Frank Bayer for reading the thesis and making many helpful suggestions.

J.M.Z.H.

February, 1961.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
<u>CHAPTER I.</u> INTRODUCTION	1
A. Definition of Ducktail	1
B. Place, Method and Scope of Investigation	2
<u>CHAPTER II</u> THE DELINQUENT SUB-CULTURE	11
A. The Sub-Culture Theory of Delinquency	11
B. Development of Juvenile Gangs	16
C. Development of the Ducktail Cult in South Africa	21
<u>CHAPTER III</u> THE GREYVILLE GANG AND ITS ENVIRONMENT	28
A. The Greyville area	28
B. History of the Greyville Gang	33
C. Characteristics of the Greyville Gang	34
D. Socially Acceptable Features of Gang Life	36
<u>CHAPTER IV</u> MEMBERS OF THE GREYVILLE GANG AND THEIR ASSOCIATES	41
A. Gang Membership	41
B. The Individual Members of the Greyville Gang	42
C. Ages of Members	56
D. Length of Period of Gang Membership	58
E. Criminal Record	58
F. Acceptance of New Members	59
G. Developments During 1959	63
H. Family Backgrounds & Relationships	66
I. Women Associating with the Gang	68
<u>CHAPTER V</u> GANG CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE	72
A. Ducktail Language	72
B. Mode of Dress	79
C. Weapons	81
D. Possessions	82
E. Daily Routine	83
F. Recreational Activities	86
G. Sexual Life	89
H. Employment	91
I. Destructive Manifestations of Gang Life	95
<u>CHAPTER VI</u> ATTITUDES AND RELATIONSHIPS	110
A. Attitudes towards Other Gangs	110
B. Attitudes towards Authority	114
C. Attitudes towards Women	117
D. Attitudes towards Non-Ducktails	118
E. Attitudes towards Other Nationalities and Races	119
<u>CHAPTER VII</u> THE BELLHAVEN CLUB	123
<u>CHAPTER VIII</u> CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS	129
A. Conclusions	129
B. Recommendations	133

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. DEFINITION OF "DUCKTAIL"

Juvenile delinquency is a problem which has been highlighted, and which has caused considerable concern in the 20th Century. With the increase in urbanization and industrialization there has been a considerable rise in the number of young offenders. The problem is world-wide, and is most pressing and serious in those countries which are the most highly developed industrially.

Frequently, groups of juveniles gather together for companionship, because of their common interests, or in some cases, lack of interests. Many of these groups can be distinguished by a characteristic style of dress. Amongst these are the so-called "Ducktails" of South Africa.

The term "Ducktail" has arisen during the past few years, and is used in South Africa to describe a cult, the outward identifying features of which are a characteristic hair and dress style. The members of this cult are juveniles and young adults, between the ages of 16 and 25 years.

Whilst having several local features not found elsewhere, the problem presented by these young people known as "Ducktails", is in all its essential aspects, the same as that presented by the "Teddy Boys" of Britain, the "Stilyagi" of Russia and the "Bodgies" of Australia and New Zealand. It is also displayed in the revolt against accepted standards by the delinquent

youth of the United States of America.

Although these dress peculiarities originated among the age group 16 to 25 years, boys as young as 8 or 9 years are now also emulating this type of garb.

The cult has now become associated with certain delinquent activities, though all Ducktails are not necessarily delinquent. Most of them are youths who at least feel they have some grudge against society.

In many of the urban centres of the Union, Ducktails, who originally operated as two-or-three person groups, have now become organised into gangs. These gangs are not so evident in rural communities. The larger the city, the more serious the extent of the problem appears to be.

In Durban there are several Ducktail groups which possess all the essential characteristics of anti-social gangs. These congregate in specific neighbourhoods, generally in the central city area and in under-privileged neighbourhoods, the Greyville area being one such neighbourhood.

Few systematic attempts have been made to deal with the problem, but a start has been made in the Greyville area in which there is a strong Ducktail gang.

B. PLACE, METHOD AND SCOPE OF INVESTIGATION

The investigations recorded in this thesis were carried out at the Bellhaven Club which is run by the National War Memorial Health Foundation. This Foundation was established after the Second World

War, as a living memorial to those South Africans who died in this struggle. It has as its aims, the promotion of the health of the community in the broadest sense, that is, both physical and mental health. It attempts to provide an atmosphere where development of both physical and social faculties is encouraged. One of the aims of the Bellhaven Club is the provision of suitable leisure-time activities for all sections of the European community of Greyville.

The Club has spacious modern premises and amenities. It sponsors a great variety of activities for all ages and both sexes including "Rock 'n Roll" sessions, snooker and a football club. The three items mentioned are considered the special preserve of the Greyville Ducktails.

Originally the Club was visited in order to obtain material for a proposed investigation into the educational aspects of group work in the recreational sphere. It soon became necessary to limit the study because of the great variety and scope of the material. The investigation was therefore limited to the study of a particular Ducktail gang, the Greyville gang, with emphasis on the constructive effects of organised groups and the results achieved with Ducktails in this atmosphere.

Three or four evenings per week (from 7.30 to 11 p.m.) were spent at the Club from the beginning of March 1958, until the end of December of the same year, a period of nine months. Rock 'n Roll sessions were of particular interest as this was the time considered

to be essentially set aside for the Ducktails. The less organised activities, such as snooker, were also attended.

From March to June, there was very little close social contact with Ducktail gang members. During this time the investigator assisted with a variety of tasks, such as selling minerals, checking tickets at the door, changing records for dancing etc. Any situation offering opportunities for meeting gang members and becoming acquainted with them, was exploited.

Before the investigation was undertaken the investigator made a study of the work of Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook.^{1.} Attempts were made to apply principles advocated by these authorities for the systematic observation of groups.

The Ducktails showed curiosity and suspicion during the first three visits and arrived at several conclusions as to the reason for the investigator's presence, as for instance, that she was from the press to take photographs and write an article on Ducktails.

When they enquired, it was explained that the investigator was a Social Science student from the University doing practical work at the Club.

1. Jahoda, Marie; Deutsch, Morton and Cook, Stuart W. Research Methods in Social Relations Vols. I : II New York 1951.

No notes were made at the Club lest these should arouse resentment and suspicion, but detailed narrative reports were compiled after each session. The following is one such report :-

OBSERVATION ON "ROCK 'N ROLL" SESSION

Date: 26th June, 1958.

Time: 8 to 11 p.m.

Number of People Present: approx. 40.

At 8 p.m. Social Worker and Joan sit at door to collect money from club members attending session. Very little trouble is experienced in getting them to pay. Joan tells investigator that she has been divorced twice from the same man. "He roams from one job to another and from one woman to another". He has spent all his money and is about £200 in debt. She will not go back to him and would like to see him punished by a gaol sentence. She had a fine job in Johannesburg which she had to give up when he brought her back to Durban to live. "He just dumped me at the house where I am now. Now he says he has a place for me to live, but I won't go to him". (Joan is only girl associating with the gang who is a member of the badminton section).

Martin attempts to walk in, bottle in hand, without paying. When asked to leave, he protests and Social Worker ends up by leading him out by the arm.

Town "ous" (members of central city area gang) turn up - two carloads full - together with girls. A friend of the biggest town "ou" (Schalk's size) bets Schalk a pound that he will not fight this man. Schalk scrounges around for a pound, borrowing 1/- here

and 5/- there and then challenges his "fighting weight". The man does not accept his challenge and Schalk collects his pound on the bet.

The town girls insult the Greyville girls by calling them "a lot of bitches". Later Greyville girls challenge a town girl to come out of the car and "see who we really are". They then proceed to call the town girls "a f....lot of b....'s" and are about to pull one of the girls out of the car when the car speeds off.

Social Worker points out to Greyville gang and the girls that they may have grounds for wanting to "barney" (fight), but that they are chasing away Rock 'n Roll supporters. The girls inform the Social Worker that they realise this, but feel they must stand up for their rights. "These town people are always insulting us and calling us Greyville Goosies and Greyville prossies (prostitutes) when they meet us in town". "They can't expect to come out to our territory and get away with it". Social Worker replies that such actions will not really solve problems. "We must admit that Greyville has a bad name and it is up to you people to show your worth by behaving better than they do".

There is considerable movement in and out of the Club with gang members and others going to the park and to the bar across the road. The atmosphere is very restless.

A man who retired from his job to-day has been "standing drinks" to everyone at the tavern and many of the gang members begin to drift into the hall at about 9.30 p.m. under the influence of liquor. A member

informs the investigator that in addition to being "stood drinks", the "ous" have consumed a bottle of "cane" (cane spirits) and the girls a bottle of brandy outside in the park, (not together; in separate sessions).

At about 10 p.m. Jacko creates a disturbance. He repeatedly kicks the counter which stands in a corner of the hall. Schalk and Rusty are sitting on this counter at the time, but appear to be unperturbed. The kicking does not damage the counter. Jacko then turns to one of the large tin ash-trays standing on the floor and kicks this around the hall emptying sand and cigarette ends onto the floor. Social Worker puts on main hall lights (they had been dancing by light from stage lamps) and stops the music. He goes to speak to Jacko. Crowd all watch. He tells Jacko "I treat you squarely and expect the same in return". Jacko states that he does not know that he has done anything. He is then asked what he thinks the tin is doing in the middle of the floor. Lights go off. Dancing begins again.

Not long after this a little mock fighting starts in courtyard between Jacko, Rusty and a non-member Andy. Jacko's shirt gets torn in process. The hall is deserted as dancers stream out into courtyard to watch the fight.

Martin informs Social Worker that his brother Errol has been sentenced to two months hard labour for "mailing" (selling liquor to non-Europeans). An African woman told the police about him when Errol refused to return a ten shilling note which she had given him to obtain liquor for her.

Only a few of the gang participate in dancing. The rest, recovering from "free drinks" sit around in small groups on chairs and on counter at side of the hall. Occasionally some one calls out in a loud, high-pitched voice "Who killed Polly". Investigator later sees that this is Jacko.

In the snooker room eight persons are gathered, some playing, some watching snooker - there is only desultory conversation.

Monty who is playing the records informs investigator that there is a lot of "tension" tonight. (Tension is used in its literal sense).

At about 11 p.m. music stops, club is locked up and small groups of boys and girls stand outside talking and shouting to one another and then drifting off.

(The Social Worker at the Bellhaven Club allowed the investigator full access to his reports and assisted in the compilation of the narrative reports after each session).

The process of acceptance by the group was gradual. At first, in addition to curiosity, a certain amount of antagonism was apparent. The investigator did not reveal that she was anxious to get to know them, and no attempt was made to accelerate the process, but she did show friendliness and interest towards anyone who addressed her. The first persons to make overtures were the younger girls, who asked for assistance in pinning up clothing which had come apart as a result of strenuous activity during the Rock and Roll sessions.

Apart from the organised sessions, less formal and

smaller groups, such as those around the snooker table and groups seated chatting were observed. Other contacts involved being a supporter of the football team at matches, attendance at the cinema club and various social events both at, and away from the Club, as well as home visits.

Acceptance was finally achieved through this participation in the activities of the Ducktails, and through assistance given for example, by typing football club notices. Some imitation of the style of dress favoured by the Greyville girls was also helpful in securing confidence.

Limitations. The validity of evidence supplied by gang members had continually to be weighed against the statement that they cannot describe accurately an incident in which they participated because "in many cases if their behaviour has created trouble for themselves, they will not recall what they have done".^{2.}

Another factor to be borne in mind is the error which could have been introduced by the investigator because of "distortion of his perceptions created by his own needs or values".^{3.} This problem presented itself at times on a conscious level to the investigator and it was probably present throughout the investigation.

2. Ibid., Vol. II p. 517

3. Ibid., Vol. II p. 530

The investigator found it impossible to remain neutral and psychologically non-visible as is often recommended. Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook do not, however, recommend the neutral approach entirely because of the risk of projection of the group's feelings of hostility onto the observer who plays an obviously unstructured role. By displaying approachability and warmth towards the members, the investigator eventually was accepted by the group.

CHAPTER II

THE DELINQUENT SUB-CULTURE

A. THE SUB-CULTURE THEORY OF DELINQUENCY

Amongst certain groups of society in industrial urban areas, the formation of gangs has become traditional in some neighbourhoods. Spontaneous play groups which arise when children from crowded tenements spill out into the streets, public places and vacant lots, often crystallise into gangs. The forces which make for the formation of gangs, such as unlimited opportunities for conflict and the opposition of conventional society to their activities, are present to a marked degree in these unorganised areas.

These gangs do not remain constant in their membership and are in a state of flux. Intergroup conflicts, change of interests, new friendships, marriage in the case of older members, are amongst the concomitants that make for this dynamic situation. When social factors remain constant however, "the volume of gang life and the sum total of gangs does not change appreciably with changing personnel. With few exceptions, the old gangs are replaced by new ones,"^{1.} because the gangs offer a substitute for what society fails to give.

In the neighbourhoods where the gangs flourish,

1. Thrasher; Frederic M. Ph. D. : The Gang - University of Chicago, Press - 1936 p. 37.

participation as a member has become an almost traditional mode of behaviour. Gang delinquency has become a sub-cultural pattern which is followed by a large number of the youth in these areas.

1.
Cohen describes all human action as being an effort to solve problems, that is, to make decisions between various courses of action. Even the matter of deciding whether or not to accept another piece of cake causes a certain tension which must be resolved. Should it not be successfully resolved, new and more complex problems may arise. Those problems which are habitual do not initiate any obvious anxiety. They are familiar and recur, and habitual and effective modes of action which have been found to be acceptable to the individual and society have been established for their solution.

Problems may only be solved within a certain frame of reference which is limited and determined by several factors. There is the physical setting, the time and energy available for solving the problem, and above all, the demands and expectations of the social organisation of which the individual is a part.

Problems which cannot be solved within this framework, frequently cause feelings of tension, frustration, resentment, guilt, bitterness or anxiety. In such cases it frequently happens that a satisfactory solution to such problems "must entail some change in the frame

1. Cohen, Albert K. : Delinquent Boys. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. 1956 p. 50.

of reference itself".^{2.} There are several ways in which this may be achieved.

- i. A decision that the goal is after all, not worth pursuing. This implies a change of values.
- ii. A problem of conflicting loyalties may be resolved by the decision that one loyalty has a greater obligation attached to it than the other. This also involves a change in the frame of reference.
- iii. Failure to achieve a satisfactory solution may be blamed on the anti-social actions of others. This is again a change in the frame of reference.
- iv. Illicit means may be adopted to achieve the end result. Here the solution is satisfactory only if the guilt is obviated by a change in the individual's standards.

Human problems differ in relation to the distribution of the various roles which comprise a specific social system. Each age, sex, race and social, occupational and educational group will have developed its own characteristic problems of adjustment.

In the determination of which particular course of action a person will follow when presented with a problem, an important factor to be considered is the pressure towards conformity. A wholly acceptable

2. Ibid. p. 53

solution must be "acceptable to those on whose co-operation and good will"^{3.} the individual depends. There are powerful incentives at work on an individual not to deviate from the ways established in the groups to which he belongs in which he covets status.

Should a person have pressing problems not possible of solution in ways acceptable to those groups of which he is a member, he is more likely to seek another group with a congenial frame of reference rather than to strike out on his own.

Occasions arise when a number of persons have similar problems of adjustment and are seeking for a solution. This may result in the formation of a sub-culture. "The crucial condition for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment!"^{4.} "For each participant this solution would be adjustive and adequately motivated provided that a simultaneous and corresponding transformation in the frames of reference of his fellows can be anticipated".^{5.}

"Each would welcome a sign from the others that a new departure in this direction would receive approval and support".^{6.} Each innovation is so slight that it has the quality of an exploratory gesture. Each favourable response gives direction to the change which proceeds further in a way more congenial to those participating than that of their present frame of

3. Ibid. p. 56

4. Ibid. p. 59

5. Ibid. p. 59

6. Ibid. p. 60

reference. "If the probing gesture is motivated by tensions common to other participants it is likely to initiate a process of mutual exploration and joint elaboration of a new solution".^{7.}

The final product, is "a compromise formation of all participants"^{8.} to a cultural process, a formation perhaps unanticipated by any of them. "The product cannot be ascribed to any one of the participants; it is a real emergent on a group level".^{9.} and by its very nature it is necessary for the solution to be a group and not a private one. The process may be thought of as one of mutual conversion.

The emergence of a new group standard formed by this process of mutual conversion by group members is the emergence of a new sub-culture. It is called a sub-culture because "the norms are shared not by society generally, but only among those actors who stand somehow to profit from them, and who find in one another a sympathetic moral climate within which these norms may come to fruition and persist".^{10.} The "new sub-cultural values would be different or even anti-thetical to those of the larger social system".^{11.}

"Insofar as the new sub-culture represents a new status system sanctioning behaviour tabooed or frowned upon by the larger society, the acquisition of status within the new group is accompanied by a loss of status

-
7. Ibid. p. 61
8. Ibid. p. 61
9. Ibid. p. 61
10. Ibid. p. 65
11. Ibid. p. 66

12.
outside the group".

13.
Redl says that when juveniles refuse or fail to identify with the particular sub-strata of society which parents or middle-class society represent, they tend to search for another group which is not bound by such strict prohibitive codes. Should other juveniles with the same problems be found tentative approaches and withdrawals are made in attempts to find a solution.

When the contacts are prepared to proceed along lines which provide satisfaction for all participants, a sub-culture is formed, and in certain cases where a majority of participants find satisfaction in the company explored, a "gang" may be formed.

Some juveniles find that in their neighbourhoods, such preliminary search and formation is unnecessary. There may exist a gang or gangs, possibly recently formed to meet needs similar to those being experienced, or which may have been formed generations before.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF JUVENILE GANGS.

Although adult gangs have been present in urban areas for centuries and have, at times, constituted a serious problem in specific areas (e.g. the Chicago gangs which Thrasher^{14.} discovered and studied in the late 1920's), juvenile gangs on a universal scale are a development of the 20th Century, particularly of the post-World War II period. These gangs, of which Duck-tail gangs are one form, have increased in number and

12. Ibid. p. 68

13. Redl, Fritz : The Psychology of Gang Formation and the treatment of Juvenile Delinquents; The Psycho Analytic Study of the Child - Vol. I 1945 p. 369.

14. Thrasher, Frederic M. : The Gang; University of Chicago Press. 1927 and 1936.

strength in the post-war years in most highly urbanised countries. This is true also of South Africa where there has been considerable development of urbanisation during this period.

Usually after full-scale war conditions, with the concomitant evils of personality disorganisation, uncertainty and general lowering of moral standards there is an increase in the delinquency rate.

In war-separated families where a father is away, sometimes for many years, there is considerable disruption of normal family life. There is the lack of male parental control and furthermore the lack of a male with whom a child can identify. On the return of the father from active service he experiences difficulty in establishing a relationship with children whom he has not seen for some time and who may resent his resumption of control. The adaptation of the soldier to the role of husband and father and to civilian employment also causes stress which is sometimes not quickly or easily resolved.

During the 1939-45 War, there was, in addition, a general breakdown of class barriers with an increase in problems of status. This was due to the fact that the values constituting status became changed. Birth and money were no longer the only criteria for status. Education and occupation were becoming increasingly important as the standards by which status was to be judged.

Another phenomenon which was accelerated by the Second World War was that of the working mother. Many women with families went to work to meet the demand for labour caused by the mobilisation of the male population.

Women entered spheres of activity previously considered to be the preserves of men. At the end of hostilities many did not give up their employment, but continued to supplement family incomes in an attempt to meet the rising cost of living. The effect on children and adolescents was that they were left with inadequate supervision. Often an African servant, with very little training in the care and upbringing of children and without any authority over the children, would be placed in sole charge. In some cases even this amount of control would be lacking and children would return from school to an empty home, completely without supervision until the mother returned from work in the evening. The number of working mothers is increasing and this is a problem which is therefore becoming greater.

These factors, together with the overcrowding due to a backlog in the provision of adequate housing caused by the abandonment of housing projects during the period of hostilities and by the rapid growth of the urban population, due to industrialisation, has given rise to conditions which would facilitate the development of a strong delinquent sub-culture.

Most of the gangs symbolise their apartness from society by their manner of dress. "Anti-social behaviour has never been so institutionalised amongst juveniles in this country as it is by the present Teddy-boy gangs".^{15.} observes Ford of the Teddy-boy, the British counterpart of our South African Ducktails.

15. Ford : The Delinquent Child p. 159

In the early 1950's in Great Britain, the problem of the Teddy-boy arose. They are called Teddy-boys because of their mode of dress which is in the style of the dandies of the reign of Edward VII, but much exaggerated - tight trousers, bright waistcoats, small hats, well-groomed hair, oversized jackets.

Those favouring Edwardian dress are not necessarily all Teddy-boys of the vicious type; many wear the fashion because they consider it elegant. The majority have developed certain characteristics which identify them - peculiarities of walking and talking, a typical swagger which is accompanied by a roll of the shoulders and a mincing gait. Ford states that they make certain cafes and street corners their own, and they interfere with passers-by in the street.

There are no loyalties which will impede them in the exercise of their brutality, neither age nor infirmity is respected, neither man, woman nor child is safe. In cinemas they are rowdy, they chatter, they laugh and catcall through the performance watching any sadistic episodes with great interest and approval. 16.

The delinquencies of these gangs have been of a vandalistic type and these, together with disturbances of the peace, have been the main types of offences.

Certain gangs of older Teddy-boys have participated in major crimes such as armed robberies and murder, and recently they figured prominently in the racial riots against the West Indians in Britain.

In the United States of America, teenagers who hang around in gangs and indulge in a variety of anti-social activities are to be identified by an exaggeration of the U.S.A. juvenile mode of dress, viz. tight blue jeans, leather lumber jackets and mocassin-type shoes.

The hair is allowed to grow longer than normal, whereas the typical American youth wears his hair closely cropped.

In Russia, the appearance of an almost identical cult has been attributed by the authorities to the infiltration of "bourgeois decadence" from the West. There the adherents are called "Stilyagi" which means stylist, because of their imitation of what they consider to be western fashions of garish colours, carefully styled hair and "hot rhythm" dances. The Soviet Journal "Soviet Culture"¹⁷ in March, 1955 contained an article describing a typical Stilyagi costume - green jacket, apple blossom tie, light blue trousers and speckled waistcoat. Flowing locks were permanently waved. Certain of the youths favouring such fashions were named and identified as being the sons of prominent Soviet citizens.

In Australasia, first in Australia and then in New Zealand, reports appeared early in 1955, of the rise in larger urban areas of "Bodgies" and "Widgies", male and female counterparts of the Teddy-boy. Here the dress was even more extreme than in Britain - stove-pipe trousers, string ties, gaudy waistcoats (preferably yellow), watch chains and shoes several sizes too large. This mode of dress was accompanied by typical behaviour patterns e.g. exhibitions of violence and vandalism by most members. Juvenile crime rose sharply, and in some cities, police riot squads had to be called out to quell disturbances.

17. "Soviet Culture" - quoted in Time News Magazine.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF THE DUCKTAIL CULT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

As early as 1953 in South Africa, newspaper reports indicated that alarm was being felt over the increase in the incidence of dagga-smoking amongst juveniles, this being a form of drug addiction and an offence under South African Criminal Law. A report in the Sunday Tribune, August 1953,^{18.} claimed that in East London, teenagers, including girls, held dagga-smoking parties which lasted whole week-ends, and that "rookers" (smokers) were steadily increasing in number.

In the same month in Durban however, both the Chief of the Criminal Investigation and the Principal Social Welfare Officer of Durban were quoted in the Sunday Tribune as feeling little cause for alarm. In their statements to the press, both said that there was no evidence of any increase in dagga-smoking and that although there was some incidence amongst Europeans, this was very small and was confined to the "lowest types".¹⁹

Three months later, again in East London, there were reports of "schools" of young dagga-smoking in the emergency housing schemes at Woodbrook. The situation did not cause sufficient alarm or concern to stimulate criticism in the press however.^{20.}

In January, 1954^{21.} the typical hairstyle, called by the American name "D.A." (District Attorney) or

18. Sunday Tribune - 30th August, 1953. p. 9

19. Sunday Tribune - 23rd August, 1953. p.13

20. Ibid. - 1st November, 1953. p. 14

21. Ibid. - 24th January, 1954. p. 9

"Tony Curtis" (a popular male cinema actor) appeared in Durban on a sufficiently marked scale to draw attention to it. It was not yet known as the Ducktail haircut which is an apt description of it. The hair was allowed to grow long, was swept back and the back was combed up in a manner resembling the tail feathers of Ducks.

It was during the period May to October, 1954, that concern was expressed over the rise of hooliganism and of dagga gangs in South Africa. The number of prosecutions involving dagga rose alarmingly and a careful watch was kept by the police.^{22.}

By December of the same year, police, social workers and welfare bodies were quoted in the press as becoming alarmed by the marked tendency among young people in the cities of South Africa to follow the pattern of anti-social juvenile behaviour already established in other parts of the world.^{23.} It was implied by authorities interviewed by the press, but not mentioned by name, that outside influence rather than existing internal conditions were the cause of this problem. In many South African newspapers there were reports of widespread minor hooliganism, an increase in juvenile crimes and of rival gang clashes. Cinemas, dance-halls and other places of entertainment were the scene of most of these disturbances.^{23.}

By 1955, the typical dress of the Ducktail had emerged as a recognisable "style" amongst juveniles. At first, juveniles and young adults addicted to this

22. Ibid. 30th May, 1954 p. 14

23. Sunday Tribune; Daily News; Natal Mercury; Sunday Times; various articles in December 1954.

type of dress did not congregate in gangs, but were generally seen in small groups of two or three. These groups were very loose in structure and could not be described as established delinquent gangs.

The typical mode of dress, though resembling in some respects the Teddy-boy costume, has certain unique characteristics. The Teddy-boy costume has never been popular in South Africa in its entirety, because the over-size jackets looked too much like those of the "zoot-suit", a type of dress which had already become popular with certain urbanised non-Europeans. The "zoot-suit" was originally introduced from America e.g. the Zoot-Suiters of Los Angeles.

In the Sunday Tribune of 24th July, 1955 a prominent article appearing on p.1 disclosed that "Ducktail" gangs had become established and described the typical vandalistic crimes which are the identifying characteristics of juvenile gangs of this nature. Contents of rubbish bins were tipped into school swimming baths, an observatory was entered, its walls were painted with hammer and sickle and swastika signs in gaudy colours. Valuable instruments in the observatory were taken from the cases and thrown on the floor. Houses nearing completion were entered and bright streaks scrawled on walls. Cars were stolen for joy-rides and then wrecked against trees or driven over banks. Sugar was poured into petrol tanks. Chairs or seats in hotels, railway carriages and buses were slashed or ripped, and the hand-sets in telephone booths were torn off their fixtures.

There was less structure in the gangs of that early

period. They did not appear to meet as groups at any specific venue, and to outside appearances it would be difficult to distinguish the leader. They appeared to be aimless groups of young people marked only by distinguishing peculiarities of dress.

In 1956 the well-organised gangs under strong leaders began to emerge in Durban and other towns. The "Dagga King" in Durban and "The Duke" in the Cape were two powerful leaders who gained a country-wide reputation. Reports (from the Cape Province and the Transvaal which appeared in the newspapers)^{24.} indicated that gangs there were becoming consolidated. The dagga trade was by this time well organised and the habit had spread to juveniles from better class homes. Town Councils, welfare organisations, the police, the National Council of Women and other responsible bodies became disturbed by these trends in juvenile behaviour, and numerous meetings were called in attempts to deal with the problem. One such meeting was that called by the Durban City Council under the Chairmanship of Councillor Williamson, and to which all those engaged in working with youth were invited.^{24.}

"Rock 'n Roll" music made its appearance on the Witwatersrand about the middle of September, 1956, and immediately became associated with the Ducktail sub-culture and its activities.^{25.} This particular style of dance music rhythm became popular amongst the youth of the United States in 1955 and was regarded by the

24. Daily News 31st August, 1956 and Sunday Tribune 9th September, 1956.

25. Sunday Tribune : 9th September, 1956 p. 1

United States police and social workers with some concern. One of the originators was a young singer, Elvis Presley, who became the idol of American youth. Prominent Americans, among them, Dr. Francis Braceland, of Hartford's Institute of Living, viewed this development with some alarm and used various terms to describe it. It was called "cannibalistic" and "tribalistic", a musical disease, the influence of which appealed to insecure adolescents and drove teenagers to extravagant behaviour. The craze spread to Britain where it was accompanied by riots and disturbances which occurred at cinemas where "Rock 'n Roll" films were shown.^{25.}

After its introduction to the Rand there was a wave of hooliganism which appeared to be connected with the dancing.^{26.} Scenes occurred in cafes where Rock 'n Roll records were played and local dances were invaded by Rock 'n Roll "fans" whose characteristic dress was that of the Ducktails. They "gate-crashed" parties, started fights outside cinemas and interfered with passers-by. The music was described by adults interviewed by the press as being "depravedly suggestive", and a Cape Town specialist in psychiatry, quoted in the Sunday Tribune (September, 1956) diagnosed it as "mob hysteria which indicates emotional instability", and stated that "the frenzy aroused by the rhythm of the music numbed the dancers' sense of responsibility".^{26.}

Since its appearance in South Africa, Rock 'n Roll music and dancing has gained a wide following, both

25. Sunday Tribune : 9th September, 1956 p. 1

26. Ibid. : 16th September, 1956 p. 9

among the Ducktail gangs as well as many other juveniles and a large number of adults.

This music was not the cause of the formation of the gangs of Ducktails as claimed by some commentators, since the gangs had become established before its appearance.

During 1957 and 1958 frequent disturbances were reported which were alleged to have originated with the Ducktail gangs. These clashed with the police on the Rand, in East London, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and in Durban, generally as a result of intervention by the police when rival factions met in conflict and used dangerous weapons. One notable clash took place in Bloemfontein between Ducktails and members of the Active Citizen Force doing military training at Tempe. Another occurred between Italian mining apprentices and Ducktails on the East Rand. In these clashes several people were injured when dangerous weapons such as knives, knuckle-dusters and bicycle chains were used. These clashes were reported in several South African newspapers, amongst them the Sunday Tribune, Daily News and Sunday Times.

The first Ducktail gangs in Durban occupied, as their own territory, the two blocks of the central city area which forms Durban's Cinemaland. Most of the disturbances in Durban have occurred during the July and December seaside holiday seasons, when large numbers of Ducktails from other centres have increased the strength of rival factions, resulting in a disturbance of the balance of power which led to conflict between

these factions. The Greyville gang took a prominent part in these disturbances.

From time to time the South African press has given much publicity to Ducktail gangs, Rock 'n Roll music, juvenile crime and dagga addiction, in the form of detailed reports describing sexual orgies,^{28.} "Lost-weekends", dagga parties, gang clashes and juvenile crime. The problem has been highlighted in sensational terms. Nevertheless it is true that a juvenile delinquent sub-culture has arisen and increased in strength throughout the world and that the Ducktail gangs are the South African version of this phenomenon. Those who belong are characterised by a particular mode of dress and by the commission of delinquencies of a vandalistic nature.

The Ducktail hairstyle, garb, mode of speech and intense preoccupation with Rock 'n Roll music are all external characteristics assumed by the members of this sub-culture which mark them out as a group.

28. Sunday Tribune : 24th July, 1955 p. 1.
contains a typical report.

CHAPTER III

THE GREYVILLE GANG AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

A. THE GREYVILLE AREA

Gangs in cities generally tend to be formed in the localities which Thrasher describes as "interstitial". He defines the term interstitial as "pertaining to spaces that intervene between one thing and another",^{1.} and points out that the gang is almost invariably characteristic of regions interstitial to the more settled and organised parts of the city. They comprise an area "abandoned by those seeking homes in better residential areas and encroached upon by business and industry".^{2.} These areas are "to a large extent isolated from the wider culture of the large community by the processes of competition and conflict which have resulted in the selection of its population".^{3.}

Greyville corresponds to this description of Thrasher, since it forms an interstitial area between the central business district and established residential regions of higher income groups. The area is one through which pass the main roads leading from the City to the northern and western suburbs. A race-course is situated to the west of Greyville and forms an effective barrier between Greyville and the higher economic Berea residential area.

-
1. Thrasher, Frederic M. : The Gang, University of Chicago Press 1927. p. 22
 2. Ibid. p. 22
 3. Ibid. p. 22

The eastern boundary is Umgeni Road (the main North Coast road) on the further side of which there are large railway yards and workshops. On the north there is a gradual change to a more homogeneous residential area. The southern boundary is the main central district of the city.

Greyville was one of the earliest residential districts in Durban. At the end of the last century it ranked as a higher income residential area. Houses were substantially built and many were large and on approximately 2/3 to one acre plots of land. Churches, schools, parks and other amenities were established in the area.

With the growth of the city and the extension of the central business district, land in this area became more valuable and most of the available open spaces were sold, often to be utilised as factories for light industry, businesses and shops. The railway yards on the eastern boundary were developed and this made the area less desirable as a residential suburb. Residents from the higher income groups gradually left the area to move to the newer residential areas which were developing further from the centre of the city. Houses began to be sub-let and converted into boarding and rooming houses. The area had begun its process of deterioration.

Along the main streets of Greyville to-day, are to be found small, owner-operated shops run by persons of

NOTE - Appendix I contains a sketch map of the Greyville Area of Durban.

a variety of nationalities, - Indians, Greeks, Syrians and Chinese. In addition there are light industries and warehouses, old hotels, interspersed here and there with houses built about 50 years ago. These comprise detached and semi-detached single and double-storey buildings, all of them originally substantially built, but now are ^{most} in a state of disrepair.

Branching off from the main streets, the lesser streets are mainly residential with the same type of house built on small plots. There is very little open land. Several schools, European, Coloured and Indian are situated in the area.

Overcrowding is rife and many residences are run as boarding houses with, in some cases, a single room being let to a whole family. Above many of the shops are flats let at low rentals.

Racially, Greyville is somewhat cosmopolitan; Indian families from the higher economic groups occupy some of the larger homes on the main streets, while the very poorest areas are those of dense Indian settlement where there is considerable overcrowding and poverty. Africans frequently live as lodgers with the Indian families and occasionally poor Europeans are also accommodated. Coloured and Indian families share some dwellings and blocks of flats, as do Coloured and European. Small numbers of immigrant families, mainly Greek, Syrian and Portuguese, also inhabit the area, as well as members of Durban's small Chinese community.

Both English and Afrikaans-speaking people are to be found here, many of them having come from rural districts and villages. The majority of Coloured

persons living in Greyville call themselves "Mauritians" and their antecedents are of mixed Indian and European stock from the island of Mauritius. Until recently they have been classified as Europeans and have enjoyed the same privileges.

The European population is one of high mobility, people either moving in from another city or from the rural areas, remaining only until they are established in employment with sufficient remuneration to enable them to move out. People from higher economic areas of the city who are down on their luck have occasionally been forced into the district by circumstances beyond their control. Generally, as soon as they improve their standard of living, such families leave the area. There is however a solid core of Greyville families who have been established there for as long as two or three generations. These are usually those who have failed, either through lack of education, through personality defects or physical inadequacy to achieve sufficient financial status to enable them to leave Greyville. In addition there is a small minority of families who, though fairly secure financially, consider Greyville to be their social milieu.

A large number of men employed at the Railway yards and workshops, mainly unskilled labouring and poorer artisan types, also form a shifting population, often moving on transfer or remaining in Greyville only until accommodation in Railway housing schemes is provided for them.

Apart from employment on the Railways, most Greyville people are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled work which is frequently transient or seasonal.

"Workshyness" exists as well as unlawful occupations such as running of "shebeens" (illicit liquor dens), dagga-peddling, acting as "fences" (dealers in stolen goods) for stolen property, petty thieving and prostitution.

Some homes are highly unstable, parents being divorced or separated. Irregular unions and illegitimacy are quite common. Many homes do not function as cohesive units and the home becomes merely a place "to hang up one's hat". This information was obtained when the investigator did social case work over a period of years in the Greyville area.

This then is the Greyville community which conforms in most respects to that described by sociologists as being the characteristic habitat of gangs and delinquency. Thrasher's description of the areas of Chicago where his gangs were found shows a marked similarity to Greyville, in that they are zones of "railroads and factories, of deteriorating neighbourhoods and shifting populations, which borders the city's central business district".^{3.}

Cohen quotes several authorities, amongst them, Porterfield, author of "Youth in Trouble", William Wattenberg, Edward E. Schwartz and Fred J. Murphy who all obtained statistics which substantiate the theory that gang delinquents "come from substandard homes and racially mixed neighbourhoods"^{4.} of a lower economic level.

"Cornerville", a slum district in the heart of "Eastern City" described by Whyte in "Street Corner

3. Thrasher : op. cit. p. 22

4. Cohen : op. cit. p. 44

Society", contained several gangs of long-standing. It is a densely populated area considered by the other residents of Eastern City to be disordered and lawless, "one which fails in its own social organisation to mesh^{5.} with the structure of the society around it".

B. HISTORY OF THE GREYVILLE GANG.

Gangs have existed in Greyville for many years. An old inhabitant of the area has given a graphic description of a "mob" that existed in Greyville soon after the Boer War. Most of the activities of this mob were confined to the area around Curries Fountain, which was then still used as a source of water supply for the city. Middle-aged men who have lived in Greyville all their lives or who lived there in their youth have told the investigator of a gang which used as its regular meeting place the Greyville Tramway Junction. According to these people, and from personal observation made during school-days spent in Greyville, it would appear that the composition of the gang in those early days differed somewhat from the present one. The names of these persons have been withheld at their request.

Most of the members of the earlier gangs were under the age of eighteen years, some being school-boys who congregated together after school hours. The present members have an average age of over 20 years. The present gang, too, is much more closely knit than its earlier counterpart.

5. Whyte, William Foote : Street Corner Society, University of Chicago Press - 1956 p. 273

Several ex-members of the earlier gangs have claimed that the activities of members are more criminally delinquent than they were in the past. A man who had been a gang member eight years previously and whose name is intentionally withheld, made the following statement when interviewed by the investigator:-

"In our day we got into mischief of course. We stole cars and broke street lamps and made a helluva row in the Avenue (Local cinema), but we didn't go mad like these chaps. They don't know where to stop. They've got no respect for anyone, and anyway most of us did go to work".

In 1954, some twenty youths between the ages of 9 to 18 years, constituted the gang, according to the organising priest of the St. Joseph Youth Club in that area.

The present gang apparently differs from the earlier Greyville gang in that its delinquencies are more serious, although still of the vandalistic type. Gang members are older than their predecessors and have tended to carry on their delinquencies into the young adult period. In the past, by the time a lad was 18, he had outgrown his loyalties to, and his need for the gang, or he had graduated to adult criminality of a more acquisitive nature and of a type which did not require the support of the gang.

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREYVILLE GANG

The Greyville gang is similar in many respect to the Chicago gangs described by Thrasher in the 1920's. It has of course, certain unique characteristics which give it its own particular local flavour, but in the main it conforms to Thrasher's description.

The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterised by the following types of behaviour: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict and planning. The result of this collective behaviour is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory. 6.

The Greyville gang was not arranged by any outside body such as a club or school, but came as a spontaneous outgrowth from young persons meeting in the park, at the tramway junction and at the cafes, cinema and shops near the junction. It was the natural outcome of these meetings and was unplanned in origin. It arose because these young people were seeking a solution to their problems of adjustment to society. There is an imperative urge among adolescents to be part of a group, frequently a spontaneous group where they submit to membership and accept codes already in existence, or where they and their companions work out together their own sets of rules and mores.

The Greyville gang members spend hours together each day. There are frequent face to face relationships. At one period at least five of the members were living in the same house. The esprit de corps of the gang has developed through social gatherings which in the case of the Greyville gang, is often merely loafing together or smoking and drinking in each others company. They attend dances and cinemas as a gang and also have their own football team.

The Greyville gang is organised into a cohesive unit in times of conflict. It is as a result of

6. Ibid. p. 57

collective action and conflict that a gang develops morale. Co-operation is supreme and loyalty to the gang is fanatical should it meet any opposition from other gangs.

It is important for a gang to build up a tradition of memories arising from collective behaviour. This is achieved by the Greyville gang where much time is spent discussing old exploits and elaborating on them, usually with much joy and laughter.

The organisation of the Greyville gang has not been achieved by "conventional" and reflected methods. There is "no voting in the ordinary sense", no "reasoned choice" of office bearers and no placement in positions of status.^{7.}

To members of the Greyville gang every nook and cranny of the central Greyville area is known intimately. It is their own territory and although they may occasionally move out of the area, this is essentially their own region and they will defend it fanatically against all invaders.

D. SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE FEATURES OF GANG LIFE

During infancy and childhood the desire to form gangs is not strong. Young children, when not solitary, usually associate in small groups of a transient nature and of short duration. From about the age of seven years they will however, participate eagerly in groups formed by outside agencies e.g. Cubs and Brownies. The age group 10 to 12 years is the great age for play groups. These play groups may later consolidate into

7. Ibid. p. 57

gangs. It is when young people approach adolescence that the great need for companionship of peer groups is felt, and it is the type of group which arises spontaneously rather than that formed by outside authorities, which appeals. Most such groups will develop the characteristics of gangs because in that particular form they exercise the greatest appeal to a large number of adolescents. Such individuals refuse to identify themselves with the particular stratum of society represented by parents and conventional influences. These adolescents seek a group whose code allows for the satisfaction of desires, which may differ widely from the accepted standards of their society; they are in fact, those adolescents generally described as "delinquent".

Membership of a gang provides one way of obtaining the support necessary to enable some adolescents to function adequately, for,

far from being the strong personality that defies law and order, the genuine delinquent is deeply dependent upon group psychological support so as to afford his delinquency at all. 8.

Through the process of seeing examples set by gang members, of having the more daring members give a lead, of having acts of delinquency planned and of having a gang code which condones their unconventional behaviour, the juvenile is able to enjoy the gratification of anti-social impulses without feelings of guilt or fear. This is the greatest service that the gang offers and it is only when the gang is no longer of use that any readiness is felt by the individual to withdraw.

8. Fritz Redl : op. cit. p. 369

In a gang atmosphere a good deal of aggression is dispersed through verbal fantasies concerning delinquent acts. This is certainly a common practice with the Greyville gang. Much time is spent in planning delinquencies which never materialise, and considerably more time is spent embroidering and exaggerating the tales of minor delinquencies which have been perpetrated. This release may be denied the solitary boy.

In the Greyville gang there was a feeling of camaraderie, of being wanted. Traits considered most undesirable by the rest of the world are not only accepted, but also extolled. The gang leader was greatly admired by members and by women associating with the gang because of his daring and great physical strength, even though these were displayed in socially unacceptable ways.

When gang members were in trouble other members would sometimes undergo great hardship to assist them. They were frequently called upon to assist in the raising of fines and bail money and this was always forthcoming, even if it had to be stolen. This assistance went to the extent of one member taking other members into his home and sharing the last money or drink with them. The investigator has seen four or five members being offered a drink from one small bottle of mineral water, and she has seen members contributing pennies and half-pennies towards the cost of a dagga cigarette. Several examples of this generosity and mutual assistance can be cited. On one occasion a gang member had no shoes or coat to wear to a dance. Another member gave him a pair of his own shoes and offered to lend him a jacket. Two members

were temporarily homeless. They were taken into the home of three others although none of them was working at the time and money was scarce. Another gang member (Laurie) was disliked by many of the members because he was cautious with his money and would often sponge on them. On one occasion a member spent his last few pence on a drink which he shared with Laurie, who professed to have no money. Later, Laurie was seen to take out a wad of banknotes. This so incensed members that they made the climate within the gang unpleasant for him. This was probably one of the reasons which led to his leaving the gang.

"Sugging" or "ratting" (betrayal of members) is the most heinous infraction of the gang-member's code. Greyville members will support other members in every possible way. Here can be quoted the case of two young members, Robert and Shorty. Robert perjured himself to the police in order to substantiate Shorty's statement when the latter was prosecuted on a charge of stabbing an Indian man. The South African Boxing Championships were taking place two days after the case was to be heard and Robert was participating in them. He knew that as a consequence of his actions he might receive a caning which would incapacitate him and prevent his achieving the height of his ambition which was to participate in the championships.

The gang offers security, particularly in times of conflict and the commission of delinquencies. The Greyville gang members are able to call on each other and the gang leader for assistance when confronted by rival gangs or even solitary aggressors. This provides lesser members with a degree of security when committing

delinquent acts which would be difficult to find in any other environment.

The fertile imagination of several juveniles together can concoct a huge range of imaginative exploits and adventures. Many of these are not in any way illicit and may actually keep the members out of delinquency. The Greyville gang sometimes developed a wanderlust and small groups of members hitch-hiked or arranged lifts to other towns. With very little money in their pockets they developed ingenious plans, suffered hardship and enjoyed adventures which were not possible for the solitary individual. Several of the members went to Zululand on such a jaunt, others went to Pietermaritzburg where they lived in a vacant house for some time.

CHAPTER IV

MEMBERS OF THE GREYVILLE GANG AND THEIR ASSOCIATES

A. GANG MEMBERSHIP

A distinction may be made between different types of members according to the degree of participation in gang activities and of acceptance by the group.

1. Full members. These members constitute the core of the gang. Their loyalties are chiefly towards the gang, and families and outside activities are subservient to the interest of the gang.
2. Junior members are those young persons who are in the process of becoming full members. They often act as messengers and negotiators between gang members and persons outside the gang.
3. Fringe members may be defined as those members who are not let into the innermost secrets of the gang and who do not give undivided loyalty to it. They often associate with the gang, smoke and drink with members and may be regarded as reserves to be called upon in times of gang conflict.
4. Associate members. There are four members who cannot be considered as full members yet who participate in gang activities more than do the fringe members. They are closer to the gang than fringe members.
5. Ex-members. Many past members of the gang come back to smoke dagga and drink with the gang, usually when they are experiencing periods of stress. Some of the ex-members mentioned left the gang during 1958.
6. Non-members are those persons who through their influence over the gang members have considerable contact with them, usually through joint participation in non-gang activities.

B. THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE GREYVILLE DUCKTAIL GANG

1. The Leader:

Leadership in a group is dependent on several factors Carroll L. Shartle^{1.} discusses the factors which determine group leadership. Important characteristics of a leader are that he should initiate or reject new ideas and practices, that he should spend a considerable amount of time with the group, and that he should be adequate in the defence of the group against attack and that he should advance his group's interests.

The leader should have the ability to integrate the group successfully, to encourage a pleasant group atmosphere and be capable of resolving conflict between members. Another requirement of the leader is that he should organise the members by defining their work and co-ordinating their activities, particularly in times of conflict.

Domination over group members is essential to leadership. Kimball Young points out that "What is popularly called leadership is more accurately to be discussed in terms of dominance".^{2.} This may be defined as the ability to influence the actions of others either through flattery, suggestion, persuasion, threats or the outright use of physical violence.

The leader should show an awareness of group affairs and should be in a position to communicate

1. Carroll L. Shartle : quoted in Readings in Social Psychology; Swanson, Newcombe, Hartley and others.

2. Kimball Young : Handbook of Social Psychology p. 251

information on gang affairs to the members. Recognition of gang members conduct, either through participation, approval or censure, and a high level of achievement in those spheres considered important by the group are also required of a good leader.

Schalk was the recognised and accepted leader of the Greyville Ducktail gang. He was 6ft. 4ins. tall, with great physical strength and of a pleasing personality. He was of Afrikaans descent, although English-speaking. The nickname given him by the gang signifies his long and intimate association with prison.

When he is measured against Carroll L. Shartle's requirements for a leader, he is found to possess several of the characteristics to a marked degree, whilst being deficient in others. He spent several hours daily with the gang. Although he had a wife and children, very little time was spent with them. His loyalty to the gang was so supreme that he found no time to earn the means for the support of his family as employment would necessitate leaving the gang during working hours.

He was quick to defend the gang and its interest against all odds and showed a marked ability in creating a pleasant atmosphere and reducing tension and conflict between members. He had a pleasing personality and laughed and joked easily. Ostensibly, he appeared to dominate all the gang members, but when the position of the 1st Lieutenant of the gang is discussed later this will appear to be refuted.

NOTE : Appendix II at the end of this thesis contains a chart showing the structure of the Greyville gang and giving details of the individual members.

Schalk was the core of the gang's system of communication. He was frequently noted to be relating the facts of a situation to members and also obtaining information from them. Should any of the members have some form of crisis to face, such as a court appearance, he usually accompanied them in order to acquaint himself and other gang members with the situation.

In conflict and in delinquencies perpetrated by the gang, he was always to the fore and his prestige in this sphere and in others was very high. Although the prestige was gained in the field of physical prowess and delinquent activities, it eventually spread to other areas where he was not above average and may even have been below average in achievement. An example of this was in the field of football. He was only a mediocre football player yet he retained a good position in the football team because of his prestige gained in other ways. He was also credited with great cunning and planning ability by other members of the gang, although actually not possessing either quality to any marked degree.

He appeared to be deficient in other traits generally present in leaders viz. the ability to initiate action and to organise members. The 1st Lieutenant possessed both these characteristics to a marked degree and thus was able to compensate for Schalk's deficiencies.

2. The First Lieutenant

Duke was one of the most respected and feared members of the gang, but he was not as well liked as the leader. He can be described as being the First

Lieutenant and was, undoubtedly, the brains of the group, but he did not possess all the essentials for leadership to the same extent as did the leader. He and the leader formed a very good team because he had characteristics which the leader lacked - drive, intelligence and an ability to plan a course of action. In permanent employment, he had finished his apprenticeship as a motor mechanic and proposed taking technical examinations in motor engineering.

Duke drank, but was seldom seen under the influence of liquor. Although an habitual dagga smoker, he did not seem to be affected unduly. He was sullen and belligerent, but seldom participated in personal fights, preferring group action and gang warfare. He did not wear a Ducktail haircut, his clothes were not extreme and he often wore a suit and tie. This showed that he was more independent of the gang than most of the other members who conformed in this respect. He had a 'steady' girl friend, but until the end of 1958, his loyalty to the gang came first. This was an instance where, though ties had been entered into with a non-group member, the attachment to the gang was so strong that in any items hostile to the code of the gang, his loyalties were to the gang.

3. Full Members

Arthur. To Arthur, the gang was his whole life. He lived for most of the year with Schalk, Lennie and Tony at the same house. His mother was living in Durban, and in October, of 1958, he left his lodgings and slept at her home, spending his waking hours in Greyville with the gang. He was a plant operator by

trade, was completely aimless, did not work and made no serious attempts to find work. Gang members liked him. He was pleasant and non-belligerent, one of the more passive members. An habitual dagga-smoker and a known pilferer of articles which were of no use to him, he occasionally stole more useful articles which were sold for a few shillings to buy dagga and drink. Both alcohol and dagga appeared to have a speedy effect with disastrous results.

Arthur appeared to be of Coloured ancestry; he had tightly curled hair and certain negroid features. He considered himself very inferior, often saying that he was only a "battler" (tramp type) and that he could not have any aspirations to normal middle-class life. He had had several criminal convictions, some for dagga-smoking. His reasons for needing the gang appeared to lie in an awareness of his limitations and his chronic inability to resolve his difficulties in an effective manner. This seemed to be aggravated by his sensitivity about his possible Coloured ancestry. He said repeatedly that he would like to leave South Africa "where there are no opportunities for people like me". He would like to go to sea or to settle in South America.

Dirk. Young, pleasant, a skilled boxer, Dirk was an habitual smoker of dagga. His home circumstances were very poor and there was no family cohesion. He stabbed his father after an altercation at the beginning of 1958 and for a time, fled to Johannesburg. He has had several convictions for dagga-smoking and assault.

At the beginning of 1958 this lad would appear at

the Club, filthy in both body and clothing and often not having shoes to wear. He wore an old cap drawn well over the eyes, which he never removed even during strenuous dancing sessions. During the latter half of 1958 he showed marked ability in boxing and won wide acclaim in the boxing world. Since then there has been a considerable improvement both in his outlook and dress. LENNIE and Tony are brothers from a very unstable home. They worked only very occasionally and did so for less than three months during the whole year. When they did obtain work it was with the deep-sea fishing fleet. The rest of the time was spent with the gang. They did not have very high status although they were full members.

Lennie was at one time, a serious dagga addict, but submitted to hospital treatment. He exercised great self control in order to give up the habit because the drug was having an extremely detrimental effect on him. Tony continued to smoke dagga. Both were aimless and seemed unable to or unwilling to form relationships with persons outside the gang. Lennie was actively hostile to non-gang members, whilst Tony was vague though polite. Lennie was quick to take offence and never greeted people, possibly as a defence against being snubbed. Tony was a humble, quiet type never interfering, seldom talking. Both brothers were inveterate beggars.

The whole family lived in abject poverty; these two men for a long time, did not possess any shoes to wear and they had only the shabbiest of clothing, often being seen in tattered shorts and without shirts.

Jacko lived outside the Greyville area, on the upper Berea. He was nevertheless, a core member. He was greatly respected and feared within the gang. His parents were members of upper-middle class society, his father being a business executive and his mother a cultured woman. He was a well-educated youth who, between matriculation and the time of going to university, joined the Greyville gang.

He was the wildest and most vivid person in the gang and was the one who led the vandalistic orgies sometimes indulged in. He was the one most inclined to be obscene and seemed to revel in being completely vulgar before those people who would be the most affected and shocked by such behaviour. His was a complete rejection of the standards of the upper - middle class society from which he came.

An habitual dagga-smoker, he also drank heavily. Until October 1958, he had not worked for a whole year, but had been supported by his parents. From October he remained in steady employment as a machine operator and was less frequently seen under the influence of dagga or alcohol. He stated that he was happy in his job because there were few personal contacts. He did not like to be in a position where there was contact with the public or even with fellow workers, as he had difficulty in establishing satisfactory relationships.

He was prone to attention-seeking behaviour and pointedly smoked dagga in the presence of the investigator. This may have been due to the fact that the investigator was a friend of the family against whom he was expressing his revolt. When he was under the influence of alcohol or dagga he screamed oaths in a high pitched

voice, threw bottles about and was capable of becoming completely unmanageable.

Koert was a non-aggressive, passive, quiet fellow, with a long record of petty crimes. He had received canings and served prison sentences. A complete introvert and very ineffectual he made no real effort to find employment. This lad was dark and was considered by some to be of Coloured origin, which probably accounted for his inability to find work and for his need to be a gang member. Having no home ties at all, he was on several occasions arrested by the police for vagrancy. He was liked by gang members who considered him a good sort. He was an habitual dagga smoker.

Ray was described as a "little rat" by some gang members. He was a known petty thief and was prone to acts of senseless violence. He was a "trader (or "runner") in dagga. The investigator saw transactions where members proffered money to him in exchange for dagga. No contact at all was achieved with this person, probably because the investigator could not be sufficiently objective to overcome the antipathy felt towards him. He was reputed to be a go-between in many underhand dealings.

Rusty was almost as wild and uninhibited as Jacko. He was very boastful and indulged in numerous minor delinquencies, most of which result in more nuisance than real harm. A striking-looking, tall young man, his academic record and general behaviour seemed to indicate a low level of intelligence. Apprenticed in the building trade, he was in regular employment. The family is a respectable lower middle-class one whose members are staunch Roman Catholics. Whilst knowing that he

was an associate of the Greyville gang, his family did not appear to know the extent of his misdemeanours. He smoked dagga and drank.

Fred and Ronny were brothers who were probably of Coloured ancestry. Both were very dark and Fred had negroid hair. The home background was very poor. Several members opposed the admission of Fred and Ronny to the gang, one saying "Give them a kick in the pants and send them off". The expressed reason for this opposition was that being only 16 and 17 at the time, they were considered too young. The real reason may have been because of colour prejudice.

When they had become members, however, they gradually achieved status, particularly Ronny, the younger one, who was often thought to be the older and was the leader of the two. He was well-built and aggressive, ready to participate in any conflict and prone to start fights. His position in the gang at the end of December, was high. Fred was a quieter type and not inclined to be aggressive. His delinquencies were of a non-violent nature, and he was involved in a series of thefts and frauds which resulted in his conviction and sentence to 18 months' imprisonment.

4. Junior Members

Leslie was an unintelligent youth from a very poor, yet stable family and was the eldest of eight children. When he left school after passing Std. VI. at the age of 16 years (normal age is 12 or 13 years), he obtained employment, but left this very soon and drifted from one job to another until he gave up working in August, 1958, since when he has not worked.

This boy was very tall, ungainly, wore heavy lensed spectacles and suffered from heart disease, caused by rheumatic fever. He did not have an attractive personality and was always asking friends and acquaintances for money and favours. The nickname given him by the gang referred to the very heavy lenses in his spectacles. He appeared unable to form lasting satisfactory relationships, particularly with the opposite sex. He will be dealt with more fully later in connexion with the acceptance of new members.

Rex (and Rowley, his brother) only arrived in Greyville at the beginning of 1958. He was likeable, easy-going and a pleasant lad who was often used as a messenger by the gang. His status was still low because of his youth and recent acceptance to membership, not because of personality or other defects. Rowley, being older, was not a junior member and will be described in the section on associate members.

Doep was only with the gang for a short period. Young, an Afrikaans boy, straight from the country, he stayed in Greyville for only a short while. He was not accepted as a gang member at first, being merely a hanger-on. After being unemployed for a period, he succeeded in becoming apprenticed, but soon after he was involved in the biggest episode of rioting by Ducktails in Durban. Although not one of the ring-leaders, being unable to care for himself adequately, he was arrested, convicted and received a caning. He left his employment, drank heavily and smoked dagga with the gang. He became more acceptable because he

had been 'blooded' by his conviction and sentence. After a while he disappeared from the area.

5. Associate Members

Errol. This lad came from a very poor family with a history of mental imbalance, the father being a religious maniac. He appeared to suffer from a certain amount of mental instability and both he and his brother Martin were referred to as the "mad W....'s" and were held in low esteem by the gang. Errol had served a prison sentence and had graduated towards more profitable adult crimes, the most recent being that of defrauding an African woman of 10/-.

He was not well accepted by the gang and was not on intimate terms with them, although he did smoke with them and was called upon for support in times of conflict. He was generally considered to be a "real bad ou" even by gang members.

Martin the younger brother of Errol, was quiet to the point of abnormality. He was, at one time, addicted to dagga smoking, which had a most deleterious effect on him, causing a complete loss of contact with reality. This state continued long after the effects of the drug had worn off. Eventually, after receiving medical treatment, he gave up smoking, but was very dejected and completely introverted for some time. He was slowly becoming more aware of his surroundings and taking an active part in gang life by the end of 1958. A painter by trade, he did not work, although several situations had been found for him. Unlike Errol, to whom it did not mean much, he would like to have been fully accepted by the gang. He was closer to the gang than Errol and although quite well liked, was in an

inferior position in the gang. His great size and physical strength were useful in times of gang warfare. Cyril. The investigator rarely saw Cyril sober. He admitted that he was an alcoholic and stated that there was nothing he could do about it. He was at one time a dancing instructor, but he had been unemployed since the middle of 1957.

Although he had not lived in Greyville since the middle of 1957 he came back frequently and was often seen with the gang. He was ineffectual, very friendly and non-aggressive. He smoked dagga with the gang during his visits to the area and was one of the reserves called upon in times of conflict.

Rowley was a pleasant lad, in regular employment, who, together with his brother Rex, arrived in Greyville at the beginning of 1958. He desperately wanted to gain admission to the gang, but was not readily accepted because he was not considered to be sufficiently tough. The dramatic method by which he hoped to obtain status in the gang will be discussed in the section dealing with the acceptance of new members.

6. Fringe Members

Johan was a non-delinquent working man living in the area in a good, stable, lower middle-class home. He did not participate in any of the delinquent activities or smoke dagga with the gang, but was on friendly terms and was used by them because of his good nature. He was generous about standing treat for drinks and was ready to lend money or to assist in other ways.

Monty, a working lad from a lower middle-class home, was at one time more intimate with the gang. Their

acceptance of him was achieved through his rallying to the support of a member who was in trouble with the police. This will be discussed in the section dealing with the acceptance of new members. He did not smoke or drink and towards the end of 1958 gradually severed connections with the gang. He was a keen sportsman playing hockey, football and rugby.

Des and Hank. Both these men were serving prison sentences at the end of 1958. They were associates of the gang who had considerable influence, being regarded with some respect because of their toughness and criminal records. Both had reached the stage of committing solitary crimes and they no longer participated in the delinquencies of the gang.

7. Junior Fringe Members

Robert and Shorty were both in employment and were not dagga addicts. They were intimate friends. Robert was a first-rate amateur boxer who competed in the South African championships. He came from a poor, maladjusted family. He was the offspring of a bigamous union. His mother remarried, was divorced and at the time of the investigation was living with another man. Robert did not live at his mother's home, but boarded with friends in the neighbourhood.

Shorty's father, although living with the family, was workshy and did not contribute to its upkeep. Shorty alternated between his parent's home and that of a married sister.

These two lads were rapidly advancing towards acceptance by the gang. Both were arrested for causing

a disturbance in the street and Shorty was convicted for stabbing an Indian man. During the Court proceedings and afterwards, the gang members showed great interest in Shorty and laughingly teased him about the caning he would receive. Although not definitely members, they were now on the fringes of membership, and whilst not smoking or spending long periods with the gang, at the time this record was compiled they associated with the gang members.

8. Ex-members

Mac. This ex-member left the gang when he was contemplating marriage, and since then only associated with them when experiencing domestic difficulties. He was highly respected by gang members, being possessed of great muscular strength, in spite of a physical disability caused by a childhood infection. He was particularly formidable as a fighter. He still had some allegiance to the gang which was shown in a practical way by his attempts to find employment for the members who were out of work. Although he still drank with them, the investigator knows of only one occasion during 1958 when he smoked dagga with the gang. This was during a period of considerable stress.

Laurie was a full core member when the investigator commenced the study. Some of the members did not like him or accept him well because he displayed homosexual tendencies and was inclined to sponge on other members whilst having money of his own. This was contrary to one of their strictest gang principles, that of sharing possessions. During this period he was trying to give up dagga-smoking and appeared to have been successful.

Once he had completed his apprenticeship, he was on a sound financial footing. This enabled him to move into a flat which he shared with a man who became very firm friends with him. He no longer visited Greyville and left the gang.

Van left the gang because his family moved from Greyville. In this instance, although the young man was a full core member, his parents were completely unaware of their son's delinquencies. The father strongly criticised dagga-smoking in the Greyville gang in ignorance of his own son's addiction.

9. Non-members

Frank and Gordon were both older married men who had considerable influence on the gang by participating very successfully in their non-delinquent activities. They were the stalwarts of the football team. Gordon, an excellent footballer, undertook the captaincy and built up a team, composed in the main of habitual dagga-smoking Ducktails, which won its section of the Football League.

C. AGES OF MEMBERS

The ages of Teddy-boy gangs and similar gangs in Britain are not known to the investigator, although newspaper reports refer to teenagers. This may be due to the fact that the term "teenager" applies across a wide-age span. The investigator has not found reliable information concerning the age groups of gangs in other countries. During the first two or three weeks in Greyville the investigator gained the impression that the gang was composed of teenagers, However, this proved to be incorrect.

The ages of members of the Greyville gang vary between 17 and 25 years, the average being about 20 years. This is in contrast with the average ages of street corner gangs in Chicago, described by Thrasher. Whyte in "Street Corner Society" also describes the ages of the gang members in gangs studied by him, as being between 14 and 18 years.

Whether the Greyville gang is unique in this respect, or whether the gangs of Ducktails throughout South Africa also belong to a higher age group is not really known. In conversation with a member of a 'truly tough gang' from Johannesburg the investigator learnt that a prerequisite to membership was the prestige of having served at least a two year term of imprisonment, which would tend to place them in the higher age category. Members of this particular gang were to be identified by an item of jewellery, not generally worn by the male sex, with which they were adorned.

The gang complex has long been considered to be a phenomenon of adolescence when the juvenile may turn against accepted social standards and parents in an attempt to establish an independent choice of existence.

Table I

Average Age of Gang Members and Fringe Members
at end of July, 1958.

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Number in Age Group</u>
17 years	4
18 "	5
19 "	3
20 "	3
21 "	3
22 "	5
23 "	3
24 "	1
25 "	1
<u>Average Age:</u>	<u>20 years 3 months</u>

D. LENGTH OF PERIOD OF GANG MEMBERSHIP
AND MOVEMENTS DURING 1958

In most cases it was not possible to ascertain the extent of the period of membership, but it was obvious from the length of time taken to achieve membership that the trial period before the achievement of membership was not short. Leslie, for example, was an aspirant member from March 1958, but he had not reached full core status by December. During the year three juveniles came into the area from outside and were gradually accepted by the gang. Only in the case of Doep was the acceptance fairly quick as the result of the notoriety achieved during a Ducktail riot in which he was involved.

Cessation of Membership

Fred left the gang temporarily to serve an eighteen month prison sentence. Hank and Des were also not in the area on account of imprisonment. Doep drifted away from the area (reason unknown). Van's family left Greyville which resulted in his withdrawal. Monty broke off associations with the gang to a certain extent, but this was not complete.

The only person still remaining in the vicinity of Greyville who of his own choice, completely severed all connexion with the gang was Laurie. He found the climate unsuitable for the satisfaction of his particular needs because of the hostility shown by most of the gang members.

E. CRIMINAL RECORD

The information obtained has been incomplete, but at least 8 out of the 12 core members have been convicted

of criminal offences, most of them of a minor nature, such as the possession of dagga, the carrying of dangerous weapons, disturbances of the peace and acts of vandalism. Amongst the more serious convictions, there have been several for theft (during 1957, Lennie had five convictions for theft). Illicit liquor trading and serious assaults have also figured on the crime sheet of one or two. Three of the twelve core members are known to have served prison sentences. Fifteen of all the 25 members are known to have had convictions, and 6 to have served sentences in prison.

F. ACCEPTANCE OF NEW MEMBERS

Attainment of full membership of an established gang appears to be a slow process. There are several factors to be considered.

1. Factors prompting the wish to join a particular gang

The reasons for wishing to attain membership of a gang are important. If the candidate merely wants to make use of the gang on a conscious level, he will meet with little success. If however, his needs for gang membership arise from the same subconscious urges that prompted the gang to come together in the first place, he appears to stand a good chance of attaining membership. There is a mutual demand for support and strength.

Leslie provides a good example of a Greyville lad who felt the need for gang support. Unintelligent, coming from a very poor home, he was forced to accept dull, routine and inferior employment on leaving school.

He was unable to establish satisfactory personal relationships with other juveniles at his work and at his home. He was not well accepted because he was the "buffoon type", tall, gangling, awkward, and having failed to achieve normal co-ordination of bodily movement. He wore thick-lensed glasses.

At first this lad would not consciously admit that he wished for gang membership. He would say that he considered the gang members to be undesirable and that he could not understand why they behaved as they did. He attended Rock 'n Roll sessions, but did not mix much with the gang. It was noticed however, that he accepted slights from gang members in an almost ingratiating manner and that he welcomed any social intercourse with them e.g. being accepted as a player in a snooker game.

Gradually he took to spending more time in the snooker room, sitting around with two or three of the gang. This coincided with the time that he was moving from one job to another, staying away from work on the slightest pretext. During his idle hours he took to coming to the park to sit with the gang who now tolerated him in their midst. He started wearing the type of clothing they favoured and, as a final bid for acceptance, dyed his blonde hair a deep auburn colour and wore it in the conventional Ducktail manner.

His inability to conform to the normal standards of social life and to be accepted by his adolescent colleagues at his places of employment, his poor family background which caused him to feel inferior and unacceptable were comparable to the difficulties experienced by the majority of members.

Eventually Leslie gave up work altogether and the gang began to show evidence of acceptance. He was called upon in times of group conflict and was initiated into the dagga habit. By the end of this investigation he was still a junior member not held in high esteem by the full members, but he was firmly entrenched and his first loyalty was to the gang.

2. Length of time in Neighbourhood

Another important factor, particularly in a gang such as the Greyville one, which is fanatical about its territory rights, is the length of time the aspirant has lived in the area. Whether he lives as the rest of the members do, has the same social background and similar habits, or the desire to acquire such habits, are all factors in determining the rate of his acceptance.

It was noted that many Greyville youths who were not gang members and who did not dress like Ducktails were not interfered with in any way by gang members. No hostility was displayed towards them. They were well accepted by the group and participated in the normal non-delinquent activities of the gang members. Should these persons have wished to become members they would not have experienced much difficulty, provided they had been prepared to accept gang codes.

It is much more difficult for a lad coming from another area to become a member. Jacko came from outside Greyville. It would have been interesting to see the process of his acceptance because, not only did he come from outside the territory, but from an entirely different and much higher social stratum; he was better educated and had more worldly possessions. Possibly,

only the fact that he had such a vivid personality and that he was wilder and more daring than any of the others, and more ready to enter into delinquencies than any of the others, resulted in his speeding the achievement of full acceptance.

Rowley and Rex also came from outside the area, but they were of the same social class as most members. Nevertheless by December, 1958, they were not fully accepted by the gang in spite of months of regular participation in their activities.

3. Willingness to participate in gang's activities

One way of proving allegiance and gaining acceptance in the group is to show willingness to participate in all gang activities, including those which involve conflict with the law and established order.

Rowley was told by the gang that they did not want him because he was too much of a good boy and never got into any trouble. One night, while under the influence of liquor, he stole a card table from the club, walking out with it tucked under his arm, in full view of the Ducktail gang members. By roundabout means the Club social worker discovered that he had taken it and went to his home to retrieve it when Rowley was away at work. It was handed over by his young sister who said that Rowley never used it; he merely kept it folded up in his room. He was left a message asking him to call at the Club and when he did so was taxed with the theft. He admitted it and said that it had not been done through any feeling of ill-will towards the Club, but because he felt the gang would accept him better if he committed an audacious theft and did something wrong

for a change. By December, he had reached the stage where he smoked dagga with the gang and was used as a reinforcement in time of trouble.

Because of his activities, a person may at times, be accepted by the gang, even though gang membership may not be his ultimate aim.

Monty was a Greyville boy, quite friendly with certain members of the gang. At one stage, he and Rusty were in another town when Rusty was arrested by the police for being in possession of a harmful drug. Monty, although not a drug user, immediately picked up some which Rusty had tried to dispose of and was also arrested. So well did he plead their case in court that the two were acquitted. Since that day his nickname has been the colloquial name of the drug and he has been held in high esteem in spite of not fulfilling the usual group standards.

G. DEVELOPMENTS DURING 1959

The study of the Greyville gang was completed at the end of December, 1958, but there have been so many significant changes within the gang since that date that the following notes are added.

January and February, 1959 were momentous months in the history of the Greyville gang.

January

For some time, Schalk, the leader, had been feeling restless and had made positive efforts to find employment, but had been unsuccessful. In this month he offered to buy £5 worth of liquor for a woman who ran a 'shebeen' in the area. In possession of this money,

he and his wife disappeared from the area and his parents later heard that he had arrived in another city and was seeking work. This was a serious blow to the solidarity of the gang.

The first Lieutenant, Duke, also dealt gang solidarity a blow by almost completely withdrawing from the gang. He began seriously courting a young woman and was very seldom seen with the gang.

Dirk found employment and was no longer seen in Greyville. Tony returned to the fishing fleet and was helped and influenced by a young woman with whom he formed an attachment. Lenny expressed his desire to withdraw from the gang as his brother had done. Errol had graduated to the ranks of adult criminals, being convicted for a number of serious offences the last of which resulted in a sentence of two years' imprisonment.

In November, 1958, several of the members had become friendly with members of a Coloured "penny-whistle" band. They frequently left their Greyville associates to visit band members who lived in the suburbs. Some members were prejudiced against the Coloured element and others did not have the inclination to visit another area so frequently. This precipitated the first break-away of members. Long gaol sentences also robbed the gang of some of its staunchest supporters.

With the general lack of interest displayed by Duke and with Schalk's departure, disintegration was accelerated. No one else assumed leadership or attempted to hold the remnants together to build them once more into a cohesive unit.

February

During February, 1959, more disintegration occurred. Only two or three members were still to be seen in Greyville. News was received that Schalk had found employment and did not intend returning. Ronny, Koert and Leslie had found employment. Lennie had formed an attachment with a young woman.

Reports were received at the Club that several of the Greyville members appeared to be associating with a gang of Ducktails at a suburban cinema in an area some distance from Greyville. This probably occurred as a result of losses from both gangs. A tentative approach was probably being made towards amalgamation.

Later reports

The investigator visited the Club at intervals during the whole of 1959. There were very few reports of any gang activities although some of the members did meet together occasionally. It would appear that the gang as it existed prior to December, 1959, was no longer in existence.

Gangs in other areas have also broken up. Neither the Greenwood Park gang of Ducktails which was very strong, nor the Redhill gang exist any longer.

A most important fact which appeared to emerge from this investigation was that the "gang" ideology and activities are essential to certain persons who form part of the adolescent "sub-culture". Being a gang member assists them in their adjustment to socially accepted standards of behaviour. When they achieve this stage the "gang" is no longer necessary to them and they move back to ordinary living.

H. FAMILY BACKGROUNDS AND RELATIONSHIPS

Very few of the gang members came from stable home backgrounds. Only one came from an upper middle-class home, five from good lower middle-class homes and the remainder from poor homes, in which poverty was only one of the factors contributing to a generally unsatisfactory environment.

Those from the lower middle-class homes, appeared on the surface anyway, to have a normal stable family life. Several had brothers and sisters, and in all cases the siblings appeared to be well adjusted members of society without any obvious tendency towards delinquency. Some of the parents of working gang members did not know the extent of their sons' participation in gang life after work hours, or the extent of their delinquencies.

Rusty's family was aware that he participated in anti-social activities and they tried various methods of dealing with the situation. He was evicted from the home approximately once in three months, but they very shortly took pity on him and allowed him to return. Another approach which they adopted was to ask the Roman Catholic priest of the Greyville parish to talk to him.

Rusty said that the priest had looked into his eyes through a magnifying glass and had told him he must have been smoking dagga for about four years. Rusty took a great delight in correcting him by saying that it had only been three years. He admitted that he was not in any way affected by the priest's entreaties

to him to lead a better life. It appeared to increase the contempt felt towards the family and the church.

So great became the allegiance to the gang that little contact was maintained between many gang members and their families. Rusty, for example used his home merely as a place in which to eat and sleep. He had revolted completely against the standards of his family and was no longer influenced by any member.

Arthur's revolt against family ties was (for the time being) complete. For many years he had not lived in the respectable parental home which was open to him, but had preferred to stay as a non-paying boarder and hanger-on in the home of Lennie and Tony, where the gang leader and his wife also lived.

The home of Lennie and Tony's parents was typical of the homes from which many of the Greyville Ducktails came. Several social agencies in Durban (among them, The Social Services Association, Durban Child Welfare Society and the Department of Social Welfare) at one time or the other, dealt with this family. Their records showed evidence of petty criminality, drunkenness, workshyness, desertion, illegitimacy and a general low level of social morale, with a complete disregard for cleanliness, privacy, personal rights and privileges. The family was also desperately poor.

Mrs. B., the mother of Lennie and Tony, was married twice. Lennie and Tony, together with several brothers and sister were the children of her first marriage. Her first husband was a work-shy drunkard whose moral standard was low. Evidence of this was obtained by the investigator when she investigated a complaint by the mother that he had had incestuous

relations with his daughter.

The second husband was very much younger than Mrs. B., being not much older than her eldest son. He too, was a heavy drinker. When she and Mr. B. were newly married both husbands shared the same house with her, but the ex-husband then left. A daughter by the first marriage was said to have been sexually promiscuous, but she later married. Mrs. B. herself, was a heavy drinker.

There was very little parental control and the children grew up completely without any systematic imposition of discipline, although occasionally there was a violent family squabble and the work-shy Ducktails were all evicted. After only a short period of such banishment, however, there was a complete reconciliation and all five or six young men were permitted to return.

Young persons coming from surroundings such as these often have considerable difficulty in finding a solution to their problems within the framework of conventional society. The parents have not been able to provide them with the equipment which brings recognition and status in normal society. In an attempt to acquire the much-needed status and recognition they frequently gravitate towards a gang which can supply this.

I. WOMEN ASSOCIATING WITH THE GANG

Those women and girls who consorted with members of the gang and who participated in their social activities all lived in Greyville or adjacent areas. A brief account of those most intimate with the gang, is given.

Jean, wife of the gang leader, married him several years ago and they had three children. She was a small, dark, pretty woman, rather dull and lacking in self-reliance. She gave the impression of a complete lack of initiative, being guided in all things by her husband over whom she exercised no influence whatsoever.

Barbara, Duke's 'steady' girl friend was a well-educated, handsome girl of 19. She was the sister-in-law of Mac and Gordon. Coming from a good lower middle-class home, she was well adjusted and mixed well with the non-Ducktail members of the Club. Having a strong personality, she had a good influence on Duke and probably assisted him to achieve a more satisfactory social adjustment sooner than might otherwise have been the case.

Margaret, Robert's sister, aged 17, was of dark complexion, raucous and typical of the girls associating with the Greyville gang. She swore and openly behaved in a provocative manner towards men, but as another girl described it, "she doesn't go too far". At one time, due to a very poor educational background, she was not able to obtain employment and was a matter of some concern to the Club authorities. She was continually borrowing money from men, and her behaviour was such as to invite sexual overtures. However, a job was eventually found for her. She made an immediate and favourable response, transforming herself from an untidy, dirty, unkempt girl to a young woman of fashion. Her voice became better modulated and when she was paid she was generous to her friends. She appeared to be achieving a satisfactory social adjustment and no longer presented a problem.

Joan and Cecile were both work-shy and did not bother to look for work, living at home with their parents. Joan was a married woman who had left her husband. She was one of the women most often associating with gang members, but did not have any special 'boy friend' in the gang. Cecile came from a lower middle-class home and her parents were ignorant of her associations with the Greyville gang. They were staunch Roman Catholics and were probably of Coloured ancestry. Insecurity and the difficulty of finding satisfactory status in normal groups probably because of the doubtful ancestry, coupled with rather unprepossessing looks, caused her to welcome any overtures made by male gang members.

Rita, a great friend of Cecile's, was Johan's sister and Barbara's aunt. She came from a good stable home, but appeared to have a marked degree of emotional maladjustment. This became more apparent during 1959 when the doctor attending her suggested that she should submit to psychiatric treatment in a mental institution for a period of six months. She did not live at home, but stayed with Mac and his wife, the latter being her niece. She showed little interest in her personal appearance and did not make the best of herself. She appeared to enjoy the role of martyr, being imposed upon by all her relatives and friends. Although both Martin and his brother were interested in her, during the earlier half of 1958, she did not go out with men and had no special 'boy friend'. She was however, interested in Lennie who at first ignored her completely and repulsed her advances. Later he began to show

some interest in her and during January, 1959, the relationship between them deepened considerably and she was encouraging him to find employment.

The youngest of the girls associating with the gang was only 15 years old, most of the others being between 17 and 18 years and 2 were over 20. Most of the girls associated together in a group, but Barbara, Duke's girl friend, held herself a little aloof from the rest. There appeared to be a mutual dislike between her and the rest of the girls.

CHAPTER V

GANG CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

A. DUCKTAIL LANGUAGE

Kimball Young has stated that the jargon used by gangs may be regarded as a mark of distinction. It is a badge of belonging to a closely knit group. It may also be used to secure secrecy, as is the language of the gypsies and of the underworld.

Thrasher stated "The words in vogue in the gang are to be regarded as collective representations, which are important in maintaining the unity of the group and controlling its members."^{1.} He points out that the argot of the group together with certain signs and symbols "promote mutual responsiveness in the more subtle forms of communication".

The Ducktail gangs in South Africa have developed a slang which makes it difficult for them to be understood by outsiders. Their speech is interspersed with gross profanities which are used monotonously and without restraint.

On first hearing the language it would appear that many of the words used are completely new. However, consultation of a dictionary of slang and unconventional English and underworld terms, reveals that many of the words were in vogue in the 17th and 18th Centuries and had a very similar connotation. Other words grew out of the experiences of servicemen during the two world wars and referred to articles and activities not commonly known outside war.

1. Thrasher : Op. cit. p. 267

Vocabulary:

Ducktails or Duckies (also called cutties) derive their name from the type of haircut favoured by them. When the style was introduced to South Africa from the United States, it was known as a District Attorney or D.A. haircut, originating apparently from an earlier period when it was popular with the legal profession in that country and was associated with the wearing of sideburns. The initials D.A. and the style of the haircut (which resembles a duck's tail at the back) quickly led to the use of a vulgar colloquialism which later became adopted by society in the more polite form of Ducktail.

Members of the gang and people generally are referred to as ou's, ou being an Afrikaans term of familiar address meaning "fellow".

The term Sheila is used for a girl friend. This is a late 19th Century Australian word meaning "girl". It may presumably be an adaptation of the female Christian name "Sheila". On the other hand it may be a perversion of the word shaler meaning "girl" from middle English dialect.² This term is not in frequent use amongst the Greyville Ducktails. It is occasionally used in the sense "How's about a couple of sheilas for tonight?" (What are the chances of finding a couple of girls to come out with us tonight). A girl is also known as a judy. If the girls are pleasant and appeal to them they may be described as lekkers babes (lekkers - from the Afrikaans word for sweets) or fixed-up babes.

2. Partridge - Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English.

If a girl is prepared to show favour to the boys she is described as a bully and if she is someone they like, she is a jolla. The origins of these terms are obscure.

The Greyville girls are called Greyville Goosies by outside Ducktail gangs and this arouses the wrath of the Greyville gang which is prepared to do battle on this account.

Battlers are out of work Ducktails, down on their luck, who have to "battle" for their existence. An important element is that they live by their wits and will, if necessary, use violence to attain their ends.

"Squares" is a term used to describe non-Ducktails and is often slightly derogatory (similar meaning to "sissy").

The words pull in and pull out are frequently used. "Let's pull in to the tavern" means "Shall we go to the tavern" and "Let's pull out of this joint" means "Let us leave this place". To like something is to smaak it (Smaak is the Afrikaans word for taste) e.g. I smaak that.

When a person ignores someone he is accused of cocking a deffy (cocking a deaf ear). Or if a member does not wish to listen to someone else's suggestions he just "cocks him a deffy". Cutting a person a deffy means to let him down. If a member does not approve of the behaviour of another person, he may threaten to cock them a rock (throw a rock at him, in other words, hit him) and if he is telling him to stop his nonsense he says "Cock it a rock"

Sug is a word which is very frequently used in different senses.

i. In the sense of "ratting or "squealing" on a person.

"He suggd to the kerels" means "he betrayed someone to the police".

ii. To disapprove of or dissociate oneself from e.g.

"Hey, are you sugging on what we did last night?"

(Do you disapprove of what we did last night?).

A favourite preface to remarks is "Ek se", the Afrikaans for "I say".

When playing snooker, and at other times too, if a person is particularly lucky, he is said to have arse, or they say "His arse is so big". (He is very lucky).

To impart some information to a friend is to "tunne" him, probably derived from "tuning in" on a radio.

"Waaing" is a common term for going derived from the Afrikaans word "wai" which means to blow, and which is frequently used in Afrikaans as the slang for "go off" or leave.

"Pozzie" an ex-army term used in the sense of "situation", "place" or "position". If a Ducktail says "I got nowhere to cabin tonight, how's about a kip pozzie?", it means, "I've got nowhere to sleep tonight. Can you provide me with a place?"

A motor-car is referred to as a jammie and a scope (from bioscope) is a cinema show.

The birdie is the time.

"Where are you setting out?" means "Where are you going?"

Sight that ou means "look at that fellow" as does jerry that square or spot that clot.

Dagga, Smoking and Gambling: Ordinary cigarettes and dagga cigarettes are referred to as "drags and matches are generally called jack-scratches. The Afrikaans word skuif is used to refer to a draw from both dagga or ordinary cigarettes.

Dagga cigarettes and the dagga itself are referred to by several different names, the most common being the weed. Zay or zeko are words describing the usual small packages of dagga. Other names for dagga are bangi (from Indian word "bhang"), patse (a Basuto word for dagga), the grog and a shot. It is occasionally called boom (Afrikaans for "tree") or kaartjie (meaning "ticket" in Afrikaans). When a smoker, called a rooker, wishes to buy some dagga, he may say to his friends "Lets take a slow ride to the merchants". The word rooker is in very common use (from Afrikaans word "smoker") and gang members often address the gang as "you rookers".

When the gang wishes to have a communal smoke they will say they are going for a power. This probably derives from the African concept that smoking gives one power. Zulus when asked why they smoke the drug will frequently answer "Kungi tholisa amandla" which may be translated as "It brings me power". A drag sesh is another term for a communal smoke. Power is also the name given the pipe used by smokers.

When gambling is referred to, the word school is generally used in the same sense as one would speak of a "poker school".

Drinking: Cane (Cane spirits) and vino are the names used for the two most usual drinks. When they wish to have a drink they say "Let's pull in at the tavern and have a coupla sparks", and if they wish to get drunk, they say "Let's get sparked". A person who

is drunk is described as being sparked, flying or alki. Illicit dealing in liquor is referred to as mailing.

Police and the Law. The police are referred to as kerels, the law or the johns. The most commonly used term is kerel which is an Afrikaans word with a meaning similar to "guys" or "chaps". The police patrol cars, together with the police who drive them are known by the usual South African term of scorpions. The "ghost squad" made up of plain-clothes policemen is called the ghosties. To be arrested and put in the squad car or van is to be lumbered. The magistrate is generally referred to as the beak, and to be imprisoned is to be put inside.

Fighting: A great deal of use is made of the word tension in its literal sense. There was tension between the Greyville ous and the town ous (those from the central City area). As a result of this tension "there is going to be big perre actions one of these days". (there is going to be wholesale gang war). A fight is referred to as a clean-up or a barney. If they intend beating up a person they are going to do him in.

Sexual Terms and Profanities: Sexual terms are widely used in everyday speech and although used when they may be overheard by women, most of the members do not use the words in direct conversation with women. F..... and its derivative, indecent phrases suggestive of malpractices (e.g. sod-off) and perversions are frequently used and are not censured by other members. Homosexuals are referred to as rabbits or queers, fruits or as so-and-so's girl friend said with a certain inflexion.

The most common word used to express annoyance is "Krize Man" a corruption of "Christ, Man".

References to other Races and Nationalities

Derogatory terms are used when talking about and sometimes to persons of other races and nationalities. Afrikaans people are referred to as moegoes which they consider to be a most derogatory term and a deadly insult. Indians are known as charras and they are addressed as "hey you charra". African people are called pekkies and Coloureds are bruin ous (Afrikaans for brown fellows).

Clothing: Rammies are the tight jeans which are the typical garb of Ducktails. A shirt is a dickey which has been underworld cant for a worn-out shirt since about 1780. A coat is a float. Clobbers are shoes. According to Partridge it was originally used as an overall word for clothing and derives from the Yiddish word "Klbrs!" Shoes may also be called ones and twos which is old Cockney rhyming slang. Handkerchiefs are referred to as oyster nets. The word oyster was already used in the 18th century to describe phlegm.

Money: When a person is out of funds, he describes himself as being on the outers. According to Partridge, the phrase originates from Australia and probably referred to "on the outer edge of prosperity" from "running on the outside track".

If a Ducktail wants to borrow 1/6 or 2/- he says "bite you for a spin-and-a-half or two holes". A "spin" in South Africa, originally meant a £5 note (enough money to go on a spin). Holes (used only in plural) means shilling and was hobo slang in the United States in the mid 1930's.

Food is generally referred to as grub or chow, the latter being a word brought to America from Korea by the American armed forces. A special bread and curry dish which is a particular favourite is known as a bunion chow.

B. MODE OF DRESS

The dress is as much a badge of Ducktails as is the slang they use. Throughout South Africa the Ducktail garb is not only worn by regular members of Ducktail gangs, but it has been widely copied by adolescents, some of whom have no delinquent leanings.

In fashion and dress there is an interplay between conformity and individuality. The garb chosen by the Ducktail sub-culture is widely different from customary dress and imparts striking individuality. It is the outward and visible indication that a section of the South African juvenile population is rebelling against accepted standards. Within the sub-culture however, there is strong conformity throughout South Africa.

The Ducktail dress had been in vogue for three years by the end of 1958, with very little change apart from that wrought by necessity, (e.g. many Ducktails now have a more conservative form of haircut since the earlier style made them easy targets for Police action).

Trousers, known as rammies, are of the stove-pipe variety, tapered and very tight at the ankles. They are so tight that shoes must be taken off before the trousers can be put on, or removed. These are of a variety of colours and materials, formal trousers being of suiting and the informal jeans of denim in light blue, navy blue, khaki or black, some being striped. There are often

contrasting coloured stitches and several zipp fasteners on the trousers which are held up by narrow snake skin or plastic belts.

Shirts are brightly coloured, tailless, with open necks and are worn outside the trousers. The poorer Ducktails often wear "T Shirts".

Lumber-jackets are the favourite form of jacket, some being of coloured, light-knitted fabric, but the majority are of brown and black leather, the front zipp fastener being left open. Many have names such as "Duke", "Fox", "Elvis", "Sputnik", elaborately printed on the back.

Shoes are of the mocassin type (tom-toms) a favourite colour being toney red. Some of the shoes which are a size or even two sizes too big, have metal on the heels to make a ringing or clicking noise. Socks are brightly hued (green, shocking pink or yellow) and are made of a fabric which is luminous in the semi-dark.

Formal attire for "better-off" Ducktails is often a suit cut on British "Teddy-boy" lines with an oversized jacket, stove-pipe trousers, a straight tie and brightly coloured waistcoat.

Standard equipment for all Ducktails is the comb usually tucked in the back pocket of the trousers, which is frequently whipped out to comb the hair back into its Ducktail style.

Destitute Ducktails ("the battlers") to which group belong many of the Greyville gang, could ^{not} adhere strictly to set fashions due to lack of funds. They were frequently seen wearing very short, tight shorts, athletic shirts and at times walked bare-footed. The

haircut was usually, in such instances, exaggeratedly Ducktail to compensate for lack of other means of identification.

Nearly every Ducktail wears a chain around the neck. This is usually of silver or silver-coloured metal, carrying a Crucifix, a religious medal or a metal disc on which is sometimes engraved the nickname of the person.

It was noticeable that the majority of gang members were extremely clean and fastidious in dress. Even those who could be described as "vagrants" kept bodies and clothing clean.

All gang members were clean-shaven on the upper lip and chin, but a few sported "side-burns" to match the Ducktail haircut.

The girls associating with the Ducktails dressed according to teen-age fashions in vogue with a tendency to adopt extremes of fashion.

C. WEAPONS

Knives are standard equipment, but these are usually only pen-knives, some of which are expensive and are equipped with several gadgets. During arguments and gang warfare, knives were seldom drawn and the only known instance during the whole year occurred when Shorty stabbed an Indian man during a fracas. The police were in the habit of demanding the knives to ascertain if the blades were more than the maximum length allowed by law.

Some of the members did own more dangerous weapons. Some owned knuckle-dusters, bicycle chains, hose pipes

filled with metal, but these were seldom in evidence and used rarely if at all. At one stage (1954) "sjamboks" (short whips made of rhinoceros hide) were a favourite weapon with the Greyville gang, but they are no longer used.

D. POSSESSIONS

A noticeable characteristic of the Greyville Ducktails was their lack of desire to have any but the most paltry possessions. They were not at all acquisitive, and this was one of the factors which made their out-of-work state not too difficult to bear.

Articles of personal property were not treasured for long periods and were always being changed or sold for paltry sums when funds were low. Money too, was not saved, being spent as soon as it was acquired. There was no thought or provision for future needs. The whole philosophy of the Greyville Ducktails seemed to be that of an improvident living for the present.

One or two did have a few more substantial possessions e.g. buzz-bikes or motor cycles. These were highly valued and well cared for, several of the members being excellent practical mechanics.

The care, attention and kindness lavished on pets was in direct contrast to the scant care and consideration shown towards members of their families. Dogs were highly prized and well looked after by their owners. Rex and Rowley owned a huge, well-bred dog which was well-fed and of whose ferocity and intelligence they boasted.

Another member had a fight with someone much bigger and tougher than himself because the person

had kicked his dog.

The gang leader owned a pet monkey and spent considerable time and trouble attending to its comfort, building it a shelter and obtaining the food it favoured. Lennie kept pigeons and poultry and was very knowledgeable on this subject.

E. DAILY ROUTINE

To the onlooker, gang members seemed to spend many wasted hours with energies not directed into any worthwhile channels. There was an apparent instability in their interests and they did not stick to any constructive pursuit for long, although during the initial phase of interest they would work keenly and well. They seemed to lack staying power.

To members however, there was a feeling of being fully occupied in ceaseless activities. They were always busy with gang affairs, but this activity did not appear to have any direction. They were complete hedonists whose only interests were the satisfaction of immediate urges and desires.

Gang members the world over appear to have a very similar daily routine which differs between working and non-working members only in that the working youths take up the gang routine after working hours.

In Cohen's "Delinquent Boys", Sylvia S. Furman describes a conversation with a New York gang boy :

One boy told me, "Now, for example, you take an average day. What happens? We come down to the restaurant and we sit in the restaurant, and sit and sit and sit. All right, say, er.... after a couple of hours in the restaurant, maybe we'll go to a poolroom, shoot a little pool, thats if somebody's got the money. O.K. a little pool, come back. By this time the restaurant is closed.

We go in the candy store for a while, and that's it, that's all we do man". 3.

The same aimlessness could be seen in the typical daily routine of the Greyville gang boys. For the work shy adolescent, being a gang member was a full-time occupation requiring all his attention and energy throughout the day. They were at their lowest ebb during the morning. There was a general feeling of malaise, often the combined result of a late bed time, dagga-smoking and drinking the previous night. They tended to emerge from their homes in the mid-mornings, many not having bothered about eating breakfast. This was the time when they sat in groups for hours in the park, chatting, planning and smoking. Or they may have done some "mailing" in liquor, obtained supplies of dagga for distribution to gang members or traded with the "fences" in stolen property. When the tavern was opened, if funds were available, there would be a general gravitation towards it. Hours were spent here, over a few drinks, discussing past gang experiences, talking to the barman (who had a reputation as a raconteur) and making plans for future escapades. The information about activities in the bar was obtained from the Club social worker.

By afternoon, members were a little more energetic and some may have come into the Club to play snooker, others may have helped with repairs and alterations carried out at the Club. Others went into the central city area for the lunch hour and were occasionally seen

3. Sylvia S. Furman : quoted in Cohen : Delinquent Boys
op. cit. p. 186

with young working girls at record shops and milk bars. Afternoons were sometimes spent in cinemas or cinema cafes.

They were usually back in force in the vicinity of the Club by about 7 p.m. The hour preceding this was the one devoted to the main, and sometimes, the only meal of the day. In their homes, meals were often very informal affairs. The woman of the house often did not bother to cook, but bought fish and chips, hot curry and other prepared dishes from local Indian cafes. The favourite food among gang members was the "bunion chow". This was a half loaf of bread, the inside of which had been removed and replaced by very hot mutton or bean curry. The soft bread was then compressed and used as a lid to seal over the curry so that it was completely enclosed. A bean curry bunion chow cost 9d. at that time and a mutton one, 1/3. These were obtainable from several Indian shops in the area.

For members in work, activities with the gang began immediately after work. Before going home for the evening they came to the tavern for a drink, went home, changed into typical Ducktail attire and were usually back in the vicinity of the Club by 7 p.m.

Between 7 and 9 p.m. the Club was not visited by the gang en masse, but two or three were always present, chatting to the social worker, using the toilet facilities or showers or playing snooker. During this time they moved from park or Club to tavern and back again, alternating drinking with dagga-smoking.

The Club was their late evening venue. Here they participated in or watched the Rock 'n Roll sessions, played snooker, watched cinema shows and other

entertainments or just sat around and chatted. They commonly left for their homes at about 11 p.m. Occasionally they stayed much later, particularly if there had been some excitement such as gang warfare or perhaps a police raid in the area.

F. RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

There is a constant search for new activities and experiences by juvenile gangs and any activity which has in it an element of risk or danger is enjoyed. Theft may be regarded as a sport rather than as a crime. Thrasher supports this belief when he says that stealing is "as much a result of the sport motive as the desire for revenue. It is regarded as perfectly natural and entails no more moral opprobrium for the ordinary gang boy than smoking a cigarette".^{4.}

Any sport which fulfils the craving for excitement and danger is popular. Wrestling and boxing were indulged in a great deal. They represent the only form of fighting which has social approval and, therefore, form a valuable type of activity for the gang boy. Some of the gang members were excellent boxers. Two have participated in the South African Championships, and have received handsome offers to turn professional.

Football is popular probably because of the element of personal conflict. The Sunday Football League in which they participated is known as the "Choppers League" because of its rough games and for the fact that there is often open enmity between the competing teams.

4. Thrasher: op. cit. p. 92

At the beginning of the football season in 1958, the Club social worker attempted to form a Club football team. Members of the gang were invited to join. At first there was a good deal of quarrelling and wholesale walk-outs in protest against "non-Duckies" and "outside ous" being admitted to the team. A compromise was eventually reached with the gang allowing a man well known to them, a non-Ducktail, married, and in the mid-twenties, who was an excellent player, to be their captain. Another strong player, a Club member, but a non-Ducktail, living in the area was also permitted to become a member of the team. These two formed the stable nucleus of the team.

The first few games were erratic, many injuries being sustained by the team who, in turn inflicted injuries on other teams. Later the gang worked so well as a team, that they became the strongest "Eleven" in their section. Football became a passion with them. Gang members, who were non-players turned up in force each week, as did their girl friends, to support and cheer their teams. So great was the interest aroused that Lennie and Tony gave up their jobs with the fishing fleet because work interfered with their football fixtures.

Dancing, of the modern variety, was another popular form of recreation. "Rock 'n Roll" and "Kwela" sessions at the Club were well attended. This type of dancing entails a tremendous expenditure of energy, the shirts of many of the men being dripping wet with perspiration after an evening of this activity. The gang members and their followers were most particular about their dance music. The tempo

had to be absolutely correct and if a particular record was not liked those present did not hesitate to demand its removal. Certain songs and pieces were great favourites and were played very loudly. They had to be repeatedly rendered at the vociferous demand of the audience. No formal invitation to dance was made by a man to a girl. There was an almost imperceptible invitation, a mere nod of the head or a slight gesture of the body. Sometimes partners met in the middle of the hall, having danced from opposite ends towards each other.

Gang members were inveterate snooker players and spent hours in the Club snooker room or over the road from the Club at the non-European pool room; the latter was frequently raided by the police. Very little gambling occurred over these games. Cards and illicit racing pools were the favoured forms in which gambling took place.

At least one visit to the cinema per week was an essential when funds permitted. The favourite types of films were thrillers involving fighting, shooting and adventure, westerns and slap-stick comedies. Films in which teenage idols such as Elvis Presley and Tommy Steele featured were also very popular. These preferences were noted at the weekly film shows held at the Club. Sentimental love films, newsreels and society films were not appreciated as demonstrated by booing and cat-calling.

"Painting the Town Red" which involved getting drunk, brawling, being rough with pedestrians, creating disturbances in public places, was occasionally indulged in by gang members. In some cases this

develooped into gang warfare or full-scale rioting against the police.

Parties and socials were held on the slightest pretext at the homes of members or their friends. These were lavish large-scale affairs at which the main refreshment was liquor (usually cane spirit, wine and beer). Some of these were mixed parties to which girl friends were brought, and some were "stag". These parties were usually associated with the celebration of birthdays, engagements or other special occasions. Dagga was generally smoked on such occasions, this being done outside the home to decrease the risk of detection. A good deal of kissing and cuddling occured quite openly at such parties.

G. SEXUAL LIFE

The normal inhibitions preventing discussion of intimate matters between the gang members and the investigator did not permit searching enquiries into the sexual aspects of gang life.

So much had been published in the South African press concerning the loose morals of members of the Ducktail cult and there had been such vivid descriptions of week-ends spent in vice and unbounded sexuality, that the investigator began the study with^a/pre-conceived idea that similar conditions would exist in Greyville. Some medical authorities claim that dagga, rather than acting as an aphrodisiac tends to have an inhibiting effect on sexual activity and this might well have been the case amongst Greyville gang members.

A certain amount of ardent petting was noticed at

some Rock 'n Roll sessions, but no more than one might find amongst any group of young people.

Some of the Ducktails were self-confessed misogynists. They preferred not to have women at their social functions and were impatient with any woman who wished to participate in any of their activities.

The Club social worker, who had established a good relationship with most of the gang members, reported that he had not been present at any conversations at which masturbation or malpractices (apart from homosexuality) had been discussed, although they were frequently referred to in the guise of profanities.

Sex represents a secondary gang activity and appears to be considered as a threat to the solidarity of the gang. Any attachment with a member of the opposite sex is discouraged as representing an obstacle to the complete loyalty of a member, and because it takes up time and energy which should be devoted to gang activities. Although individual members were interested in women, their activities often remained partially clandestine due to gang disapproval.

Ultimately however, sex activity is the force which causes the withdrawal of members from the gang. It is when they find a woman with whom they are "going serious" and whom they wish to marry that many slowly break off ties with the gang. Mac admitted that this was his reason for leaving the gang. Duke, too, withdrew because of the serious nature of his interest in a woman.

Overt acts of homosexuality were not strongly censured if they were committed by persons who were not actually homosexual, but who merely did so for monetary gain. Some of the members spoke of having "girl friends" who were wealthy homosexual men. Often they were unscrupulous towards these people, accepting meals, presents and money from them and then refusing any sexual favours. One member said "We just have what we can out of them, the best wines and food, and then, if they try to touch us, we punch them up".

H. EMPLOYMENT

Nine of the twelve core members of the gang were unemployed for more than six months during 1958. Sixteen of the full membership of twenty-five were also unemployed for more than six months. By the end of February, 1959, however, there had been a marked improvement, only three core members still remained unemployed.

A number of gang members were unskilled workers with no training or apprenticeship in any trade or profession. Some were educated only as far as Std. VI and two only to Std. IV, and when working drifted from one job to another. They formed part of that section of the labour force that is floating and that is first affected by seasonal fluctuations in employment and by slight recessions in trade. They were usually engaged in employment of a non-satisfying nature or where conditions were arduous and required a considerable amount of will power to retain the employment. They failed to endure restrictions and were likely to feel inferior and unable to adjust themselves to normal

working society. Many of them having been convicted of criminal offences, found some avenues of work, such as Government positions, closed to them, and it is in these avenues that most opportunities exist for untrained or unskilled workers in South Africa.

The result of these difficulties was that several members had become work-shy and no longer bothered to seek employment. Others took casual work or seasonal work such as in the fishing fleet. Some became apprenticed and although staying away from work periodically and failing to attend compulsory evening classes, they somehow managed to complete the five-year apprenticeship period and became skilled artisans. There were two gang members who, although they were skilled tradesmen, were work-shy and did not seek employment or accept that which was offered.

Those out of work lived at home or at the homes of other gang members. They did not appear to pay any board. They slept at home, had occasional meals there, but were not otherwise seen by the household. The strong communal spirit within the gang ensured that there would always be a certain measure of financial support for non-working gang members.

The number of members out of work remained fairly constant throughout the year, but not always the same people composed this body. The gang leader was out of work from March, and by December, was making a decided effort to find employment. His wife was also unemployed and they had three children to support. They, together with Arthur, Lennie and Tony, at one time all lived in the home of the parents of Lennie and Tony. Apart from a few casual jobs none of these people had worked for

nine months. This did not, however, mean that no money was being obtained by them. Schalk admitted to several thefts and once was convicted, receiving a sentence conditionally suspended for three years.

Some members were dagga peddlers, but only on a small scale. Another source of revenue was illicit trading in liquor. Being over eighteen years of age, most gang members were legally permitted to buy liquor. The investigator has watched one of the methods of disposal of this liquor. This occurred in a small lane off a side street very near to the Greyville junction. The method observed appeared to be for one of the gang members to go to the bottle store nearby and emerge with a paper parcel and stroll up to the lane. After an interval, a large American car (a taxi) driven by Indians drove up the side street and stopped before a house. The Indians got out and come to the gate of the house. By then the liquor was secreted on the persons of more than one member. They sauntered up to the Indians and then all walked over to the boot of the car which was opened ostensibly to examine tools. Here the transaction took place. Whether money or dagga was handed over in exchange for the liquor is not known.

Another method of trading in liquor was to take money far in excess of the purchase price from African people and to buy liquor for them. Sometimes the gang members disappeared with the money. The Africans had no redress because reporting to the police would involve them in criminal charges as well.

In the area were several shebeens which were supplied with some of their liquor by gang members who made a profit out of such transactions.

The gang members also resorted to petty thieving, stealing articles such as knives, wall mirrors and other easily removable objects, and selling them for a fraction of their value to obtain money for dagga and drink.

Work of the casual type was given up on the slightest pretext. At the beginning of the year Lennie and Tony were employed for two-week stretches in between two week periods of relaxation, on the deep-sea fishing fleet. Both enjoyed the work, but found that it interfered with their participation in football fixtures. They left their jobs and did not work until the end of the year, except during the "sardine run" over July, when they spent nights on the North Pier fishing and selling the fish they caught.

Jacko, a matriculated youth who had received a purely academic education, presented another problem. He was not equipped for the type of employment that suited him. He scorned office work and any work which entailed contact with people. He was aggressive and unpleasant to people with whom he was not familiar, which made his decision about the latter type of work a wise one. In October he obtained employment as a plant operator, since when he was no longer seen so frequently in the Greyville area.

Although the general employment situation was bad during January and February, 1959, several members who had not worked for several months obtained employment. Ronnie, Leslie, Tony, Koert and Schalk, all of them previously considered to be work shy obtained steady employment.

I. DESTRUCTIVE MANIFESTATIONS OF GANG LIFE

1. Delinquencies

Joseph E. Murphy in "Federal Probation" vol. XVIII, March 1954, quoted in Delinquent Boys, gives a simple, but massive enumeration of the type of purposeless, malicious and unproductive delinquencies indulged in by present day delinquents which illustrates very well their flavour and scope. He writes :-

Studies of the complaints made by citizens and public officials reveal that hardly any property is safe from this form of aggression. Schools are often the object of attack by vandals. Windows are broken; records, books, desks, typewriters, supplies and other equipment are stolen and destroyed. Public property of all types appears to offer peculiar allurements to children bent on destruction. Parks, playgrounds, highway signs, and markers are frequently defaced or destroyed. Trees, shrubs, flowers, benches and other equipment suffer in like manner. Autoists are constantly reporting the slashing or releasing of air from tyres, broken windows, stolen accessories. Golf clubs complain that benches, markers, flags, even expensive and difficult-to-replace putting greens are defaced, broken or uprooted. Libraries report the theft and destruction of books and other equipment. Railroads claim of and demand protection from the destruction of freight car seals, theft of property, wilful and deliberate throwing of stones at passenger car windows, tampering with rails and switches. Vacant houses are always the particular delight of children seeking outlets for destructive instincts; windows are broken, plumbing and hardware stolen, destroyed or rendered unusable. Gasoline operators report pumps and other service equipment stolen, broken or destroyed. Theatre managers frequently in the "better" neighbourhoods, complain of the slashing of seats, wilful damage of toilet facilities, even the burning of rugs, carpets etc. 5.

The activities of the Greyville gang fitted this pattern closely. Most of their delinquencies are purposeless and wanton. Three schools in the area

were often objects of attack as well as places in which to carry on illegal activities such as dagga-smoking and the destruction and hiding of incriminating evidence. The high school for girls, next door to the Club, has had windows broken, books stolen to be torn up and strewn all over the area. The school was often used as a den and Arthur once remarked "If that school could talk, we would all be inside serving long sentences now".

Parks and playgrounds too suffered depredation at their hands; benches were broken or cut into, the paint-work had initials scratched on it and the benches themselves were transported to most unlikely places; street lights were broken, trees, shrubs and flowers were picked and uprooted. Youngsters climbed the trees and thought nothing of ripping down branches as they did this.

Motor-cars, being highly prized, but unattainable, were regularly "attended to" by gang members. Several cases of slashed tyres and air being released from tyres were reported. An assistant at a local bottle store stated that he had seen some gang members destroy a car in a road near to the Club. "They let down the tyres, cut the upholstery and smeared sticky stuff on it".

No window in the area was safe. The Club faced regular monthly bills for the replacement of windows. One or two were broken by accident while gang members indulged in horseplay, but most of them were deliberately broken by stone-throwing late at night or in the early hours of the morning. One curious aspect of this window breaking was that the culprits were usually found out. It would appear that an integral part of the delinquency was for the culprit not to make it too

difficult to be discovered. In some instances the culprits made a good job of repairing their handiwork, and did it willingly and happily.

Vacant buildings too, were the particular delight of Greyville youths seeking outlets for their destructive instincts, just as they were to the youths whom Joseph Murphy studied. The cinema in Greyville was closed down during 1958. It had been an old haunt of the gang who perpetrated many delinquencies there and used it almost as a Club house. After it was closed down, they broke in, collected all the chairs and placed them in a large heap in the middle of the floor. After having slashed the upholstery of many of them, they kicked a large mirror to pieces. Huge front placard boards which had been screwed onto pillars on the pavement were ripped off.

The toilet facilities at the Club have been under heavy attack. Towel rails were broken, wall mirrors stolen and one smashed to fragments; air vents were kicked in and all coathanger hooks were ripped from the walls. It was quite a common occurrence for toilet paper to be unrolled and to be left festooning taps and walls in the conveniences, or even to be thrown about the hall. With almost superhuman strength Rusty ripped the showers in the men's change room from the wall and bent them round into an almost circular shape. Later, when it became a nuisance having no showers after football matches, he offered to fix them and then, assisted by several other members, he did this well and neatly.

One of the most senseless acts of vandalism to Club premises was the writing of indecent remarks and the playing of noughts and crosses with crayons, all over the walls of the snooker room.

The delinquencies so far mentioned were those committed either by the gang working as a whole, or by one or two of the members working within the framework of the gang and with its knowledge and approval.

Some of the members however, also indulged in delinquencies of a solitary nature which were sometimes of a serious type. Des was convicted of armed robbery. Lennie had several convictions for theft. Fred had been imprisoned for theft and fraud, a series of crimes involving large sums of money. Several were convicted of being in possession of, or for selling, dagga.

2. Dagga Smoking

"Dagga" is the South African term for the dried young leaves and seeds of the Cannabis indica, the Indian hemp plant, which, originating in Central Europe, now grows in many parts of the world. It is used as a drug in many countries, under a variety of names; hashish (Hindi), bhang (Arabic) and marihuana (U.S.A.). The term "dagga" is derived from the Hottentot word, "dachah".

Dagga-smoking has been prevalent in the Union for some considerable time, because it was originally a widespread habit amongst the tribal, indigenous people. In many tribes it was smoked quite openly and was a socially acceptable habit amongst mature and elderly men.

Drug-addiction through the smoking of dagga, is regarded by the authorities today as being one of the most serious and disturbing aspects of juvenile delinquency.

Amongst the Greyville gang members the dagga habit was widespread. Twentyone of the members and fringe members were known to smoke dagga at one time or another,

and of these, nineteen were habitual smokers. Two more were at one time habitual smokers, but had successfully given up the habit. Girls or women did not participate in sessions where smoking occurred, and none of them was known to smoke. It was essentially a man's occupation. Attempts to make women smoke, or even to offer them a smoke, were not observed.

Traffic in Dagga

The traffic in dagga is extensive, highly organised and secret, with enormous profits accruing to middlemen and large scale growers. The growers who cultivate the plant in inaccessible remote parts of the country, most commonly in native reserves, hide traces of cultivation by growing maize or other crops around the dagga fields. From these fields the crop is gathered and taken on animals or on the heads of human beings to meet the motor cars which pick it up at the roadside, generally at night. Occasionally the consignment is carried by railway, but then care has to be taken to disguise the characteristic odour of the drying dagga. This is done by using naphthalene, pineapple skins or insect repellent on the luggage in which the dagga is secreted. All races are involved in the traffic, Africans being the most common growers. Indians and Africans are often engaged in the transportation and wholesale distribution, Europeans less frequently.⁶

The middlemen convey the dagga to the towns. Often it is dumped from the cars just outside the town,

6. Union Government : Report of Inter Departmental Committee - "Abuse of Dagga" - U.G. 31 of 1952.

kept in some shack for a day or two and then later fetched by agents. In Natal, according to a statement in a Government report, Indians are the commonest middlemen. From these distributors the drug is passed to the "runners". These may be African women, or juveniles of the delinquent type of any race. In the past, African ricksha pullers were well-known retailers of the drug, keeping their supplies in the ricksha sheds, but the police have discovered this and there has been considerable tightening up, in the form of regular inspections. Young European men of the work shy and wayward type^{6.} also undertake retail traffic of the drug.

So well kept is the secret of the source that although the investigator had established a comparatively close contact with members of the Greyville gang, she was able to locate only one source of supply, a cafe run by Indians in the area. In addition, Ray, a gang member, acted as a retailer to the gang.

The usual price for dagga was from 2/6 to 5/- per match-box full or 6d. to 2/- for wrapped rolls depending on size. Gang members gave the investigator this information. These are usually referred to as "zols", "pils" or "kaartjies", but the name changes frequently for fear of discovery by the police.

Dagga and the Greyville Gang

Amongst the Greyville gang, the smoking of dagga appeared to be a "badge of belonging". It was a socially accepted and approved custom and non-conformity often led to non-admission to the gang. Non-smokers

6. Union Government : Report of Inter Departmental Committee - "Abuse of Dagga" - U.G. 31 of 1952.

were scorned by gang members and smoking could almost be considered a pre-requisite for membership. Several members have stated that their first smokes of dagga were taken in the spirit of adventure and experimentation.

It is generally the maladjusted youth or the one who is having difficulty in finding a solution of status problems who is the most likely to be ready to try out dagga. The fact that dagga-smoking is considered by conventional society to be anti-social, makes it even more acceptable in the eyes of such young people. "For weak and maladjusted personalities the idea of belonging to a closed group of this kind must hold considerable attraction".⁷ Lack of other activities, long hours spent with nothing much to occupy them, the presence of runners who try to induce them to smoke, are all contributory factors towards the encouragement of addiction. The feeling of well-being, the forgetting of one's troubles and difficulties, the escape from the often dull and sordid everyday environment which are achieved through the smoking of the drug, makes it a pleasant thing to turn to, once the habit is formed. This, together with the pressures brought to bear by the gang, compels continuation of the habit.

"Apprenticing" of Dagga Addicts

Several gang members who are apprenticed in various trades have described a system of obtaining converts which is in vogue at a local trade school attended by them. Many of the dagga smokers from Greyville attending

7. Union Government Report : op. cit. p. 20

the evening classes control young "apprentices in dagga smoking" who are supposed to serve two years under the experienced dagga smoker.

Rusty described the situation involving his "apprentice" who had been with him for some time, and who came from a respectable middle-class home. The lad was taken to a nearby park and initiated into the rites of smoking. As he was learning to smoke he often felt sick and had to obtain permission to leave classes half way through. Rusty said that "once the ous know that you are from Greyville, they crowd around you, they are so eager to get the weed".

Signs and Jargon

Amongst dagga smokers there is a jargon of secret signs and words which convey information about the drug and which are not generally disclosed to non-smokers. As previously indicated these signs and words change from time to time for fear of police detection.

Dagga smokers often have a dot tattooed under the eye or on the hand, various gangs having their own particular location. The investigator was shown tattoo marks by ex-gang members. The Greyville gang did not appear to use such a mark of identity, but they had a dagga whistle which was used to call smokers together. The whistle is in widespread use throughout Durban and the investigator has often heard it used. It consists of three sharp, short whistles between the teeth.

Most habitual smokers have yellow stains on the palm of the hand, extending to between the thumb and the index finger through constant holding of the pipe.

Modes of Smoking

The need for secrecy in the smoking of dagga appears to appeal to a juvenile sense of adventure. Often the gang met in a nearby park. After a look around to see that they were not being watched, and that they could get away if approached by the police, they would "light up". Several places were available where the dagga could be secreted in the event of a raid; drains, manholes, lavatories, bushes and many other ingenious hiding places. So frequently was a local school used as a smoking den that the authorities set broken glass on the tops of the high brick walls to discourage intruders. Another favourite place for smoking was the "sluit", a gulley close to a nearby African barracks. It was stated by smokers that the barracks were a good source of supply for the "weed".

The Club too, was used on occasion by smokers who used lavatories, the snooker room and other fairly secluded places for a quick smoke. The odour, once known, is easy to recognise and the smoking was detected and stopped very quickly. Outside places were preferred. On occasions, when fearing a raid from the police, dagga and pipes were hidden on the premises to be collected again after the danger had passed.

Parties were frequently held at the homes of members where smoking was indulged in freely, not inside the house, but outside so that the odour could quickly disperse. Most of these parties were fairly orderly.

The manner of smoking is interesting. The drug is first of all put into the hand and fingered and teased out to loosen it up. Sometimes it is mixed with

ordinary tobacco, rolled in brown paper and smoked as a cigarette. This method is not generally favoured. The usual manner is for it to be smoked in a special dagga pipe. This pipe is usually the back of a bottle which has been broken off and smoothed down. The dagga is rolled in silver paper, inserted into the pipe and then lighted. It is held in the hand between the base of the thumb and the index finger, only a small part protruding, the rest being hidden and shielded by the hand. This accounts for the yellow stains often seen on dagga smokers' hands.

The pipes were cherished possessions. Some were made from clay and were often artistically decorated. One clay pipe which was shown to the investigator had engraved on it the nicknames of all core members of the gang. The owner was very proud of it. Jacko had a special, highly prized pipe, made of horn. The horn had been filed down at both ends and it was only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The diameter at the smoking end was about 1 inch.

A gang pipe which was called a "hubbly-bubbly" by members, was in use at one time. It had been ingeniously made from a refrigerator bottle and had three tubes (two metal and one rubber) leading into it. The principle on which it worked was that the dagga fumes passed through water before being inhaled. This resulted in a pleasant "cool" smoke.

Smoking was essentially a communal activity and non-smokers were not welcome at a session. Lawrie who was giving up the habit and felt little inclination to smoke, still took a puff or two with the gang "just to keep the ous happy". The pipe was often passed from

man to man, it being safer this way as there would only be one or two pipes to dispose of in the event of a police raid.

Effects on the Individual

8. An editorial in the South African Medical Journal, is devoted to an article dealing with the physical and mental effects of the drug. The conclusions reached were that dagga produces effects very similar to those of alcohol, but that the effects of dagga were not as serious as those produced by chronic alcoholism. Unlike alcohol, smoking stops spontaneously when the desired effects are obtained i.e. as soon as the addict feels 'high'. The effects appear immediately and take from one to three hours to pass off.

The respiratory tract is irritated by the fumes, resulting in attacks of coughing, but the habitual smoker develops some tolerance and coughing in this instance is only slight. There is a marked decrease in the flow of saliva. In cases of heavy addiction, swallowing of volatile ingredients can cause an acute gastritis. The editorial claimed that a dagga addict can be detected by his eyes which become bright and shiny with dilated pupils and bloodshot conjunctiva.

Some members of the Greyville gang seemed to be more susceptible to the drug than others. A small amount might give rise to acute physical symptoms, whereas some heavy smokers developed so great a

tolerance that they showed few physical symptoms. Several showed bloodshot conjunctiva, and dilation of the pupils was present in most cases. In some of the smokers eyelids tended to droop. One gang member, Ray, suffered a severe form of gastritis involving haemorrhage, which he attributed to the excessive smoking of dagga.

The phenomenon of excessive hunger was sometimes observed. Any food or milk left on Club premises had to be locked up because of frequent pilfering by these young men.

The authors of Union Govt. Report on Dagga Smoking already referred to, support the belief that the drug "reveals the real nature, character and personality of the addict for the reason that the inhibiting influence of the conscious centres fails to restrain the sub-conscious tendencies and desires. It is in this freeing of the subconscious tendencies and instincts that the relationship between addiction and crime can be seen".^{9.}

The connexion between dagga smoking and sexual activity has already been referred to in the section dealing with the Sexual Life of the Greyville Gang.

Effects of the drug varied greatly amongst individuals. Gus smoked regularly for three and a half years, but stated that he was able to do so and continue with his work and day-to-day living, although sometimes, the day after a heavy smoke he felt "washed out" and sometimes fell asleep at his work. While under the influence of the drug he had tremendous energy, especially "walking power" and thought nothing of

9. U. G. Report : op. cit. p. 20

walking four miles. Martin had to give up smoking because of the serious mental effects. The first time he took it he thought he was about to die. His whole face went numb and he felt faint. Members of the gang who were present said that he drenched himself under the tap in the park in an attempt to rid himself of the effects of the drug. After the initial faintness his senses became acute and he could do things of which he would otherwise be incapable. When the drug wore off however, he became completely withdrawn and suffered severe mental depression.

Laurie said that the first time he smoked it was out of curiosity "but what really grips me is the way it makes me see the funny side of things. Every little thing seems funny. One can laugh five minutes at a time and laugh anyone under the table. It gives one confidence as well". The first time he smoked he became almost hysterical with laughter and his cheeks and jaws felt quite numb.

Jacko lost all inhibitions and swore and screamed while under the influence of the drug.

Many gang members have stated that they smoke the dagga to give them the "guts" to do the things they want to do, because under its influence they feel brave and able to do things of which they would normally be fearful. As one member said, "They feel mixed up before they start, would like to break things up, but don't have enough guts. Dagga just helps them to do this".

The foregoing experiences and comments of addicts reveal the connexion between crime and dagga addiction. The effects of dagga-smoking cause a lowering of the

thresholds of restraint and inhibition.

According to the report of the Union Government Commission on Dagga, the basic and ultimate cause of the problem lies in the social and economic conditions of the smokers: "It is not any particular deadly quality in the dagga plant itself which presents a social problem, rather it is the economic and social maladjustments of the age which confront us, and our efforts should not be directed against eradication of the drug, but rather to the improvement of these social and economic conditions".^{10.}

3. Drinking

Alcoholism does not constitute an important problem in comparison with dagga-smoking.

There are several bars in Greyville, but only one was favoured by the gang. This is a tavern near to the Club which sells no spirits and is restricted to the sale of beer and wine. Members of the gang congregated there before it opened and payed frequent visits from the time of opening until it closed at 9.30 p.m. The drink most frequently taken was a cheap wine sold at 10d. per tot; it is quite potent. The drinking was in the main convivial and it was considered acceptable that members should become "flying" (drunk) once in a while. There was considerable boasting about drinking exploits.

Of all the gang, only one fringe member, Des. could be described as an alcoholic and he was rarely seen sober.

10. U.G. Report : op. cit.

Arthur did have a bout of very heavy drinking a few months previously when he was taking two bottles of brandy daily, and eventually had to receive hospital treatment for delirium tremens. After this experience he was seen drunk only about once a week. The remaining members, although some drank heavily on occasions, were purely social drinkers and drank with the gang. They were very sociable while drinking and generous in standing treat.

The gang bought cane spirits and jars of cheap wine for parties and celebrations which were not held at the bar mentioned. They claimed that cane spirits was the best drink because there were no after effects or hangovers from drinking it. They also stated that it had the added advantage, if one took a glass of water the next morning, of making one completely "alkie" (drunk) again. Occasionally cane spirits and wine were mixed together and taken "neat". It was considered unmanly to mix water or other liquids with spirits. On occasions, "Gavine" an illicitly distilled spirit, which is almost proof alcohol, was procured from African producers and consumed neat with enjoyment.

CHAPTER VI

ATTITUDES AND RELATIONSHIPS

A. ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER GANGS

"The gang is a conflict group", says Thrasher, and^{1.}
"it develops through strife and thrives on warfare".
The gang defends what might be termed its "tribal area"
against invading gangs, and indirectly its success in
this sphere determines its status amongst other gangs.
The traditions of a gang are often built up as a result
of the fights which have the effect of binding members
together. To maintain interest and to retain this
binding effect, feuds between gangs are often prolonged
and maintained long after the original cause of fight-
ing has been forgotten. In many cases the original
cause has merely been a rationalisation of the true and
otherwise unexpressed desire for conflict.

Periods of fierce warfare between gangs are often
followed by periods of relative peace brought about by
accommodation. The pattern is generally as follows:-
1. The original violence is often an attack made on
an individual member by another gang usually to punish
a trespass on their territory by this gang member.
2. As a result of this attack, the whole gang seeks
revenge and deliberately invades the other gang's territ-
ory. If subsequent fighting results in victory for one
gang the other often retires for a while and sometimes
amalgamates with another gang.

1. Thrasher : op. cit. p. 173

3. Often, during gang wars, champions are put into the field to fight each other, the individual victory being accepted as a gang victory. After such a fight there may be handshaking and conventional overtures of friendship which herald a period of peace; there is accommodation between the gangs.

During July, 1958, there occurred a series of events which well illustrated this process.

At the beginning of 1958, the Greyville gang was at the height of its power. The leader was strong and organisation was good. Many members were not working and required some diversion. The gang, in the characteristic manner of gangs, wanted to exhibit its strength. For some weeks during May and June, a certain amount of tension had developed between the Berea Road aided by the Central City gang and the Greyville gang. It was alleged that when Greyville girls went into the central city area they were called "Greyville Goosies" and "prostitutes" by members of the Central City and Berea Road gangs and their women supporters. This may not have been a common or general experience for the Greyville girls, but was probably the gang's rationalisation of an urge to fight.

At a Rock 'n Roll session held at the Club on the 3rd July, 1958, many strange visitors (later identified as members of the Redhill and Greenwood Park gangs who occupied adjacent territory) were noticed. They had been brought in as reinforcements by the Greyville gang who had heard that the "town ous were pulling in for a barney to-night". Tension was high throughout the evening, several weapons, including hose-piping and sticks

were secreted in various places, because it was alleged that a notorious gang of "foreigners" from the Witwatersrand were coming to reinforce the Central City forces. No enemies arrived and no trouble occurred that evening.

At the next session a number of Witwatersrand Ducktails, together with members of the Central City gang were present. These were trespassers on the Greyville territory. During the evening a few gang members, led by Duke, walked up to some of the transgressors, who were seated in the hall, and commenced to batter them with their fists. Several fights broke out and there was general confusion, the "town" fellows suffering bleeding noses. Other disturbances occurred later and eventually the Central City and the Witwatersrand Ducktails went off.

After this session the Greyville leader gave it out that there would definitely be a fight between the two factions. They had a list of names of Central City gang members against whom they had vowed vengeance. - "There is going to be big perre actions one of these days, the best side will win and then there will be peace again".

At another Rock 'n Roll session during this month there was a different type of fighting, when champions were picked from each gang to fight one another. One of the Witwatersrand gang men attended the session and was challenged by Ronny for speaking to a sister of one of the fringe members of the Greyville gang. The challenge was accepted. Both men tied handkerchiefs around right hand knuckles and a fist fight was started on the pavement outside the Club. It was agreed that this should be a fair fight between Ronny and the

Witwatersrand gang champion. When it became obvious that Ronny was being beaten other members assisted him with an occasional kick and punch. The other man's supporters objected to this and eventually the fight was called off.

Towards the end of July, the Greyville gang had to face odds which intimidated them and which brought an end to the conflict for the moment.

Early in the evening during a Rock 'n Roll session at the Club, three large new American cars with Johannesburg number plates parked outside the Club. They were packed with strong athletic looking men, who got out of their cars and stood in little groups chattering on the pavement. The Greyville gang's first lieutenant and some core members rounded up their gang and all their supporters. All marched out of the hall and retired to the nearby park. No attempts were made by the Greyville gang to challenge the visitors. They merely stood sullenly in the park. However, they were apparently overawed by the strength of the City gang and their reinforcements from Johannesburg. After standing around for about an hour a member of the Johannesburg gang entered the hall, ostensibly to use the toilet facilities, but probably as a direct challenge. He later walked out to the cars, the gang left the pavement, got into their cars and drove off. After this the Greyville gang was quiet and subdued and appeared to regard the Club as a sanctuary.

By the end of December, the conflict had not yet been completely resolved and although no more full-scale gang warfare had taken place all non-Greyville Ducktails

coming into the area were challenged and beaten up. So well known for defending its territory had the Greyville gang become, that many bus conductors have told the investigator that they were in the habit of warning Ducktails boarding Greyville buses that they risked dangerous bodily harm by going into the Greyville area. The gang was aware of this and repeated the story with pride.

B. ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY

The police, in their fight against the rising tide of juvenile delinquency, have made strong and decided attempts to break the Ducktail gangs. Any attack from outside however, tends to consolidate the gang, into a unit, make it more venturesome and bold, with a tendency to regard the police as the natural enemy of the gang.

The members of the Greyville gang appeared to enjoy altercations and scuffles with the police, particularly if they managed to outwit them in some way.

There were several gang clashes with the police, one in particular mounting to riot proportions. This occurred in the Cinemaland area of the City.

The policeman with whom the trouble originated in this clash was a municipal traffic officer and not a member of the force which deals with crime in general. He was a regular visitor to the Club and had never been interfered with by the gang whilst in Greyville. On a Saturday in June he was on duty during the lunch-hour outside a cinema. The gang reported that a member, Doep, who was standing in the street, was approached by this traffic officer and asked to move on as he was obstructing

pedestrian traffic. Doep, who had been drinking, refused to move unless all other people about him moved on too. The officer, to whom the investigator spoke a few days after the episode, alleges that Doep swore at him and attempted to hit him. Hank, another member, then came to Doep's assistance. Several members of the public (including members of the Central City Ducktail gang) came to the aid of the constable. Members of the Greyville gang were in the vicinity (which suggests that the affair had been planned). The gang leader took over and, assisted by Rusty, Ronny, Dirk and other Greyville men who were on the spot, kicked three people to unconsciousness.

Before Government police reinforcements arrived, the gang was back in Greyville and went into hiding. Schalk, the leader was arrested on the following day and charged with assault. Doep was apprehended at the time of the incident. He had been knocked out and was, in any case, too drunk to escape. For his part in the affair, Doep was sentenced to a caning of six cuts, which had the effect of enhancing his reputation in the gang.

The episode was discussed with relish for some days and several members tried to take credit for the assault on the policeman. The fact that, when visiting the Club off-duty and not in uniform, the policeman was not interfered with or objected to, appears to indicate that aggression was not directed against him as an individual, but against him as a symbol of the law.

When the police visited the Greyville area to interrogate or arrest any member, the whole gang stood around, sullen and quiet. Replies to the police were

monosyllabic, obstructions were placed in the way of investigations, and whilst not actually being rude or inviting arrest, the members sailed close to the wind. Replies were ambiguous and often of a subtly insulting nature. As the police left they were given a noisy send-off. All the members, together with their girl friends shouted "Good-bye" or "Good Evening" in unison, the more daring members also whistling and waving. Most of the members were conversant with their legal rights and were insistent in demanding them.

The police tightened up considerably in the Greyville area and several of the Ducktails were arrested on charges such as loitering and vagrancy. During periodic police raids those caught smoking dagga were arrested and fined. Inspections of pocket and sheath knives were occasionally carried out by the police, and the finding of blades in excess of statutory minimum length resulted in fines of approximately Five pounds.

During 1958, the authorities commenced serious attempts to halt the rising juvenile crime rate. Heavy sentences, particularly whippings, are now being imposed. For a gang boy, a whipping or a gaol sentence does not elicit censure from his peers, but rather approbation and respect. His status is raised. For this reason the increase in severity of sentences may not have the desired effect of acting as a deterrent to this type of crime. According to the Annual Report of the Chief Magistrate of Durban for 1958,^{2.} juvenile crime increased during that year to an alarming extent.

2. Chief Magistrate of Durban, Annual Report 1958

The attitude towards employers seemed to be that one should do the least amount of work compatible with keeping the post, and any successful efforts to outwit employers met with the approval of the gang. This attitude was clearly illustrated in the high rate of absenteeism prevalent. Good excuses were always forthcoming for taking days off work and in this respect, they appeared to be skilled in obtaining medical certificates for very slight indispositions.

C. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

To maintain the solidarity of the gang and to prevent filching away of members through the formation of sexual relationships with women, strong forces were at work. The gang censured relationships with women and this was shown in their attitude towards women. Women were not allowed to participate in any of the activities carried out by the gang as a whole. Some reference has already been made to this matter in the section on the Sexual Life of the Greyville Gang.

The women never approved of the aggression displayed in the defence of territorial rights. During July when the fights between the gangs were most frequent, they strongly disapproved of the beating up of isolated members of rival gangs who trespassed in the Greyville area. These young women became so incensed after several of these attacks that they began to boycott gang members. They spoke roughly to them, would not go out with them or mix with them, and showed consistent disapproval of their actions. They said that the men were "going a bit too far" and that they were "sick and tired of all the beating up of defenceless

town chaps". This seemed to have some sobering effect on the gang members.

D. ATTITUDES TOWARDS NON-DUCKTAILS

Attitudes towards non-Ducktails varied to the extent that the non-Ducktails were sympathetic or critical towards gang members. Some "squares" (non-Ducktails) were quite well accepted in certain spheres. If they lived in Greyville, and were not over critical of the activities of Ducktails and had a similar outlook and habits they were reasonably well accepted by the gang members.

The converse was true of people who were harshly critical, and particularly of those who showed by their attitudes that they despised Ducktails. These people formed the butt of jest and criticism and were treated with scant courtesy.

An illustration of the divergent attitudes was to be noted in their dealings with members of the staff of the Bellhaven Club.

The social worker who showed a tolerant, friendly attitude towards them and showed his interest in and appreciation of their capabilities was well accepted. He was approached for assistance and many deep gang secrets were entrusted to him.

Another worker in authority at the Club, was very critical of Ducktails and suggested in their hearing that they should all be put in labour camps and castrated. His hostility towards them was quickly sensed and the Ducktails did all in their power to make his life unpleasant, without actually involving direct

conflict with the law. Any ruling and decision he made was most unpopular and was contravened at every opportunity by gang members.

Anyone who was prepared to meet the gang on common ground was treated with tolerance and respect.

E. ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER NATIONALITIES AND RACES

South Africa as a multi-racial country comprises :

1. People of European origin who are numerically in the minority but who maintain a position. The two main language groups are English and Afrikaans speaking. A small number of first generation foreign persons also belongs to this group.
2. "Coloured people", that is those of white/Asian, white/Negro, or Asian/Negro mixture.
3. Africans, i.e. those of Bantu, Bushman and Hottentot origin who constitute the most numerous of the South African population. The two latter groups are no longer numerically significant as separate entities having merged with other groups.
4. A small group of people of Indian origin.

Although the non-whites form a numerical majority, they are, in terms of status, the inferior group.

MacCrone has stated :

Actually in terms of power, of status and of social, political and economic privileges, the Whites must be treated as a majority group and the Blacks as a minority group since it is the white colour-caste group that exercises superior power, enjoys higher status, monopolizes the social, political and economic privileges in the community. 3.

-
3. MacCrone L.D. : Group Conflicts and Race Prejudice
S.A. Institute of Race Relations. p. 25

The attitude of the Greyville gang towards European foreigners was on the whole, hostile and critical. Foreigners were regarded as being somewhat sinister and all sorts of evil, practices were attributed to them.

Mention must be made of the immense scorn felt by the gang towards people whom they described as "moegoes". Many of the members had Afrikaans surnames and came from Afrikaans-speaking families, but they never willingly spoke Afrikaans. Although it was their mother tongue throughout childhood, some were incapable of speaking it fluently, a fact which seemed to indicate a degree of emotional blockage. The objects of greatest scorn and derision were those Afrikaans people whom they considered to be ignorant and from the "agterplaas" (rural yokels). The word "moegoe" was used to describe them, and for the Greyville gang this word expressed a stronger contempt than the better known "Japie" which is a mildly derogatory term denoting rural origin. This complete repudiation of their own origin was linked with their revolt against established custom and values of their own back-grounds.

Towards the "Coloured" people there was an ambivalent attitude. When the Management Board of the Club asked all obviously Coloured people to leave the Club, this met with the support of most of the gang members. Yet association with "Coloured" people who could be used for their own ends was quite common and these people were treated with familiarity. For example, a Coloured band which played at the Rock 'n Roll sessions without payment, was accepted on equal terms, its members were treated as friends and, an important sign of acceptance, dagga was smoked with them.

Some of the gang members were very near to the border-line of persons accepted as European showing slight, but obvious signs of some Coloured ancestry. These persons were the most bitterly antagonistic towards non-Europeans.

Indian people with whom illegal dealings were negotiated were also treated with tolerance and familiarity.

Normally however, the attitudes of gang members were of complete intolerance and non-acceptance. They adhered, in the main, to the widespread and traditional South African belief in the inferiority of the non-White person.

An example of the belligerent and intolerant attitude towards Indians was provided when a car driven by an Indian man came towards the members who were congregated in the street. The driver hooted for them to clear the road. Rusty was incensed at what he considered audacity on the part of the Indian man and shouted a gross obscenity to him. The Indian retaliated with the same phrase. Rusty then challenged him to "come here and say it, you Charra". The Indian possibly intimidated by the presence of the gang, did not respond.

Another instance of the attitude towards non-Whites was when Shorty stabbed an Indian man with his pocket-knife. Discussing the case with him afterwards the investigator observed that he showed no compassion or any felling of guilt. It was almost as though the Indian man was regarded as being bereft of human attributes.

Gang beatings of Africans also occurred. An innocent African who was being pursued by two robbers

armed with knives and bicycle chains sought refuge in the Club. He was mistaken for a rogue who was being apprehended. The gang gave chase, caught the innocent man and then proceeded to kick him until he was unconscious and the police intervened.

Their attitude towards non-Europeans would, in many other countries, be considered delinquent and unacceptable by normal society, but it conformed in many respects to a standard observed as normal by a large number of South Africans.

CHAPTER VII

THE BELLHAVEN CLUB

The Greyville community, their family life, their surroundings, their institutions and problems have been discussed in various parts of this thesis. The products of this environment are the raw material with which the staff of the Bellhaven Club works.

S.R. Slavson maintains that in the past group work was :

a time-filling device and largely negative; it aimed to prevent real or imaginary disaster rather than to build new conditions in the world and dynamic attitudes in the individual. 1.

Recently however, group work has come into its own as a vast potential educational and socializing force in modern living.

Group work is based upon the assumption that there is an inevitable process of :

social interaction that begins whenever a number of individuals are collected together around a common purpose. Each individual brings into the group a basic personality structure which has an impact upon the other members of the group. As a result of this impact certain observable group processes begin. 2.

Individuals are helped to establish relationships with each other and to experience opportunities for growth by the use of :

a conscious process of relationships in which a leader, with the knowledge of individual and group behaviour, utilizes program activities to help the individuals in the group move towards socially desirable goals. 3.

-
1. Slavson S.R. : Creative Group Education.
Association Press New York, 1948
 2. Trecker H.B. : Groupwork : Foundations and Frontiers
New York, 1952 p. 56
 3. Ibid : p. 56

A most important principle in group work is that if it is going to help solve the problems in a community it should meet the needs of the individuals for whom it is carried out.

The Bellhaven Club did not, until the end of 1958, have a clearly formulated purpose based upon the requirements of the community, and it did not recognise the need to use basic groups which were already in existence. This was particularly so in the case of the Ducktail gang. They were, by the usually accepted standards of middle-class society, wholly undesirable as members, and caused considerable inconvenience and trouble to other members, to the staff and to the Management Board of the Club. They did however, constitute one of the most important and urgent single problems within the Greyville community. As such they should have been accepted as requiring immediate attention from any club functioning in the area. They were a basic, existent group, a strong sub-culture within the larger culture which exercised a strong anti-social influence in the community. The positive or intelligent exploitation of such a group spontaneously formed can result in the gradual acceptance of socially acceptable behaviour by the group.

An important principle in group work is that the group members should be helped to develop to a stage where they can carry out their own programmes and can adjust such programmes to suit their desires and the needs of the majority of their members. In this direction the Club had provided scope, and certain groups took over complete control of their own activities. In some cases members even started new groups functioning, when a need arose for them.

An important criterion of the quality of group work is whether the group members assume a degree of status within their groups, whether there is mutual acceptance and whether the group works together democratically with every member participating actively to the utmost of his capacity.

Prior to 1958, there was no formal organisation of the Rock 'n Roll sessions which the gang members attended regularly, and this was the chief weakness of that particular session. During 1958, the gang hierarchy and status became concentrated in this group at every session and although no formally elected leaders or forms of group control had been set up, unofficially the session was controlled by the gang under the guidance of the social worker.

The personal status of any member of the gang was transferred to this group and a mutual acceptance included all gang members and the women with whom they associated. Outsiders were not welcome and in many cases, active physical objection was shown against non-Greyville residents. Greyville residents who were not gang members experienced very little active antagonism, but were only accepted to a limited extent. The majority of persons attending these sessions were regular visitors. As such, a defined status in the group, in spite of the absence of any formal and observable structure in the group itself.

Organisation became more structured during the latter half of the year 1958. Earlier, the social worker had not yet established the intimate relationship which he later achieved with the gang. He was acting as the authority and controlling agent at the sessions and was unpopular when discipline had to be enforced. Control

was not easy to maintain as long as the gang was not working whole-heartedly with him, but still regarded him as a symbol of the society against which they were in revolt.

When later, after a testing period, he became well accepted, gang members themselves began to assist in the running of the session. Members sold tickets for the Rock 'n Roll sessions and other activities and were stricter than any outside authority about admitting those who had not paid. Others played the records and sold the mineral waters. The gang leader instituted himself as "chucker out" and from then on the problem of control was solved, since the control had become vested in the group itself. The social worker was frequently consulted by the leaders of the gang as to how they could best assist in the smooth functioning of the sessions. The investigator's wishes were also respected.

The effectiveness of group work can be assessed by the extent to which the group is prepared to accept the guidance of the officiating workers and their helpers.

The gang began to develop a social consciousness in dealings with the Club. The attitude changed from one of overt hostility and frequent acts of vandalism to one of co-operation with the realisation that there could be mutual assistance. They gave willingly of their time and skills to assist the Club, not only for the benefit of their own particular section, but for that of any section and for the general good of the Club as a whole. Ducktails helped build the children's sand-pit; they painted the Club walls, erected and repaired loudspeakers, made cupboards, mended broken showers and broken windows and helped with the projection of cinema shows and the

preparation of the hall for dances and parties. They had not however, reached the stage where they established good individual personal relationship with the individuals of other groups in the Club. This was largely due to the fact that the other groups showed hostility towards them and an unwillingness to accept them and allow them any status within their own groups.

Although there was a gradual trend towards the adoption of a more liberal attitude towards Ducktail members of the Club, many members still opposed their admission and asserted that unless the gang members conformed to certain set standards of conduct they should not be accepted as members of the Club.

The Club has two distinct kinds of service to offer. It can adopt the more conventional attitude of admitting to membership, those persons with socially desirable attributes, and who are reasonably well adjusted. This will provide a vital protective service for large numbers of non-delinquent juveniles.

In addition, the Bellhaven Club can provide a valuable preventive service if it is prepared to welcome the so-called "undesirables" in spite of opposition and the weight of conventional opinion against such a move. The acceptance into a "respectable" club of a spontaneously formed group of delinquent juveniles and young adults is something which has been frequently attempted in South Africa. These young people are the type who are not normally encouraged to visit youth clubs in large numbers. Those who express the desire to "reform" and give up their bad habits and delinquencies, are generally welcomed into membership and an attempt is made to rehabilitate them, but unless they enter the

club in this spirit, they are not generally acceptable.

Group work frequently leads to case work. These two spheres of social work are not in separate, watertight compartments, but use can and should be made of both these procedures simultaneously. It is not always possible for a group worker to carry out any extensive case work, but he should be in a position to do a certain amount and should be conversant with the proper agencies to which persons requiring individual attention can be referred.

At Bellhaven this was only practised to a limited degree. The social worker established a close personal contact with most of the gang members and with many other Club members, and he was frequently consulted about their problems. Some of the problems did not require anything further than their expression by the member and some indication by the worker as to the paths which were open for their solution. Other cases were of a more complex character requiring the establishment of a liaison between police, probation officers, employers, schools and the Club. Others again require direct referral to an outside agency such as a Child Welfare Society, Child Guidance Clinic or similar organisations.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

The investigator commenced research into the life and activities of the Greyville gang when it was at the height of its power. The leadership was strong and the number of members was limited only by the highly selective basis for gang membership. The number of supporters who could be called upon in times of conflict with other gangs was large. The gang was one of the strongest in the Greyville area and when first contacted by the investigator, was a force feared by the community of Greyville. This was a period when Ducktail gangs were numerous in Durban and the Ducktail fashion in dress and hairstyle was at its peak.

During the stage that it was a powerful force in the community, the Greyville gang provided strong support for anti-social activities. There was at that time in Greyville, a large number of juveniles and young adults who were searching for solutions to their problems, emotional, social and others. These young people found the solution in a delinquent sub-culture in the form of a gang. They were juveniles, most of whom were from underprivileged homes. Of the twenty-five gang members, only one came from what can be described as an upper middle-class home, from the point of view of income, occupation, housing and social behaviour. Four came from lower middle-class homes and the remaining twenty came from poor homes. Of these, seventeen could be described as disorganised homes due to one or more factors such as family maladjustment, strife, divorce, illegitimacy and alcoholism.

These young people tended to drift easily into anti-social gangs where they were accepted as individuals in their own right. As gang members they received support for anti-social activities such as dagga smoking, vandalism, petty delinquency and more serious crime and were relieved, to some extent, from the necessity of working for a living.

Most juveniles pass through a stage where they express some form of revolt against the standards of the society in which they are growing up. Evidence of this revolt may be noted within the family environment, in school life, in employment and in ordinary daily activities.

For the majority of juveniles from well-adjusted homes the passage through this difficult period is facilitated by sympathetic understanding and guidance from parents, school-teachers, employers and leaders of recreational, social and community activities.

The young person receives due recognition for his efforts and achievements and is assured of a specific status within his immediate group. Therefore there is not the urgent drive to find and achieve status by whatever means presents itself, to the extent of pursuing activities which force recognition even though these may be of a fiercely critical and condemnatory character.

Most of the juveniles from the Greyville area did not have this "tender consideration" to assist them through a critical developmental period. They looked for and found recognition in the Greyville gang. For as long as they needed the support of the gang they remained fiercely loyal to it. However, gang membership was a temporary phase with most of them, which was relinquished on the achievement of a more satisfactory social adjustment, or else through a

definite withdrawal from the group to participate in activities of a more serious and criminal nature.

People who form part of a group and participate in its activities do so only to the extent that they gain support, assistance and satisfaction from the group. When this is no longer needed, or when a group is not able to satisfy the particular need of an individual, membership within the group is, as a rule, relinquished.

When it became evident that the activities of the Ducktail gangs constituted a social problem in Durban the police made strong and decided attempts to break up the gangs. There were periodic raids in the Greyville area and several members of the Greyville gang were charged with offences such as loitering, vagrancy, dagga smoking, possession of dagga and the carrying of knives with blades longer than those allowed by law. Police activity received strong support from the courts and magistrates imposed maximum penalties upon offenders.

During the period of investigation it became evident that the Greyville gang was evolving from a wholly anti-social organisation into one which, under guidance, showed several socially acceptable traits.

At first their activities were entirely destructive, but these were later tempered by periods when they were engaged in constructive activities, and eventually the great need to be destructive, was, to a large extent, overcome.

An example of this is shown in their attitude towards the Bellhaven Club. They developed a social consciousness. From breaking windows, defacing walls and committing other acts of vandalism they changed their attitudes to the extent that they were enabled to give freely of their time and skill and they assisted the Club authorities in many ways.

In some cases they helped with services not directly intended for their own benefit. e.g. they built a sand-pit to be used by children visiting the Club and they installed loud-speaker apparatus in the Club hall. Given guidance and encouragement their energies were utilised as a constructive force in the community and eventually, with more ~~an~~ time and facilities to offer them, qualities of leadership which many of them undoubtedly possessed could have been directed into socially productive channels.

When first contacted most of the gang members showed a strong anti-female complex. Through opportunities afforded by the Bellhaven Club they were able to meet girls under pleasant circumstances. Attitudes changed and many formed satisfactory relationships with women which provided a needed outlet for them. Some of these relationships were lasting and at least two resulted in marriage and the establishment of homes. This development, whenever it occurred, resulted in withdrawal from the gang.

An important aspect of delinquency preventive services is that they should start at an early stage before the person has become deeply maladjusted or has drifted into criminality. It was noted that those who did not benefit from the services provided by the Bellhaven Club and who drifted into adult criminality were those who had already been in conflict with the law and had had previous convictions. Thus, by the time they become known to the Club workers, it had already become too late to help them make a satisfactory readjustment. An early recognition of anti-social tendencies is essential if positive results are to be achieved.

The school experiences of many gang members showed that whilst still at school they were already encountering

difficulties in adjustment. Most of the members admitted to playing truant while at school. Several still played truant from the evening classes which all apprentices are required by law to attend. These classes were regarded as a bore and a nuisance and the whole attitude towards them was a barrier against obtaining any benefit from them. This may have been due to inability to cope with the school-work and, at a later stage, to the attitude of hostility of gang members towards all authority.

The same attitude towards authority was evident in their contacts with welfare officers of the Department of Social Welfare with whom they came into contact after their first encounters with the law. The attitude towards these officers was a negative one. The gang members did not consider these officials to be capable of giving assistance when they came into conflict with the law. Some stated that it would be foolish to confess their misdemeanours and explain the situation to probation officers. They were of the opinion that the main duty of such officers was to recommend that delinquents be sent to industrial schools or reformatories.

In those cases where the investigator or the Club social worker attempted to obtain the assistance of welfare officers on behalf of gang members it was often found that, due to pressure of work, the officers were unable to investigate cases fully. This limited the extent of the assistance which could be given to the client and in turn, contributed to the non-co-operation on the part of gang members.

The problem of dagga-addiction in gang life requires renewed research and attention. It is maintained by the medical profession that it is not an addiction in the true sense of the word and that its effects are not as detri-

a most undesirable habit which affects the mental and physical condition of the addict. It lowers inhibitions and restraints and provides the necessary bravado which enables the individual to behave in a manner which would normally conflict with his conscience as well as with the accepted social standards of his community.

The investigator is of the opinion that dagga-smoking within the Greyville gang was apart of the pattern of gang life and was essentially a social habit. This is supported by the fact that most members rejected it on the achievement of a satisfactory social adjustment and withdrawal from the gang.

The fact that the gang milieu can be utilised successfully for the treatment of juvenile delinquents has not been given official recognition in this country. The usual policy of welfare organisations and the police is to attempt to break up the gangs and then to deal with the individuals who were previously members.

The investigator has formed the opinion, in the light of her experiences with the Greyville Ducktail gang, that considerable use can be made of the gang in any drive against delinquency. Much of the success of such a venture would depend upon the capabilities and preparation of the group workers responsible for working with these spontaneously formed groups.

It is essential for such a group worker to establish a good relationship with gang members by participation in their non-delinquent activities. He should be guided by the abilities and preparedness of his group in the selection of any programme planning or activity. He should know the individual members of the group, their specific needs and whether the group association satisfies such needs. To enable him to evaluate the success of his work,

adequate recording (preferably of a narrative nature) is essential. Such a person would, once he had achieved acceptance by the gang, have a great influence on its members and might be able to direct gang activity into more productive and non-delinquent channels.

Such workers should have objectives compatible with the policy of the social agency with which they are working. These objectives should be based upon the standards and norms of the community in which the agency functions.

The Bellhaven Club has not yet made full use of all the agencies which are available for the rendering of social services. More could be done in the recording of case work undertaken and in the referral of members to appropriate agencies. The Club is being run essentially as a Community Centre and the staff is utilised mainly for this purpose. With more trained personnel to organise groups and leisure time activities, valuable assistance could be rendered in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the rehabilitation of those delinquents who have already been in conflict with the law. The Club, being regarded by the Greyville gang as a refuge and a place where they receive recognition and appreciation, could do very satisfactory liaison work between the members and those authorities such as the police, the courts, social welfare officers and the education authorities, all of which are regarded by the members as their traditional enemies since they represent different aspects of authority.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

In recent years, the solution most frequently offered to stem the rising tide of delinquency is the provision of more and better supervised leisure-time

activities for young people, particularly for those who come from broken and under-privileged homes. Though it is true that this is a very useful and effective method of helping to combat delinquency, there are many other ways in which the problem can be approached. This can be dealt with on three distinct levels - the community, the group (very often in the form of a gang) and the individual.

1. The Community

Certain factors predisposing to juvenile delinquency are of such a nature that they can only be dealt with successfully on a national, or even an international basis. In many cases a complete revision of community conditions may be necessary. This includes improved economic conditions, the provision of adequate housing and playing fields and an education for family living which adapts one to an acceptable way of life. The provision of adequate services for treatment of mental and physical illness is also a necessity.

The legal framework dealing with juveniles requires revision. This is necessary at all levels. There is to-day an increased reluctance on the part of the police to deal with minor delinquencies on the spot, as was previously the case. These are made the basis for court cases which may draw unnecessary attention to a minor misdeed and often gain undesirable status for the perpetrator, in the eyes of a gang to which he may belong.

Court procedure for dealing with cases of more serious delinquencies needs to be simplified to fall within the understanding of the accused.

Considerably more contact between social welfare officers, education authorities and the police should be maintained. This co-operation could be extended to include youth clubs and organisations dealing specifically with youth, as well as the vocational guidance section of

the Department of Labour.

In the United States of America and in some other countries the police have taken an active and constructive interest in youth. They have established Youth Clubs in which members of the police force are voluntary group leaders and instructors, thus breaking down the traditional hostility felt by the delinquent youth towards the law.

The provision of supervised leisure-time activities for juveniles, under trained personnel, is a valuable weapon in the hands of the community which tries to combat the problem of delinquency. The provision of activities that furnish an element of danger, risk and an outlet for aggression should be given priority. These include activities such as boxing, football, rugby, lifesaving and rock climbing. Some attempt should be made to conduct a survey of existing facilities, the areas they cover, whether they do this adequately, whether they cater for those most requiring such services and whether the best possible use is being made of existing facilities.

It is the opinion of the investigator that the present system of education in Natal schools places too much stress on academic achievements. As a result of large classes and shortage of teaching staff, the intellectually handicapped child is frequently by-passed. At the end of the primary school period there is very little selection on the basis of academic achievement. Low normal and sub-normal children who would greatly benefit from technical and manual training are expected to compete in academic high schools. They may suffer maladjustment due to feelings of inadequacy during the last two or three years spent at school, particularly now that the school leaving age in Natal has been extended to fifteen years. This may cause difficulty

in adjustment in the post-school years and may retard the achievement of emotional maturity.

2. Utilisation of the Group.

The treatment of juvenile delinquents is difficult because the term "delinquent" is unspecific and often tends to describe actions rather than the state of mind behind such actions. The motivations of behaviour are varied and ~~comp~~ complex and may originate in diverse social or personal factors or a combination of both in varying degrees.

In attempting to discover solutions for this problem, we need to understand the motivations for such delinquencies and to distinguish between those perpetrated by the neurotic and deeply maladjusted juvenile who requires individual psycho-analytical study, and the members of the delinquent sub-culture who commit their delinquencies in a gang atmosphere and whose maladjustment may not be so deep-seated.

Psycho-analysts have found that in their first contacts with gang members, there is not only the usual personal resistance to contend with, but also a very strong resistance in the form of group psychological defences which is even stronger than personal resistance. This makes them very resistant to treatment which is undertaken in isolation away from the gang and is the reason why such methods frequently fail.

The most effective measures for a psycho-therapist, psychologist or social worker to adopt when dealing with a delinquent gang is for such a worker to strive for acceptance by the group as a member belonging to that gang. Most of the members will be far more willing to surrender resistances to a person who is part of their group life and whom they trust and regard as their friend.

The New York City's Youth Board is a municipal agency that provides for juvenile recreation and the rehabilitation of delinquents. It has on its staff more than a hundred "street workers" who work in areas where juvenile delinquency is rife. By counselling gangs they attempt to reduce their violence and anti-social activities. The Youth Board believes in allowing gangs to remain intact because they provide for the juvenile a sense of security and comradeship. The Board distinguishes between "bopping" (attacking) gangs and "defence" gangs that fight only when attacked. Board ~~workers~~ "mediate cools" i.e. arrange truces between gangs, get them to agree to avoid one another's prescribed territory, and generally utilise the gang as a spontaneously formed group within whose framework useful work can be accomplished.

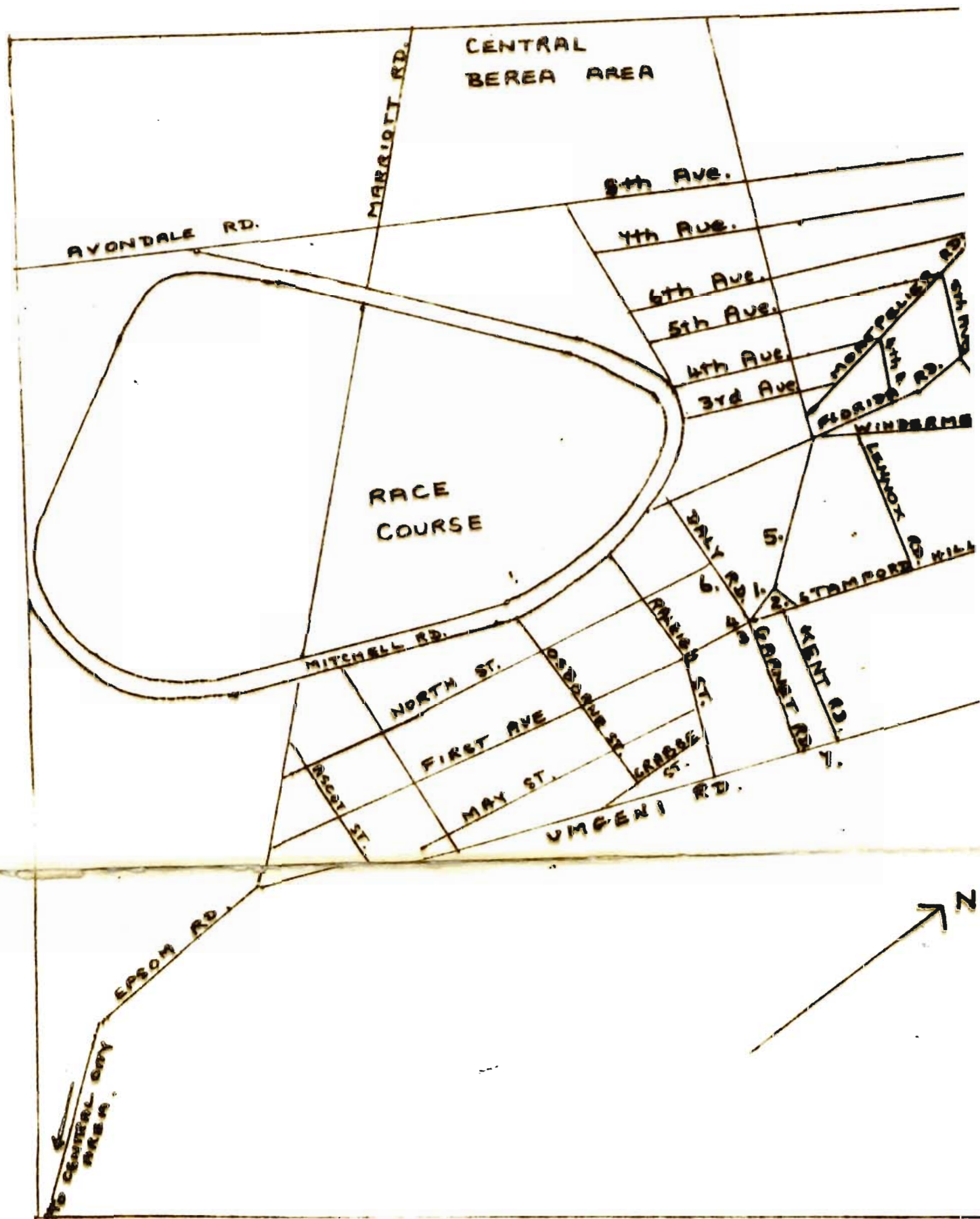
Group activities provide a vital protective service against delinquency. It is extremely essential in an industrial community to have centres where people can meet under the guidance of experienced leaders. This applies particularly to juveniles who require the support provided by groups. In most communities there are in existence groups provided for non-delinquent youth such as Boy Scouts, Sea Cadets, Rovers, Girl Guides, various church youth organisations, etc. There is however, a dearth of facilities for those juveniles who show strong anti-social tendencies as did the Greyville Ducktails. The latter cannot generally be assimilated into the types of groups mentioned. They consider them to be "sissyish" and intended only for "nice" young people with socially acceptable habits. They, in their turn, are not welcomed by these young people because of their lack of conformity to group standards. Very often too, leaders of such groups,

whilst being able to direct the activities of well-adjusted juveniles, are not sufficiently well trained to be able to cope with the so-called "problem" youths. There is a great need for specially trained group workers to promote the formation of such groups or to utilise naturally formed groups amongst "hard-to-reach" juveniles.

3. Treatment of the Individual Delinquent

Treatment of the individual delinquent, particularly one who is a gang member, is a natural follow through from group work to case work. Individual members of the gang will have different requirements in this respect. Some may merely need friendship and an acceptance of themselves as persons of worth and dignity, possessing certain rights. Others will require referral to various social and community agencies for assistance with home conditions, employment and school problems. There will of course, be those who require intensive psycho-analytical treatment after having been prepared for this by group psycho-therapy within the gang.

When dealing with delinquent gangs those methods which can assist the individual members over their danger period so that they do not come into conflict with the law and which can assist them to achieve^h maturity will be the most effective, whether they are on a community, group or individual level.



KEY.

1. BELLHAVEN CLUB.
2. GREYVILLE JUNCTION
3. TAVERN
4. OLD 'AVENUE' CINEMA SITE
5. PARK
6. GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.
7. GREYVILLE RAILWAY STATION

SKETCH MAP

THE GREYVILLE R

STRUCTURE OF THE GREYVILLE GANG.



LEGEND.
SQUARES IN SEQUENCE DENOTE.

AGE	HOME CIRCUM- STANCES	EMPLOY- MENT	CRIMINAL RECORD	DAGGA SMOKING
-----	----------------------	--------------	-----------------	---------------

- HOME CIRCUMSTANCES.
- P - POOR
 - L - LOWER MIDDLE CLASS
 - M - MIDDLE OR UPPER MIDDLE CLASS

- EMPLOYMENT.
- U - UNEMPLOYED
 - E - EMPLOYED

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. ^{A.K.} COHEN : Delinquent Boys 1956. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.
2. THRASHER, Frederic M. : The Gang 1927 & 1936 University of Chicago Press.
3. JAHODA, Marie; DEUTSCH, Morton; and COOK, Stuart W. : Research Methods in Social Relations 1951 New York, Vols. 1 and 2.
4. FORD : The Delinquent Child 1957, Constable, London.
5. HOMANS, G.C. ; The Human Group 1951 Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London.
6. KLEIN : The Study of Groups 1956 Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London.
7. SWANSON, NEWCOMBE, HARTLEY and OTHERS : Readings in Social Psychology. 1947 Henry Holt & Co.
8. KIMBALL YOUNG : Handbook of Social Psychology Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
9. GLUECK, Sheldon and Eleanor : Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency 1950 Harvard University Press.
10. NATAL DAILY NEWS : January 1950 to December 1958
11. NATAL MERCURY : " " " "
12. SUNDAY TRIBUNE : " " " "
13. TIME MAGAZINE : Various articles from January 1957 to December, 1958.
14. REPORT OF INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE : Abuse of Dagga Union Govt. Publication 31 of 1952.
15. ROGERS, C.P. : Counseling and Psychotherapy Leonard Carmichael Ed. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. U.S.A.
16. HEALY & BRONNER : New Lights on Delinquency and its Treatment Yale University Press.
17. TRECKER, Harleigh B. : Social Group Work The Woman's Press, New York 1948.
18. TRECKER, Harleigh B. : Group Work, Foundations and Frontiers, Whiteside, New York 1955.
19. KONOPKA : Group Work in the Institution Whiteside, New York 1954.
20. REDL, Fritz : The Psychology of Gang Formation and the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents in the Psycho-Analytic Study of the Child Vol. I. 1945.

21. WHYTE ; William, Foote : Street Corner Society
University of Chicago Press 1956.
22. COYLE : Group Work With American Youth
Harper & Brothers 1948.
23. WITTENBERG, Rudolph M. : SO You Want To Help People
Association Press - New York 1958.
24. SLAVSON, S.R. : Creative Group Education
Association Press - New York 1948.
25. SLAVSON, S.R. : An Introduction To Group Therapy
Commonwealth Fund - New York 1943.
26. LUNDBERG, George, A. : Social Research
Longmans, Green & Co. 1946.
27. MUMFORD, Lewis : The Culture Of Cities
Martin, Secker & Warburg Ltd. 1938.
28. WILSON & RYLAND : Social Group Work Practice
Houghton Mifflin Company ; 1949.