

GANG CONFLICT IN PRISON

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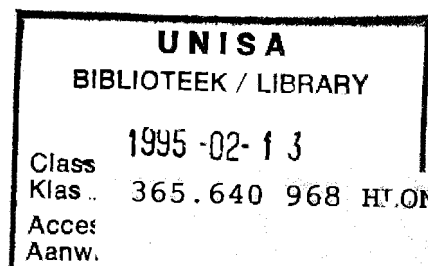
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This work is dedicated to my wife Maggie.

SUMMARY

Prison gangs in South Africa have a long history, the first were established among Black prisoners in the Transvaal soon after the *Anglo-Boer* war. The Ninevite gang was introduced by Nongoloza Mathebula and operated in the Witwatersrand. "Nongoloza's" gang consisted of eight members, from which the 28 gang later developed. The 28 gang approved the boy-wives relationship (homo-sexual) among its gang members. "Ngelejani's" gang from which the 26 gang developed, disapproved the boy-wives relationship. Other gangs established in prison, are the Big 5 gang and the Airforce gang.

TITLE OF DISSERTATION: GANG CONFLICT IN PRISON

KEY TERMS

Prison gangs, subculture of violence, deprivation, joining procedures, ganging, Institutional Committee, treatment; control measures; modus operandi.

OPSOMMING

Gevangenisbendes in Suid-Afrika het 'n lang geskiedenis, die eerste was gestig onder Swart gevangenes in die Transvaal onmiddellik na die Anglo-Boere oorlog. Die *Ninevite* bende was ingestel deur Nongoloza Mathebula en het in die Witwatersrand geopereer. "Nongoloza" se bende het bestaan uit agt lede waarvan die 28 bende later ontwikkel het. Die 28 bende is ten gunste van wyfies-verhouding (homoseksuele) onder sy bende lede. "Ngelejani" se bende, waaruit die 26 bende ontwikkel het, was nie ten gunste van die wyfies-verhouding nie. Die ander bende wat in die gevangenis ontstaan het, is die Big 5 bende en die Airforce bende.

CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION

1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the following aspects will be discussed, namely: the choice of the subject, aims and purpose of the study, demarcation of the study, approach to the study and definition of the main concepts.

The chapter is also intended to indicate that the researcher worked closely with the Airforce 3 and 4, 26, 28 and the Big 5 gangs. In this way the researcher obtained a great deal of insight into the nature, characteristics and modus operandi of prison gangs. Such exposure enabled the researcher to have a clear understanding of the aspirations as well as the problems pertaining to the prison gangs. The researcher accordingly, decided that emphasis would be made on the characteristics of the respective gangs.

Other aspects to which the researcher will attend to in this chapter are the following: the various ways through which the gang socializes individual members for their gang roles, the processes through which the gang member proceeds to become a full members, the means through which the gang in its role as an employer, sustains its gang members in their work.

These aspects will become clear in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8. The delimitation therefore resulted in the contents of the research being presented in eight chapters. The ordering of the chapters is designed so as to promote the unfolding of the research in a logical sequence.

In chapter one, the methodological account is provided and such basic issues as what is to be researched, the desirability of such

research and how the research is undertaken, are dealt with.

Chapter 2 focuses on the prison community and how this artificial environment impacts on inmates, particularly prison gangs.

Chapter 3 gives an exposition of the nature and essence of institutional treatment as well as the models of approach to treatment and to examine their effects on prison inmates.

The purpose of chapter 4 is to discuss aspects of unrest-related violence and riots in prison in-depth.

Chapter 5 outlines the Airforce 3 and 4 gangs with particular reference to the characteristics and functions thereof.

Chapter 6 deals with the 26 gang.

Chapter 7 examines the activities of the 28 gang.

Chapter 8 focuses on the Big 5 gang and the control measures.

Gang slang see Annexure A, and weapons used by 26 gang Annexure B.

1.1

THE CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT

The selection of an appropriate topic for investigation is important (Johnson, 1981 : 15). One of the most important decisions a researcher must make, is the choice of the research design - a plan of how to conduct research and collect data (Sullivan, et al, 1980 : 46). The researcher has been influenced by the following important considerations in choosing the present research:

- * In the researcher's experience as an officer in the Department of Correctional Services, prison gangs constitute major problems, which need to be researched in-depth.
- * It is equally important, to note that the prison gangs or

members of the gangs, are responsible for much of the violence that occurs in prison. For this reason, many murders and assaults committed in prison are allegedly attributed to prison gangs.

- * There is also very little published material on prison gangs in South Africa, particularly Airforce 3 and 4, 26, 28 and Big 5. The only published materials are that of Lötter and Schurink (1984) and Keswa (1973).
- * Most South African gang studies do not deal with prison gangs (see for example Ndabandaba, 1990).

Prisons also bear responsibility for levels of violence by inmates against themselves and against other inmates (Touch, 1977 : 6). Roux, in Van der Westhuizen (1982 : 177), states that prison violence and aggression cannot be explained on the basis of any single factor, but differ from one situation to another and from one case to another, even though common factors are often observable.

It is therefore clear that gangs constitute a problem in the correctional institution and there is a constant conflict between gang members in the institution. Thus, the sample is selected from prisoners who are identified to be gang members in each gang in order to collect the relevant data of each gang through their fellow gang members.

The incidence of riots in prisons, has increased considerably and guards have been held hostage, with the result blood has flown in prison yards (McGraw, 1954 : 1). The South African prisons are no exception.

1.2

AIMS AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The present research aims at presenting a scientific exposition of prison gangs with a view to identifying those gang members who constitute a serious problem in the correctional institutions. The

study therefore has the following four aims:

- * That the correctional members should be able to identify the different gangs by their own tattoos, characteristics and how they operate in prison.
- * How the prisoners join the different gangs, the objectives of the different gangs and how their objectives are being met.
- * Their reactions toward the failure of obtaining their objectives in prison and how they go about in order to attain those objectives.
- * How the members of the Correctional Services could settle the disputes between different gang members and how the Correctional Services members could control, discourage or minimize gangs in prison.

The foregoing aims of the present research are significant if consideration of gang involvement in crimes is taken into account. For example Lötter and Schurink (1984 : 8), established that a large portion of prison murders are attributed to prison gangs. Another important aim of the research is to probe the idea that black prisoners, who are gang members, have had a life of ganging even before incarceration.

Prison gangs in South Africa have a long history. In the Transvaal, in particular, they were first notified after the *Anglo-Boer* war (1899-1904) (Lötter and Schurink, 1984 : 7). There is constant conflict between gang members in the institution. The disputes therefore need to be resolved in conjunction with gang members themselves. Such a move would hopefully discourage or minimize gangsterism in prisons. The research therefore aims at increasing additional data, knowledge and information pertaining to gangs and

make it available to persons who work with prisoners. In this way prison administrators will be better able to deal with the onerous responsibilities they face, in handling the tasks confronting them (Waldron, et al 1980: 420). The members of the Department of Correctional Services should be able to settle disputes among gang members without any harm to its members and the institutional staff.

1.3

DEMARCATIION OF THE STUDY

The present research was done during January 1992 until March 1994.

This research is limited to the study of the following: the Big 5; Airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gang. The research is confined to 30 gang members inside the institution. The research was conducted at Baviaanspoort maximum prison as the researcher was stationed there. Due to the fact that gangs exist, an action or plan is needed to control, discourage or minimize these gangs.

Extensive scientific investigations are needed to determine this type of prison violence, with a view of preventing the occurrence of the phenomenon.

1.4

APPROACH TO THE STUDY

The researcher collects and records data in a manner consistent with the chosen research design. Although the methods are distinguished from one another, they do work as complementary methods. The term method includes the ways in which research work is done in a given field of investigation (Van der Walt, et al 1977 : 158). The researcher made use of documentary studies as well as interview techniques in order to collect data about the gangs. Research is essentially a decision-making process in which the researcher is continuously involved, among other things, in making decisions about what ought to be investigated and how this ought to be done (Mouton, et al 1988 : 29). A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine

relevance to the research purpose, with economy in procedure. A research design implies that research is planned (Mouton, et al 1988 : 32). Permission was duly obtained from the Correctional Services

Authorities to peruse official documents pertaining to gangs as well as interview selected gang members at Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison.

Research data was therefore collected by a process of going through records, observing and interviewing the Big 5, Airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gangs members. A brief discussion of these procedures and techniques follows.

1.4.1

OBSERVATIONAL STUDIES

By observational studies is meant that the researcher observes a specific phenomenon personally and scientifically. The method of observation was extensively used in this research. The researcher did not only observe the gang members during the research period, but informally also before officially undertaking this research.

1.4.2

DOCUMENTARY METHODS

Documentary studies are essentially a study of the literature on a specific problem. Documentary methods are essentially a study of the literature on a specific phenomenon. The written data is an essential requirement for any research. For any subject and at any stage in a research project, the study of documentary, written data is important (Van der Walt, et al 1977 : 212). Documentary sources may be either primary or secondary. The data for the present research was collected by a process of going through records, observing and interviewing the Big 5, Airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gang members. Data from primary documentary sources were obtained directly by techniques of first-hand observation, such as personal interviews. Thus the researcher himself collected the data. The data in secondary documentary sources, on the contrary, were secondary and therefore indirect. These data were taken over or compiled

from original data and were handled critically.

For additional information the researcher turned to unpublished sources such as thesis, dissertations and reports on research projects.

1.4.3

INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUE

The personal conversation by which research information is obtained is known as an interview (Van der Walt, et al 1977 : 198). According to Kahn and Cannell (1952 : 56), the interview refers to a specialized pattern of verbal interaction between, on the one hand, the questioner and, on the other, the respondent, with a specific content area, with the subsequent elimination of irrelevant data.

Goode and Hatt (1952 : 184), state that the interview has many facets. There are many types of interviews, and their purpose are many. In general an interview must be very thoroughly thought out before embarking on interviews, therefore, the present researcher went through a long thinking process. It is possible to plan it before hand, to keep its purpose flexible and receptive to new developments and chance events when conducting interviews with the gang members (Van der Walt, et al 1977 : 179).

The researcher should therefore be engaged in the following aspects during the interview, namely:

- i) protecting the respondents and collaborators in the study; and
- ii) providing accurate and complete information.

When confidentiality is promised to the respondents by the researcher, the researcher should make sure that such a confidentiality is maintained (Lin, 1976 : 363).

The interviewees were informed that matters discussed with them will be treated confidentially.

In the preparation and planning, the interviewer must have certain equipment, and must think over certain matters. The researcher prepared questions to be asked to the respondents during the interviews. The reporting researcher must maintain his ethical responsibility, in the report. This responsibility includes:

1.4.4

LIFE-HISTORIES METHOD

Lin (1976 : 215) states that the life history method is a procedure which requires that the researcher should rely solely on a person's reporting of life experiences relevant to the research interest, with minimal commentary.

The researcher will give the gang members a chance to explain about their life-histories in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Many old and familiar concepts have been used in this survey. For purposes of this research, there are however, only two important concepts which need to be defined and dealt with in-depth, namely:

- * gang; and
- * conflict.

1.5

DESCRIPTION OF CONCEPTS

The main concepts used in this study are indicated and defined hereunder. The statements for this approach is purely because there are no common denomination present in the key concepts.

1.5.1

KEY CONCEPTS

1.5.1.1

Gang

The gang can be defined as a social group, distinguished from other social groups on the basis of three characteristics, namely: anti-socialness, engagement in conflict, and an informal nature. Research has shown that gang members are predominantly male (Ndaban-daba, 1990 : 335 - 6). The most essential feature of the gang is that its members routinely engaged in law violation behaviour (Knox, 1991 : 1).

A gang is ordinarily composed of persons who are conscious of their membership in a definite group, one that typically also has a name. This makes it integrated into social whole (Cartwright, et al 1975 : 3). A gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and engaged in conflict.

Bartollas (1990 : 323), Siegel & Senna (1988 : 278) emphasize that the definition of gangs goes hand in hand with the characteristics thereof. It is characterized 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 local territory.

Gangs differ in the nature of their shared perspectives concerning status-giving activities, the nature of their groups, and how it and they relate to the world about them. For some gangs, conflict with other gangs is a major focus of group attention, even though little actual gang fighting may take place. These aspects will become clear from the discussions of the Big 5, Airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gangs. Fighting prowess is especially status-giving, individual and collectively (Short, 1968 : 19). The gang law violators are more criminal and proportionately violent than are non-gang offenders. This will be illustrated by the present study of prison gangs (Klein, Maxson and Cunningham, 1991 : 626).

Gang participants were more likely to have prior rewards and more likely even beyond that to have been arrested for assaults, weapons violations, and the like. Gang members are somewhat more likely to have arrest histories, and they have more violent histories (Klein, Maxson and Cunningham, 1991 : 638). These aspects will become clear from the case studies of the Big 5, Airforce 3 and 4, 28 and 26 gangs.

The violent gang is primarily organized for emotional gratification, and violence is the theme around which all activities centre (Yablousky, 1962 : 152). Violent gangs appear to emerge spontaneously without any special plan (Yablousky, 1962 : 153).

Sociologists generally define a gang as a special type of group, marked by a strong sense of solidarity and usually developing spontaneously from the group (Bloch and Niederhoffer, 1938 : 6). The most important motives behind gang violence in prisons are competing for status and to recruit new members, traditional opposition, homosexuality, and particularly the pursuance of criminality. The methods applied in committing acts of violence are legion, and differ from gang to gang (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 180). The present research will illustrate these facts.

Gangs fight for power. This battle is partly an attempt to prove their manhood. In a society where many people are robbed of economic and political power, the will to dominate others is increased. To prove their power and manhood, gangsters often pick on the weaker members of their prison community. The male-oriented value system of the brotherhood dictates that gangsters do not show emotions and vulnerability. Instead, the gang offers a collective feeling of power and strength that encourages gangsters to adopt an uncaring and fearless attitude stripped of their individuality and self-respect, and armed with the knowledge of belonging to a group, the enactment of violence and brutality becomes a frequent experience in their lives. This feeling of fearlessness was expressed by one gang member: *"Ek het vier keer by die dood omgedraai, maar ek gee nie om nie"*. (Nicro and Institute of Criminology, 1990 : 5).

Gangs are also very territorial. Gangsters can safely move around in the areas that are controlled by their own gangs. Controlling a territory also ensures that other gangs do not rob them off of their

customers or victims on whom they survive. For these reasons gangs will fight to protect their "turf". For most of the reasons for gang wars may seem fairly unimportant, but for gangsters they are matters of life and death. The smallest incident can spark off a gang war. An insult from a member of a rival gang, a gang member (boy-wife) walking across the territory of another gang, a gangster flirting with a boy-wife considered to belong to an opposing gang, or insulting the manhood of a gangster can lead to a gang war (Nicro and Institute of Criminology, 1990 : 6).

Equally important is the fact that the most gangs have their own unwritten codes of behaviour. Depending on the gang, they can be identified by their manner of dress, their language and the gang tattoo. On joining a gang, each member receives a tattoo showing the gang to which the individual belongs. The gang language is difficult to understand and sometimes interpreters are necessary to understand what they are saying. The defence gangs grow out of a need for physical defence and a demand for goods. They are usually well organised and able to defend themselves and their territory from other gangs. Most prison inmates belong to a gang. In fact, it is nearly impossible to serve a prison sentence without being recruited by one of the prison gangs. If a new prisoner resists, the prisoner may be forced to perform tasks for other inmates, or subjected to sexual abuse and rape. Gang rivalry and violence are common in prison (Nicro and Institute of Criminology, 1990 : 7). The gang tattoos, unwritten codes of behaviour, language used by the gangs and the joining of the gangs will be discussed in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

There are times when a gang develops a reputation of being tough and a good fighter. In these cases the gang is pretty lenient, but in the majority of the times the gang makes sure that they do not accept guys who, instead of fighting and protecting the gang, prefer to run away (Padilla, 1992 : 55). The gangs are organised in a

militarised and hierarchical way.

New recruits (new comers) have to go through a strict orientation period where they learn the secrets and codes of conduct of gang life.

Gang members are to sworn to secrecy which ensures that other gangs do not learn about their aims or strategies. In order to protect itself, a gang will resort to disciplinary procedures when a gang member has broken the rules. Breaking the gang's secrets could endanger the likelihood and the very existence of the gang. In most cases, disobedient are severely punished by the gang. Leaving a gang is often like signing a death warrant (Nicro and Institute of Criminology, 1990 : 8). This will be illustrated in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Miller and his associates in Short and Strodbeck (1965 : 195), suggest that verbal aggression was an essential element of behavioural mechanism which operated to delineate standards of personal worth. A verbal aggression is essential to facilitate effective collective functioning, to maintain relations of reciprocity and equality, to define attitudes towards those outside the group and their values, to indicate the limits of acceptable behaviour and to provide effective sanctions against deviations from group-supported standards. Highly aggressive inmates believe that their settings provide less activity, emotional feedback, privacy, safety, social stimulation, and support (Pallone, 1991 : 19).

Inmates are terrorized by other inmates, and spend years in fear of harm. Some inmates request segregation, others lock themselves in, some are hermits by choice (Touch, 1977 : 53).

1.5.1.2

Conflict

Violence is the key ingredient in the conflict subculture, whose

members pursue status through force or threats of force (Bartollas, 1990 : 159).

Conflict as a social process results when two or more groups consciously seek either to block one another in reaching a goal or to injure, defeat, or even annihilate one another (Stark, et al 1973 : 47).

Conflict is an outgrowth of ongoing and continuous antagonistic or frequent interactions involving a normal amount of friction (New York City Youth board, 1960 : 97).

It is postulated here that the legal, social and individual realities of violence have one thing in common - conflict. This common denominator is employed to promote understanding of the phenomenon in as such as it serves to explain the origin and nature of most, if not all, acts of violence. Conflict can be said to manifest itself in slightly different guises on the individual, social and legal levels of reality. On the individual level it arises when the person is faced with the need for reconciling discordant desires, needs and values (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 ; 13).

The concept culture conflict refers to the behaviour that does not conform to the values and norms of the community. The concept norm conflict refers to an acceptance of societal values, but includes the rejection of the means to achieve these objectives. Conflict is heavily influenced by the approach-avoidance approach (Maher, 1964 : 287).

The attainment of wealth through violent ways and means is a good example of this form of social conflict (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 14). Value conflicts are generated through the rejection of accepted societal values and commitment to new or unique goals and standards. Most cases of personal, familial, social and cultural

violence seem to be characterized by disagreements between persons and/or groups on petty matters and or fundamental issues.

Among others, quarrels, disputes and dissension usually provide a stage for friction, conflict and strife (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 15).

Groups come into conflict with one another as the interest and purposes they serve tend to overlap, encroach on one another, and become competitive. In other words, conflicts between groups occur primarily when the groups become competitive by attempting to operate in the same general field of interaction (Vold, 1958 : 205).

The present study will illustrate such competitiveness.

The conflict perspective rests on an important assumption that there are certain things that members of society, including gangs value highly, and most of these valued things are in scarce supply. These many include power and prestige to be among these scarce resources.

Because of their scarcity, gangs - either individually or in groups - struggle with one another to attain them (Sullivan, Thompson, Wright, Gross and Spade, 1980 : 23). From this perspective, society is an arena for the struggle over scarce resources. Furthermore, each group struggle over scarce resources. Furthermore, each group in society has certain interests - there are things that are beneficial to it - and what is in the interest of one group may be to the disadvantage of another thus, society including ganging is characterized by a clash of interests, and gangs pursue those things that are to their own advantage.

Smuggle and conflict, which are central to this perspective, can take many forms. If they always (or even frequently) involved violence, then people would have a war of all against all, and society would be impossible (Sullivan, Thompson, Wright, Gross, and

Spade, 1980 : 23 - 4). As one means of controlling the amount of violence, norms emerge that determine what types of conflict are allowable for which groups including the gangs. For example, conflict can take the form of competition and disagreements (Sullivan, Thompson, Wright, Gross, and Spade, 1980 : 24).

Conflict theory emphasizes the point that not all groups including gangs, have the same interests (Sullivan, Thompson, Wright, Gross, and Spade, 1980 : 420). The interests of the gangs will be discussed in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

1.6

PROBLEMS AND DEFICIENCIES

In conducting the current research, the investigator experienced the following problems amongst others. The subject under discussion sources of references were therefore not sufficient. The few published research results in this connection are those by Lötter and Schurink (1984) and Keswa (1973). There are also limited studies on prison gangs by Nicro and the Institute of Criminology (1990) which the researcher found relevant and useful.

The foregoing studies were deficient in the sense that the gangs being researched here were only mentioned and not researched in-depth. It is clear therefore that although a number of gang studies have been made in South Africa, these did not refer specifically to prison gangs, but dealt with conventional gangs only.

1.7

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the researcher has orientated the reader regarding the research. The study is based on the prison gangs detained at Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison. The most important aspects discussed, includes inter alia, the choice of the subject; aims and purpose of the study; the demarcation of the study; the methods and procedures used as well as the definition of the main concepts. Chapter 2 examines the prison community and its impact on prison gangs.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRISON COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPACT ON PRISON GANGS

2

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the prison community and how this artificial environment impacts on inmates, generally and in particular on prison gangs. The influence of the prison community on the inmates, although important, cannot tell the whole story, since every individual inmate makes his own selection from what the prison community offers him, accepting certain aspects while rejecting others. To put the influence of the prison community in its proper perspective, it is necessary to examine the meaning of imprisonment.

Prior to imprisonment, as free citizens, prisoners have gone through various and diversified roles, namely: suspects, arrestees, accused and convicted persons before eventually becoming prisoners (Schwartz, Clear and Travis 111, 1980 : 2).

Clearly, therefore, confinement is necessary for those offenders who, if not imprisoned, would be a serious threat to the public at large (Schwartz, Clear and Travis 111, 1980 : 69).

Imprisonment means ejection from the sound whole and implies that one cannot remain part of regular society and must leave for a place of segregation where contact with the large society is held down to the minimum (Vedder and Kay, 1969 : 11). In discussing the prison community and its impact on the inmates, attention will be given to the origin and development of prison subculture, deprivation, description of prison codes, group formation including various types of groups.

2.1

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF A PRISON SUBCULTURE

In order to obtain insight into the prison subculture, a number of

important aspects must be emphasized. This, therefore, implies that the subcultural orientation of a group cannot be ignored as an important influence on the behaviour of a group (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965 : 207). Each phase of the inmate's daily life takes place in the company or presence of others who are subject to the same treatment. Daily activities are programmed with the entire sequence prescribed by a legal authority through a formal decision (Vedder and Wright, 1974 : 518).

According to Short (1968 : 11), subcultures are patterns of values, norms and behaviour which have become traditional among certain groups. Smelser (1988 : 19) contends that the beliefs of a subgroup are called a subculture. The concept subculture implies that there are value judgments or a social value system which is apart from and a part of a larger or central value system. These shared values are learned, adopted and even exhibited by participants in the subculture and differ in quantity and quality from those of the dominant culture (Ndabandaba, 1987 : 4).

The origin and development of prison subcultures can be best explained by two models, namely: the deprivation model and the importation model (Neser, 1989 : 12). Advocates of the deprivation model take the origin of the prison subculture as being the hardships accompanying imprisonment and the social circumstances to which the prisoner is expected to adjust. Prisoners endeavour to resist the problem of deprivation by implementing and maintaining a subcultural normative system. A subcultural normative system refers to a set of norms and values that distinguish a group from the larger society. The argument behind the importation model is that the content of the prison subculture is imported into prison from the lower class and the criminal world in the free community (Neser, 1989 : 12).

Values, norms and ideas are brought in by prisoners and find stature

in three types of prison subcultures, namely:

- * a thief subculture which is maintained by professional criminals who are not interested in leadership positions in prison *per se* but only owe allegiance to more experienced professional thieves;
- * a prison subculture also known as a bandit subculture has prisoners who manipulate their companions and who strive for power and status in the prison; and
- * a legitimate subculture which is subscribed to by prisoners - the so called Square Johns - who are more inclined toward co-operation with prison officials (Neser, 1993 : 190).

2.2

THE INFLUENCE OF DEPRIVATION OF THE PHENOMENON OF GANGING IN PRISON

Deprivation of heterosexual relationships, freedom, security and autonomy, emphasizes each of the foregoing impacts on prison gang formation. Such deprivations spell out clearly how the different forms of deprivations influence inmates to join gangs as well as to encourage the phenomenon of ganging in prisons and therefore nurture the phenomenon of ganging. The deprivation circumstances are explained by Muncie and Sparks (1991 : 182 - 3) as "pains of imprisonment" and include the loss of freedom, goods and services, autonomy, security and exclusion from heterosexual relationships.

From the point of view of prisoners, imprisonment is a series of status degradation ceremonies that serve two functions, namely: to destroy their identities and to assign their new identities of a lower order (Reid, 1981 : 174).

2.2.1

DEPRIVATION OF FREEDOM

An important view of imprisonment involves deprivation of freedom on the part of the inmate. It is much more than a period of isolation from the community (Neser, 1989 : 130).

The prisoner is never allowed to forget that by committing a crime, the prisoner has foregone his claim to the status of a fully fledged trusted member of society. The wall which seals off the criminal, the contaminated man, is a constant threat to the prisoner's self-image. The threat is continually repeated in constant reminders, that the prisoner must be kept from decent men (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 71).

The loss of freedom is the greatest single deprivation experienced by the offender in prison. In the first place, the offender must live within a restricted area and within this area the inmate's movements are further limited by various control and security measures. The prisoner is therefore actually subjected to a double loss of freedom. The prisoner is restricted to a specific area and within this area there are further restrictions on his freedom of movement, namely: high walls, security gates, and fences (Neser, 1993 : 190).

Klare (1973 : 53), Berkley, et al (1976 : 389), Sykes (1958 : 65), Vedder and Kay (1969 : 11), mention the following aspects of deprivation of freedom to the prisoner, namely:

- * disturbing aspects - cut the offender from the outside world;
- * loss of freedom;
- * isolation - painful;
- * lost emotional relationships, loneliness and boredom; and
- * means ejection by the free community.

In order that the prisoner should not feel totally rejected in prison, family members pay the prisoner visits in prison. Such visits and letters from the family members and friends partially relieve the prisoner's isolation. Courts have held that the visitation right of inmates may be regulated by prison officials (Reid, 1981 : 417).

2.2.2

DEPRIVATION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

Upon entering the prison, offenders undergo what Goffman in Ekstedt and Griffiths (1988 : 231), has labelled a process of "*mortification*" during which they are transformed from "free" citizens into inmates. This psychological and material stripping of the individual, which involves a series of "status degradation ceremonies", includes the issuing of prison clothing, assignment of an identification number, the loss of certain personal possessions, and the end of unhindered communication with the outside community.

The deprivation of goods and services in society places a high emphasis on material possessions (Reid, 1981 : 175). The way prisoners are treated when they enter the prison exemplifies society's rejection. They are examined, inspected, weighed and documented. To them, these acts present deprivation of their personal identities (Reid, 1981 : 174). Deprivation of possessions can be experienced as an attack against the sensitive being of the person (Neser, 1989 : 131). Vedder and Kay (1964 : 12), state that the individual by the act of imprisonment, is suddenly reduced from whatever status which the individual might have had, to the following status, namely:

- * the status of subordinate;
- * slave-like character;
- * a minimum of legal rights;
- * limited by a large number of rules and regulations; and
- * the individual is divested of civilian clothing which is an important indicator of his previous status - to the status of subordinate.

In South Africa, the inmate is given the uniform prison garb, which is the significant symbol of the inmate's "slave status". A prisoner has, as a consequence of committing crime with its accompanying imprisonment, not only forfeited liberty, but all personal rights except those which the law in its humanity accords

to a prisoner. In this respect, Westermann and Burfeind (1991 : 143) contend that an inmate is for the time being a slave to the State. The prosecuted prisoner has the right to be informed of the charge and sign a form with the details of the charge (Mandaraka-Sheppard, 1986 : 85). It is difficult for any human being leading a normal life to imagine what it feels like to be restricted and circumscribed every step of the way - not to be able to go for walk, not to be able to open your own door, or not to be allowed to use a telephone (Gross, 1966 : 97 and Mathiesen, 1984 : 128). The rules and regulations in prison, encourage the enforcement of discipline (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988 : 194).

The task of safe custody rests heavily on the physical custody measures in a prison. A variety of secondary measures can contribute to preventing escapes and generally attempting to direct the prisoner's behaviour and adjustment in the prison (Neser, 1993 : 262). The prisoner's basic material needs are met in prison - in the sense that the prisoner does not go hungry, cold or wet (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 72).

In South Africa, a prisoner is given basic material needs in prison, such as food, clothing, medical care and the opportunity to exercise.

2.2.3

DEPRIVATION OF HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the free community, people have an opportunity for sexual intercourse, but not behind bars. Prisons provide a situation to which prior conventional sexual and social styles and motives must be adapted and shaped in view of the fact that the prisoner is deprived contact with the opposite sex (Scacco, 1975 : 4).

Social deprivation is a major concern of inmates with sex yearning being the most painful phase of incarceration (Lockwood, 1980 : 126). Isolation from the opposite sex implies being excluded from

the satisfaction of heterosexual relationship at a time when for many inmates, sex drives are quite strong. Many male prisoners may therefore turn to homosexual behaviour, not because of a preference but because of physiological drives beyond their control (Bowker, 1977 : 116, Evans, 1980 : 15 - 6, Reid, 1981 : 194 and Silverman, et al, 1991 : 195). The prisoners' access to mass communication and pornography (contraband) that circulate amongst the prisoners as well as their similar stimuli, constantly activate their sexual impulses (Neser, 1993 : 191).

An experienced inmate will give cigarettes, sedatives or extra food pilfered from the kitchen, and other presents to an uninitiated inmate and after a few days, the veteran will demand sexual repayment in turn (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 108, and Cohen, 1990 : 3 - 4).

Sex is often used to force a "debtor" to repay an obligation which the inmate cannot pay for in kind. The inmate is therefore subjected to humiliation in the presence of other inmates (Scacco, 1977 : 43). The lack of heterosexual intercourse is a frustrating experience for the imprisoned criminal and is a frustration which weighs heavily and painfully in the mind during inmate's prolonged confinement (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 119, and Rhymes, 1988 : 2).

The inmate has come from a segment of society where sexuality is the claim of masculinity. Once inside the walls, the inmate is deprived of the opposite sex upon whom a lot of emphasis is placed, a pathological situation results. In fact at a more conscious level, inmates may feel that their masculinity is threatened because the inmate can see himself as a man - in the full sense - only in a world that contains women as an essential component of his self-conception. The inmate status as a male is therefore called into question. Eventually the overly aggressive inmate will enter into homosexual activity in which the individual can fulfil his masculine

prowess since the inmate will seek to control a partner which for the inmate and other males in the system validate continued claims to masculine status (Scacco, 1975 : 6).

The relationship of males is usually highly stylized both socially and sexually. The aggressor provides protection, a measure of affection and perhaps gifts and the passive inmate provides sexual access, affection and other pseudo-feminine services (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 119).

Those who are lovers and therefore do not participate in homosexuality, usually engage in masturbation which is also probably the most common release for sexual tension within a correctional institution (Scacco, 1975 : 36). This is accepted on the basis that it relieves tensions and gives them satisfaction during their time inside (Klare, 1973 : 66).

In prison, the forms of sexual behaviour usually available to inmates are nocturnal sex dreams, and sexual contacts with other inmates of the same sex (Johnson, 1978 : 398).

For the adult male in the free community, masturbation is an abnormal act, but men in prison are inclined to masturbate occasionally and explain their behaviour biologically. Their masturbatory act is accompanied by heterosexual ideation. At first they worry about the act which they do not find satisfying, but as the months pass it becomes acceptable as a means of relieving tension (Clemmer, 1958 : 258, and Faderman, 1978 : 5).

As important as frustration in the sexual sphere may be in physiological terms, the psychological problems created by the lack of heterosexual relationships, can be even more serious (Inciardi and Haas, 1979 : 324).

The prison rules and regulations strongly disapprove of all these abnormal sexual practices (Vedder and Kay, 1969 : 81). The issue of environmental impact is close to the core concerns of long-term inmates - closer than it is to the concerns of traditional inmates. This is the case, because the long-term inmate is not a "tourist" in prison, but lives there for a fair portion of life. Other things being equal, there is an increased potential for impact on such an inmate, either on mental health or on subsequent fate (Ward and Schoen, 1981 : 40).

2.2.4

DEPRIVATION OF SECURITY

The deprivation of security in an inmate population is where the inmate faces threats to his safety and sometimes to his health and life (Reid, 1981 : 175). An important aspect of this disturbingly problematical word is the fact that the inmate is acutely aware that sooner or later the inmate will be pushed around, weighed and considered. The inmate must be prepared to fight for his safety as well as for those under his protection in this respect. Petersen and Thomas (1980 : 79) confirm the foregoing when they state that the prisoner's loss of security arouses acute anxiety, not just because violent acts of aggression and exploitation occur, but an individual's ability to cope with it, in terms of his inner resources, courage and nerve.

The community limits the criminality of the offender by placing him with other criminals for longer or shorter periods, some of whom already have a life of violence and crime behind them (Caldwell and Nardini, 1977 : 293).

The fact however, strange it may appear that society has chosen to reduce the criminality of the offender, by incarceration, made the inmate to associate with more than a thousand other criminals for a long time. The obvious meaning of this involuntary union is that the individual prisoner is thrown into a prolonged intimacy with

other men, who in many cases, have a long history of violent and aggressive behaviour (Sykes, 1958 : 76 - 7).

2.2.5

DEPRIVATION OF AUTONOMY

It is an acknowledged fact that institutionalisation deprives a prisoner a sense of responsibility, initiative, drive, self-discipline and is generally depressing (Viljoen Commission, 1976 : 76 and Naser, 1993 : 193).

The important point, however, is that the frustration of the prisoners' ability to make a choice and the frequent refusals to provide an explanation for the regulations and commands, descending from the bureaucratic staff, involve a profound threat to the prisoners' self-images because they reduce the prisoners to the weak, helpless and dependent status of childhood (Inciardi and Haas, 1988 : 326).

A prisoner may be viewed as a "passenger" - in this respect therefore a man is floating along passively (Naser, 1993 : 193).

2.3

THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF THE PRISON SUBCULTURE ON THE INMATE

Although the remarks made by Smit (1979 : 33) do not refer specifically to a prison culture and subculture, they are extremely elucidating. The author comments as follows: "Subkultuur kan beskou word as 'n kultuur binne 'n kultuur, 'n ondergeskikte kultuur, 'n parasitiese kultuur, 'n beperkende en onderliggende kultuur of 'n laer orde kultuur. 'n Subkultuur is die eiesoortige kultuuruitinge van 'n groep of gemeenskap wat, alhoewel die breë kultuurgebruike gehandhaaf word, eienskappe het wat nie normaalweg in die samelewing as geheel aangetref word nie. Alhoewel 'n onderskeid getref word tussen die begrippe kultuur en subkultuur, is dit onafskeibaar aangesien laasgenoemde die waardes van die groter kultuur bevat.

Die voorvoegsel "sub" dui inderdaad op 'n subkategorie van kultuur - 'n gedeelte van die geheel."

Smit (1979 : 34), states that "'n subkultuur hou nie alleen verband met die doelwitte, gebruike, opvattinge en oortuigings van 'n groep nie, maar ook met gedeelde ervarings en gepaardgaande houdings. Die waardes van die meeste subkulture kom in 'n mate in konflik met sommige waardes van die oorkoepelende kultuur". It becomes clear from the foregoing discussion by Smit, that a culture is man-made and it in turn, makes man. This applies also to prison subculture which is described as a social system with a strong, class system, a strict code of behaviour, and a value system that disagrees with the values of the prison establishment (Neser, 1993 : 193). The social system of the prison is unique because the social circumstances to which the prisoner must adapt are unique.

A prior subculture therefore embraces customs, behavioural patterns, traditions, codes, laws and regulations which, to a large extent, influence the attitudes and behaviour of prisoners (Neser, 1993 : 193 - 4). Subcultural groups, sub-society and social segment have been used to designate those social groups within a large society that are distinguished by background, status or other common characteristics and yet share certain features with other social segments (Valentine, 1968 : 109). In this respect the prison social system rests on the premise that group forming is the natural result of the various deprivations and losses that prisoners endure during imprisonment (Neser, 1989 : 133). The concept subculture, arose from differential patterns of culture found in different societies. It refers to the specific patterns of value systems, norms and behaviour as well as characteristics of specific groups. Subcultures may also vary considerably in scope and in the extent to which they differ from its broader culture and include, for example, ethnic groups or small elements of these groups, classes in a given community and other groupings (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 58).

These practices eventually become traditional among certain groups (Short, 1968 : 12). The inmate subculture initiates against the implementation of treatment programs, including the initiation of pro-social changes.

The greater the extent to which the inmates accept the goals and norms of the inmate culture, the lower the chances are that correctional treatment programs will be successful (Ekstedt and Griffiths, 1988 : 232).

The above practices of inmates results in the creation of prison codes working against the conventionally accepted prison culture.

2.3.1

PRISON CODES

The prison codes mentioned above, enable the prisoners to adjust to the unemotional physical and psychological environment of the prison. prisoners establish their own norms that are known as prison codes. The prison codes and social systems are also a form of social control whereby an individual is able to adjust to the prison, while at the same time maintaining a measure of status and respect (Silver, 1981 : 213).

The groups build up techniques and methods to block each other in everything they do, a kind of refereed devil-inspired game of conflict, in prison parlance as a code (Barnes and Teeters, 1959 : 361). The opinion exists that behaviour regarded as problematic in prisons can be traced directly to the prison code. This code is largely responsible for the negative attitudes of prisoners towards the correctional services members and authorities. The behavioural patterns of prisoners should therefore be understood against the background of the prison code.

Conforming with or deviating from the prison code forms the basis for classification and description of the interpersonal relations of

prisoners (Johnson, et al, 1970 : 401). Prison codes influence relations between prisoners as well as relations between prisoners and the institution. This is confirmed by Naser (1993 : 194 - 95). The code results from an attitudinal configuration that a minority group must have cohesiveness and be secure within itself (Clemmer, 1958 : 152).

The following are some of the examples of directives that comprise the code, namely:

- * above all else, do not snitch;
- * do not cop out;
- * do not take advantage of other residents;
- * share what you have;
- * help other residents;
- * do not mess with other residents;
- * do not trust staff, staff is neat; and
- * show your loyalty to the residents (Naser, 1993 : 195).

The codes formulated by Sykes and Messinger in Naser (1993 : 195), include the above mentioned presumptions, and also establish the following, namely:

- * do not be nosy, do not have a loose lip, keep off a man's back;
- * do not lose your head, play it cool;
- * do not explicit inmates, do not break your word, do not sell favours;
- * do not weaken; and
- * do not be a sucker.

The general principles of prisoners code identified by Sieverdes and Bartollas in Naser (1993 : 195) in a maximum security juvenile prison are based on the following, namely:

- * unwillingness to betray others;
- * expectation that nobody will betray you;
- * lack of trust and faith in personnel; and

- * willingness to manipulate personnel.

If uncertainty exists regarding the fulfilment of the code, the golden rule is to pretend amongst fellow-prisoners that the inmate is against control and norms of personnel, while simultaneously convincing the personnel that the prisoner has changed and ready to return to the society (Neser, 1993 : 196). The following general gang codes were identified, namely:

- * be loyal to and dependent on the gang;
- * brothers must be respected, supported and assisted, and they should be lived within harmony; and
- * do not inform personnel or co-operate with them (Neser, 1993 : 196).

The interesting fact is that the code is not written down, but exists in South African prisons. The fundamental principle of the code may be stated as follows:

- * inmates are to refrain from helping prison officials in matters of discipline;
- * should never give them information of any kind and especially the kind which may work harm to a fellow prisoner; and
- * other prescribed behaviour has its roots in this principle. For example, it is prescribed that when an inmate is attempting an escape, other inmates should distract the attention of guards, for example, by noise-making while their companion sledge-hammers his way to freedom (Clemmer, 1958 : 152).

2.3.2

GROUP FORMATION

According to Stark, et al (1973 : 129) the word group describes a collection of people who are involved in some organized and recurrent pattern of interaction. The term group means a set of individuals who share a common fate, that is, who are interdependent in the sense that an event which affects one member is likely to affect all (Shaw, 1981 : 6). The obvious basis of most group

formation is goal achievement. Most groups are formed for some specific purpose, namely to enable people to achieve some goal they value. Groups, by definition, require considerable interaction among members. Stark, et al (1973 : 134) and Cartel (1951 : 167) also emphasizes that groups are formed by persons who happen to be close to one another.

The prison subculture has a strong influence on the prison community, which results in prisoners figuring as highly integrated groups with a strong unit, morality and feeling. Group attainment also clearly comes to the fore during conflict situations, such as riots and escapes. The prisoners join the gang in prison due to frustrations and deprivations. Prison is a complex artificial environment and for prisoners to adjust or control the situation, they have to join the gang in order to have fellow prisoners who could help them to adjust to the unfeeling physical and psychological environment of the prison. Prisoner codes and roles display the same basic characteristics from prison to prison and play an important role in group solidarity.

The frustration of imprisonment often contribute to prisoners being receptive to ideologies which do not enjoy official sanction. Imprisonment thus serves as binding factor as a result of the general experiences and interests of prisoners. Isolation from the free community results in feelings of sound rejection serving as a basic theme for motivation. By accepting prisoner codes and norms, the prisoner is able to protect himself from the dismantling effect of rejection by the community. Imprisonment threatens the masculinity of the prisoner by diminishing his role as the economic provider of his dependants.

Over compensation takes place in the form of passive opposition against denomination by the prison service members. Prisoners exposed to the influence of other prisoners with long criminal

histories and often object, because they have no choice but to live along with these inferior types of people. This state of affairs creates feelings of fear and uncertainty in respect of each personal security.

The acceptance by other prisoners can thus serve as a security measure against physical aggression. Some prisoners become members of groups in an attempt to escape humiliation that imprisonment brings. The value and meaning of group formation for prisoners are that the group offers protection and support to its members and simultaneously, non-members are excluded by the group unity. By becoming a member of a group, a prisoner obtains access to the informal communication network of the institution. The prisoner obtains satisfaction from the group and feels welcome among other prisoners that understand him, are interested in his problems and who listen to his complaint (Neser, 1989 : 136 - 7). Cartwright, et al (1975 : 93), listed four variables affecting the individual's attraction to the group:

- * The individual's own needs - his needs for affiliation, for material values, for recognition, or to other values that the inmate believes the group can offer. The group offers protection and support its members and non-members are excluded by the group unity.
- * The group's benefits its particular programs, goals, members' characteristics, style of operation, prestige or other properties that attract him. By becoming a member of a group, a prisoner gains access to the informal communication network of the institution.
- * His expectations of gain - his feeling that membership will probably have beneficial or detrimental consequences to him. the prisoner obtains satisfaction from the group and feels welcome among other prisoners who understand him, are interested in prisoner's problems and listen to inmate's complaints.
- * His alternatives - his comparisons of what this group offers in

contrast to other groups or choice. The formal organisation in prison furthers the reinforcement of the feelings of solidarity. The primary group is made up of those inmates who are more intimate to other offenders (Jarvis, 1978 : 156 - 7). Such a primary group is characterized by inmate face-to-face association and co-operation.

The basic primary group qualities are most likely to emerge when small group members and relationships among members persist for a long period of time (Nixon 11, 1979 : 14).

In this respect Cooley in Athens (1989 : 28) states that groups are primary in the sense that they give the individual his earliest and complete experience of social unity. They are primary in several senses, but mainly because they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideas of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in common whole, "so that one's very self", for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group (Athens, 1989 : 27). In the gang, gangsters are offered protection and support from fellow gang members and the non-members are excluded by the gang unity. Prisoners endeavour to transcend the painful existence brought about by deprivations in prison by joining gangs. They share luxuries and secrets with one another. The group is reasonably permanent and the behaviour of group members is influenced by the group (Neser, 1989 : 137 - 8).

The gangsters are permanent in the gang, because they are not allowed to resign and they are supposed to continue with the gang activities in prison.

Stark, et al (1973 : 131), stressed the role of face-to-face interaction in defining and maintaining, primary groups. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it

is a "we" feeling. It involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. It is not to be supposed that the unity of primary group is one of mere harmony and love. It is always a differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting of self-assertion, and various appropriate passions, but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of the common spirit. The semi-primary group prisoner is friendly towards a certain small group of prisoners, but does not subject himself completely to the wishes and behaviour of the group. In this group provisions and some secrets are shared, but not in the same intimate way as in the primary group. Members of the group are also friendly towards others (Neser, 1989 : 138). Strangers are also found among the ungrouped prisoners. The inmate is in prison, but not of it. The inmate associates with group of prisoners, but does not affiliate with them. The inmate is involved in the process, but does not participate. The prisoner-stranger deals with all persons in the same way (Clemmer, 1958 ; 132). The ungrouped prisoner is polite towards others, but does not become intimately involved with any group. The inmate readily shares his thoughts with them, apart from superficial communication (Neser, 1989 : 138). The reference groups are those groups of which the person wishes to become a member for the reason that group opinions, standards and objectives have a special appeal to the inmate. The influence of reference groups helps therefore in the satisfactory relationships that motivate people to strive, differ and maintain membership. When the basis for behaviour has been established in a social relationship, which is important to the prisoner, the individual will be motivated to conform to the norms associated with that relationship (Neser, 1989 : 138 - 9).

The above implies that a norm is an agreement among the members of a group concerning their behaviour. Equally important is the fact that the norms are often applied differently to various group

members (Siegel and Lane, 1982 : 305 - 6). According to Prison Journal (1991 : 5), the development of prison gangs involves a five stage process, namely to following stages:

- * Stage 1: In this stage an offender is sentenced to serve time in prison. The prisoner will quickly learn the skills of dealing with prison guards and other inmates. Equally important, the prisoner must learn the skills of anticipating and coping with violence, a brutal but ever-present aspect of daily prison life. to overcome these feelings of isolation, fear and danger, the prisoner moves into stage 2.
- * Stage 2: An inmate socializes with certain inmates with whom the offender feels comfortable and shares some common interests, that is, cell mate, classmates, members of a counselling group, homeboys, friends of friends and so on. In this stage, the relationships among members of the clique are sustained by the need to belong and the need for survival. As the members do not consider themselves a group, they are free to join or leave the clique anytime they please. There are no formal rules regulating members' conduct, nor are there leader- follower relationships. Criminal activity is rarely promoted.
- * Stage 3: Self-protection group. Although the primary purpose of self-protection group is still survival, its presence is clearly noticed by other inmates as well as prison staff when provoked, group members will protect each other from attack by outside groups. However, group members are not required to abide by a strict code of conduct. Leadership in the group is informal and based on the charisma of the individuals. As a matter of practice, self-protection groups do not participate in illegal activities. Prison Journal (1991 : 8), states further that the members of self-protection group enjoy increased recognition, certain members begin to exert stronger influence over other members and over events of the group. In time, these individuals emerge as the leaders of the group, and contemplate leading the group into stage 4.

- * **Stage 4: Predator group.** Several changes occur in stage 4. First, members begin to discuss the necessity for formal rules of conduct. Members are expected to hold viewpoints similar to those of other members. Individuals who are considered weak or incohesive are excluded from the group. Unlike any previous group, predator groups are willing to participate in such criminal activities as extortion, gambling, and violence against other inmates. Predator groups normally generate fear among other inmates. Although they may vary in size, predator groups exist and are recognized at the unit level. A predator group may have branches on more than one unit, the loyalty of group members is to themselves and to other members of their immediate unit. Members of a predator group receive more than protection, they also enjoy their newfound power over other inmates. This power enables them to profit from criminal activities. In time, some predator groups emerge as stronger and more fearful groups than others. This paves way for them to elevate into stage 5.
- * **Stage 5: Prison Gangs.** As part of a prison gang, members see themselves as part of an established organized crime syndicate. Involvement in contract murder, gambling, and homosexual is required of gang members. In addition, members are required to abide by all rules of conduct. Failure to do so would result in the death of the member. Members are also expected to wear tattoos which signify their pride in being members of the gang. Tattoos also serve as warning signals to other inmates that members of the gang are dangerous and not to be disrespected. To prevent internal anarchy, prison gangs have adopted a formal and para-military organisational structure. Each rank in the structure has defined authority and responsibility. Every member knows his place in the gang. To guarantee their longevity, most prison gangs require their members to make a lifetime commitment to the gang (The Prison Journal, 1991 : 8).

2.3.2.1 Ranking within groups

Ranking refers to a hierarchy of group members within the group. Some prisoners are leaders while others are followers. In all the gangs in prison, including the area of study, there are senior officers, junior officers and junior gang members. In all groups there is some degree of ranking of members in terms of their dominance over other members (Stark, et al, 1973 : 40). Although gang leaders need to be intellectual giants, they must be able to control the gang members. A certain amount of charisma and ability to use units and cunning is vital (Knox, 1991 : 16). The logical result is that there should be evidence of group cohesiveness.

2.3.2.2 Group cohesiveness

Cohesiveness is defined as the result of all the forces that cause members to remain in a group (Festinger, et al, 1950 : 274, Forsyth, 1990 : 83, Penrod, 1986 : 416, and Cartwright, et al, 1975 : 92).

A heightened sense of unity is one of the most basic changes that takes place when a group becomes cohesive (Forsyth, 1990 : 83). In terms of group uniformity, the gang members hold similar beliefs and attitudes, which motivate them to remain in the gang (Silverman, Teevan, and Scacco, 1991 : 151).

The gang members are concerned about the gang activities. Owing to strict group cohesion, its underground nature, loyalty and fear of reprisal, gang violence is one of the most difficult forms of violence to control (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 180). The shared purpose and common identity of individuals within a group increase the group's effectiveness in reaching goals (Jarvis, 1978 : 195).

Cohesiveness, normally has been referred to as mutual liking or acceptance to disruptive forces (Short, 1968 : 263). In this respect Smelser (1988 : 55), explains that norms are expectations

and standards that regulate interaction among people. Group cohesiveness is not only a result of the amount of interaction among members but also leads to interaction among group members (Stark, et al, 1973 : 142). Interpersonal relationship is the degree to which the group coheres or hangs together. This aspect of the group is usually referred to as group cohesiveness. Members of highly cohesive groups are more energetic in group activities, they are less likely to be absent from group meetings. They are happy when the group succeed and sad when it fails (Shaw, 1976 : 197).

2.3.2.2.1 Cohesiveness and interaction

A common observation is that people interact, both verbally and non-verbally with those who are attractive to them. However, this relationship between interaction and interpersonal attraction is usually associated with an opportunity for interaction, since people choose to join groups composed of others who are attractive to them. It is theoretically possible that interaction is merely a by-product of affiliation and is only directly influenced by attraction or cohesiveness (Shaw, 1976 : 198 - 9). Cohesiveness is the resultant of all the forces acting on the members to remain in the group (Shaw, 1981 : 213).

The gang members are attracted to the gang and they are influenced by the gang members to behave in accordance with the codes of the gang. Groups characterized by friendliness, co-operation, interpersonal attraction and similar indications of group cohesiveness exert strong influence upon one another to behave in accordance with group expectations. The members of cohesive groups are motivated to respond positively to others in the group and their behaviour should reflect this motivation (Shaw, 1976 : 201).

The various relationships in which prisoners become involved during imprisonment are of primary importance to the prisoners' experiences of imprisonment. Interaction embraces the following three

relationships, namely:

- * The manner in which prisoners interact with one another is influenced to a large extent by the accepted prison codes.
- * In certain cases prisoners manifest a negative attitude towards warders and refuse to co-operate with them or to carry out their instruction.
- * Two perspectives of the relationship between personnel and prisoners can be identified. One is the relationship where personnel act as a group towards prisoners. The other relationship is where a warder behaves as an individual towards a prisoner (Neser, 1993 ; 217).

2.3.2.2.2 Cohesiveness and productivity

The group members who are attracted to the group want the group to succeed and work hard to achieve the goals of the group (Shaw, 1981 : 222).

The gang members who are attracted to a gang, work jointly as a gang to achieve their objectives. The 26 gang for example, rob other prisoners and use the spoils to maintain their fellow gang members. Group members who are attracted to the group work hard to achieve group goals. This results in more cohesiveness (Shaw, 1976 : 205). Cohesiveness increases the effective synergy in the group in two ways:

- * It increases the total synergy of the group producing more favourable attitudes toward the group on the part of its members; and
- * it reduces the amount of synergy that is needed to maintain the group (Shaw, 1976 : 208).

2.3.2.2.3 Cohesiveness and satisfaction

Cohesiveness implies that both cohesiveness and integration encompass the common bonds and sentiment holding together the group as a whole as well as relationships among individual members within

the group (Nixon 11, 1979 : 73). The gang members engage in more social interaction and they satisfy their fellow gang members by giving them tobacco and dagga. Members of cohesive groups are generally better satisfied with the group than are members of non-cohesive groups. Indeed, the concept of cohesiveness almost demands that this be the case, for it is highly unlikely that an individual will experience forces to remain in a group with which the individual is dissatisfied. By the same token, it is possible that a person will be attracted to certain aspects of group life, such as group goals, without necessarily being satisfied with the group as a whole (Shaw, 1976 : 208). These factors immediately lead to a discussion of group characteristics.

2.4 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GROUP

A group is a collection of individuals who have relations to one another. These relations make them interdependent to some significant degree. In this respect, the term group refers to a class of social entities having in common the property of interdependence among their constituent members (Cartwright and Zander, 1968 : 46).

Knox (1991 : 179), states that all definitions of gangs agree that gangs are a group of persons. Knox contends further that the group is defined in terms of one or more of the following characteristics, namely:

- * perceptions and cognitions of group members;
- * motivation and need satisfaction;
- * group goals;
- * group organisation;
- * interdependency of group members; and
- * interaction.

2.4.1 PERCEPTIONS

Definitions of group in terms of the perceptions group members are

based upon the reasonable assumption that such members should be aware of their relationship to others (Shaw, 1976 : 6). The inmates actions depend on their perceptions and interpretations of the particular stimulus while interacting with others (Mandaraka-Sheppard, 1986 : 96). Equally important is the motivation leading to group life.

2.4.2 MOTIVATION

It is a common observation that individuals join a group because they believe that it will satisfy some need (Shaw, 1976 : 7).

Gang life is a natural mechanism for the fulfilment of human needs. Particularly when avenues to more legitimate sources of fulfilment are either blocked or found wanting such as obtaining dagga in prison (Knox, 1991 : 140 - 1) - related to motivations are goals.

2.4.3 GOALS

Definition of group in terms of group goals are closely related to those based on motivation. Presumably, goal achievement is rewarding and to extent that this is so, definitions in terms of goals and terms of motivation are quite similar (Shaw, 1976 : 8).

Cohesion shows in mobilization and in attaining group goals and in accomplishing group objectives (Knox, 1991 : 19).

Every organisation has goals as will become clear in 2.4.4.

2.4.4 ORGANISATION

Definitions in terms of organisation seems to limit consideration of structural properties to status, roles and norms, although it is evident that many other structural elements are involved in group structure (Shaw, 1976 : 8 - 9).

The gang clearly provides social and psychic rewards in the way of

roles, status, recognition and identify (Knox, 1991 : 318). There must be a certain level of sophistication regarding internal organisation. This means a hierarchy of authority, a chain of command, and the division of labour. This will be illustrated by the present study of prison gangs, which are a good illustration of interdependency as discussed in 2.4.5 (Knox, 1991 : 17).

2.4.5. INTERDEPENDENCY

The research on the Big 5, 26, 28 and Airforce gang will show some interdependency. The term interdependency can mean a variety of things in the sense that members can be interdependent with respect to one or more dimensions (Shaw, 1976 : 9). In many cases, interdependence is essentially the same as interaction, since interaction is one form of interdependence (Shaw, 1981 : 7). In 2.4.6. the relationship between interaction and interdependency will become clear.

2.4.6 INTERACTION

Communication examines how people are influenced by information from within themselves and their environments and how they communicate or exchange information, thus influencing each other (Turner, 1986 : 219). Interaction describes a process in which entities are connected in a sequence of action and reaction (Balgopal and Vassil, 1983 : 28). Interaction is a by-product of affiliation and is influenced by cohesiveness (Shaw, 1976 : 216).

People who interact, influence each other through the information they exchange. Communication between people conveys only its obvious content but also implicit or explicit messages attempting to define the nature of the participants' relationship (Turner, 1986 : 223).

The gang members in the institution, influence each other through interaction. People's non-verbal communication through such means

as facial expressions, gesture and posture can be considered as a context within which verbal messages are offered and interpreted as well as being a potent form of communication in itself (Turner, 1986 : 226).

Communication is an effect of mutual perception. Communication through the eyes is a unique form of interaction, since the eyes are the only organs that can both send and receive simultaneously (Shaw and Constanzo, 1970 : 142).

All behaviour occurring when one person is in the presence of another carries some sort of message. Communications do not just give information, but also define the relationships between those who are communicating (Barker, 1986 : 46). The downward communication involves the flow of messages and information from supervisors to their subordinates and upward communication involves the transmission of information from lower levels of the organisation to higher ones (Baron, 1986 : 318).

In a gang situation, where the junior gang members cannot solve a problem, they channel it to the senior gang members for their solution. The effective use of the upward communication channels in gang life depends on two primary conditions, namely:

- * The information should be able to follow all the way up to its intended destination; and
- * The information should be part of an exchange process. This will become clear in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 where individual gangs are analyzed (Bass and Ryterband, 1979 : 170).

When the treatment of prisoners (with special reference to gangs) is an issue, reference is also made to communication. A sense of trust must be developed between the personnel and the prisoner by establishing an effective channel of communication. Individual conversations with prisoners, rather than always communicating with

a group, are also recommended (Neser, 1993 : 213). Communication within the gang takes place through the following structures, namely:

- * **Formal communication:** This is embodied in the officially prescribed channels of communication.
- * **Informal communication:** This includes the incidental, everyday conversation between personnel and prisoners, without specific orders being given. It is impossible for the personnel to be in close contact with the prisoner constantly and to know exactly what the gang members are occupying themselves with.
- * **Outside communication:** The therapeutic value of the maintenance of family ties and contact must not be underestimated, because people influence each other (Neser, 1993 : 213).

2.5

INFLUENCE OF THE PRISON SUBCULTURE: DEVELOPMENT OF A PRISON PERSONALITY

Just as a child learns the norms of adult society, so are new prisoners socialised into the institution. In order to integrate successfully, prisoners must forget inapplicable behavioural patterns and overcome their initial feelings of resistance towards other prisoners. Prisoners quickly learn the anonymity of a prison, for example, the same clothing and hairstyle for all and the replacement of a person's name with a number. This experience is an exercise in submissiveness. The first step in the process is the replacement of the prisoner's name, which is a symbol of his individuality, by a number.

The process is further developed, when after having been searched, the prisoner is issued with an unattractive set of clothing. The feeling of depersonalisation reaches a climax when the door of the cell shuts behind the prisoner for the first time and the inmate is alone (Neser, 1993 : 205). Prisonisation describes the influence of imprisonment on prisoners. For the prisoner, socialization involves learning attitudes, behavioural patterns and criminal aptitudes.

All prisoners experience initial and general adjustment problems relating to food, sexual needs, use of time and health (Neser, 1993 : 206).

The monotony of the food, adequate though it may as far as calories are concerned, is another very cause for grievance among prisoners (Gross, 1966 : 97).

The problem of sex is one of the most urgent and challenging that confronts the administrators of prisons. Where large numbers of the same sex (males) are thrown together for a lengthy period of time under conditions pertaining in prisons, sex aberrations is bound to result (Gross, 1966 ; 98).

In modern Western culture, material possessions are so large a part of the prisoner's conception, that to be stripped of them is to be attacked at the deepest layers of personality (Mathiesen, 1984 : 129). The susceptibility of prisoners to the negative influence of socialization in a prison differs from case to case. Factors that, amongst others, can influence the development of a prison personality are the following:

- * The composition of the prisoner's personality. The rate at which the socialization takes place is influenced by the prisoner's personality, the crime the inmate committed, age, original environment and prisoner's intelligence (Neser, 1993 : 207).
- * The nature and essence of socialization that preceded imprisonment. Ames in Westermann and Burfeind (1991 : 40), reports that many of the gang recruits come from the ranks of delinquents who have been rejected by the society.
The gang become surrogates for the groups that delinquents have left and have their own codes of behaviour and expectations.
- * The nature and intensity of the prisoner's relationships with persons outside the prison. The socialisation process is

hastened when the prisoner becomes a member of a primary group that follows the prison code, enters into relationships with prisoners with strong criminal tendencies and, at the same time, does not concern himself with persons who display law-abiding behaviour (Neser, 1993 : 207).

- * The extent of the prisoner's involvement with primary groups in the community. the prisoners initially retain their own values and norms after imprisonment (Neser, 1993 : 207).
- * The possibility of incidents connected to the prisoner's placement in prison, for instance, the cell where the inmate sleeps and prisoners who figure in their immediate environment. When prisoners have been exposed to the prison subculture for a while, their value judgements reflect those of the group (Neser, 1993 : 207).
- * The term of imprisonment. The critical phase develops when prisoners become aware of their approaching release. In the preparatory process, the prisoner starts to distance himself from his reference group and inmate's attention shifts to new interest groups in the free community (Neser, 1993 : 207).
- * The extent of which the prisoner internalizes the prisoner codes and norms. The end result of the socialization process is the internalization of criminal view, making the prisoner relatively immune to the influence of a normal value system (Neser, 1993 : 207).
- * Criminality, and environmental conditioning, as well as future expectations. When the prisoner reaches a degree of institutionalisation, the prison personality that develops can stand in the way of successful integration into the community (Neser, 1993 : 207).

2.6

SUMMARY

It has become clear from the foregoing discussion that prison life differs from free community life. Free community life, has an environment which permits certain freedom of action. This is not

the case in prison life. Although people outside prisons are also bound by certain rules of society and confined to a given life within their material means.

The prisoners in the prison community are deprived of freedom, goods and services, heterosexual relationships, security and autonomy which contribute towards frustration. One of the best ways of dealing with the heterosexual deprivation in prison, is to engage in homosexual behaviour.

The prisoner's loss of security, arouses acute anxiety, not just because such behaviour constantly calls into question the individual's ability to cope with it, in terms of his own inner resources, his courage and his nerve.

All these problems encourage the prisoners to join gangs.

The prison subculture examine the dimensions of culture, such as values, norms and beliefs and the elements of structure such as roles, social status, positions and groups. The prison subculture has a strong influence on the prison community. This results in prisoners figuring as highly integrated groups with a sponge unity, morality and feeling. Some prisoners become members of a group in an attempt to escape the humiliation that imprisonment brings. The primary groups are primary in the sense that they give the individual his earliest and complete experience of social unity. In semi-primary groups, the prisoner is friendly towards a certain small group of prisoners, but does not subject himself completely to the wishes and behaviour of the group.

The ungrouped prisoner is polite towards others, but does not become intimately involved with them. The reference groups are those groups that the person wants to be a member of, because members' opinions have meaning for him and because the standards and objects

of the group correspond to his.

The next chapter focuses on the nature and essence of institutional treatment as well as models of approach to institutional treatment.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATURE AND ESSENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT AS WELL AS MODELS OF APPROACH TO INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT

3

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature and essence of institutional treatment and to examine their effects on prison inmates. For prisoners (including prison gangs) to be rehabilitated, they need to be treated by specialists in the institution. Important aspects to be analyzed in this chapter are therefore the following:

- * privileges, rights and obligations;
- * classification of prisoners, horizontal and vertical;
- * treatment and growth of humanitarianism in institution;
- * the role of specialized fields in the treatment of prisoners, namely: caseworkers, psychologists, educationists, spiritual workers, and the role of the institutional committee.

The chapter, therefore, emphasizes that treatment consists of some explicit activity designed to deter or remove conditions which have a deleterious effect on prisoners, and contribute to their criminal behaviour. If offenders are to be made law-abiding, certain aspects of their self-images, attitudes and beliefs must be modified (Gibbons, 1973 : 507).

Treatment therefore includes all those programs or approaches, which are aimed at the reformation or rehabilitation of the inmate, including gangs being researched in this study. Reid (1981 : 256) confirms this contention.

At all times the treatment of prisoners should be such as to encourage a sense of self-respect and personal responsibility (Xenia Field, 1963 : 142). Furthermore it will be made clear in this chapter that inmates have different aspirations and expectations.

These must be considered in the individualized treatment plan. Inmates have different and unique personalities and therefore differ also in their treatment needs.

Individualized treatment programmes should therefore be developed and implemented according to the needs of the inmates. This is important for the reason that treatment programmes endeavour to help inmates (including prison gangs) resolve their problems, especially those which have a bearing on their involvement in crime (Robin, 1987 : 377).

The emphasis will be made on the following models of the institutional treatment and control measures, namely:

- 1) The classical models;
- 2) Models of behaviour modification through influencing;
- 3) The interests of the community and the individual.

3.1

RIGHTS, OBLIGATIONS, PRIVILEGES AND AMENITIES

Treatment, broadly speaking, refers to any organized and deliberate intervention intended to change behaviour, with the ultimate interests of the client as the central purpose. It is important that prisoners should be oriented about their rights, obligations, privileges and amenities. The inmates are well-versed about their rights and privileges as well as the amenities available in the institution. Whether they are equally clear about their obligations is not easy to say.

3.1.1

RIGHTS

The term, prisoners' rights, connotes what are in fact the most morally valid claims. Rights mean legally enforceable claims against the State, its officers or any other person. This implies that something be done, given or not given to a person in custody (Backett, McNeill and Yellowlees, 1988 : 104). The foregoing aspect is well illustrated by the 28 gang members who, for example, assault

kitchen staff whenever they have a grievance that is food-related (See chapter 7 point 7.1).

Rights may be conferred by the common law, by the Correctional Services Act (Act no. 8 of 1959) and Regulation under the Prison Act. One of the most interesting rights to be litigated recently by the court is the right by the inmate to be protected from injury (Reid, 1981 : 446).

The prisoners are not supposed to be assaulted either by the officials or fellow prisoners. Should this happen, appropriate steps should be taken against assailants. Prisoners' right are facilities or amenities that they are entitled to as a matter of right and are essential to the maintenance of minimum standards of living (Neser, 1989 : 226).

3.1.2 OBLIGATION

The prisoners' obligations could be interpreted as including submission to medical treatment, the surrender of all private property held, submission to searches, keeping the cell and utensils clean, stating as necessary, his religious denomination, not destroying the equipment of the cell or damaging the building, and in general, conforming to Correctional Services Act (Act no. 8 of 1959) and Regulations.

3.1.3 PRIVILEGES

Prisoners have privileges granted by the state, in an unilateral and standardized fashion in accordance with the degree of their conforming behaviour.

In the same manner, these privileges may be taken away (Duffee, 1980 : 90). Privileges include the use of the telephone, access to writing materials, postage of free letters (Clifford, 1982 : 15). The crucial feature of the privilege is that it can be withdrawn without necessarily giving rise to legal action (Backett, McNeill and Yellowlees, 1988 : 104 - 5).

The privileges embrace aspects such as visits, correspondence, music, television and video, training in the art of writing poetry and keeping pets (Neser, 1989 : 209).

The privileges of prisoners are facilities or amenities to which they are not entitled, but which are granted as mark of favour according to the discretion of the Commission of Prisons in terms of the authority granted by section 22 of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959).

This neutralizes the behaviour of the prisoners and will become clear in the present study.

3.1.4

AMENITIES

Amenities give provisions of sports fields and equipment, tennis courts, indoor games, television and so on (Clifford, 1982 : 15). The judicious application of leisure-time also contributes to the discipline and rehabilitation of the prisoners, in general, and to the prevention of violence and aggression resulting from idleness. For example, some prisons are equipped with soccer fields, volleyball courts, snooker tables, table-tennis facilities and so on, where prisoners may relax on Saturdays under supervision (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 185). This serves as a treatment to the prison gangs. The recreation program should be directed by a qualified supervisor supported by a sufficient number of assistants to carry on a broad program of activities (Richmond, 1965 : 76).

3.2

TREATMENT AND THE GROWTH OF HUMANITARIANISM IN INSTITUTION

Treatment and the growth of humanitarianism in institution is broadly considered to include all those programs or approaches which aim at the reformation of the inmates (Reid, 1981 : 256). Reform is simply the substitution of the will to do right for the will to do wrong (Gamberg and Thompson, 1984 : 31). It should be noted that the universal treatment does not presuppose that the criminal is ill from either a medical or a psychiatric viewpoint. Treatment in the sense

used here is based on techniques of re-educating, conditioning, counselling and reinforcing aimed at the changing the criminal into a conforming member of society. If treatment is paramount, then more attention should be paid to the criminal rather than to the crime (Smith and Berlin, 1988 : 57).

The medical model of treatment in correction was first used as an analogy to promote human treatment of offenders. Later it gained prominence because crime was considered as a symptom of an organic or mental disease. Apparently its acceptance has continued partly because of the prestige of the medical profession (Peoples, 1975 : 47). Non-medical correctional administrators had difficulty in accepting the concept that crime was a disease, and believe that the application of a medical model to a basically moral problem provided little guidance for changing their inmates into constructive citizens (Peoples, 1975 : 51 - 2).

The medical concept of rehabilitation derived more directly from the liberal tradition which postulated the existence of "sick" sub-cultures. It is based on an explicit medical model of criminal behaviour which defines criminal action to be a form of psychological illness (Gamberg and Thomson, 1984 : 32). The medical model of rehabilitation stresses the possibility and desirability of individual reformation based on a process of intervention in the prisoners's psyches to overcome specific deficiencies which are assumed to be causally related with criminality (Gamberg and Thomson, 1984 : 136). In rejecting the medical model, Osborne in Peoples (1975 : 52), saw treatment as education for a better outlook upon life. Osborne tried to give his prisoners educational experiences and to develop in them a feeling of self-worth by permitting them to participate in prison government. The rise of the spirit of humanitarianism has often been confused with the belief that people, in general and inmates in particular, should be treated humanely. The result has been that the efforts to make prisons more human have

led some to believe that staff have involved in treating inmates. In fact, there is no evidence that attempts to make prisons more human places in which to serve time have resulted in rehabilitation of inmates. Humanitarian reform designates those changes that have been introduced into corrections in recent decades which serve to lessen the harshness or severity of punishment. In essence, the humanitarian movement with regard to prisons is based on the early philosophy that deprivation of liberty is punishment (Reid, 1981 : 255 - 6).

3.3

PUNISHMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT

Penal and reformatory treatment has an important objective. Prison labour is the essence and ultimate justification of imprisonment as a legal punishment. The personal approach to the prisoner is an indispensable element in the process of social readjustment (Grünhut, 1948 : 229). Behaviour can also be changed through the systematic use of punishment. This is confirmed by Peoples (1975 : 239).

Reformers contend that punishment should concentrate on the criminal, not the crime and should be individualized to effect the particular criminal's reformation (Pillsbury, 1989 : 743, and The Prison Journal, 1987 : 16).

Punishment follows an offence against discipline (Xenia Field, 1963 : 146). A penitentiary regime should, respect the prisoner's fundamental rights and should aim at making him more aware of his social duties. The training of qualified personnel is therefore important and should give the assurance that the prison environment is so devised that it does not become a contradiction. This is particularly the case when the prisoner is released. The social milieu in which the offender will find himself when is free, has numerous problems. For this reason therefore, the constitution of a minimum set of rules for the treatment of prisoners by the first United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment

of offenders, on the 30th August 1955, encourages a systematic conception of the rights and duties which should motivate the prisoner's life in penitentiary establishments. Respect of these rights and duties is indispensable in order to understand and to achieve the objectives of the penitentiary system (European meeting for heads of prison administrations, 1989 : 1).

The prison staff is the most appropriate tool for bringing about change in inmate's life. In other words, there is presumed to be something inherent in staffing patterns, qualifications, training and concepts that uniquely equip correctional personnel with the right, wisdom, expertise and motivation to rehabilitate their prisoners (Murton, 1976 : 55 - 6). The correctional worker, because of the nature of his task, must see to it that offenders make certain changes in their behaviour so that they are no longer a threat to society. Certain kinds of antisocial behaviour must be altered without damaging the more positive traits when which the individuals might possess. This places the correctional worker in the role and agent of change (Peoples, 1975 : 85 - 6). As Maslow in Peoples (1975 : 88), has observed, man is not a perfect being. By and large, therefore, the need for change by an individual will be felt when the individual recognizes that a current behaviour is no longer adequate for satisfying his wants. The matter of such recognition is of importance to the change agent for ultimately the decision to change or not to change rests with the change. For the correctional worker, the issue of motivation constitutes one of the pivotal elements of change which can significantly affect the success or failure of his change indulging strategies (Peoples, 1975 : 88 - 9).

A correctional authority should have the affirmative and enforceable duty to provide programs appropriate to the purpose for which a person was sentenced (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973 : 43).

The primary objective of exposure of inmates to educational and training is to help equip them with good citizenship upon release (Roberts, 1973 : 87). Education in prisons is generally recognized to be a good, human and personally beneficial activity (Morin, 1981 : 43). In academic education programs, the emphasis is on the acquisition of basic knowledge and communication skills (Inciardi, 1987 : 559). The educational program usually consists of classes in the elementary grade subjects, but the methods and textbooks are those commonly used for children in the public schools (Tappan, 1951 : 91).

Equally relevant in this regard, is the uplifting morals through Bible study, hard work and discipline which although the earliest form of reformation still exists as a rationale for educational activities in prison (Seashore, Haberfield and Baker, 1976 : 20). In the application of religious education each correctional agency should develop and implement policies and procedures that will fulfil the right of offenders to exercise their own religious beliefs (National advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973 : 63). To this end Richmond (1965 : 65) has listed the following as essential elements of an adequate religious program in the correctional institutions, namely:

- * Functions of the chaplain should be clearly defined as to pastoral care and administrative responsibilities;
- * Fully defined relationships between chaplain and institution staff should be established;
- * Chaplains should be appointed solely on the basis of accepted education, experience and qualifications;
- * Each major institution should have adequate facilities for worship services and chaplain's administrative functions; and
- * The role of the chaplain should extent beyond the institution into the community. These will become clear in the present study.

It becomes clear from the foregoing that the Department also has a function to train prisoners in habits of diligence and labour. The training of the prisoner in one or other vocation, so that inmate may take an independent and honourable living after release, is therefore regarded as being of primary importance.

Making due allowance for an inmate's previous experience, training, attitude and interest, there are a large number of training possibilities and work opportunities in South Africa within the Department of Correctional Services. The existence of an internal building section, entails that prisoners can receive training in any section of the building industry. Many are trained as bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, plumbers, painters and electricians. The boy-wives prefer light labour in the institution. In addition, the Department of Correctional Services has a large number of well-equipped workshops in which a wide variety of trades are practised.

After attains the required standard of proficiency in a particular trade, the inmate is subjected to a trade test by the Department of Labour. Successful candidates are awarded artisan status once the certificates issued to them are the same as those obtained in private life. The Department of Correctional Services also owns prison farms, situated in various climatic areas. These farms consequently offer possibilities in a large variety of agricultural pursuits, such as vegetable production, viticulture, dairy farming, grain, fodder and fruit production, as well as stock and poultry farming.

Training is also provided for cooks, waiter and wine stewards, caterers and tractor drivers, while recently a start was made with the training of limited number of prisoners as programmers for computers. Prisoners are also paid a gratuity in accordance with the nature and quality of their work (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 257).

The academic deficiencies reflected in the prison population project

are characteristics of inmate population in general. Some cannot read at all, of those who can, most can do so only with considerable difficulty. Most of the gang members can read and write with considerable difficulty (Ayllon and Millan, 1979 : 165).

There are basically four reasons why prisoners should work, namely:

- 1) Suitable employment is the most important factor for the physical and moral regeneration of the prisoner. In other words, work is good for him.
- 2) Suitable work, if properly organised, is part of the prisoner's training for life on release from prison. To establish in the prisoner the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge and to fit him to do so.
- 3) So that the prisoner may make an actual contribution to the community and not to be a burden to it.
- 4) Because prisoners represent a considerable labour force which ought not to be wasted (Wolff, 1976 : 199).

The foregoing reasons are intended for the treatment of the individual gang members, which alleviate serious behaviour disorder and prevent them from being work-shy (New York City Youth Board, 1960 : 176).

The number and variety of treatment techniques in use with individual clients is great, though somewhat less than the variety of theoretical orientations they reflect. Therapeutic techniques may vary according to individuals and training requirements. The following are the most important aspects:

- * The extent to which the therapist intervenes in the client's activities or environment;
- * The extent to which the therapist actively participates in the treatment interaction;
- * The technical procedures comprising the treatment method; and
- * The average length of time required for the course of treatment.

Casework is particularly relevant and beneficial. It involves a willingness to work primarily with individuals rather than groups and though the medium of relationship (Monger, 1967 : 8). The interaction with therapists and supervisors promotes the resolution of underlying problems (Andrews, et al, 1980 : 38). Mangram in Smith and Berlin (1988 : 47), contend that social casework is a process by which the individual is helped to more effectively function within his social environment. The emphasis is on the individual in the recognition that no matter how similar one's situation may be with that of another, each problem and each attempt and method to resolve it, has its own unique meaning for each individual. The method that works for one person, may not work with another. In general, the philosophy of the program seems to be that the counsellors, who work most closely with the inmates, are supposed to be authority figures who are also models and provide a supportive environment conducive to growth and change (MacKenzie, et al, 1990 : 34). This is particularly useful in treating gangs. The casework relationship is the dynamic interaction of attitudes and emotions between the caseworker and the client, with the purpose of helping the client achieve a better adjustment between himself and his environment.

Casework is the creation and utilisation for the benefit of and individual who needs help with personal problems, of a relationship between himself and a trained social worker (Monger, 1967 : 27). Anti-social gangs benefit tremendously from such treatment programmes. This is known as a program which incorporates anti-criminal modelling or problem-solving, two principles that appear to be associated with successful correction programs, should be more successful than one which does not incorporate these elements. Some of the other elements which have been identified as components of successful correctional rehabilitation programs and useful in the treatment of gangs are: formal rules, anti-criminal modelling resources, quality of interpersonal relationships, relapse prevention and self-efficacy and therapeutic integrity (MacKenzie, et al, 1990 : 28 - 9).

The quality of interpersonal relationships is another factor which has been associated with successful rehabilitation (MacKenzie, et al, 1990 : 38). Victims as well as aggressors, need attention because they very frequently have to be built up psychologically, not only to cope with the prison world (in which they hopefully will not spend the rest of their lives), but also with life in general (Ward and Schoen, 1981 : 44). The correctional psychologists are playing the helping roles and are more therapeutic. The correctional psychologists, spend more time in counselling and psychotherapy (Smith and Sabatino, 1990 : 163). The worker has an informal teaching role as an adult in which the worker focuses on specific and immediately needed skills (New York City Youth Board, 1960 : 214). One of the basic and most important tasks of the caseworker is to fit his treatment methods and techniques to the unique needs of his client (Peoples, 1975 : 115). Clearly therefore, the ultimate goal of client centred therapy is the actualization of self into a realistic adjustment to life. Implicit in this approach, is the re-enforcing behaviour by a systematic rewarding of punishment. The behaviour changes which the counsellors seek in the counselling relationship may be minor or major in scope. The emphasis is placed on helping the client to replace a faulty habits with more efficient ones. The client is helped to explore the assumptions that guide his behaviour and in the process, become aware of them. Learning to express hostility by expressing it freely with the counsellor, for example, may help him to do this in more socially acceptable ways. The entire process of behaviour change focuses on new learning, re-educating the client emotionally (Hatcher, 1978 : 81 - 2). A person's success in coping with both common and extraordinary problems of life depends to a greater extent upon this abilities to:

- * make the best of his intellectual resources in learning, solving problems and making decisions;
- * direct, control and find meaningful expression of his emotional resources; and
- * establish and maintain satisfying relationships with other

people.

The caseworker has the goal of helping his client achieve a balanced pattern of mental health. The client learns to accept responsibility because the counsellor allows him to make decisions rather than making them for him. In this manner the client is able to explore alternatives, the ultimate decision remains in the hands of the client, so that eventually becomes independent of his caseworker.

The goal is for the client to achieve a level of independent problem-solving and decision-making capabilities that prevent him from making irresponsible choices. No counselling theory approves the caseworker's giving ready solutions to problems of his client. If that is the case would deprive the client of the sight to explore the dimensions and possible alternatives of his problem.

Given approximately the same situation later on, the client would again have to depend upon the counsellor to resolve the problem. The goal of the counsellor in regard to problem-solving is to structure a process by which the offender learns to resolve the conflict situation himself. This may be accomplished by helping him to explore possible alternatives and probable consequences of each. The responsibility of resolution of the problem itself remains his (Hatcher, 1978 : 82). The custodial staff is made up of the guards and their supervisors, whose function falls into the areas of intimate security, movement and discipline (Inciardi, 1987 : 549).

Discipline as the order and conduct enforced on prisoners under the prevailing law has three objects. It is expected to prevent escapes, to maintain a decent institutional life and to train the inmates in good habits (Grünhut, 1948 : 203). Discipline, when properly used, can be one of our most useful tools toward rehabilitation. If however, it is misused or improperly used, it can be the most destructive tool (The Committee of Classification and Treatment, 1975 : 294). In the interest of the common life in the institution other

rules require personal cleanliness, keeping of clothes in good order and silence in the cell.

Prisoners may be punished for lying or using foul language, loitering and quarrelling. Rule books contain lists of the principal offences. This includes also measures meted out to prisoner (Grünhut, 1948 : 266 - 7). Instructions and orders are traditionally treated as internal management instruments (Plotnikoff, 1986 : 9). An officer in dealing with a prisoner, shall not use force unnecessarily and when the application of force to a prisoner is necessary, no more than necessary shall be used. No officer shall act deliberately in a manner calculated to provoke a prisoner (Plotnikoff, 1986 : 78). Backett, McNeill and Yellowlees (1988 : 130), explain that staff should be helped to acquire new skills which would increase their ability to maintain control in an open regime. Encouraging a sense of teamwork at all levels is important. The guard occupies a pivotal and strategic position in the prison.

The safety and morale of the inmates depend to a very large extent on the guard's competence, loyalty, resourcefulness and skill. The guard is the first line of the attack in case of escapes and the most immediate instrument for the proper handling of the prisoners. The guard must enforce the rules and regulations. The guard must be on the alert to detect signs of uprisings and to prevent the introduction of contraband into the prison and its circulation among inmates.

The guard must patrol and periodically inspect the cells. The guard must administer to the inmates' needs and make reports regarding their condition and behaviour. During the day, guards must supervise the prisoners while they march from place to place. At night, the guard must lock them in, see that the lights are out and make certain that all is secured (Inciardi, 1987 : 550).

Good food is the biggest morale booster a prison can have, bad food can be the most formidable depressant (Wolff, 1967 : 154). The relevant prison rules lay down that the food provided, should be wholesome, nutritious, and well prepared and served, seasonably varied and sufficient in quantity (Wolff, 1967 : 156). The 28 gang members revolt when the food is not well prepared or when it is not sufficient in quantity. Special diets for medical or religious reasons are catered for in prison (Wolff, 1967 : 158).

3.4

VARIOUS APPROACHES TO INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT

The institutional treatment includes horizontal and vertical treatment. The following considerations must be included in applying the new philosophy treatment, namely:

- * The diagnosis and classification process must evaluate all factors in the offender's backgrounds to bring about their successful re-socialization. This individualized approach to classification and diagnosis must result in a total treatment plan for each offender.
- * In assigning offenders to a facility, staff must consider such characteristics or qualities, such as age, sex, seriousness of offence, length of commitment, number of previous commitments, personal interests and goals and the availability of services.
- * The goals of all rehabilitative plans, programs and services must be to bring about the greatest degree of socialization possible, for each offender and to return offenders to open society.
- * Each offender assigned to the correctional system, is a person.

Everyone is born with a basic capacity to do good or evil. People are changing creatures, not fixed creatures. All persons, at all times, are in the process of change (Jarvis, 1978 : 162 - 3). It is normal to place people who commit the same types of crimes, in common classifications. Each violation, however, has varying degrees of mitigating circumstances and each offender has a different and separate personality pattern. These factors necessitate differential

treatment in the correctional continuum (Hatcher, 1978 : 85). Hatcher (1978 : 85) further contends that the use of imprisonment, in this country (that is Pennsylvania), believed that incarceration was not only an appropriate form of punishment, but that it would also have a reforming effect on offenders. The Pennsylvania system was based on the assumption that, if offenders had time to think and reflect, to read and study the Bible, they would repent and be reformed.

The other believed that inmate's spirit had to be broken before reformation would take place. Later reformers argued that hard work would have a reformatory effect on inmates. Others emphasized vocational training as a prerequisite for changing the offender. In this century reformation of offenders has been viewed through a medical model. The principles of diagnosis and treatment have been utilized, with the hope of an eventual cure of the patient. Various forms of treatment programs have been developed to aid in this process (Reid, 1981 : 236, and Mergagee and Bohn, 1979 : 21).

3.4.1

HORIZONTAL TREATMENT

The aim of horizontal treatment is to provide for the primary needs of the offender. It includes provision of sufficient and nutritious food, decent clothing, medical services and the like (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 254). Classification is important in horizontal treatment, though classification of prisoners is to assign them to different categories. If such differences obtain from the beginning throughout the whole prison term, one may speak of horizontal classification of the prison population. The leading principles of most classification is a distinction between offenders committing crimes from strong motives or lack of counter-motives and those whose offences seem an almost-inevitable expression of deep rooted antisocial tendencies (Grünhut, 1948 : 179, and Neser, 1993 : 260).

Classification takes place as soon as possible after a prisoner with

a sentence of two years or longer is admitted in prison (Neser, 1993 : 261).

Classification is a means to an end. Its success depends on the variety of treatment methods available (Grünhut, 1948 : 192). Certain rules must be obtained with regard to the conditions of promotion and retardation and the main characteristics of each stage. Such general standards put before the prisoner certain well-defined forms of behaviour as targets at which the prisoner must aim and for which the inmate can hope. Most systems have three consecutive stages.

Certain minimum periods or portions of the sentence must have expired before promotion can be considered. Conditions of promotion should require strenuous efforts, but they must be adequate to the particular type of prisoner and the specific method of routine (Grünhut, 1948 : 190, and Neser, 1993 : 261).

The horizontal classification system is in the direction of the consensus model, in practice it rested on purely subjective principles - using the particulars at his disposal, an observer exercised a vague judgment and recommended the classification of a prisoner to a particular horizontal group (Neser, 1989 : 200 - 201).

3.4.2

VERTICAL TREATMENT

Diagnosis is largely based upon reports of the individual and others in terms of subjectively felt and displayed emotions and behaviour, experience moods, failures and interpersonal problems (Ayllon and Millan, 1979 : 20). Satisfying prisoner's physical needs alone is not sufficient for the eventual rehabilitation of the prisoner. It is also necessary to apply treatment vertically or in depth.

Depth treatment is aimed at the individual with his particular personality, temperamental make-up, emotional level, intellectual

functioning, value system and general outlook of life.

Therefore, one of the most important problems in the establishment of a well-organised programme system is the development of objective screening instruments. With these instruments, specialized personnel including psychologists, social workers, educationists and spiritual workers are able to determine the relative needs of prisoners on the basis of standardised criteria, applied uniformly to each prisoner (Neser, 1993 : 316).

A psychologist forms a team of specialized personnel who are involved in a treatment of non-gang members and the gang members. It is therefore directed at each individual as a human being and determines the particular treatment required by a person for his eventual recovery and reformation. For this purpose a therapeutic team consisting of clinical psychologists, social workers, educationists and spiritual workers is employed (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 255). The offenders are classified on vertical or depth basis, where aspects such as intellectual ability, personality make-up, emotional maturity, temperament and rehabilitation prospects are thoroughly evaluated (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 255 - 6).

In South Africa, a depth classification system was adopted at the beginning of 1971 in addition to horizontal classification system. The aim was to establish an approach to the individualized treatment of prisoners in South African prisons (Neser, 1989 : 200). The main goal of diagnosis is the development and administration of an integrated and realistic program of treatment for the individual.

The keys to diagnosis are:

- * Evaluating newly sentenced prisoners;
- * Developing treatment programs for them; and
- * Assigning them to facilities where they can benefit from treatment.

This process, like all of classifications, must be reviewed and adjusted to fit changing patterns and needs.

The goal of diagnosis is to provide an individualized program for the rehabilitation of offenders (Jarvis, 1978 : 141). In order to justify the depth training of offenders to its fullest extent, a division called specialized treatment services, was established. This division consists of four sections, namely: social services; psychological services; educational services and spiritual services (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 257). The specialized treatment services in prison are offered to non-gang members and the gang members.

The role of social work in prison is extremely important. It is a continuous process from the day of admission to the day of release. In order to fulfil his task, the Department employs qualified social workers. They are assisted by a number of auxiliary workers, specially selected for this purpose from members who have undergone intensive training in casework, group work and counselling. These auxiliary workers are under the direct supervision of a qualified social worker and they render valuable services. Social work in prison is conducted by way of case- and group work methods, where prisoners are involved individually and in groups (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 258). Group therapy helps to reduce feelings of isolation, offers support and education as well (Brown, 1991 : 42).

Social casework fits easily into the correction environment and can offer the following services:

- * Sociological study of offenders' backgrounds, including their economic, family, occupational and educational situations, along with information from the home community.
- * A review of the conditions and nature of an offender's crime.
- * Evaluation of the length and harshness of an offender's sentence.
- * Regular interviews to determine the offender's adjustment within the institution, home problems and personal concerns.

- * Interviews and orientation sessions for offenders soon to be released (Jarvis, 1978 : 170).

The case studies cover the background of the gang life and the gang members as will be illustrated in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

In the case worker model, presentence investigation identified causes of the offender's behaviour and recommended interventions necessary to deal with those causes. This rehabilitative approach assumed that most clients could be changed into well-adjusted, law-abiding citizens (Lawrence, 1991 : 449). Casework includes professional services in:

- * Obtaining case histories and descriptions;
- * Solving immediate problems involving family and personal relationships;
- * Exploring long-range problems of social adjustment;
- * Providing supportive guidance for the inmates about to be released; and
- * Providing supportive guidance and professional assistance (Chamelin, Fox and Whisenand, 1979 : 392).

Psychological treatment includes various forms of individual and group psychotherapy, art therapy, relaxation therapy and other therapies (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 258). Psychological treatment is applied to all gang members and non-gang members. Psychological and psychiatric services provide more intensive diagnosis and treatment at:

- * Discovering the underlying causes of individual maladjustments;
- * Applying psychiatric techniques to effect improved behaviour; and
- * Providing consultation to other staff members (Inciardi, 1987 : 561).

Over and above social work and psychological treatment, there are educational services. The primary function of the educational

services division is the education of the prisoner to enable them to lead a mature, healthy and responsible life.

Lastly, it is also this section's task to provide a full and balanced library service in every institution (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 258). The educational program is broad in scope and in the more progressive institutions, strives to:

- * Offer the inmate improved academic education to enable him to face the demands of life as a better equipped person;
- * Provide vocational training so that the offender may take an acceptable place in society and be economically self-supporting; and
- * Social education, which deals with behaviour and interpersonal relationships, to teach him how to live in a socially acceptable manner (Richmond, 1965 : 29, and Naser, 1993 : 324).

A library service with a regular provision of suitable books is indispensable to prison education (Grünhut, 1948 : 242). The institution library occupies a unique position. In many respects it should be regarded as the centre of educational program (Tappan, 1951 : 235, and Naser, 1993 : 325).

The value of an improvement of qualifications is emphasized and guidance is given regarding study facilities and study possibilities at the disposal of the offender.

Where possible, prisoners are allowed to enrol for correspondence courses to improve their scholastic, technical or academic qualifications. In addition, students are allowed special study privileges, through special single cells and late nights. In some cases financial assistance for study purposes is provided by the Department, because many prisoners are illiterate. The courses are drawn up in co-operation with the Department of National Education and the Bureau of literacy and Literature. Tuition is given in the

home language of the student concerned and in order to simplify and speed up training, selected fellow prisoners are trained as tutors. Training is given to groups of prisoners during the evenings and for the purpose special cells are put aside. The full course can be completed in the course of twelve months (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 256 - 257).

An attempt is made to persuade prisoners to develop a sense of responsibility, see that they should initiate respect for life and the property and the needs of others, as well as to develop a moral sense of responsibility (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 184). Prisoners are also given the opportunity to qualify themselves in approved directions and for this purpose, well equipped libraries are provided where both academic and light reading matters are available (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 185 - 186).

Institutional libraries are now accepted by most correctional administrators as a valuable resource in promoting many practical and cultural aspects of social living for inmates (Richmond, 1965 : 85). The books in the library are available for non-gang members and the gang members. The researcher has noticed that most gang members lack interest in reading books. Few gang members read about cultural aspects. Well stocked libraries also exist in most of larger prison institutions while arrangements for the supply of suitable books are made with local libraries at small institutions (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 259).

Religious ministration and care of offender is regarded as a very important facet of the rehabilitation. Prisoners are therefore allowed to be ministered by the spiritual workers who are ordained ministers, as well as voluntary religious workers of their own church or religious associations. For this reason, the spiritual workers are in deliberation with the various churches and association, appointed in a full-time or part-time basis with a view to the

collective spiritual ministration of their respective members, as well as the individual ministration to each prisoner (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 258).

In South Africa Correctional Services Regulation 108(a) provides for the appointment to a prison of an adequate number of ministers or spiritual workers proportionate to the number of denominations at that prison so as to meet the spiritual needs of prisoners on a denominational basis. In terms of article 7(1) of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959), the Minister may, in addition to officers permanently employed as chaplains by the Prison Service, appoint ministers of religion or other suitable people to render service to a prisoner or group of prisoners and to conduct such activities as may be permitted. Various christian denominations and other religious organisations have devoted their time to the spiritual needs of the inmates and many have provided ongoing programs of religious instruction (Inciardi, 1987 : 557).

The necessary facilities should be made available to spiritual workers to conduct religious services and to perform individual spiritual ministration. Silence should be maintained in the service hall and adjoining rooms and the member himself should show all the necessary respect. Spiritual workers should conduct church services regularly and minister to prisoners individually (Correctional Services Order B23 - 7 : 1 - 2). During the *Ramadan* (Holy month of Fasting) for example, it is expected of every devout Moslem to fast from sunrise to sunset for 28 days commencing from the appearance of the following new moon (Correctional Services Order B23 : 12.4.1). At all prison institutions facilities for recreation are provided and in most institutions, facilities for indoor and outdoor sport exist (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 258).

3.5

CLASSIFICATION

The classification and diagnosis of offenders is often lumped together as one process. In practice, diagnosis is the first step in

a larger and ongoing classification procedure, but it comes after simple classification. The offenders become involved in their own classification process. In the past, classification was based on the medical model; offenders were assumed to be sick and needed treatment (Jarvis, 1978 : 134).

The purposes of classification are accomplished by the following aspects:

- * By analyzing the problems presented by the individual through social investigation, medical, psychiatric, psychological examinations, educational and vocational, religious and recreational studies;
- * By deciding in staff conference upon a program of treatment and training based upon these analysis;
- * By assuming that the program decided upon, is placed into operation; and
- * By observing the progress of the inmate under this program and by changing it when indicated (Sullivan, 1990 : 62).

Offenders are individuals and should be handled as individuals.

Rehabilitation of offenders should be so planned that the offender will get along well in society when and if released (The Committee of Classification and Treatment, 1975 : 13). Classification is supposed to determine precisely what deficits this inmate presents, to formulate a treatment plan concentrating on specialized skills on those deficits, to carry out each treatment so that the given inmate leaves the correctional institution ready for a socially responsible and personally satisfying life (Johnson, 1978 : 443).

Principles of classification for rehabilitation described new particular classes of discretionary service work so that effectiveness of service is enhanced. Effectiveness has to do with achieving reductions in recidivism and discretionary refers to direct

correctional service such as supervision, counselling, training and treatment (Andrews, et al, 1990 : 19).

Classification can function effectively only when the necessary staff has been made available and ample authority has been delegated to enable decision-making and taking appropriate action (Richmond, 1955 : 20). Classification is conceptualized as a system or process by which a correctional agency, unit or component determines differential care and handling of offenders (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973 : 197). The assessment process is the first stage of management flow and it is during this stage that residents (prisoners) are exposed to the classification process (Bartollas and Miller, 1978 : 91).

3.5.1. INSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE

Correctional Services Order B.11(2)(b)(ee) authorises the Commander to appoint the chairman and vice-chairman of the institutional committee. Specialized personnel, that is, social workers, psychologists, educationists and religious workers, should attend the institutional committee in an advisory capacity. Most correctional institutions have a committee whose function is the classification of inmates.

Usually inmate classifications are related to a program based on assumptions about why the inmate is in the institution and the ability of the institution to change his behaviour (Korn and McCorkle, 1959 : 477). The client receives services through a delivery system that contains the following ordered components: intake, assessment, services and outcomes.

The client's entry into the service delivery system begins with intake procedure. Here, administrative decisions are made regarding the client's eligibility for services based on predetermined criteria. Once eligibility is determined, the client moves to the

assessment component. Once engaged in assessment, the client enters the first subsystem, formulating the goal(s) of assessment. Orientation on the assessment system is undertaken here to facilitate maximum client participation. Where feasible, the responsibility of being the decision-maker is placed on the client (Rubin, et al, 1979 : 49). The professional and administrative personnel are involved in program planning (Tappan, 1951 : 93).

This is the case in the U.S.A. and everywhere. The size and composition of classification committee should be determined by the availability of personnel best qualified to assume responsibility for its primary functions (Richmond, 1965 : 20). The classification committee is composed of professional and administrative personnel to work together in determining inmate needs and at the same time it allows each group to gain some understanding of the problems the other faces (Inciardi, 1987 : 553).

The institutional classification committee studies the individual case records and collectively makes judgements as to the disposition of inmates in the institution. Professional personnel on the classification committee help to develop the diagnostic evaluation and have a direct responsibility for translating his material into recommendations for inmate programs (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973 : 197). The classification committee is usually a key element in the assessment process (Bartollas and Miller, 1978 : 192). A creative classification approach tries to involve offenders in setting their treatment goals. To be most effective, the goals must consider both the period of confinement and the period immediately after release (Jarvis, 1978 : 135).

A comprehensive classification system must take into account many aspects of the offender and his situation. The nature of the offence, the individual's age, sex, educational and ability level,

medical condition, family and community resources and responsibilities and past criminal record should all be considered.

An important element in any classification system is the personality and behaviour pattern of the individual offender (Mergagee and Bohn, 1979 : 22). Classification also provides a basis for more adequate custodial supervision and control. Classification results in better discipline (Tappen, 1951 : 102).

All offenders sentenced to 2 years and longer, are sent directly to an observation centre. This is applicable to all offenders, that is, non-gang members and gang members. During the observation period a complete psycho-diagnostic and case analysis is made of every individual offender.

The latter includes obtaining a complete social background history, conducting and analyzing personality, intelligence and aptitude tests, as well as the clinical evaluation of the personal, social, educational and religious background of the offender. The purpose of the observation process, which normally lasts six to eight weeks, is to try and determine as far as possible in every case, the reasons for the individual's case on the basis thereof, help to determine a suitable treatment program for the individual. All the members of the therapeutic team, that is, clinical, psychologists, social workers, educationists and spiritual workers are, to a greater or lesser extent, involved in this process. At the end of the observation period, all the members of the therapeutic team, together with members of the prison board, meet to form an allocation committee. Each case is discussed individually and a program of treatment is determined with the co-operation of the prisoner depending on the particular needs of the individual, the treatment generally constitutes educational and vocational training, social and spiritual care and, if necessary, also a psychological treatment (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 253). The majority of long-term prisoners, that is, those

serving over 4 years and generally conducive to inmate training and treatment. These provisions range from maximum, medium and minimum security (The Prison Journal, Vol. LXXX, No. 1; 1990 : 121).

Caseworkers who are assigned to admit diagnostic classification centres co-ordinate and direct several important intake services. They prepare the initial social case study, or what could be called a pastoral investigation report. This study, along with other relevant information, is used by the classification team in such decisions as custody, grade and program assignment. The caseworkers often co-ordinate the activities of other staff members, psychologists, interviewers, educational and training specialists and psychiatrists are few of the staff members whose specialities help to make up the final diagnostic case study (Hatcher, 1978 : 30).

Allocation categories are classified by sex, nationality, penalty, age and kinds and terms of sentence. The most important factor in allocation is the degree of criminal tendency, and this is specified by frequency of imprisonment, degree of association with organized gangs, mode of committing an offence and social attitudes. All prisoners are classified as those with less advanced criminality (Class A) or those with advanced criminality (Class B).

In order to achieve the objectives of effective treatment programs for prisoners, each prison is instructed to detain prisoners in specified categories and to meet standards for institutional treatment programs.

Effective correctional treatment will be achieved by the sophisticated use of the classification categories of allocation and treatment (Jenkins, et al, 1987 : 6).

3.5.1.1 Classification by the institutional committee

Prisoners are classified on the basis of age, physical and mental

health, length of sentence, degree of criminality and character (Datir, 1978 : 197). The main purpose of security classification is to manage and control offenders. Security classification has been based on such factors as the nature of offenders' crimes, social case histories and the actual number of offenders in correctional units (Jarvis, 1978 : 139).

"Op grond van die gevangene se misdadige verlede behoort die Komitee in staat te wees om te besluit of hy aan 'n minimum, medium of maksimum veiligheidsinrigting toegewys moet word" (Steyn, 1958 : 83 en SA Gevangenis verslag 1 Julie 1989 tot 30 Junie, 1990 : 15).

Maximum security prisons hold the most aggressive and incorrigible offenders (Inciardi, 1987 : 542). The inmates placed in medium security institutions are those who are considered less dangerous and escape-prone than those in the more security oriented institutions.

Correctional institutions of minimum security design operate without armed guards, without walls and sometimes even without perimeter fences (Inciardi, 1987 : 544).

3.5.1.2 Reclassification

Reclassification meetings are held at regular intervals and whenever a major change in an inmate's program is effected. Such reviews of all individual's case help insure continuity in the treatment program and expedite necessary program revisions to meet the needs of the inmate (Hatcher, 1978 : 29).

Classification for the purpose of exposing the offender to needed programs and services should be geared to adjustment progress, changing requirements for supervision and control and other circumstances within the framework of established treatment goal. Treatment goals themselves, are subjected to change (Richmond, 1965 : 22 - 23).

It is imperative that, if classification is to be effective, it must change as the needs of the individual change (Reid, 1981 : 240). Classification implies not only a thorough analysis of the individual and the factors in his background and environment, which influenced his personal development, but also a procedure by which his information can be utilized as the basis for a well-rounded, integrated program for him, working toward his improvement as a social being. Classification includes not only diagnosis, but all the machinery by which a program fitted to and offender's needs is developed, placed in operation and modified as conditions require.

Reclassification guarantees that these will be neither forgotten men in prison nor dead end placements. Goals are established and attained. The inmate is provided an incentive to make progress, knowing that his efforts are officially recognised. This will be brought to the attention of the institutional committee and that consideration will be given to changes in his program so that the offender may gain the most from his period of confinement (Barnes and Teeters, 1959 : 469 - 470).

The process of discovering the exact disease from which an individual is suffering, is called diagnosis. Diagnosis is however, not the only prerequisite to treatment. Having discovered the nature of the disease, one must know what caused it (Wines, 1975 : 266). The case of every prisoner is placed before the classification committee at least once in six months for review of progress (Datir, 1978 : 198). "Ten gevolg van die feit dat die menslike persoonlikheid en gedrag gedurig aan verandering onderhewig is, is dit noodsaaklik dat voorsiening vir die wysiging van behandelingsprogram gemaak sal word ten einde by die behoefte van die individu te kan aanpas" (Steyn, 1958 : 86).

The institutional ideal towards which the conception of individual treatment points is a system of specialized prisons forgiving

appropriate care to each definable class of law-breakers. Separate provisions ought to be made for every group that requires a particular kind of treatment (Wines, 1975 : 326).

3.6 CLASSICAL MODELS OF APPROACH

The classical models of approach include pure punishment, work-ethos and vocational rehabilitation model.

3.6.1 THE PURE PUNISHMENT MODEL

Inmates want to avoid the pains of punitive segregation, the loss of preferred cell block and work assignment, the cancellation of sentence reductions previously earned, and the withdrawal of canteen and visiting privileges (Johnson, 1978 : 385).

Pure punishment model can minimize ganging in prison, because prisoners fear to loss their remissions and privileges in prison. The code of Hammurabi provided for punishment in the forms of whipping, bodily mutilation, and forced labour. These methods were used to keep offenders from repeating their crimes and to keep others from becoming offenders (Jarvis, 1978 : 168).

Reform begins with the proposal of a scheme for penal imprisonment. The second major influence upon reform is what may be termed society's need for order. Punishment serves not only the needs of justice, but also society's need to suppress crime and maintain order (Pillsbury, 1989 : 726 - 272).

The reform model regards the prison as an organisation that administers punishment in the expectation that their blanketing effects are sufficient to other future offenses and to produce compliance, without the need to engage in careful diagnosis of the inmate or of individual reactions to punishment (Johnson, 1978 : 443).

Experience has shown that it may be urged, that punishment ordinarily does not reform. On the contrary, it is more often degrading and brutal. Men commonly come out of prison worse of than that when they went in. Many thinkers who speak of the State's duty to reform by punishing really mean duty to reform as well as to punish (Moberly, 1968 : 122 - 123). Be that as it there are the conditions in which punishment may reform are, namely:

- * It must meet with a response from the person punished. If the process stopped short at the infliction, there would be no reform. It can only succeed in its aim if it rouses wrongdoer's dormant conscience and so enlists his own co-operation.
- * Not only must the wrongdoer who is to be reformed have some conscience which can be reached, the wrongdoer must see, or must come to see, that the particular act or omission for which the individual is punished was a blameworthy act to which, in his own mind, the wrongdoer must be guilty; and
- * The punishment must be imposed by respected authority which the individual respects and to which the person pays allegiance and therefore regards as having a title to judge and to punish him. Officers in the institution are vested with the authority to punish the wrongdoers with the aim of reforming them (Moberley, 1968 : 133 - 4).

A prison is a place for work for staff as well as a home for prisoners. Most prisoners seem to have a sense of housekeeping in respect of the institution. They want to keep things tidy so that they can effectively stay out of trouble, predict when and where problems will arise, and have an easy time with a minimum number of disruptions (Bowker, 1983 : 27). Another view of punishment will be examined, namely the monastic model.

3.6.2 THE MONASTIC MODEL

In contrast to the pure punishment model discussed in the foregoing paragraph is the monastic model which also has relevance to this research. The monastic model used punishment and hard labour, along

with penance.

Solitary confinement was used to give offenders the opportunity to do penance for their sins (Jarvis, 1978 : 168). Bartollas (1985 : 48), is of the opinion that, as volitional and responsible human beings, offenders deserve to be punished if they violated the law.

3.6.3

THE WORK-ETHOS MODEL

A number of researchers have investigated the relevance and usefulness of the work-ethos model in the field of rehabilitation. In this respect Rubin (1987 : 368) contends that one of the most positive sides to the conditions of incarceration are various programs intended to occupy the inmates' time constructively with vocational training that may be useful upon release.

By the same token, Jarvis (1978 : 168) has emphasized that prison labour has an effect towards ganging, because it is unable to develop its activities in prison, when fully occupied. Idle hands are the devil's workshop, it is but one of many proverbs that portray hard work as the way to success and salvation.

Grünhut (1948 : 1986 - 197) is of the opinion that useful work is indispensable for any reformatory programme, but enforced labour is not an infallible method of achieving a lasting social adjustment. Lack of work frustrates any attempt at achieving social readjustment. Rehabilitation programs that involve study or other forms of work, rather than labour per se, are increasing, but most states rely on industrial or agricultural work to keep their inmate population occupied (Murton, 1976 : 13).

All countries' regulations do not use work as punishment. It is interesting however, to note that while prison rules have done away with work as punishment, the criminal procedure laws still keep it in the statute book, in some system, in the form of "imprison with hard labour (Seminar for Heads of Penitentiary administrations of the

African Countries, 1988 : 9)". Prisoner eligible for minimum security camps and farms would mostly work outside prison walls (Grünhut, 1948 : 206). Constructive labour outside the prison wall is one of the most important therapeutic measures with which to combat violence in prison. This research is confirmed by Van der Westhuizen (1982 : 185).

Regular work is the foundation of a proper prison system. Every prisoner (including a gang member) should be gradually accustomed to independence and responsibility (Grünhut, 1948 : 209).

A labour policy is aimed at self-development and the cultivation of healthy working habits. It also counteracts idleness - a causative factor particularly in cases of violence (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 184). the principle aim of prison labour is generally considered to be the reformation of the offender. This desirable, but exclusive goal is sought in a variety of ways and must vary from prisoner to prisoner. Thus for one prisoner emphasis may be on the teaching of a trade to fit him for employment on release and to develop in him a feeling of self-reliance and respects. Another prisoner may be an artisan for whom the maintenance of his work skill is essential, while a third may have little aptitude for training and for him the reformative aim of prison labour may be to attempt to nurture in him the work habit and to accustom him to work in harmony with other prisoners including gang members. This research is confirmed by Corry (1977 : 36).

The standard minimum rules with regard to prison work are set out as follows:

- 1) Prison labour must not be an afflictive nature.
- 2) All prisoners under sentence shall be required to work, subject to their physical and mental fitness as determined by the medical officer.
- 3) Sufficient work of a useful nature shall be provided to keep prisoners actively employed for a normal working day.

- 4) So far as possible the work provided shall be such as will maintain or increase the prisoners' ability to earn an honest living after release; and
- 5) Vocational training in useful trades shall be provided for prisoners able to profit thereby and especially for young prisoners and gang members (Corry, 1977 : 37 - 38).

"Die gevangenes asook die bendelede moet werk. Die publiek, aan die een kant, glo dat die gevangene moet werk en hard ook, want dit is sy verdiende loon (Steyn, 1958 : 87)".

"Ongeag die standpunt of houding van die gemeenskap ten aansien van gevangenisarbeid, word die volgende algemene doelstellings daarmee beoog:

- 1) Werk verlig die eentonigheid van die gevangenis-lewe;
- 2) Dit verskaf vakopleiding aan ongeskoolde arbeiders;
- 3) Arbeid in die gevangenis help om misdaad te voorkom;
- 4) Gevangenisarbeid help om die onderhoudskoste van die gevangene te verminder;
- 5) Deur die gevangene met werkstake te belas, word die dissipline in die strafinrigting bevorder;
- 6) Gevangenisarbeid het 'n heilsame uitwerking op die geestelike, sowel as die liggaamlike welsyn van die gevangene; en
- 7) Deur middel van die arbeid word jaarliks 'n groot aantal artikels in die gevangnisse vervaardig, soos meubelstukke, skoene, ensovoorts (Steyn, 1958 : 89)".

One of the basic aims of rehabilitation must be to change a prisoner's anti-social attitudes and to help him to accept the necessity of earning a living. The willingness to work and the acceptance that work is part of everyday life is initially more important than the acquisition of trade skills (Corry, 1977 : 40).

3.6.4

THE REHABILITATION MODEL

Rehabilitation implies that the inmate needs to be changed. The task

of a system of rehabilitation is to reform an offender by developing in him the skills and dispositions necessary for one who is to act in accord with those social practices recognised as just by the members of the community at large. For an individual to act in accord with these social practices, the individual must be able to do at least three things, namely:

- * First, the prisoner must be able to recognise a class of actions as characteristics of a specific practice.
- * Second, the offender must be capable of recognizing as relevant, those features of a situation that make consideration of a specific act appropriate.
- * Third, the inmate must be able to understand, at least in an intuitive way, the meaning and content of the principle of justice and their application to particular situations.

In other words, the individual must have the ability to reason and consequently, to decide upon a course of action that is generally compatible with the institutions and practices of the community. Most importantly, the anticipated course of action must be one which avoids violating the principles of justice. By the phrase, "principle of justice", refers to a general moral attitude of man, which regards each person as being an object of ultimate value, and consequently the ultimate value of each person necessitates that people treat those who are similar, similarly and those who are dissimilar, dissimilarly. Equally important, this is also applicable to individual gang members. This research is confirmed by Wagner (1978 : 37).

3.6.5

THE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION MODEL

A prisoner (including a gang member) is not one who lacks ability, or cannot be trained, but one who has interrupted the process of acquiring education and vocational skills in order to become a criminal. The offender ordinarily arrives in prison without adequate education and without advanced job skills. The prison should be equipped to fill this need of its inmates (Carney, 1979 : 153).

Closely related to the employment element, vocational training is, in some cases, an entry to a job providing skill development (Carter, Glaser and Wilkins, 1984 : 309). The basic purpose of vocational training is to prepare inmates for jobs in the community. Most inmates are educable and trainable, but lack any regular experience of work or any demonstrable skill at a trade (Bartollas, 1985 : 143). Closely related to the work-ethic philosophy, is the idea of vocational rehabilitation since employment is a social necessity and since idleness was believed to breed crime. Vocational training and experience became an early ideal in the Correctional System (Jarvis, 1978 : 169). One of the oldest ideas in prison programming is to give the prisoner a skill that can help to make him a competitor in the social market-place (Clear and Cole, 1990 : 345).

The aim of correctional staff is to instil constructive habits to offenders. Typically, offenders are expected to follow a rigid and conforming routine and to acquire a vocational skill which they gather from (Duffee, 1980 : 90). Vocational training programs focus on preparing inmates for meaningful post-release employment (Inciardi, 1987 : 559). Vocational programs for male prisoners include printing, welding, machine shop, electronics barbering, carpentry, automotive design, sheet metal work, plumbing, painting, furniture repair, baking, and emergency medical training.

The ultimate aim of vocational programs is to give offenders specific skills that will enhance their ability to compete in the job market (Clear and Cole, 1990 : 347).

3.7

MODELS OF BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION THROUGH INFLUENCE

The correctional staff, should motivate non-gang members as well as gang members, towards good behaviour in prison. Models of behaviour modification through influencing can be classified into the correctional compliance model, the correctional identification model, and the correctional internalisation model. The course of desired behaviour is relatively specific, delimited in rules, orders, or the

constraints of the environment and the change is required to adopt it (Duffee, 1980 : 83). This is equally important to the gang members.

3.7.1

THE CORRECTIONAL COMPLIANCE MODEL

Advocates of correctional compliance argue that their task is to induce law-abiding behaviour by requiring the observance of community standards and that the most effective means of getting that observance is a system of rewards and punishment. The same token is equally important to the gang members. Offender attitudes in and of themselves are irrelevant, it is assumed that if an offender evinces a certain behaviour long enough, he will develop the appropriate attitudes to sustain it. The central problems under this influence style are:

- * The maintenance of surveillance over the offender; and
- * The development of legally and socially acceptable rewards and punishment techniques that will encompass a substantial portion of the offender's behaviour. Under this influence strategy, control is typically authoritarian.

The agents and the organization as a whole impinge actively and directly on the offender. Concomitantly, the organisation makes severe behavioural demands on staff, agents and their superiors having demanding schedules to meet and a great deal of surveillance work to engage in (Duffee, 1980 : 83).

Only infrequently does one encounter critical considerations of what is meant by those who accept Hart's premise that punishment to be true punishment must be imposed and administered by an authority constituted by a legal system. The process by means of which punishment is administered are controlled by state officials, the possible role of private parties in the punishment process generally has been brushed to the side if not ignored altogether (Thomas, 1991 : 5).

A motivation to avoid punishment or gain rewards which results in

overt change, is based on the motivation to the process of compliance, which is designed to gain a specific social effect. Under compliance, the power of the influencing agent must be higher than that of the change and some means of surveillance must exist for the behaviour of the change to be maintained (Peoples, 1975 : 80).

The same token is applied to the gang members. Sanctioning actively by staff is frequent and pervades the atmosphere of the organization and of the organisation and the relationship of staff and offenders. Various rules are set to govern a wide range of behaviour, and these rules are to be followed rigidly. When an offender does not conform, the offender is punished, when the offender conforms, the offender is rewarded.

Punishment takes the form of deprivation of privileges and the exercise of more stringent controls punishment is imposed not only for a failure to change - such as the commission of a new crime - but also for breaking regulations during the change process. Freedom is reduced to a degree suggested by the seriousness of the break in conformity (Duffee, 1980 : 84 - 5).

Change cannot come about through force, although compliance can be compelled, a real change can be accomplished only when the offender is motivated to change through his own volition and desires (Hatcher, 1978 : 85 - 6). Equally important to compliance model, is the identification model to gang members.

3.7.2 THE CORRECTIONAL IDENTIFICATION MODEL

Identification requires a fairly high amount of power on the part of the change agents, but in this instance, power accrues primarily from the salience of the relationship in the mind of the change (Peoples, 1975 : 90).

This type of correctional strategy is manifested by programs that minimize the directness and explicitness of demands to observe

community or organizational standards. The emphasis is on helping the offender to understand himself more fully and to develop more mature social relations, on the assumption that such social and psychological influences will result in favourable changes in the offender's behaviour. Often, there is great concern with the offender's early life experiences, the effects of which must be identified and analyzed if the offender's core attitudes are to be altered.

The primary instrument of change in identification strategies is the relationship of staff to the offender. In an extreme form, staff may attempt to avoid any reference to standards external the relationship, relying on the power of trust, support, and acceptance to give direction to the offender's behaviour. Although these common psychotherapeutic techniques have been widely emulated in correctional counselling, the climate necessary for identification is very limited in correctional settings. Most typically, desired community values are transmitted through carefully nurtured relationships with staff or offender groups. The chief problems with this strategy in correctional settings are:

- * The extent of choice actually permitted the offender (who has been coerced into the relationship); and
- * The dependency on the relationship as a basis for maintaining desired behaviour (when the staff responsible for the offender frequently change during the correctional process).

Under the identification strategy, punishment is also frequent, but is masked by differences in presentation and by delays between undesirable behaviour and the sanction (Duffee, 1980 : 85).

Punishment is not an inevitable consequence of a break in regulations, it is mediated by an assessment of the change's attitude. typically, a change agent may talk over a behavioural mistake with the change, who, if his explanation is satisfactory, will probably receive another chance. Punishment is likely to be

imposed when the offender shows that he does not care that he has deviated from the program or broken from the norms supporting the relationship to staff. Punishment is presented as part of the treatment or change program (Duffee, 1980 : 85 - 6).

3.7.3 THE CORRECTIONAL INTERNALISATION MODEL

Internalization occurs as a result of the credibility of the content of the influence of attempt (Peoples, 1975 : 90).

Correctional agencies that stress internalization attempt to cope simultaneously with community standards and offender's attitudes. The offender makes choices among various options that are based on his prior experience, and new experiences are provided to the offender by which he gains a chance to test the viability of his new choices within the community. The motivation for change arises from the offender's perception of new and viable behaviours available to him. Activities directed toward the community include not only creating for the offender greater access to social institutions and resources, but also developing within the community a greater tolerance for the life-styles represented by various groups of offenders including gang members. The chief dilemmas inherent in this strategy, are:

- * The degree of tolerance that can be reasonably expected in the community;
- * The ability of correctional staff actually to make resources more readily available; and
- * The readiness of an offender to engage in various degrees of alternative testing without again breaking community standards and thereby reducing community tolerance during the change process. Under this approach, control is more democratic than is true of compliance or identification. Control rests on the belief that offenders will conform most completely to those programs to which they are committed, and that commitment increases when those governed by the program or plan had a stake in its formulation.

Decision making is shared by various staff and offenders. On the one hand, control is neither exercised autocratically nor subversively, under the guise of treatment. On the other hand, control is not abdicated, both staff and offenders are controlled by the inherent demands of the activity in which they are engaged (Duffee, 1980 : 86).

Although used less frequently than in other strategies, punishment is used in internalisation programs. Rules are few but explicit, and they are specifically linked to clear and important security measures and the observance of legal behaviour. Typically, staff and offenders have clear opportunities to influence the shape of the rules and methods of enforcement (Duffee, 1980 : 86 - 7). Punishment of the offender is part of the reality-testing exercise. The approach is not simply a matter of following rules and accepting a specific set of societal values, instead, staff and offenders decide what kinds of behaviour would avoid other legal or social negative consequences. The whole organisation operates to clarify situations and alternative actions so that punishment is no longer an external imposition for breaking rules or displeasing staff, instead, punishment is perceived as the negative consequence of ineffective behaviour, and more attention is devoted to how to make behaviour more effective (or goal achieving) in future (Duffee, 1980 : 87).

3.8 MODELS BASED ON THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY

Community follows the lead of the community sub-system approach to the administration of criminal justice (Johnson, 1978 : 444).

3.8.1 THE RESTRAINT MODEL

In this model it is believed that inmates, as well as gang members, change only if they want to. Therefore, no member of the staff is actively responsible for trying to change anyone. This model merely accepts the people the court sends and tries to make supervision of offenders as routine and trouble-free as possible for both offenders and the staff. Punishment is not prescribed to change the offender,

but only to control the offender or clam him down.

The appearance of efficiency is important, in helping the organisation to survive and perhaps to prosper. Restraint staff observe and control offenders (Duffee, 1980 : 92 - 3). Restraints equipment should only be used as a precaution against escape during transfer, for medical reasons, by direction of the medical officer and to prevent inmate self-injury, injury to other or property damage. Restraint should not be applied for more time than is absolutely necessary (American Correctional Association Publications Board, 1983 : 73).

Prisoners may only be placed in mechanical coercive restraint, that is hand and foot cuffs, chains within a mass of not more than 5 kilogram and a strait jacket if urgently and absolutely necessary (Neser, 1989 : 211). Restraint carries the idea of holding in check, controlling, and curbing. By coercive casework, then we mean the use of restraining and constraining legal authority in the process of helping the offender to function in his social environment without resorting to illegal or anti-social behaviour (Peoples, 1975 : 115).

3.8.2 THE REFORM MODEL

The reform model is based on behaviour change, or perhaps more accurately, on behaviour moulding (Duffee, 1980 : 90). The reform model of prison organisation moves farther to contend that deliberate management of the prison's penalty reward system is an additional force (Johnson, 1978 : 385).

Correctional officers rely on a system of rewards and punishment to induce co-operation. In an effort to maintain security and order among a large population living in a confined space, they impose extensive rules of conduct (Clear and Cole, 1990 : 312).

3.8.3 THE REHABILITATION MODEL

Rehabilitation of criminals and protection of the public go hand in

hand.

If reformation or rehabilitation is achieved, then the public is protected (Carney, 1979 : 64). Criminals are regarded as individuals suffering physical, mental, or social handicaps that require medical style intervention. Diagnosis is supposed to identify the handicap precisely so that appropriate treatment regimen can be chosen. The interest of the rehabilitation model in changing individuals in the direction of self-responsibility respects the movement towards recognizing that inmates are human beings whose dignity, desire to be respected, and capacity for altruistic motives should be acknowledged (Johnson, 1978 : 386 - 7).

In the correctional institutions, intervention involves the directing of some action toward the prisoners, as individuals or as members of groups, with the intention of reducing the likelihood of future crimes (Johnson, 1978 : 443).

Social work in prison should not be undertaken exclusively by the professionally qualified social worker, but it is an activity to which other members of staff can make a contribution. The more all the staff can speak with the same voice, the better it will be for the inmate. The welfare officer needs other members of staff, not only to assist and support him, but also to take the weight of some of the work from his shoulders (Foren, 1991 : 11). Ganging in prison should be the work of all the correctional services members. This will help to decrease its incidence. A prisoner is considered emotionally disturbed, morally disturbed, subcultural disturbed, as well as motivational disturbed. This research is confirmed by Carney (1979 : 144).

A caseworker or counsellor whose primary responsibility is to help and change the client through rehabilitative means, through his given authority to use coercive means when necessary to involve the offender in rehabilitative programs. Efforts are made to provide

resources programs and services within the agency and the community so as to facilitate the change process (Lawrence, 1991 : 449).

Social casework is process of professional services that:

- * develops the prisoner-client's case history;
- * deals with immediate problems involving personal and familial relationships;
- * explores long-range issues of social adjustment; and
- * provides supportive guidance for any anticipated plans or activities (Inciardi, 1987 : 561).

Sellin in Gamberg and Thomson (1984 : 134), traced the concept of individual treatment to the "moral insanity" viewpoint of Benjamin Rush and his followers who concluded that criminality was a form of "mental illness", and therefore ought to be "treated" rather than "punished". the social group work like individual interview, is conducted to achieve the general purposes of restoring, maintaining, or enhancing social functioning (Kadushin, 1972 : 290 - 1).

Ganging in prison can be minimized by including its members in individual treatment in social group work. Each social worker must decide what his purposes and relationships be in working with all the various people the social worker encounters. The social worker needs to be clear about who will benefit from his change efforts, who has given him sanction to work for change, who will need to be changed or influenced, and whom the social worker will need to work with in order to achieve different goals in his change efforts (Pincus and Minaham, 1973 : 54).

The agency utilizes psychologist consultants for local offices for the amount of time needed to provide consultation and guidance in relation to all psychological aspects of the vocational rehabilitation program. It is the particular responsibility of a psychologist consultant:

- 1) To review case files, at the request of the counsellor, to

assesses the psychological needs of the client which may have a bearing on the client's functioning in the program;

- 2) To review especially the case information provided by psychologists and other mental health services personnel and interpret its implications for subsequent casework;
- 3) To recommend additional specialist or consultant-examinations as needed;
- 4) To recommend suitable types of treatment services and to advise counsellors as to qualified persons and facilities provide for such treatment;
- 5) To review treatment progress reports and indicate whether continued treatment is warranted;
- 6) To help plan for client post-employment services;
- 7) To certify whether a mentally or emotionally disabled clients meet federal criteria for classification as severely disabled;
- 8) To render consultation findings and recommendation, in writing, in the client's case file; and
- 9) To coordinate the case review with the medical consultant, where appropriate (Rubin, et al, 1979 : 47).

Other services that may be provided by the psychologist consultant include:

- * Interviewing clients and joining with client and counsellor in developing the individual's rehabilitation plan of services; and
- * Training staff on mental and emotional disorders, treatment methods and counselling techniques, and so on (Rubin, et al, 1979 : 47()).

The attitude toward prison labour reflects a belief that work is an important element in the program of rehabilitation which society likes to think takes place in prisons. It probably also reflects the belief that prisoners should work and help support themselves (Reid, 1981 : 249).

The group of rehabilitative philosophy is to change an offender's

character, attitudes, or behaviour patterns so as to diminish his criminal propensities (Bartollas, 1985 : 21).

The attitudes of prison staff members may be very important in determining the effect a program will have on the rehabilitation of the inmate (Reid, 1981 : 223). Rehabilitative programs have as their aim, the reformation of the offender's behaviour (Clear and Cole, 1990 : 338).

Custodial personnel are charged merely with maintaining a peaceful atmosphere and supervising inmates between the active phases of treatment programs (Duffee, 1980 : 92). There is an agreement among many clinicians, legislators, and members of the general public that in addition to confinement, one purpose of imprisonment is rehabilitation (Inciardi, 1987 : 597). The notion of prisoner rehabilitation implies that the inmate needs to be changed. From this notion, it follows that the prison is an ideal place for this change to take place. It is assumed that intensive techniques that will reconstitute the offender so he will live responsibly in the free world can be imposed on the inmate in a highly structured situation (Murton, 1976 : 60).

Other factors that have been associated with successful rehabilitation programs are anti-criminal modelling and reinforcement. Problem-solving is another component that has been associated with rehabilitation (MacKenzie, Gould, Richers, and Shaw, 1990 : 37).

3.8.4

THE REINTEGRATION MODEL

In order to complete the total treatment program and limit possible recidivism, the South African prisons service emphasises the successful reintegration of released prisoners into the community (S.A. Prisons Service Report 1 July 1989 to 30 June 1990 : 9). A more rational correctional policy is one directed at both community protection and offender change, involving both the offender and the

community in the correctional process (Lawrence, 1991 : 458). This model attempts to reduce the stigma attached to criminality that acts as a blockade to reintegration in the community. In this model, confinement has specific objectives and is used as infrequently as possible. The preferred program is community supervision. Ideally, the institutions are close to the community of return.

Custodial staff are expected to participate as actively in the task of change as are professional staff (Duffee, 1980 : 94 - 5). A basic assumption of the reintegration model is that problems must be solved in the community where they began.

This model also assumes that society has a responsibility for helping non-gang members as well as gang members, to reintegrate themselves back into community life. This research is confirmed by Bartollas (1990 : 353 - 354).

Another basic assumption is that society has a responsibility for its own problems and that it can partly fulfil this responsibility by helping law violators reintegrate themselves back into the social order. Another assumption is that meaningful community contacts are required to achieve the objectives of reintegration (Bartollas, 1985 : 27 - 8). The burden of supporting released prisoners including gang members, typically falls on the family (Sandhu, Dodder, and Davis, 1990 : 144 - 5).

The main treatment implication of reintegration concepts is the value of diagnosis, classification, counselling and the application of necessary controls and sanctions (Hatcher, 1978 : 80).

3.9

SUMMARY

It has become clear from the foregoing exposition that the newly admitted prisoners are taught about their rights, privileges, amenities and obligations. All prisoners sentenced to two years and upwards after they are admitted in the institution, are assessed by

the institutional members before they are referred to the allocation committee. The sound workers, psychologists, educationalists, and religious workers are responsible for the assessment of the newly admitted prisoners.

The allocation committee consists of a chairman (officer, secretary, institutional members and the specialized institutional members). The allocation committee determines differential care and handling of the prisoners. The function of the institutional committee is the classification of the inmates. The institutional committee takes into consideration the length of the sentence of the prisoner, his present crime, age and his previous offences and sentence before the offender is classified. Classification means a method of assigning certain types of prisoners to different forms of custody and treatment. The aim of horizontal treatment is to provide for the primary needs of the offenders, such as nutritious food, decent clothing and medical services. A prisoner can be classified into one of the following categories, namely: A, B, C or D group. Certain rules must be adhered to with regard to the conditions of promotion and retardation and the main characteristics of each stage. Such general standards put before the prisoner certain well-defined forms of behaviour as targets at which the prisoner must aim and for which an inmate can hope for. Certain minimum periods or portions of the sentence must have expired before promotion can be considered. The institutional members are responsible for the security and safety of the prisoners in the institutions. The aim of vertical treatment is to establish an approach to the individualized treatment of prisoners. In order to justify the depth training of inmates to its fullest extent, a division called specialized treatment services was established which includes social workers, psychologists, educationists and spiritual workers. The classification must be reviewed and adjusted to fit changing patterns and needs of the offenders. Reclassification meetings are held at regular intervals and whenever a major change in an inmate's program appears indicated. Such views of an individual's case help to insure continuity in the

treatment program and expedite necessary program revisions to meet the needs of the inmate.

It is imperative that, if classification is to be effective, it must change as the needs of the individual change.

It has become clear from the foregoing discussion that the community expects that the prisoners in the institution should be rehabilitated by the institution and in order that the institution can fulfil its role, certain models of approach and control measures are to be applied to the prisoners. These models of approach to institutional treatment include, classical models of approach, models of behaviour modification through influence, models based on the interests of the individual and the community and the control measures.

The pure punishment model is used to keep offenders from repeating their disciplinary offences and to deter others from committing disciplinary offences. According to monastic model, solitary confinement gives the offender an opportunity to think about his sins in order to repeat. The work-ethos model stresses that idle hands are the devil's workshop, is but one of many proverbs that portray hard work as the way to success. Closely related to the employment element, vocational training is, in some cases, an entry to a job providing skill development. The basic purpose of vocational training is to prepare inmates for jobs in the community. Models of behaviour modification through influencing consist of the correctional compliance model, the correctional identification model and the correctional internalisation model. A motivation to avoid punishment or gain rewards which results in overt change, is based on the motivation to the process of compliance, which is designed to gain a specific social effect. In the correctional identification model, the emphasis is on helping the offender to understand himself more fully and to develop more mature social relations. This can only be achieved through treatment in the institution. The primary instrument of change in identification strategies is the relationship

of the staff to the offender. Under the identification strategy, punishment is also frequent, but it is masked by differences in presentation and by delays between the undesirable and the sanction.

Typically the institutional member may talk over a behavioural mistake with the inmate, who, if his explanation is satisfactory, will probably receive another chance. In the correctional internalisation model, punishment is perceived as the negative consequence of ineffective behaviour, and more attention is devoted to how to make behaviour more effective in future. The restrain model carries the idea of holding in check, controlling and curbing. The reform model is based on behaviour change or on behaviour moulding.

Rehabilitation of the offenders and the protection of public go hand in hand. If the rehabilitation is achieved, then the public is protected. The reintegration model assumes that society has a responsibility, for helping prisoners to reintegrate themselves back into community life. The prisoners in the institution, they are not left on their own, but they are controlled by the members of the correctional services. Much of the success of the members of correctional services depends on the manner used to convey orders or instructions to the prisoners.

In the control of prisoners, members of correctional services seek to influence prisoners through their own example and leadership, and to enlist their willing to co-operation.

Chapter 4 examines the unrest-related violence and riots in prison.

CHAPTER 4

UNREST-RELATED VIOLENCE AND RIOTS IN PRISON

4

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss aspects of unrest-related violence and riots in prison. The chapter will therefore focus on possible causes and explanations of these phenomena as they manifest themselves in prison. The causes of unrest-related violence will be divided into general causes, institutions and non-institutional causes. The role of factors such as defective institutional management and inadequate facilities in bringing about violence and inducing inmates to form prison gangs will also be outlined. Finally, the terror of gangsterism in prison will be analyzed with particular reference to prison gangs being studied. Violence is a power turbulently exercised through assaults, murder and other violent acts resulting from frustration. This argument will also be pursued in this chapter.

4.1

AGGRESSION AND FRUSTRATION

Miller in Short and Strodbeck (1965 : 195) suggests that prison violence and aggression may be attributed to frustration. They therefore contend that verbal aggression was an essential element of behavioural mechanisms which operated to delineate standards of personal worth. To facilitate effective collective functioning, to maintain relations of reciprocity and equality, to define attitudes toward those outside the group and their values. To indicate the limits of acceptable behaviour and to provide effective sanctions against deviation from group supported standards. Highly aggressive inmates believe their settings provide less activity, emotional feedback, privacy, safety, social stimulation and support.

Violence is therefore often a characteristic quality of revolts, although this need not necessarily be the case. Revolts can take

different forms, the nature often being determined by the presence or absence of aggression (Pallone, 1991 : 91, and Stone, 1991 : 134).

This will become clear in point 4.2. It is on this account that a distinction is made between active and passive actions by prisoners, including among others, hunger and sit-in-strikes.

Active actions are accompanied by direct or violent aggression and include self-injury, injuries to fellow prisoners, assaults on personnel and the damaging of buildings and equipment by, for instance, arson (Neser, 1989 : 147).

Frustration which is mobility to achieve some desired goal creates tension within the individual that is often released through some type of aggressive behaviour. Inmates experience frustrating conditions relative to some standard that they establish for themselves and those standards are constantly shifting. Frustration and deprivation may be an underlying cause of violence, but prison gangs still learn when, now and again, how to deal with their frustrations (Sullivan, et al, 1980 : 499 - 500). For this reason, most prison violence involves inmates assaulting one another (Lockwood, 1980 : 38). Prisons therefore also bear responsibility for levels of violence by inmates themselves and against other inmates (Touch, 1977 : 6).

The three primary disciplinary problems in the prisons are gambling, sexual activities and fighting (Neser, 1989 : 149). Violent sexual incidents among men in prison, fall into two groups:

- * The first category, the aggressor employs violence to coerce his target.
- * The second category of incidents is the type in which targets react violently to propositions perceived as threatening (Touch, 1982 : 257).

Although there is no conclusive evidence to show that all violent or aggressive behaviour is attributable to frustration, it can be assumed that other factors may cause, or at least be a contributory factor in aggressive and violent behaviour (Stone, 1991 : 136).

Unrest is associated with rebelliousness, while revolts are described as resistance to lawful authority (Reid, 1981 : 201).

Whilst accepting that frustration can, in some cases, be a causal factor of violence and that, for at least a contributory factor of violence and whilst acknowledging that media can exert a substantial influence on levels of violence, the recording of violent offences would seem to suggest that violence can be separated into specific types (Stone, 1991 : 139). Any discussion of violence must attempt to determine which people are destructively violent, or are constructively violent, that is, do not harm others. An attempt must also be made to understand why some people react destructively and others do not. Since frustration is not the sole cause of violence, it will be necessary to refer to some other possible explanations thereof. In referring to such explanations it will be important to clearly illustrate the role of frustration in the causation of frustrating of legitimate aspirations of violence. The aggressors strike right and left to get what they want, regardless of what happens to anyone in the process; that is, to anybody outside the more intimate sub-groups to which they belong (Porterfield, 1965 : 145, and Carney, 1975 : 163).

As Kuck and Brown in Stone (1991 : 134) suggest, it is the perceived illegality, or the unexpected interruption of an attempt to achieve a goal, that leads to violence. If such a discussion can lead to some indication of what the main causal factors are, suggestions can lead to some indication of what the main causal factors are, suggestions can then be made for the reduction or elimination of violence. Where violence is perceived as a way of life, it is

expected that violence will be used to settle disputes. This is particularly the case with prison gangs (Touch, 1982 : 86).

It is postulated that the legal, social and individual realities of violence have one thing in common - a conflict. This common denominator is employed to promote understanding of the phenomenon in as much as it serves to explain the origin and nature of most, if not all, acts of violence (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 13). Violence is the key ingredient in the conflict subculture, whose members pursue status through force or threats of force (Bartollas, 1990 : 159). The system can be either hierarchical or non-hierarchical. In a hierarchic system of social relationships, status is ranked in terms of high or low positions.

In a non-hierarchical system of social relationships, status is defined as being merely different, one from the other (Stark, et al, 1973 : 49). Correctional administrators have a great or tremendous responsibility to protect both inmates and staff. A riot, for example, can result in death for both staff and inmates (Bartollas and Miller, 1978 : 131). The present gang study will also show that when controls break down, inmate frustration finds its outlet in violence (Johnson and Toch, 1982 : 77). On the social level, conflict occurs between groups and persons when specific means and ends become incompatible.

Norms conflicts are characterized by acceptance (+) of societal values, but rejection (-) of the means to achieve these objectives. The attainment of wealth through violent ways and means is a good example of this form of social conflict. Value conflicts are generated through the rejection of accepted societal values and commitment to new or unique goals and standards. Most cases of personal, familial, social and cultural violence seem to be characterized by disagreements between persons and or groups on petty matters and or fundamental issues. Among others, quarrels, disputes

and dissension usually provide a stage for friction, conflict and strife (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 14 - 15).

Groups come into conflict with one another as the interest and purposes they serve tend to overlap, encroach on one another and become competitive. This will be clearly illustrated in chapter 5, 6 and 7, which will show that conflict between groups occur principally when the groups become competitive by attempting to operate in the same general field of interaction (Vold, 1958 : 205). If conflicts cannot be resolved, riots result (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 34). Fox (1965 : 15) explains that the beginning of riots have been varied. Most seem to have been preceded by a period of mounting tension in a small group not necessarily in the prison. Fox (1956 : 18) contends further that riots continue to grow bigger as prisons continue to grow bigger. Observations of the riots over the past hundred years, suggests a pattern which all riots tend to approach in various degrees and to various stages (Fox, 1956 : 34).

Riots are a consequence of the malfunctioning of the system or its inability to adapt to new demands coupled with the growth of generalized beliefs. These factors yield a potential for collective violence which becomes actual violence following the occurrence of a precipitator, or some development which puts discontent into a specific and reinforcing context leading to a build-up of fear and antagonism which is eventually expressed in rioting (Stone, 1991 : 136). To examine the cause and nature of the disturbances, it is necessary to see them in a wide historical context and to understand the response of prison officers and governors to the worsening crisis in the prison system (Evans, 1980 : 93).

The pattern of homosexuality in the prison for men, suggests a number of problems that face the prison administrator in dealing with sexuality. It means that as long as the prison is an environment

which is largely devoid of situations where legitimate affectionate ties can be established there will be a tendency for the formation of homosexual relationships, especially among those men serving long sentences who have concomitantly lost contact with meaningful persons in the free society. When a relationship in a homosexual deteriorates or when a transfer of affection takes place, there is a distinct possibility of violence (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 121). Homosexuality thrives in prisons among gang members and authorities make only the slightest efforts to combat it, while the facts of the entire prison system encourage such homosexual practices (Vedder and Kay, 1964 : 91).

4.2

UNREST-RELATED VIOLENCE AND RIOTS IN PRISON

The first recorded riot occurred as far back as 1774 in the Connecticut Prison in the United States of America (Fox, 1956 : 1). In April 1977, South Africa witnessed its first only truly large-scale outburst of violence at Zonderwater Prison, when prisoners revolted against the authorities and parts of the prison were set alight. Although damage amounting to nearly R150 000-00 was caused, not one prisoner or member of the personnel was injured during the incident and no one escaped. The forms of expression of individual acts of violence, in accordance with the person directed nature of such an act, may vary from assault without the use of weapons, to that with the use of any conceivable item, for example, brooms, mugs and knives, to obtain the desired degree of injury (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 178 - 179).

4.2.1

CAUSES OF UNREST-RELATED VIOLENCE AND RIOTS IN PRISON

Riots and disturbances in correctional institutions are too complex and varied to be attributed to any one cause or group of causes. However, there seems to be an identifiable causal relationship between one or more of the following variables and most major disturbances in correctional institutions. These causative factors are divided into three basic categories for convenience, namely:

- * General causes: institution related causes;
- * Conditions which exist or incidents which occur in one institution, may form a riot; and
- * In another institution, the same conditions may exist or the same incidents may occur without appearing to have any significance (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 1).

A riot is defined as a disruption that involves at least fifteen inmates and results in some personal injury or property damage. The causes of riots are almost as numerous as the riots themselves. To cite a few: racism, outside agitation, the institutional environment, anti-social characteristics of inmates, poor management, rate of change, insufficient funding of prisons, too liberal or too rigid prison administration and the media (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 11 - 12).

Since riots usually result in personal injury and attacks on private property, they are viewed in a serious light by the courts (Browning and Gerassi, 1980 : 142). The factors associated with prison disturbances in South Africa, however, seem to be involved more clearly in the process of coping with objective conditions in such a way as to promote collective violent action. These factors include increased inmate assaults, assaults on staff, poor communication, publicity about prison conditions and absences or changes in key prison staff (Touch, 1982 : 79).

4.2.2

GENERAL CAUSES

Prison gangs in South Africa have been associated with trouble in prisons. Trouble in the prison would not have reached such an explosive crisis, had governments been more responsive to criticism about the deterioration of the service. The reluctance of the Department of Correctional Services to acknowledge in time the seriousness of the crisis has contributed to the feelings of

frustration of prisoners and staff. Such frustration has helped to find outbreak of trouble (Evans, 1980 : 83 - 84). Evans (1980 : 93) explains that it is necessary to view the causes and nature of the disturbances, in a wider historical context and to understand the responses of prison officers and governors to the worsening crisis in the prison system. Evans (1980 : 93) then concludes that there are two basic general causes of riots and disturbances in correctional institutions. These cannot be directly attributed to either institutional or non-institutional variables. These general causes are, the unnatural nature of the environment in a correctional institution and the anti-social characteristics of inmates.

As a correctional institution is an unnatural environment which almost invariably contributes to the emotional stress of those incarcerated. There is limited personal freedom, monotony, boredom, regimentation, a sense of injustice and frustrations, hopelessness, sexual deprivation, anxiety about family and friends and many similar sources of emotional stress. The tensions which develop as a result of this ever present problem may become intolerable. Consequently, an open rebellion or major disturbances may be sparked off by some more visible and obvious causes such as bad food, brutality, unfair or capricious treatment, social conflicts, staff disharmony, inept and vacillating management, inadequate facilities, or some other similar emotion laden condition (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 1 - 3).

Such objective prison conditions are overcrowding, heterogeneous inmate populations, idleness and right security restrictions contribute to the creation of stressful prison environments and to prison disturbances (Johnson and Toch, 1982 : 79). The long-term inmate is not a tourist in prison. The prisoner lives in the institution for a fair portion of his life. Therefore, there is an increased potential for impact on such an inmate, either on his mental health or on his subsequent fate (Ward and Schoen, 1981 : 40).

Life in a normal community is competitive. In prison, the 26 gang members rob other prisoners' tobacco and smuggle in prison kitchen in order to provide the articles to their fellow gang members. These aspects of life may cause its chief problems, but they also contribute in numerous ways to the satisfaction of many of its needs (Sevaton and Morgan, 1980 : 270). The heterogeneous free community, holds the possibility of normal relationships which form the basis of the feelings that sweeten life and compensate for its hardships. When someone goes to prison, the individual generally leaves behind him, in the free community, an intimate primary group which cares about him despite or possibly because of his personal demerits and worthlessness (Tutt, 1978 : 3).

The psychopath contributes one of the worst of prison problems. Many different types of people appear in jails, but some present special problems (Chamelin, et al, 1979 : 353). Most inmates, being emotionally immature, admire physical strength (McGraw, 1954 : 219). The characteristics of the inmate population, cannot be overlooked as a basic general cause of riots and disturbances in the correctional institutions. The correctional institutions are populated primarily by young, unmarried inmates, who are from the lower social-economic strata of society. They are frequently the products of a broken home, who are poorly educated, unskilled and have unstable records. They are also apt to have a prior criminal record, low self-esteem and be uncommitted to any major goods in life (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 3).

4.2.3

INSTITUTIONAL CAUSES

The grievances which are enumerated by inmate participants in riots and major disturbances, within correctional institutions, are almost invariably related to the institution itself. The institution-related causes, which underlie the majority of these grievances, can be grouped under five basic headings: inept management; inadequate personnel practices; inadequate facilities; insufficient legitimate

rewards; insufficient construction and meaningful activity (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 3). Treat men like beasts and they will act like beasts (McGraw, 1954 : 10).

Inmates including gang members, felt that riots were necessary because no other means could get their complaints before the public. Convicts' contact with the outside world are usually limited. This research is confirmed by McGraw (1954 : 210). Institutions more often breed hostility and resentment and strip inmates of dignity, choice and a sense of self-worth (Inciardi and Haas, 1978 : 316).

4.2.4 NON-INSTITUTIONAL CAUSES

The Correctional Administrators find themselves helpless in the face of non-institutional causes of riots and disturbances. The non-institutional causes often underlie the unrest in the overall systems (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 12). Reports in the present other forms of media keep inmates including gang members informed on the unrest in the larger community (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 15). Radio programs bring to the semi-isolated prison community the life of the normal world (Clemmer, 1958 : 221).

4.2.5 DEFECTIVE INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT

The poor institutional administration contributes to the riots in prison.

A riot is usually attributed to overcrowding, poor administration, lack of professional leadership, ineffective or non-existent treatment programs (Petersen and Thomas, 1980 : 126). Within a correctional institution, some of the symptoms of inept administrative practices, which may spark a riot or major disturbances are:

- 1) Vague line of authority and administrative responsibility;
- 2) Absence of clearly defined and easily understood rules and regulations; and
- 3) Poor communications, partially in dealing with inmates and staff

and indecisive action on legitimate grievances.

A vague line of authority and ministrant responsibility is a basic symptom of inept administration. This results in a lack of credibility in the administrator's ability, inefficient management of the correctional institution staff conflicts and inmate frustrations and hostility.

Discord between administrative and line personnel within a correctional institution, whether it results from lack of clear understanding of lines of authority and administrative responsibilities or from some other cause, will diminish the effectiveness of treatment programs. This also increase the level of emotional stress and discontentment among the inmate population. Either a diminished effectiveness of the treatment repeated programs or an increased level of emotional stress and discontentment among the inmate population can strengthen the power base of inmate dissidents and result in a riot or major disturbances within the correctional institution. The perceptive administrator will be cognizant of staff conflicts in their early stages and take decisive action to resolve the conflicts, before they can have a detrimental effect upon the institution's programmes or upon the inmates. Poor communication within the correction institution is another indication of inept administration (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 3 - 4). Moreover, decisions are not always explained, sometimes they are given only to those most directly concerned even though they may have a wide general impact on inmates or staff. The result is that, horizontal communications are defective (Klare, 1973 : 72).

The ratio of prisoners to personnel is another causative factor to be considered in relation to the problem of prison violence (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 176). The fact that the officials of the prison experience serious difficulties in imposing their regime on the society of prisoners is sometimes attributed to inadequacies of the

custodial staff personnel (Inciardi and Haas, 1978 : 58). The disciplinary problems in a prison constitute the manifest culmination of all the problems faced by the inmates and the administration of the institution. Disciplinary problems disrupt the order, tranquillity as well as the security of the institution (Vedder and Kay, 1964 : 115). Many correctional administrators have overlooked their administrative responsibilities. Showing favouritism to some members of the inmate population, means that others are being discriminated against. This discrimination can produce discontentment, which may erupt into rebellious behaviour. This will be illustrated in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

The failure to act decisively on legitimate grievances is a reflection of inept administration. Many of the causes for riots and disturbances in correctional institutions, stem directly from the lack of staff training and experience, inadequate professional standards and conflicts of philosophy and goals of the overall staff of the institution (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 7 - 8).

4.2.5.1 Inadequate facilities

Many of our correctional institutions today are poorly designed with inadequate or non-existent facilities for treatment and training. However, large overcrowded poorly designed correctional institutions, with open dormitories are the realities which most correctional administrators must attempt to counteract (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 11).

Conditions in many jails are similar to those of 50 years ago (Callison, 1983 : 78). The nation's first prisons featured overcrowding and riots (Pillsbury, 1989 : 738). Presently, Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison, is busy renovating communal cells to provide better facilities to the inmates. A general trend toward harsher punishment and an increase in crime were the main factors leading to overcrowding (Pillsbury, 1989 : 767).

Many prisoners who landed in prison, were expelled from the mines and they could not be employed elsewhere as they were migrated labourers. The mining companies, as part of the contribution to the development of the labour-repressive regime, tightened up the functioning of the compound system during 1903. This system, brought about a dramatic increase in the size of the Transvaal's prison population. Between December 1902 and February 1905 the number of prisoners in the colony increases from 1 800 to 4 100 and of these, the large majority were Black pass offenders in the Witwatersrand. Crowded the prisons certainly were and while it was undoubtedly true that the British had hardly inherited an adequately equipped penal system from the former Republic, it was largely as a result of the Milner Administration's ability to "manufacture" black criminals on a large scale that prison accommodation became progressively more inadequate during reconstruction and that despite the authorization to spend almost a quarter of a million pounds on the construction and modernisation of the Transvaal's prisons between 1902 and 1905. The first offenders were indiscriminately herded in communal cells with hardened criminals including gang members, who practised sodomy on the weaker and more vulnerable (Van Onselen, 1984 : 21 - 22). The pass laws ensured the constant flow of prisoners into and out of prisons and the system did not effectively separate hardened criminals including gang members, from the first offenders (Van Onselen, 1984 : 23).

Despite an ever increasing crime rate, not much money is being spent on housing the growing convict population (McGraw, 1954 : 225). In this respect, Van der Westhuizen (1982 : 176) confirms that overpopulation is also regarded as one of the possible causes of prison violence. The older the prison facility, the higher the incidence of riots (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 24). Programs are often difficult to administer to such large populations where space is barely adequate for living, much less for social, academic or vocational programs. A common complaint heard in interviews with inmates including gang members, is that the warden or

the administrator does not know what is happening within the prison community. This research is confirmed by South Carolina Department of Corrections (1973 : 24).

The consequences of prison overcrowding are highly detrimental (Touch, 1982 : 49). Overcrowding strains program resources, exacerbates discontent, worsens tensions and delimits the participation of inmates in treatment programming (Carney, 1980 : 178). There are too few baths in such prisons to encourage a high standard of personal hygiene. Sometimes prisoners are locked in together for twenty-three hours out of twenty four, sleeping, smoking, eating, urinating and defecating without privacy in sickening sight, smell and sound of each other (Evans, 1980 : 12). Overcrowding presents particular problems, because it alters the basic nature of punishment without regard to offender culpability. It makes the deprivations of liberty, privacy, work and security associated with incarceration more severe, but not for reasons related to the prisoner's crime.

The offender receives a harsher sentence because the public does not want to pay for more prison space (Pillsbury, 1989 : 772). Unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, absolute physical harsh or stern discipline, idleness and poor food have been reported from most prisons with riots (Fox, 1956 : 41).

Improper design may prevent an institution from fulfilling its assigned function. Use of dormitories in maximum security prisons, for example, permits physical violence and exploitation become a way of life. Gang members assault prisoners in the dormitories (Inciardi and Haas, 1978 : 316). Lighting levels may be below acceptable units. Bathroom facilities often are unsanitary, too few and too public. Privacy and personal space hardly ever are provided because of overriding pre-occupation with security.

Without privacy and personal space, inmates especially gang members,

become tense and may begin to react with hostility (Inciardi and Haas, 1978 : 318). Within the prison, the dominant realities were overcrowded conditions, meaningless privacy, less recreation, less work and more violence. Prison house more prisoners serving long terms (Pillsbury, 1989 : 768). The single most intricate issue confronting corrections today, is the number of individuals confined in our nation's prisons and jails (Touch, 1982 : 45).

4.2.6

GANG FORMATION AS A CAUSATIVE FACTOR OF VIOLENCE

As far as the prison community is concerned, prison gangs fulfil an important economic and emotional function. They sometimes serve as a buffer against poverty. It is for this reason that when one gang member scores, the gang member is expected to share with others (Neser, 1989 : 149 - 150).

The development of the prison subculture can be traced to two different points of view. In the deprivation model, the origin of the prison subculture is coupled with the prisoner's adjustment to derivative circumstances, or to deprivations connected with imprisonment. The importation model maintain that the prison subculture is imported into prison from the lower class and criminals worlds in the community. Prisoners endeavour to transcend the painful existence brought about by deprivations in the prison by joining gangs. Interviews with gangs will make this clear as well as the fact that the prisoner who does not belong to a group, often fears for his life when enters the prison.

Inside the prison, the gang is like a family to the inmate. Importation refers to the attitudes and behavioural patterns that prisoners bring into the prison from the community. In this way prison gangs are imported from the community and further developed in the prison. The actions and attitudes of prison service members towards gang members, are formally and prescriptively regulated, as the case-study will indicate. The focus on the group member to remain in his

group, depends therefore on how well the membership is satisfying his needs (Cartwright, et al, 1975 : 93). A gang is ordinarily composed of persons who are conscious of their membership in a definite group, that is, the one that typically also has a name. This makes it integrated into a social whole (Cartwright, et al, 1975 : 3).

A gang is an interstitial and integrated group of persons who meet fact to face more or less regularly and whose existence and activities as a group are considered on actual or potential threat to the prevailing sound order (Cartwright, et al, 1975 : 4). Whether primarily through the initiative of a leader or through mutual stimulation by members, somehow the gang arrives at an understanding of common purpose for a given occasion or period (Cartwright, et al, 1975 : 7). Gangs differ in the nature of their shared perspectives concerning status-giving activities the nature of their groups and how these relate to the world about them, even though little actual gang fighting may take place (Short, 1968 : 19). Generally, however, gangs are formed with the object of correcting wrongs, and fighting against injustice (Keswa and Pretorius, 1973 : 10).

4.2.6.1 Terror of gangsterism in prison

Group action and group activities in the form of gangsterism, in the South African context, often lead to violence in prisons, especially with regard to brown and black prisoners. Action in this respect is mostly organized, well planned and strongly related in nature (Van der Westhuizen 1982 : 177). Equally important is the fact that the type of violence that enjoys the most publicity, especially in South Africa, is that in which interest groups are involved. This includes racial, age and other voluntary association groups, such as in particular, gangs. Inmates are terrorized by gang members and spend years in the fear of harm. Some inmates request segregation, others lock themselves in and some are hermits by choice (Touch, 1977 : 53).

The prison inmate culture facilitates assaults generally. It may not specifically encourage an attack on a particular victim, but it does attack respectability to attacks on certain categories of victims such as informers and welshers (Touch, 1977 : 60).

4.2.6.2 Leadership

Gang leadership does not reside wholly within one or two individuals, but is in fact shared by many depending upon the group's activities at a particular period (Klein, 1971 : 92). This will be illustrated in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8 where it will be emphasized, inter alia, leadership results from relationships among peoples.

The leader is defined as a person who influences and directs the opinions and behaviour of others and who shows the way by example and good reputation (Clemmer, 1958 : 134 - 135). Various types of leadership exist according to the structure of the society or community. Leaders, of course, are not isolated but exist only as the function of group life. Acquiring of a leadership status in most cases is a gradual and unmeasurable process (Clemmer, 1958 : 139). In some gangs, the leader's chief function is to generate good ideas for interesting things to do. The leader is the brains of the gang (Cartwright, et al, 1975 : 7).

Gangs usually have their own bosses, a fact which will be clarified in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Browning and Gerassi (1980 : 137) confirm this. The general nature of leadership depends, of course, on the nature in which the leader operates, that is his social milieu (Clemmer, 1958 : 141). For this reason, gang leadership roles, provide certain and immediate gratification if one is successful. It however, confers a heightened exposure to risks in times of violence (Short, 1968 : 276). Among conflict gangs, the leaders are expected to have the capacity to function aggressively against other members and if necessary to maintain their dominance, but the overwhelming preponderance of their actions is to co-ordinate gang activities

(Short and Strodbeck, 1965 : 195).

4.2.6.3 Prison rules

The conditions of incarceration include prison rules and regulations whose violations may result in various types of disciplinary measure (Robin, 1987 : 413). Elderfonso (1974 : 313) also emphasize that rules and regulations are fundamentally, a means of limiting the authority at subordinate levels of operations and at the same time, of delegating authority to them.

By the same token Lombardo (1981 : 114) explain that for some correctional officers the difficulties involved in treating inmates fairly are a particularly trouble-some part of their work. Some officers find it difficult to enforce consistent discipline among prisoners. For others, inconsistencies in departmental and institutional policies, rules and regulations are seen to cause problems.

Finally, Short (1968 : 25) makes the point that the rules serve as a focus of ceremonial differences within the group and they provide still another basis for individual status and group identity. Gang rules and expectations also influence the behaviour of the members. Clearly therefore, the concept conduct refers to the rules of a group concerning the ways its members should act under particular conditions.

The violation of these rules guiding behaviour arouses a group reaction - a point emphasized in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the present research and by Bartollas (1990 : 210).

4.2.6.4 Violent coaching

The role of violent coaching is always played by some members of the gangs. Primary groups which, as a result of their familiar relationship, greater age and experience, or all three, believe they

have at least the right, if not obligation, to instruct the gang member as to how should and should not conduct himself in conflictive situations. During violent coaching, novices are taught the proper course of action to take towards prisoners who provoke them. Their coaches teach them what they should and should not do when provoked by other prisoners as well as members of other gangs (Athens, 1989 : 46 - 47).

4.3

PRINCIPAL GANGS-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In order to understand prison gangs as studied in this research, it is necessary to briefly sketch the history of South African prison gangs. One of the pioneers in this field is Van Onselen (1984 : 5), who established that in 1867 in rural Natal and Zululand, a Zulu speaking man of the Amazizi clan named Numisimani Mathebula and his Nompopo, celebrated the birth of a son. Evidently the arrival of this child, one of four boys and two girls in the Mathebula family, caught the father somewhat unprepared since the child was promptly named Mzuzephi, meaning where did you find him.

Mzuzephi (Nongoloza) came to the realisation of leaving Bergville (Natal) permanently if intended to enjoy a greater measure of freedom. Mzuzephi found himself a position as a houseboy in the suburb of Jeppe, but remained in contact with his immediate kin by sending home messages and money via returning migrant workers. Mzuzephi Mathebula reluctantly decided to take the final drastic step and cut all ties with his family. Mzuzephi therefore relinquished his position as houseboy in Jeppe and assumed a new identity. His new name of Jan Note, at first glance an apparently random choice of Afrikaans and English names, perhaps assumes greater significance when it is appreciated that the surname was pronounced "not" by his black associates. In Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-dictionary the work "*Unotha*" is said to rear to native hemp, cannabis, satwa of the best quality. Purely by chance, Note had taken up employment with one of the many gangs of highway robbers, which thrived amidst the unsettled

conditions which accompanied the birth of Johannesburg. They invited Note to go with them and see how they obtained money. Over the following weeks Note served his criminal apprenticeship by observing how Tyson and his accomplices staged coach robberies. Waylaid the company carts taking wages to the more remote gold mines or, less ambitiously, deprived black migrant workers of their earnings by posing as policeman, who on the pretext of going through their pockets for passes or other documents, instead removed cash from their persons (Van Onselen, 1984 : 10).

Note saw little long-term benefit in remaining a junior member of the gang. "Learning from my experience with these four men how easy it was to get money:, the latter recorded, "I decided to start a band of robbers of my own". The first step towards realising this ambition was taken in 1890 when Note established contact with a leading member of the local black underworld - a certain Nohlopa, who hailed from Kwabe in Zululand. Nohlopa, impressed by Note's professionalism and sense of purpose, agreed to the formation of partnership, which would include a third man, named Nhlaka. These three - Nohlopa, Note and Nhlaka - then based themselves in a series of rocky depression, caves and disuse mine shafts in Klipriversberghills to the South-east of Johannesburg, at a place which they called Shabalawawa.

Within a year or two Nohlopa, assisted by Note, whom Nohlopa accorded the status of induna, presided over a loosely organised community of approximately two hundred male and female vagrants, dislocated migrants, petty thieves, burglars and armed robbers collectively termed "*Izigebengu*". "*Izigebengu*" literally means criminals. Nohlopa had been arrested and convicted for breaking into a tailor's shop in central Johannesburg. While in prison, Nohlopa learned to read and write and spent a considerable amount of time studying the Bible. On his release the leader returned to his strong hold in the Klips-riversberg and boldly informed the "*Izigebengu*" that is no longer wishing to lead a criminal life, and that henceforth himself would

spend time preaching the world of God to blacks in Witwatersrand.

This dramatic decision left a slightly surprised Note in control of the community of criminals for the first time. Note reshaped the human resources at this disposal into a more formidable band of professional criminals, which Note named "*Umkhosi Wezintaba*" - The regiment of the hills.

As Note himself, put it later: "The system I introduced was as follows: I, myself was the *Inkoos Nkulu* of King. Then I had an induna inkulu styled Lord and corresponding to the governor general. Then I had another Lord who was looked upon as the father of us all and Nonsala. Then I had my government which was known by numbers, number one to four. I also had my fighting general on the model of the Boer Vecht general. The administration of justice was confided to a judge for serious cases and landdrost for petty cases. The medical side was entrusted to a chief doctor or inyanga. Further I had colonels, captains, sergeant major and sergeants in charge of the rank and file, and the *Amasoja* or *Shosi-soldiers* (Van Onselen, 1984 : 13)".

The rank stratifications will be illustrated in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8. Admittedly, in 1890 the local press did complain about the activities of a gang of well-organised Zulu burglars and it is possible that this was the first tell-tale sign of black unemployment which, a few years later, was assume larger and even more organized proportions in the shape of "*Umkosi Wezintaba*" - the regiment of hills (Van Onselen, 1984 : 10). The unemployed blacks found it difficult to linger in the urban areas, and this was particularly true after the pass laws had been promulgated in 1896.

It was largely because of this that many of the Zulu unemployed and some hardened criminals moved into the protective surroundings of the Klipriversberg where, under the leadership of a remarkable man known

as Jan Note, they were organized into a quasi-military body known as the Regiment of the Hills or ninerites. This organisation, which contained within itself certain mutually contradictory elements, was partially fired by a sense of social justice at the same time being involved in a series of profoundly anti-social activities (Van Onselen, Vol. 1. 1982 : 23).

After 1910 the ninerites hid themselves more effectively from the endless pass raids of the police by taking refuge in the mine compounds, from where they launched criminal sorties not only against white property in neighbouring towns, but also against black migrant workers (Van Onselen, Vol. 1.1982 : 27).

In the U.S.A. also gang violence is not a new phenomenon and has formed part of the American prisons since as far back as 1900, where especially imprisoned members of the notorious Chicago gangs committed acts of violence. In South Africa, the first two gangs made their appearance round about 1920. The gangs did not originally start their activities in prison. A telling proof of this is the method of operation of the first known gang of Nongoloza Mathebula (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 179). Nongoloza Mathebula established the first gang on the Witwatersrand. The gang was established in a disused mine. A Scot joined the gang and they had a European bookkeeper that took care of their affairs. The gang was later imprisoned, but they continued their activities in prison (Neser, 1989 : 150).

The reason of terror of these gangs, gave rise to many competing gangs, as a result of the splitting up of the original gangs. Hence the variety of, for example, 26, 28, Big Five and Airforce. The most important motives behind gang violence in prison are, competing for status and to recruit new members, traditional opposition, homosexual and particularly the pursuance of criminality. The methods applied in committing acts of violence are legion and differ from gang to

gang. The most common forms are assault on opposing groups, with the aid of mugs, spoons, razor blades, knives, and so on (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 180).

Tool and key control are important in maximum custody institutions, because stolen tools and keys can be used in escape attempt and in making weapons. The basic factor in tool control is rigid check system with receipts signed by the inmates for the tools in the shop and a classification system for differential storage of tools (Chamelin, Fox and Whisenand, 1979 : 383). The controlling personnel are often assaulted, particularly when escape attempts are in progress. Violence is also by far the in progress. Violence is also by far the most effectively organized and not impulsive, but mostly well planned and also of a strongly related nature. Owing to strict group cohesion, its underground nature, loyalty and fear of reprisal, gang violence is one of the most difficult forms of violence to control. Gang members are also a periodical occurrence and are sometimes of an extremely ritual and gruesome nature. Various studies show clearly that large-scale prison violence is ascribable mainly to the so-called eliminate, which consist of the prisoners, the personnel and the physical environment. The most important reasons for mass rioting in overseas prisons, are probably over population, dissatisfaction with treatment, alleged assault by personnel, sodomy, racial friction and the activities of violent criminals and gangs (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 180).

4.4

SUMMARY

It has become clear in this chapter that a riot is a disruption that involves many inmates, and results in some personal injury or property damage. Equally clear is the fact that the causes of riots in prison, include racism, outside agitation, the institutional environment, anti-social characteristics of inmates, insufficient funding of prisons, or too bureaucracy prison administration and the mass media. The causes of riots and disturbances in prison, are

divided into three basic categories namely, general causes, institution related causes and non-institutional related causes.

The general causes are the unnatural nature of the environment in a correctional institution and the antisocial characteristics of inmates. A correctional institution is an unnatural environment which almost invariably contributes to the emotional stress of those incarcerated. The correctional institutions have a disproportionate share of individuals who are mentally deficient, emotionally unstable and prove to violent and other socially deviant behaviour. Most inmates, being emotionally immature, admire physical strength (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 7). The inmates feel that riots are necessary, because they have no other means in which their complaints could be known to the public. Institution more often breed hostility and resentment and strip inmates of dignity, choice and a sense of self-worth. The ratio of prisoners to personnel is another causative factor to be considered in reaction to the problems of prison violence.

Disciplinary problems constitute a threat to an administration, because they disrupt the order, tranquillity and security of the institution. Some symptoms of administrative practices which may spark of riot or major disturbances are, vague lines of authority and administrative responsibility, absence of clearly defined and easily understood rules and regulations, poor communications, partially in dealing with inmates and staff indecisive action on legitimate grievances. Riot is attributed to overcrowding, poor administration, lack of professional leadership, non-existent treatment programmes and idleness of prisoners. Many of the causes for riots and disturbances in correctional institutions stem directly from the lack of staff training and experience, inadequate professional standards, and conflicts of philosophy and goals of the overall staff of the institution.

Programmes are often difficult to administer to a large population, where space is barely adequate for living, much less for social, academic or vocational programmes. Improper design may prevent an institution from fulfilling its assigned function. Without privacy and personal space, inmates become tense and may begin to react with hostility. The heads of prisons often find themselves helpless in the face of non-institutional causes of riots and disturbances. The reports in the press and on radio and television, keep inmates well informed on the unrest in the larger community. Prisoners endeavour to transcend the painful existence brought about by deprivations in the prison by joining gangs. Prison gangs may have the most crudely developed ideas about power relationships within the wider society, but there is denying that they do manifest some degree of political consciousness. People can see in the life of Mzuzephi Mathebula (Nongoloza or Jan Note) the story of one man's search for justice set within the context of the most important labour-repressive institutions that developed during the South African industrial revolution. Chapter 5 focuses on the Airforce gang.

CHAPTER 5

THE AIRFORCE GANG

5

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the Airforce 3 and 4 gangs with particular reference to the characteristics and functions thereof.

Gangs are organised primarily with the intention of controlling an institution and to protect their gang members from other gangs (Clear and Cole, 1990 : 378).

A gang is further characterized by the following important characteristics, namely:

- 1) Two or more people who share a common social identification and therefore see themselves as belonging to the same social category.
- 2) A collection of people who experience their collective existence as reinforcing their relationship.
- 3) Two or more individuals sharing a common fate - that is, experiences that affect one of them have impact on all of them; and
- 4) A set of persons who interact with one another in such a way that each influences and is influenced by every other person (Goldstein, 1991 : 78).

Gangs differ in the nature of their shared perspectives concerning status-giving activities, the nature of their groups, and how these relate to the world about them. For some gangs, conflict with other gangs is a major focus of group attention, even though little actual gang fighting may take place. Fighting prowess is especially status-giving, individually and collectively (Short, 1968 : 9). The gang represents a subcultural and collective solution to the problem of acquiring status (Bartollas, 1990 : 332).

The Airforce gang is especially involved in escapes. This gang is not interested in conditions inside the prison. Its main objective is to get away from prison. Members of this gang are involved in ostensibly very daring escape attempts. Sometimes a gang member has no other choice, but to attempt an escape. It is actually his punishment for something that the individual did wrong (Neser, 1989 : 154). Long sentences can also contribute to dissatisfaction, frustration, desperation and lack of perspective for the future. These feelings of prisoners can give rise to problematic behaviour and escapes. Apart from these internal causes of escapes the following external factors can also play a role; marriage problems, sexual needs and concerned about the family (Neser, 1989 : 154).

Medium B Prison at Leeuwkop accommodates juveniles. There are juveniles who were engaged in gang activities outside, but they were inactive in prison. The origin of the Airforce 3 is not clear. Apparently however, the Airforce 4 gang originated from the 28 gang. On their return after escaping from prison, the Airforce 4 gang members bring money and dagga (Marijuana) for the 28 gang members who they view as their "husbands" and "protectors". (Consultation Major B. M. L. Jacobs who was the Head of Medium B Prison at Leeuwkop 1986.)

5.1

AIRFORCE GANG MEMBERSHIP

Encouraging involvement in a gang are the beliefs that gang membership means a greater chance of success (Bartollas, 1990 : 332). The following are the most important needs of the Airforce gang:

- * To convince himself as a person of worth;
- * Of acceptance, belonging and recognition;
- * Of new experience, shared interests and ideas;
- * For a common support in a subculture of society toward which tremendous punitiveness, hostility and conflict is directed;
- * To possess, to own and control;

- * For status in the neighbourhood and community in which the inmate lives;
- * To identify with something in the subculture which symbolizes power, authority and prestige;
- * To have an impersonal medium through which the gang member can rebel against environment, both physically and socially, to deal with and express his fears, anxieties, insecurities, as well as those feelings of hostility, aggression and anger;
- * For protection from real or fantasized threat; and
- * For opportunity for sublimating and expressing basic drives.

The term recruitment, refers to the manner in which the gang obtains members to be participants in the gang (New York City Youth Board, 1960 : 86).

The Airforce 3 and 4 gang do not recruit prisoners to join them. The prisoners join the Airforce 3 and 4 gang voluntarily. The prisoners approach the Airforce 3 and 4 gang and state that they are looking for a job, in this way applying for membership. People join groups because the group meets some individual needs. The applicants to the Airforce 3 and 4 therefore have the same motivation when applying for membership. There are some tasks that can be accomplished only by group, there is also a penal need for affiliation (Shaw, 1976 : 83).

The gang is a convenient and pliable structure quickly adaptable to the needs of emotionally disturbed people also are unable to fulfil the demands required for participation in more normal groups. The deprivations as result of imprisonment, disturb the Airforce 3 and 4 gang. In order to make themselves free from the unsatisfactory conditions brought about by imprisonment, the Airforce 3 and 4 gang gather together in order to plan for an escape.

5.1.1 CASE STUDIES STATING REASONS FOR JOINING THE AIRFORCE GANG

Case 1: Airforce 3 gang member

R * : "Could you tell me more about your imprisonment and escape, if any, in prison."

S ** : "I am sentenced to five years imprisonment (October 1979) for car theft."

Escaped in Rustenburg Prison and sentenced to two years imprisonment for escape.

R * : "and thereafter,?"

S ** : "Rustenburg Prison transferred me to Pretoria Prison. In Pretoria Prison, I could not stay long, and I was transferred to Bethal Prison."

R * : "Were you a gang member by then?"

S ** : He answered negatively.

R * : "What made you to join the Airforce 3 gang ...?"

S ** : "In Bethal Prison, I met my friends who belonged to Airforce 3 gang and then developed an interest in the gang."

R * : "How did you join the Airforce 3 gang?"

S ** : "I went to the gang members and told them that I am looking for a job, that is, I want to join the gang. The gang members asked me if I do not belong to any gang and my answer was negative."

R * : "And thereafter?"

S ** : "The gang members scrutinized me to see if I am not having any tattoo mark of any gang and the gang members could not find any tattoo marks. The gang employed me, that is, allowed me to join."

R * : "After you have join the gang?"

S ** : "The third day thereafter, I was given instructions by the gang members, namely that the gang make use of one gate when entering the camp (gang), and I should face a bullet at the time of escape. The gang members further told met that I am not supposed to expose the secrets of the gang nor join another gang."

R * : RESEARCHER

S ** : SUBJECT

R * : "Are there attempts you have made to escape after joining the Airforce 3 gang?"

S ** : Answered positively.

R * : "Tell me more about those attempts"

S ** : "In 1981 at Bethal Prison, I went out with a compose-span and the span consisted of ten prisoners. One member of Correctional Services was in charge of the span and he had a two-way radio. The whole span decided to escape and a member of the Correctional Services was assaulted by means of a spade. The member was undressed, thrown in a hole and covered with soil".

R * : "then thereafter"

S ** : "I put on the uniform of the member of Correctional Services and carried a two-way radio and drove the span. The said member of Correctional Services was not issued with any gun. Among us, there were two drivers."

R * : "And then,"

S ** : "I drove the span towards the cars which parked nearby in order that we should steal two cars, but things could not favour our way as there were people around those cars. Then, we decided to hide at the nearby bushes."

R * : "Then thereafter"

S ** : "We could hear when they report escape in prison as I had a two-way radio. Thereafter, we split. I went with one of my friends. We could hear when the Commanding Officer ordered that the helicopters should be consulted in order to help searching for the escaped prisoners."

R * : "Did the helicopters arrived"

S ** : "The helicopters thereafter, started searching and we could hear that some of the prisoner were recaptured and their names and surnames were pronounced. The total of those who were already recaptured discouraged us, but nevertheless, we continued on running and each time we listened to a radio reporting it frightened us and we decided to throw the radio away."

R * : "And thereafter"

S ** : "Then, we decided to go to a farmer's house nearby and we got private clothing there. I left the uniform there, but that could not help anything as we were recaptured."

R * : "What made you to escape"

S ** : "We escaped due to ill-treatment. We complained about food and our belongings which were searched while we were out with a span."

Case 2: Airforce 4 gang member

R * : "When did you join the Airforce 4 gang"

S ** : "I joined the Airforce 4 gang in Bethal Prison during 1978".

R * : "What made you to join the Airforce 4 gang"

S ** : "I joined the Airforce 4 gang because I needed a protection from the gang members and I intended to escape from prison."

R * : "How did you join the Airforce 4 gang"

S ** : "I went to the Airforce 4 gang members and told them that I am working for a job, the Airforce 4 gang members told me that they are working hard in this gang and I told them that I will meet their demands."

R * : "Then, thereafter"

S ** : "The Airforce 4 gang then employed me."

R * : "Did they force you to join the Airforce gang"

S ** : "I joined the gang voluntarily as I was in favour of the principles of the gang."

R * : "After you have joined the Airforce 4 gang, did you attempt to escape"

S ** : "I escaped once in Bethal Prison and I was sentenced to six months imprisonment."

R * : "What made you to join the Airforce 4 gang"

S ** : "The main reason of joining the Airforce 4 gang, was to seek protection."

R * : "When were you released from prison"

- S ** : I was released from prison during 1987 and committed armed robbery with my two friends during 1991 and I was sentenced to sixteen years imprisonment and transferred to Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison."
- R * : "Since your arrival at Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison, did you make any attempt to escape?"
- S ** : "During April 1992, I escaped with three of my fellow gang members and others who could not affiliate to any gang as the cell was opened."
- R * : "Tell me more about that escape."
- S ** : "We managed to go out of the cell, but would not move further as a member of Correctional Services shot few bullets in front of us and ordered us to lay down until we could be recaptured by other members of the Correctional Services, though one managed to escape. I am presently having a further charge of escape against me."
- R * : "Did they forced you to escape from prison?"
- S ** : "According to the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, no one is forced to escape from prison, though their main objective is to escape from prison."
- R * : "Could you tell me more about the main objective of the Airforce gang?"
- S ** : "The Airforce 3 and 4 gang justify escape by saying that they have nothing in prison, all their possessions are outside, and thus they escape in order to go to their belongings."

5.1.2 SELECTION

The only criterion which the Airforce 3 and 4 gang use in selection of new members, is age and physical fitness.

The Airforce 3 and 4 gang do not accept old or physically handicapped prisoners as members. They emphasise physical fitness, because their main objective is to escape from prison.

The Airforce 3 and 4 gang train their fellow gang members in order to be fit when they escape from a span or from prison.

5.1.3

RANK STRATEGY

The rank strategy of the Airforce 3 gang involves the alphabets (for example B.O, B.A) and they also have three battalions, namely:

Battalion 1; Battalion 2 and 3.

Battalion 1: consists of soldiers (old gang members) and young gang members (newly appointed gang members).

Battalion 2: which operate as follows:

- * B.O.: This is a full soldier, who knows all the rules of the gang and can take major decisions on his own, for example, escaping alone. The soldier is only protected when is attacked by another camp (gang), but is not supposed to have homosexual relationships.
- * B.A.: (Battalion against): is the gate instructor and his role is to orientate and coach young gang members.
- * B.B.: (Secret agent): holds the rank of a sergeant. The gang member goes about listening to what other gangs are saying about the Airforce 3 gang and gives a feedback to the Airforce 3 gang. The gang member is only known to the Airforce 3 senior gang members. All the other gangs are not supposed to know him.
- * D.C.: (Royal capacity): is a warrant officer responsible for making tattoo marks on the bodies of the new gang members, as well as manufactures knives and keys.
- * D.C.: (Drilling instructor): has the rank of a lieutenant and gives lectures on the constitution to the young Airforce 3 gang members.
- * E. : (Junction): is a magistrate with a rank of a captain. The gang member presides over the disciplinary cases of the gang members.
- * D.D.: (Supervisor of the juniors): handles the complaints of the junior members of the Airforce 3 gang.
- * F. : (Defence force): is responsible for the disciplinary offences of the Airforce 3 gang members. The gang member

can impose a sentence or suspend a sentence or sentence a gang member to corporal punishment.

- * H. : (Lawyer): officiates as a lawyer during the trial of a gang member. The gang member pleads for the mitigation of the sentence.
- * I. : (Assistant judge): works with the defence force and is vested with the power to impose a death sentence to gang members who exposed the secrets of the Airforce 3 gang.
- * J. : (The founder of the camp with the rank of a general.)

Battalion 3: consists of the following gang members, namely: aged, unhealthy, mentally disturbed and physically handicapped. The rank strategy of the Airforce 4 gang makes use of numbers.

The numbers distinguished the Airforce 4 gang from the Airforce 3 gang and other gangs. The Airforce 3 gang members make use of the alphabets and the numbers are used by the Airforce 4 gang members.

The rank strategy of the Airforce 4 gang

- Number 1: Chief gate opens the door for a person who wants to join the gang and welcomes him.
- Number 2: Pilot (secret agent): sees to it that no secrets of the gang are exposed and goes about listening to what other gangs are saying about the Airforce 4 gang. The "Pilot" should report to the Airforce 4 gang.
- Number 3: The recruiting officer makes tattoo marks on the bodies of the new gang members.
- Number 4: Drilling instructor: is responsible for the physical fitness of the gang members.
- Number 5: Prosecutor ("Mshoshisi"): leads evidence during the trial of the gang members.
- Number 6: The Magistrate: presides over the minor disciplinary offences of the gang members.

- Number 7: The lawyer: represents any Airforce 4 gang member during the trial when charged for disciplinary offences.
- Number 8: Inspector: Before a new member joins the Airforce 4 gang, the inspector checks to find out if the new member has no tattoo marks of another gang. If the prisoner has tattoo marks of another gang, he is refused to join the Airforce 4 gang. During the meetings of the Airforce 4 gang, he is keeping the minutes.
- Number 9: Assistant Judge: presides over serious cases of the Airforce 4 gang.
- Number 10: The supervisor of the juniors: handles the complaints of the junior members of the Airforce 4 gang.
- Number 11: Judge presides over the most serious cases, for example, when the gang member exposed the secrets of the gang.
- Number 12: Israel (*Ngangezwe* : president): advises senior members of the Airforce 4 gang.

5.2

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AIRFORCE 3 AND 4 GANG

The principles of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang are based on the concepts of right and left.

The right principles demand loyalty and subordination to the gang.

- * "All our possessions are in Africa". (Means all their possessions are outside - Airforce 3 and 4 gang).
- * You should not leave your brother assaulted without protecting him (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * You should follow all the rules of the Royal (Airforce 3).
- * You should do what the gang does (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * You should always associate with fellow gang members (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * You should be honest (Airforce 3 and 4).

- * Your deeds should be honest and trustworthy (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * You should not have a conversation with a member of Corrective Services (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will do what the gang orders met to do" (airforce 3 and 4).
- * No soldier of the Airforce 3 gang should be taught wrong rules.
- * All the ranks (*amagwenya*) are found outside, which means through escape, though seniority is also considered (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * I will always protect my brothers (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * Promotion has no discrimination (airforce 3 and 4).
- * I agree to promote all the sentences of the Royal" (Airforce 3).

The left principles demand respect, support and harmony within the gang.:

- * "You have nothing in prison (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will die together with my fellow brother (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * Escape anytime when you have an opportunity (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will do what my fellow gang members says" (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will not expose the secrets of the gang (airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will not lie to my fellow brother" (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will no request or demand anything from my fellow brother through a lie" (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will not do anything which is not done in Royal (Airforce 3).

The following letters and abbreviations are therefore important:

R = Royal

A = Air

F = Force

- * "I am not supposed to discuss with members of Corrective Services, except when I lodge a complaint or request" (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will not teach a soldier of Royal with a wrong constitution" (Airforce 3).
- * "We have no juniors, but we differ in ranks (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "I will love my brother as I love myself" (Airforce 3 and 4).
- * "You must do a thing with a reason (*Nobangela* : Airforce 3 and 4).

- * We have all the sentences and the last one is a death sentence (which means that a death sentence is imposed upon a gang member who exposed the secrets of the gang (Airforce 3 and 4).

Gang norms and values are adhered to in gang (Huff, 1990 : 64)".

5.2.1 RELATIONS WITH CORRECTIONAL SERVICES AUTHORITY

The members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, are not allowed to have conversations with corrective services authority, except when they have complaints or requests. The reason given is that the gang member may expose the secrets of the Airforce gang to the members of the Correctional Services. Before they complain or make a request to correctional services authority, they should obtain permission from the gang, as the gang must have a knowledge of his complaint.

5.2.2 VIOLENCE AGAINST AUTHORITY BY AIRFORCE 3 AND 4 GANG

The controlling personnel are often assaulted, particularly when escape attempts are in progress (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 180). when the Airforce 3 and 4 gang escape in group, they overpower a member of Correctional Services and take his fire-arm, two way radio and uniform. When the Airforce 4 gang members escape at night, they hire the 28 gang members in order to keep a member of Correctional Services busy who is rendering night-duty in the yard so that they can be able to escape without being noticed.

5.3 CHARACTERISTICS AND MODUS OPERANDI

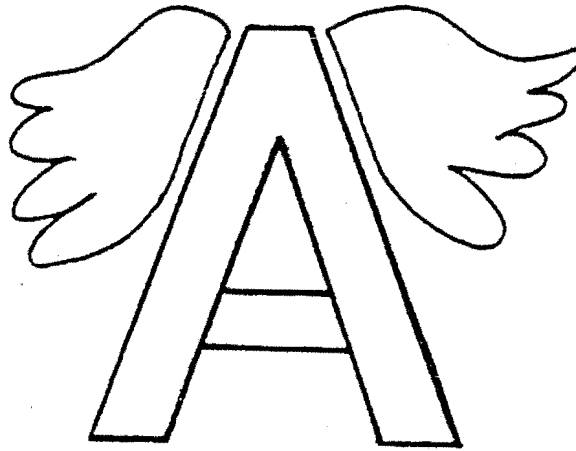
Gangs that tend to require tattoos which identify the gang affiliation are able to command more from their members (Knox, 1991 : 25).

The Airforce 3 gang members have tattoo marks on their bodies which could appear in one of the following ways:

R.A.F. or Royal or a person running. The tattoo marks of the airforce 4 gang members on their bodies could appear in one of the following ways:

R.A.F.

(24)



or only the number 24.

5.3.1

ESCAPE FROM THE INSTITUTION

Escape describes leaving the institution or grounds, or being out of place at any time which is also applicable to the Airforce 3 and 4 gang (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 28). Firearms shall be used only in situations where there is danger of death or grievous bodily harm. Firearms shall not be discharged if less extreme measures will suffice, except in escape situations (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 37).

The convicts who are working outside prison walls are accompanied by guards with firearms (Grünhut, 1948 : 272). In the closed world of the prison, the person who wears a uniform of the Correctional Services carries within him the potential for helping inmates and alleviating inmates stress as well as the potential for abusing inmates and creating stress (Johnson and Toch, 1982 : 285).

A stress can be defined as a constraining force or influence (Johnson and Toch, 1982 : 28). There are three primary causes of stress, namely:

- 1) Stress normally originates when a person is exposed to a new, strange situation or experience, such as a prison.
- 2) This situation or experience is unwelcome and results in stress;
and
- 3) A person's usual coping strategies are insufficient and stress

results (Johnson and Toch, 1982 : 36).

Such objective prison conditions as overcrowding, heterogeneous inmate populations, idleness, and tight security restrictions contribute to the creation of stressful prison environments and to prison disturbances (Johnson and Toch, 1982 : 79).

The prisoners who maintain strong family ties are better able to cope with stress. According to Lötter and Schurink (1984 : 151) prisoners (including Airforce 3 and 4 gangs) escape for various reasons, which include the following:

- * They are embittered and frustrated;
- * They experience their circumstances as intolerable;
- * They feel they have been excessively and unfairly punished;
- * Life is hard and monotonous;
- * The burdens of homosexual victimisation become intolerable; and
- * Gambling debts increase.

The prevention of escapes is inherently tied in with the safe custody function. Effective measure to supplement physical custody take on a particular meaning when seen in the light of the fact that most escapes take place outside the prison walls (Fox, 1977 : 196 - 7).

When the alarm is sounded, it is the duty of every member of corrective services to report for duty immediately at the place as determined in the security instructions. When a prisoner escapes, efforts should be made immediately to re-arrest him. Should a prisoner escape from a small span, and no member of corrective services is available who could be detached to follow the fugitive, the Head of the Prison should be advised immediately of the escape in order to make the necessary arrangements to pursue the escaped prisoner. Extreme care should be taken when it becomes necessary to unlock cells during the night. According to local circumstances,

Commanders should issue suitable instructions in respect of every prison in his command in that prison's institution orders.

It should be clearly emphasized that cells may be unlocked at night only in an absolute emergency, and then only after suitable safety precautions have been made against a possible attempt at escaping (Correctional Services Order B2.17.1 - 3).

As soon as possible after an escape or attempt at escape, a full and thorough investigation substantiated by sworn statements, should be instituted regarding all factors which contributed to it. In his finding the member of corrective services who instituted the investigation should indicate whether the escape was due to the negligence of any members of corrective services or not. In which respect existing prescriptions in connection with safe custody were disregarded with reference to the specific prescriptions, as well as substantiating proof that the member of corrective services had been aware of the instructions, defects to buildings which facilitated the escape from Airforce 3 and 4 gang, and insufficient prescriptions regarding safe custody with special reference to the deficiencies (Correctional Services B.18.6.1 - 18.6.2.1 - 4).

In this recommendation the investigation officer should indicate which steps should be taken against the negligent member or members of corrective services; which steps should be taken to ensure that members observe the existing prescriptions; in which respect defects to buildings should be rectified, and how existing prescriptions should be amended or supplemented (Correctional Services Order B.18.6.3.1 - 4).

Should the member who instituted the investigation, recommend that steps be taken against members of the corrective services. The investigating officer submits his recommendation to the Commander. Should the Commander find that the escape resulted from the

negligence of the member of corrective services, the Commander can decide that the member of the corrective services be tried before an officer on a formal charge (Correctional Services Order B.18.6.4.1).

When a Commander has a strong suspicion, or where it becomes evident from the evidence that assistance was in fact rendered to the escapee by a member of corrective services or any other person, the Commander should immediately report the case to the South African Police for further investigation (Correctional Services Order B.18.6.4.3).

Any person who:

- 1) Aids any prisoner in escaping or attempting to escape from any prison or while in the course of removal in custody from one place to another; or
- 2) For the purpose of facilitating the escape of any prisoner, supplies or agrees or attempts to supply or aids, incites or encourages any other person in supplying a prisoner with any mask, dress, disguise or any other article, instrument, matter or thing; or
- 3) Conveys or causes to be conveyed into or out of any prison or any place where prisoners may come to work, any letter or token encouraging or to contravene a regulation or showing a desire to aid any prisoner to escape or to contravene any regulation; or
- 4) Harbours or conceals or assists in harbouring or concealing an escaped prisoner (including Airforce 3 and 4 gang members), shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years. (Section 43 of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959)).

An additional sentence is imposed upon a prisoner who escaped from prison (Correctional Services Order B.18.5).

As often and for as long as it is urgently and absolutely necessary to secure or restrain any prisoner who has displayed or is threatening violence, or who has been recaptured after escape or who there is good reason to believe, is contemplating escape, the member of the prisons service in charge of the prison, may order that prisoner to be confined in an isolation cell, and in addition or in the alternative, if necessary, to be placed in irons or subjected to some approved means of mechanical restraint for such periods as may be considered absolutely necessary, but not exceeding one month (Section 80 of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959)).

The private property of a prisoner who has escaped and has not been recaptured, shall, after six months from the date of escape be sold by auction, and the proceeds of the sale and any other money the prisoner may have had in prison, shall be appropriated in settlement of any claims by the State, and the balance, if any, shall be paid into the consolidated Revenue Account, provided that the Commissioner may approve that the private property of such prisoner may be handed to his wife, child or next-of-kin if the State has no claim in respect of such property (Regulation 96.5(a) of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959)).

It is clear that in some cases security demands that contraband be confiscated and that escape plans be detected (Reid, 1981 : 420). A prisoner who attempts an escape will be demoted (Clemmer, 1958 : 70 - 1).

5.3.2

GANG SOLIDARITY

Group cohesiveness is the resultant of all the forces acting on the members to remain in the group (Festinger, et al, 1950 : 274). The members of the Airforce 3 and 4 are not allowed to resign and they are forced to act when their fellow gang members are involved in violence.

The Airforce gang members always associate with their fellow gang members and they are honest to each other. According to the Airforce gang members, they protect each other against other gangs and non-members. The gang norms and values are adhered to in the Airforce gang.

5.4

GANG CONFLICT

Violence either in free society or in prison is undesirable because it disturbs the peace. It must therefore be restrained as far as possible (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 184). As far as restrictions are concerned, the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959 and the Regulations make provision for various security, restrictive and control measure to be applied in dealing with violent prisoners and Airforce gang for example, solitary confinement, mechanical confinement, removal of items, such as cutlery, hacksaw when not in use, regular inspections, and so on (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 184).

Late in August 1982, 13 gang members escaped from custody by overpowering two policemen. Nine others made their getaway from police cells by cutting the cell bars with a hacksaw and this is also applicable in Airforce gang (City Press, October 25, 1992 : 5).

5.4.1.

INTERNAL CONFLICT

The gang conflict characteristically moves through phases, namely: disagreement, in which gang members discover that two or more of them are in conflict regarding group task, an interpersonal matter, or some other gang-related concern (Goldstein, 1991 : 85).

The Airforce 3 gang makes use of the supervisor (gang member) to handle the problems or complaints of the junior members. The drilling instructor (gang member) is involved when the disciplinary action is to be implemented. With the Airforce 4 gang, the Sergeant (gang member) is responsible for the handling of the problems or complaints of the junior gang members. The Captain (gang member) is

supposed to impose a sentence upon a gang member who contravened the codes or code of the Airforce 4 gang. The Airforce 3 and 4 impose the following disciplinary measures:

- * First offence, when found guilty, is disciplined by means of a footed shoe four times on a chest of the gang member by his fellow gang member in the presence of other gang members;
- * Second offence, the firing squad method is used, that is, all the gang members assault the individual gang member; and
- * In cases where a gang member exposed the secrets of the gang, a death sentence is imposed upon him.

In order to free a gang member after a death sentence has been imposed upon, a gang member should escape in order to be against the sentence and when is recaptured, the death sentence will no longer be executed.

If a gang member is against a sentence which is imposed upon him, the gang member should escape from prison in order to be freed from that sentence.

5.4.2. CONFLICT WITH OTHER GANGS

Inter-gang fighting provides opportunities for troubled male egos to demonstrate manliness to self and others (Huff, 1990 : 64). The Airforce 3 and 4 gang send delegates to the gang concerned in order to go and negotiate for peace. When the airforce 4 gang members are in trouble with other gangs after they failed to negotiate for peace, the Airforce 3 gang members help them. Though the codes of the Airforce 3 and 4 differ, these two gangs co-operate to a large extent.

5.4.3 CONFLICT WITH PRISONERS NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY GANG

Airforce 3 and 4 gang respect the prison community. When there is a conflict with prisoners not affiliated to any gang, the Airforce 3 and 4 gang send delegates to go and negotiate with those prisoners

for a peace. The delegates act as mediators between inmates.

5.5 DISCIPLINARY CODES

The Airforce 3 and 4 gang have their own codes which they use in order to exercise discipline within their own gang members. This is indicated in 5.4.1.

5.5.1 CONVENING AND RUNNING OF MEETINGS

The convening and running of the meeting by Airforce 3 gang, follows the following procedure:

The inspector(s) organises for the meeting, the drilling instructor (D) is the secretary, and the chairman is the magistrate (E).

The Airforce 4 gang, follows the following procedure:

The inspector organises for the meeting. The magistrate chairs during the meeting. During the meeting of the Airforce gang, the secretary is keeping the minutes, though there is no minute book. this is also applicable to the Big 5, 26 and 28 gang.

5.5.2 IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS

With the Airforce 3 gang, the inspector and the drilling instructor are responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the gang. The sergeant and the captain of the Airforce 4 gang, are responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the gang.

5.5.3 SEX OUTSIDE THE GANG

Homosexual relationship in the Airforce 3 and 4 gang members is prohibited. According to the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, their members must be always fit and homosexual relationship will contribute to their unfitness. When a member of the Airforce 3 or 4 gang have a relationship with a boy-wife, the boy-wife is removed from him, or they force their fellow gang member to make a request to the authority in order to change him from the cell where co-habitation with a boy-wife takes place. Failure to do so, disciplinary action will be taken against him.

5.5.4 SEX WITH PRISONERS NOT BELONGING TO ANY GANG

The members of the Airforce 3 and 4, are not allowed to enter into homosexual relationship among themselves and to other prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang. The prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang, may through negotiations with the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, co-habit with the junior gang members of the gangs in homosexual relationship.

Such non-members, must respect all the members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang. The junior members of the airforce 3 and 4, are not allowed to enter into homosexual relationships as boy-wives to other gangs, because they fear that the junior gang members may expose the secrets of their gangs.

5.6 MOBILITY

Mobility within the gang, focuses on the following aspects of the gang, namely:

- * Method of joining another gang;
- * Admission of other gang members;
- * Promotion within the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, and the retirement of the gang members of the Airforce 3 and 4.

5.6.1 METHOD OF JOINING ANOTHER GANG

A member of the Airforce 3 or 4 gang, is not allowed to join another gang, because such a gang member may expose the secrets of the gang to another gang. When a member of the Airforce 3 or 4 gang, insists in joining another gang, the disciplinary actions are taken against him until they could resort to the last one, which is a death sentence. This is also applicable to the Big 5, 26 and 28 gang.

5.6.2 ADMISSION OF OTHER GANG MEMBERS

The Airforce 3 and 4 gang, do not allow members of other gangs to join them. When they can allow members of other gangs to join them, violence will occur in prison, as the other gangs will feel that

they undermine them, and the same procedure is followed by the Big 5, 26 and 28 gang.

5.6.3 PROMOTION WITHIN THE AIRFORCE 3 AND 4 GANG

The ranks (Amagwenya) according to the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, are collected in Africa (outside). This means that ranks are obtained through escapes. In some cases seniority and merit are also considered for promotion.

5.6.4 RETIREMENT

The Airforce 3 and 4 gang, allow their members to retire when they are no longer interested in the gang activities, but they are not suppose to remove the tattoo marks of the gang. The patients, old and physically handicapped gang members are allowed to retire, though they are not suppose to remove the tattoo marks of the gang. The retired members, are not suppose to join another gang. When the Airforce gang member is released from prison, automatically his gang membership is ceased. This is also applicable to the 26, 28 and Big 5 gang.

5.7 SUMMARY

It has become clear in the foregoing discussion that the main objective of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang is escape from prison. According to the Airforce 3 and 4 gang members, they have nothing in prison, all their belongings are outside. The Airforce 3 and 4 gang, do not force another prisoner to join them, a prisoner joins the gang voluntarily. Though the Airforce 3 and 4 gang members state that they escape mostly due to ill-treatment in prison, it seems not to be true, because according to their main objective, if one has a chance to escape, the gang member should make use of that opportunity.

When the members of the Airforce 3 gang escape in a group, they overpower a member of the Correctional Services in order to take his

two way radio, uniform or fire-arm if the member is in possession of one.

Homosexual relationship within the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, is prohibited. The junior gang members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, through negotiations with prisoners not affiliated to any gang, can be allowed to make use of their junior gang members as boy-wives, but not allowed with other gangs, as the junior gang members may expose the secrets of the gang. The members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, are not allowed to discuss with the members of the Correctional Services, because they fear that such gang members may expose the secrets of the gang, except when they have complaints or requests to make to the members of Correctional Services. The members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, can try to solve problems with other gangs and prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang, because they send delegates to go and negotiate with them for peace. Though Promotion in airforce 3 and 4 gang, is considering seniority and merit, preference is given to the gang members who escaped several times from prison. The members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang, are not allowed to join another gang or resign. The members of other gangs, are not allowed to join the Airforce 3 and 4 gang. The members of the Airforce 3 and 4 gang who are no longer interested in the gang activities, namely patients, those who are old and physically handicapped gang members, are allowed to retire, but they are not supposed to remove the tattoo marks of the gang. The next chapter deals with the 26 gang.

CHAPTER 6

THE 26 GANG

6

INTRODUCTION

The 26 gang will be discussed in this chapter. Gangs are not only found in prisons, but are also found in the community.

An example will be made of the Toaster gang which is operating in the community. The notorious Toaster gang has resurfaced and is terrorising Tembisa residents. It is alleged that their renewed crime spree started last with the escape of two pupils aged 13 and 14. They have also been linked to recent death threats made against the editor of a local newspaper, the abduction of a 19 year old man, and a robbery attempt at a filling station. Residents are now fearing for their lives after Teddy Sithole, 19, of Motheong Section, Tembisa, was kidnapped in Welamlambo Section by the Thugs. Sithole was allegedly abducted by heavily armed members of Toasters gang in full view of other people. Sithole has not been seen since and is now feared dead (City Press, October 4, 1992 : 4).

To date people refrain from giving help to victims who are attacked by the gang. They even fear to give evidence in court against the gang members. A similar attitude is found among inmates in the prison population. The prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang, fear to testify in court against the gang members. The gang represents a subcultural and collective solution to the problem of acquiring status (Bartollas, 1990 : 332).

The 26 gang originated from another gang. Ngelejani's gang of seven members from which the 26 gang originated. The 26 gang developed from the 27 gang (Neser, 1989 : 150).

6.1

MEMBERSHIP IN 26 GANG

Encouraging involvement in a gang are the beliefs that gang

membership means a greater chance of success. The institutions find their authority undermined, rights of property and control over the lives of employees and constituents are challenged. Conversely, many among those who feel most threatened by such changes react negatively, sometimes, harshly and repressively, thus enhancing the challenge of those who protect and thereby further undermining the legitimacy of the institutionalized authority in many contexts (Short, 1976 : 139).

The 26 gang does not accept a gang member from any gang (camp). A prisoner who has a tattoo mark of another gang, is not accepted by the 26 gang. The 26 gang accepts a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang to join it.

6.1.1

RECRUITMENT

Membership in the 26 gang is voluntary. Usually, when there are new admissions, the 26 gang members call upon an "up" (fighting) so that the new admissions should be aware of the existence of the 26 gang in prison. The intention here is to attract the new admission to join the 26 gang.

Case-study 1

R * : "Could you tell me more about your involvement in gang activities?"
S ** : "I was born and bred at Clermont Township in Durban and passed standard V. I joined the 26 gang at Clermont Township. the court sentenced me to 8 years imprisonment for murder. While I was in Witbank Prison, we killed a Big 5 gang member. We were three and we were each sentenced to 15 years imprisonment as a result of that murder. From Witbank, I was transferred to Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison. Since my arrival at Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison, we have only called upon an up once on the 20th April 1988 and few prisoners sustained injuries."

R * = RESEARCHER
S ** = SUBJECT

6.1.2

SELECTION

The 26 gang is very selective in their choice of members. The 26 gang members, prefer the prisoners who are aggressive and who do not fear to go to the isolation cell after they have assaulted their fellow prisoners. The 26 gang members prefer the brave to cowardly prisoners when enlisting members. The prisoners who want to join the 26 gang, should be fit, because the 26 gang work with blood. (The 26 gang members stab other gang members and non-gang members with knives or sharpened instruments when they provoke or attack them.)

6.1.3

RANK STRATEGY

The rank strategy of the 26 gang, consists of three sections, namely: Section I; Section II and Section III.

Section I

- * Soldier (Martial Law): The soldiers work day and night, and protect the gang from any danger. The soldiers are involved in group assault by the command from the higher authority.
- * Mountain (*Nongidela*): Is the gate-man of the gang and is responsible for the discipline of the soldiers of the gang. Mountain gives the soldiers a command (in order to fight) and receives money and goods on behalf of the soldiers.
- * Sergeant II (Senior Instructor): Is giving physical exercises every sixth day to the gang members and has the authority to punish a soldier with two slaps for a misconduct.
- * Sergeant Major (Discipline Sergeant Major): Is responsible for the awaiting trials of the gang and sees to it that the awaiting trials are punished accordingly. The awaiting trials of the gang are gang members who have contravened the codes of the gang. Sergeant Major keeps the members who want to join the 26 gang for observation for six days.

Section II

- * Captain II (Radio : *Valamageedi*): Is the secret agent of the gang. Captain II has no tattoo mark of the 26 gang and the gang member is not suppose to be known by other gangs in prison. Captain II keeps the fighting general up- to-date about the current news concerning the 26 gang.
- * The Second Inspector (*Tshosha*): Is a man with the binoculars. "*Tshosha*" sees the wrongs which occur in the camp (gang) and is the second investigator of the second fighting general. "*Tshosha*" is also a secret agent who works conjointly with Captain II.
- * Second Doctor: Is responsible for the physical fitness of the gang members.
- * Lawyer II: Defends the gang members.
- * Second Judge: Presides over the cases when the judge is absent and imposes the sentences upon the accused (gang members found guilty).
- * *Nobhala* (*Mqophozi* II : Secretary): Handles the statute books of the gang. "*Nobhala*" is a gang member who is intelligent and has knowledge of law.
- * The Fighting General: Is the manufacturer of the weapons and gives instructions to all gang members under him. The fighting General also acts as a prosecutor in Section II. The Fighting General can also instruct the gang members to fight by calling upon an "up".

Section III

- * Captain I: Works day and night with his radio to receive (listening what is being said about the 26 gang), and broadcast the news to the fighting general number one. Captain I gives ears to what is being discussed about his gang. When those who are discussing about the 26 gang are isolated, Captain I will commit assault so that in turn should also be isolated in order to be with those prisoners who are discussing about the 26 gang.

- * Inspector I (Investigator): Investigates all matters which has a reference to the 26 gang. Inspector I can also call upon an "up" - in order that the gang should fight in groups. When the 26 gang has a clash with the 28 gang, Big 5 gang, or Airforce gang, and acts as a mediator to the rival gang and negotiates for peace.
- * The Doctor I: Sees to it that the institutional food is well-prepared and is enough for each prisoner. When the food is not well-prepared and not enough for each prisoner, Doctor I takes the matter with the 28 gang as it is one of the objective of the 28 gang. Doctor I also examines the gang members to see that they are fit after they were isolated in isolation cells or when they were sick.
- * First Lawyer: Is responsible for seeing that the gang member is punished in accordance with the statute book of the gang.
- * *Nobhala (Mqophozi - Secretary)*: Handles the whole statute book of the 26 gang. This gang member has a good memory and has a knowledge of law. The codes of the 26 gang are not written down, is why the gang member who is handling the statute book of the gang should have a good memory.
- * The General: Delegates and gives the instructions to the 26 gang members. The General is manufacturing weapons and keeps them. The General is issuing the weapons when they are needed in order to be used by the gang members.
The General is presiding over the serious cases of the gang members, and sees to it that the gang member who has contravened the codes of the 26 gang is punished and sentenced.
- * President (*Makhwezi-Khwezi*): Gives commands or instructions to the whole gang. The President also acts as a treasurer. The

General officiates when new comers are orientated. The following day, the General must assault a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang or a Big 5 gang member so that in turn should be isolated, which according to the 26 gang, is a true sign that a gang member is a General. His fellow gang members (26 gang) will send him tobacco (number two), matches (sign) and the paper (*isibelivana*) in order to smoke.

6.2

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 26 GANG

The 26 gang members call upon an "up" during the day especially early in the morning. That is why they are sometimes called the boys from the east. The 26 gang is sometimes known as the Chico-boys.

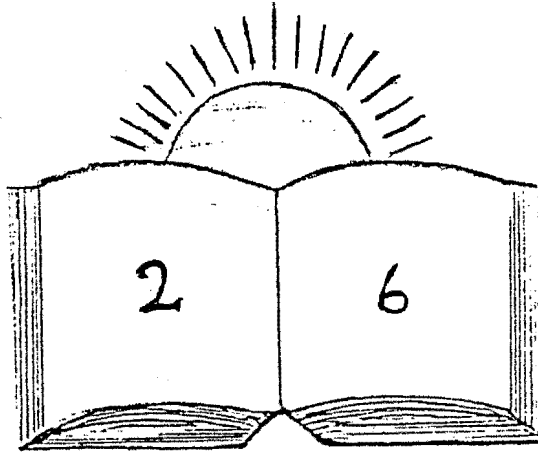
The following are the gang codes of the 26 gang, namely:

- * Everything which you obtained, should be handed to the 26 gang;
- * You should respect the 26 gang;
- * There is only one gate at the camp (26 gang);
- * You must never leave your own brother unprotected;
- * You must die where your brother dies;
- * You must be honest to your brother;
- * You are not supposed to fight your brother;
- * You should not cheat your brother;
- * You are not supposed to insult your brother, because by insulting your brother, you have insulted the whole 26 gang;
- * Do not pretend towards your brother;
- * You should not suspect your own brother;
- * Do not testify against your own brother without any exhibit;
- * Do not tell a lie to your brother;
- * Do not trust members of the Department of Correctional Services;
- * Do not mess with other prisoners; and
- * Show your loyalty towards other prisoners.

6.3

MODUS OPERANDI OF THE 26 GANG

The 26 gang members have tattoo marks on their bodies which could appear in one of the following ways:

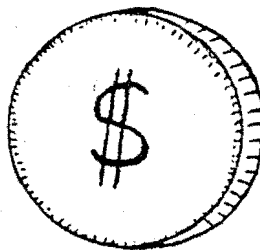


(26)

SON OP

THE BOOK = symbolizes the law of the 26 gang.

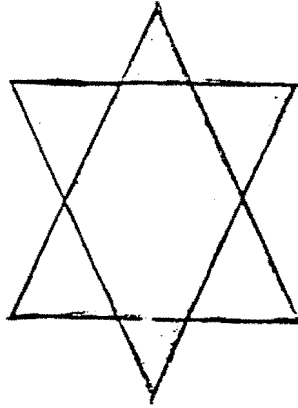
THE RISING SUN = symbolizes time in which the 26 gang execute their mission, that is, in the morning.



(26)

DOLLAR (MONEY)

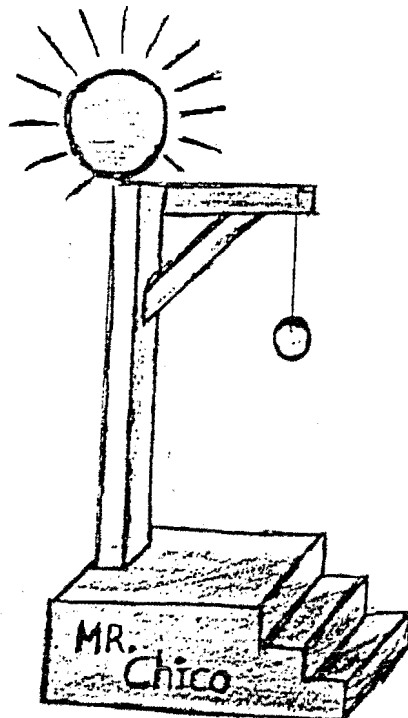
MONEY which the 26 gang strives to obtain through robbery.



(26)

CHICO

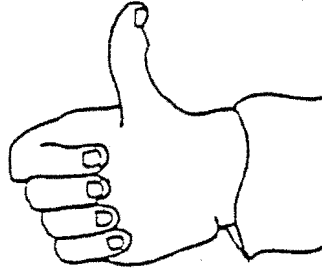
CHICO-BOYS = means 26 gang.



(26)

SCALE

THE SCALE = is a balance which should be maintained within the 26 gang.



(26)

GREETING SIGN OF THE 26 GANG

VERBALLY = Yes

6.3.1

WEAPONS USED AGAINST CORRECTIONAL SERVICES AUTHORITY MEMBERS

The gang members must be knowledgeable about the types of weapons utilized by the gang (New York City Youth Board, 1960 : 89). The 26 gang members use knives, mugs, sharpened spoons and fork teeth against the members of the Correctional Services. A member of Correctional Services is called "Maphoza". The 26 gang members sharpen the handles of the stainless steel mugs and cut the stainless steel dish into small pieces in order to make their weapons. Sergeant Charles Sello Makhubela received the Department's Cross for Valour (Ruby) on the 7th November 1991. This decoration is only awarded to members of the Department of Correctional services who performed a deed of bravery whilst risking their lives in the execution of any of their duties or when protecting or saving or attempting to protect or save a life or property. Sergeant Makhubela was awarded this decoration for his bravery when prevented a prisoner, who was attacked during a gang fight from being hurt or possibly killed. The fight broke out in the dining hall of the

Pretoria Local Prison on the 2 July 1990 while 331 prisoners were receiving their evening meal. Sergeant Makhubela saw a prisoner being attacked and attempted to hit the attacker with the baton. The attacker was armed with a sharpen spoon and Sergeant Makhubela was stabbed in his right cheek. Sergeant Makhubela attempted to overpower the attacker and sustained another stab wound in his right fore-arm. Sergeant Makhubela slipped and fell on the floor when the group of prisoners left the dining hall. Two prisoners again attacked him and the sergeant was stabbed in his back and left hand (Nexus, January, 1992 : 9). The prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang, feel secured when there are members of Correctional Services like Sergeant Makhubela. The gang members feel disturbed when there are officials like Sergeant Makhubela, because their objectives when they can call upon an "up" will not succeed.

6.3.2 ESCAPE FROM THE INSTITUTION

According to the statute book of the 26 gang, the 26 gang members work with blood and they do not escape from prison. Should the 26 gang member escape from prison, the 26 gang member is regarded as having contravened the 26 gang statute. On his return to prison, the 26 gang member is fined by paying money or supplying dagga (marijuana).

6.4 THE 26 GANG SOLIDARITY

The 26 gang protects its members from other gangs including the prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang. When a 26 gang member is attacked next to his fellow gang member, the fellow gang member reacts spontaneously to that affect. When a gang member of the 26 gang bleeds from attacks by another gang, then his blood must be "collected from the gang concerned". Collecting the blood of the gang member, means to revenge to that gang by the 26 gang members.

6.5 GANG CONFLICT

For some gangs, conflict with other gangs is a major focus of group

attention, even though little actual gang fighting may take place. Fighting prowess is a symbol status individually and collectively (Short, 1968 : 9).

The 26 gang members rob other prisoners' dagga (marijuana), tobacco, money and smuggle in a cunning way.

6.5.1

INTERNAL CONFLICT

Internal conflict means a conflict which occurs among the 26 gang members. According to the 26 gang, there are procedures which ought to be followed when the conflict is among the 26 gang and this will be discussed in this sub-section.

- * In Section I, "*Nongidela*" (Mountain) is responsible for the discipline of the soldiers of the 26 gang. Sergeant II, who is senior to "*Nongidela*" and the drilling instructor of the soldiers, is vested with the authority to impose two slaps upon a gang member who contravened with the codes of the 26 gang. Sergeant Major is responsible for the awaiting trials of the gang and sees to it that the awaiting trials are punished accordingly.
- * In Section II, the court procedure is followed. The judge does not take the minutes of the proceeding. This is done by the Secretary (*Mqophozi* II). The Fighting general leads the evidence, and the second judge or judge is a presiding officer and the accused (gang member) is represented by Lawyer II during the proceedings. The judge uses his own discretion in imposing the sentence upon the accused, depending upon the previous records which are read by the secretary (*Mqophozi*) if the accused (gang member) is found guilty of the offence as charged. The sentence may range from one to four kicks with footed-shoes on the chest of the accused. After the sentence has been served upon the accused, even if his chest may swell-up is not supposed to bring the matter to the attention of the correction services members. The gang member is not supposed to consult the

hospital staff for treatment. The gang member can only ask for pain tablets. If it should happen that the members of correctional services should find out that the gang member has swollen-up, the gang member will protect the gang by telling the members of correctional services a lie that has fallen on top of an object which resulted in his sustaining of injuries.

The researcher has noticed this incident among the gang members and at one stage, a gang member sustained injuries and was not keen to tell the researcher exactly what injured him. The gang member stated that at night was used as a kit-bag by boxers in the cell. Once could deduce that disciplinary code of the 26 gang is strict with reference to its discipline as its members adhere to it.

* In Section III, the president leads the evidence when the offence is of a serious nature. The judge presides over the case. The sentence may range from 12 to 18 slaps with the open hand on the chest of the accused. The private section of the 26 gang is not in favour of blood, which consists of a lawyer and a doctor of the gang when a gang member exposed the secrets of the gang, the trial is held by the following gang members, namely Captain I, Inspector I, General, Judge and the Secretary. The only sentence which is imposed when the gang member has exposed the secrets of the gang, is a death sentence. The death sentence can be executed in one of the following two ways, namely:

* The 26 gang member, can be instructed to kill a non-commissioned member or commissioned officer of the correctional services by means of a weapon given to him by the 26 gang under the escort of the General, Captain I, Inspector I and the Judge. If the said 26 gang member hesitates to stab the non-commissioned members or the commissioned officer of the Correctional Services, the General, Captain I, Inspector I and the Judge stab

him with knives or instruments to death; or while the General, Inspector I, Judge, Mqophozi, Captain I, presiding over the case of their fellow 26 gang member should find him guilty, Captain I call upon an "up" and they all stab him with knives or sharpened instruments to death.

6.5.2

INTER-GANG CONFLICT

Inter-gang fighting provides opportunities for troubled male egos to demonstrate manliness to self and others (Huff, 1990 : 64). When the 26 gang member has clashed with one of the following gangs, namely: Big 5, Airforce, 28, and the 26 gang members send the inspector in order to go and negotiate for peace when the 26 gang members is found guilty for having provoked any of the other gangs by the 26 gang, and the 26 gang member is disciplined accordingly. The 26 gang member may be sentenced to eight footed-shoes on his chest. The 26 gang members respect other gangs. The 28 gang usually is unlikely to negotiate for peace with the 26 gang, thus, they arrange to handle the clash in the meeting called "Mqalwezweni", which means cross-roads. In the cross-roads, the delegates from the 26 and 28 gang come together with the purpose of negotiating with one another in order to find a solution.

The 26 and 28 gang, each send Captain I, inspector I, Mqophozi and the General. The meeting consists of eight gang members, four from each gang. While the 26 and 28 gang members are in the meeting, Captain I of the 26 gang calls upon an "up" and fighting takes place. The members of the Correctional Services then intervene and thereafter take them to the isolation cells for that violence. During the exercising period the 26 and 28 gang, discuss the matter further until they reach a resolution.

While the 26 and 28 gang members are in the isolation cells, their ranks are not in operation. Though the resolution might have been reached at the isolation yard, they still discuss the matter

further. The peace will be brought about between the two gangs by assaulting a Big 5 gang member or a member of Correctional Services.

The period in which the 26 gang can act ranges from three to six days. After the 26 and 28 gang members have assaulted a Big 5 gang member or a member of Correctional Services, their ranks will be again put into operation.

6.5.3

VICTIMISATION OF PRISONERS NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY GANG

According to the 26 gang, there is a procedure which the 26 gang follows in order to negotiate for peace with a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang and this will be dealt with in this subsection.

A prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang is called "*Mphatha*". the 26 gang members respect a non-member, because if one of the 26 gang members clash with him, the 26 gang members send the inspector I to go and negotiate with a non-member for a peace. When a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang, stabs a member of the 26 gang member with a knife, it is said that "*Mphatha* took out the blood" and the only sentence for him, is a death sentence. The day in which the sentence will be executed, will be executed while other prisoners are enjoying their meals and the Inspector I will stab the said prisoner with a knife to death.

When a prisoner is sentenced to death, the Inspector I, will stab him with a knife, either behind the left ear, or in the left side of the neck or in the chest below the left-arm. When the said prisoner is standing on his feet, the Inspector I will touch his left shoulder in order that the prisoner should turn his head towards him, and then stab him either behind the left ear, or in the left side of the neck or in the chest below the left arm. During the execution of the death sentence, could Inspector I stab the wrong prisoner with a knife or instrument, it is said that a prisoner is

hidden by the train.

The doctor determines which part of the accused should be stabbed, when a prisoner is sentenced to death. When a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang is to be attacked, Captain I calls upon an "up" and the Inspector I stab him. The Inspector I is given a command to stab a non-member with a knife and is escorted by his fellow 26 gang members, and should the Inspector I hesitate to stab the said non-member, then the 26 gang members, who escorted him, stab him immediately. Usually the "up" is called upon when the other prisoner are busy enjoying their meals or when they are exercising during the exercising period. Before the "up" could be called upon, the 26 gang members make sure that they are only few members of Correctional Services in the yard. A week-end is usually an ideal period. If it can happen that the uprising could be known to members of Correction Services (*Maphozas*) then the uprising will be automatically stopped or postponed to a further date. Before the uprising is called upon, the following gang members are notified, namely: the Airforce, and the 28 gang. The Big 5 gang members are not notified as they collaborate with the members of the Correctional Services.

The other gang members are notified so that they must gather together their gang members on the day of uprising. The largest number of assaults and other forms of aggression take place at night, when the prisoners are locked up in their cells, and very little can be done about this. It is impossible to drastically increase the night-duty personnel as a means of ensuring more effective control (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 186 - 7). Ideally a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang should not be sentenced to death and executed during the day because of the strong presence of the Correctional Services officials. The 26 gang members therefore prefer executing the sentence in the cell at night. When they make use of weapons to execute the death sentence, other

prisoners in the cell are ordered to cover themselves by blankets or they follow the victim when the victim goes to the toilet and strangle him with a belt to death. Before they could execute a death sentence, they nominate the 26 gang members who will face a charge of murder even if they could not kill the victim or participated in the murder of the victim.

During the trial of the murder case, the 26 gang consults gang members who have a knowledge of court proceedings. The 26 gang members even if they accept that they murdered the victim, argue in order that the court should not find them guilty. They call upon many defence witnesses who are also their fellow 26 gang members from different institutions who were not present at the time when they murder the victim to come and give evidences in court. The whole aim is that the court, should not be able to conclude that they are responsible for the murder of the victim.

6.6

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

Discipline has been defined also as a continuing state of good order and behaviour (The Committee of Classification and Treatment, 1975 : 294). The 26 gang exercises discipline within its own members in prison. See 6.5.1.

6.6.1

CONVENING OF MEETINGS

The meeting of Section I is called "*Hlangana Skop*" and consists mostly of the soldiers of the 26 gang (camp). According to the 26 gang, a meeting is called *Twelve*. The meeting of Section II is called the twelve of the camp, while the meeting of Section III of the 26 gang is called the Twelve of Springs. All the members of the three sections during their meetings, sit in a form of a semi-circle which is called "*esekhomba*".

6.6.2

PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS

In Section I, Sergeant II is the Secretary during the meeting and

Sergeant Major is the chairman of the meeting. "Mqophozi II" is the secretary of Section II and the judge is the chairman during the meeting. "Mqophozi" is the secretary of section, Section II, and the president is the chairman of the meeting.

6.6.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS

Sergeant I is responsible for the implementations of the resolutions of Section I. In Section II, Inspector II is responsible for the implementations of the resolutions, while the implementations of resolutions in Section III, are rendered by Inspector I, Captain I and "Mqophozi".

6.7 SEXUAL RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE GANG

The 26 gang members are not supposed to have sexual relations with other prisoners in prison. According to the 26 gang, a 26 gang member who enters into homosexual relationship with another prisoner, will not be fit to do his duties, because such a relationship will weaken him physically. This is also applicable to the Airforce 3 and 4 gang.

6.7.1 SEXUAL RELATIONS WITH PRISONERS NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY GANG

According to the statute book of the 26 gang, the 26 gang members are prohibited from having sexual relations with any prisoner. The 26 gang members do enter into homosexual relationship with the younger gang members called school boys privately or prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang. When a 26 gang member is found having sexual relations with any prisoner, the said gang member will be punished by the 26 gang for having contravened a code of the 26 gang. This is also confirmed by Burke (1992 : 35).

6.7.2 GANG REACTIONS TO THOSE WHO NO LONGER WISH TO ENGAGE IN SEXUAL RELATIONS

The 26 gang members do not force their fellow gang members in order

to have sexual relations with them, as sexual relations with the 26 gang are forbidden.

The 26 gang before, could not allow the young prisoners to join it, because the gang members feared that other gang members may be tempted to have sexual relations with them. Presently, the younger prisoners are allowed to join the 26 gang, and thus, few gang members are tempted to have sexual relations with them in privacy where they are not seen by their fellow gang members. The few 26 gang members who have sexual advances with the younger members (school boys), make sure that they are not seen by their fellow gang members. No one can confront them for having sexual advances with the school boys if they were not seen, because according to one of the codes of the 26 gang, one is not supposed to testify against his fellow brothers without the exhibit.

6.8

MOBILITY IN THE 26 GANG

A 26 gang member, is not allowed to join another gang. If a 26 gang member joins another gang, there will be a gang conflict between the 26 gang and the gang which their fellow gang member has joined it.

Under normal circumstances, if a 26 gang member joins a 28 gang, the said gang member must stab one of the senior members of the 26 gang. When the 26 gang realises that one of its members wants to join another gang, a death sentence is imposed upon him. This principle is also applicable to the Airforce 3, Big 5 and 28 gang.

6.8.1

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS FROM OTHER GANGS

The 26 gang does not admit members from other gangs. Before a prisoner could be admitted by the 26 gang, the prisoner is placed for observation for six days. After the gang members are convinced that a prisoner is not from another gang and has no tattoo marks on his body, the prisoner is then admitted to the 26 gang. The

procedure is also followed by the Airforce 3 and 4, Big 5 and 28 gang.

6.8.2 HOW GANG MEMBERS ARE PROMOTED

Promotion procedures work as follows:

- * The gang members are promoted according to their deeds, seniority or when filling the empty post or rank. By the concept deeds, they mean the brave activities which were rendered by the particular gang member.
- * A gang member can be promoted through seniority to the next rank or to fill the empty post or rank of a 26 gang member who is transferred to another institution or is released from prison or is retired. The procedure of filling posts or ranks is also followed by the Airforce 3 and 4, Big 5, and 28 gang.

6.8.3 RETIREMENT

When a 26 gang member is released from prison, automatically is freed to be a gang member. This is also applicable to the 28, Big 5, airforce 3 and 4 gang.

The 26 gang members due to ill-health, old age and no longer interested in the gang activities, could be given an opportunity to retire, but they are not suppose to remove the tattoo marks of the gang or join another gang. When a gang member is a President or Judge, before the said gang member could be released from prison, is forced to retire so that his immediate junior gang member could be promoted to his rank. When the gang member shows no interest in the gang activities before the date in which is due to be released, the rank is taken from him through force. The President or Judge is suppose to be assaulted by his immediate gang member in order to take the rank from him. If his immediate gang member failed to assault him before the said gang member could be released from prison, then his immediate gang member must go and collect that rank

outside. By collecting the rank outside, means that the gang member must escape from prison and while at large, the gang member must not commit any other crime than assault.

When the said gang member is recaptured after having committed assault outside, after his admission in prison, will be automatically promoted to the next rank by the 26 gang.

6.9

SUMMARY

The foregoing exposition has revealed that the 26 gang members in prison, want to lead a luxuries life, because they rob other prisoners' money, tobacco, dagga and smuggle in a cunning way. The 26 gang members do not admit a prisoner who is from another gang. Before a prisoner can be admitted to the 26 gang, is observed for six days. When the 26 gang is convinced that the prisoner is not from another gang and has no tattoo mark or marks on his body, then the 26 gang let the prisoner to join it.

The 26 gang members are not supposed to have sexual relations with the junior members of the gang or prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang, though few gang members are sometimes tempted to have sexual advances with the junior members of the gang or prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang secretly.

The 26 gang members are not suppose to conversate with the members of Correctional Services, because they fear that they may expose the secrets of the 26 gang, except when they are permitted by the 26 gang members if they have complaints or requests to make to the members of the Correctional Services. A 26 gang member who can expose the secrets of the gang, is tabbed to death by his fellow gang members.

The 26 gang members are not suppose to resign from the gang.

The 26 gang members are allowed to retire, though they are not suppose to join another gang or to remove the tattoo marks of the gang.

According to the 26 gang, there is only one gate which is used to enter and not to go out. When the 26 gang members could not call an "up", due to the disturbance of the members of the Correctional Services during the day, then they will call upon an "up" at night when the members of the Correctional Services are few. When the 26 gang members murdered a prisoner, they use all tricks in order that the court should have a benefit of doubt in sentencing them, though not all of them escape a sentence. Chapter 7 examines the activities of the 28 gang.

CHAPTER 7

THE 28 GANG

7 HISTORICAL: ORIGIN OF THE 28 GANG

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 7 examines the activities of the 28 gang.

According to Nesor (1989 : 150), the first gang was established on the Witwatersrand.

Nongoloza Mathebula established the first gang on the Witwatersrand. The gang was established in a disused mine. After a difference of opinion two separate groups were formed, namely those who burgled and plundered by day and those who did so by night. After a difference of opinion two separate groups were formed, namely those under the leadership of Nongoloza (who approved of boy-wives) and those under the leadership of Ngelejani (who disapproved of boy-wives). Nongoloza's gang consisted of eight members (from which the 28 gang later developed) (Nesor, 1989 : 150). A survey undertaken by the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town, for example, indicated that between March, 1974, and December 1977, there were at least forty gang members within the prisons of the Western Cape alone.

Nearly half of the cases which arose as a result of these brutal murders involved members of the notorious 28 gang - a grouping directly descended from the original ninevites (Van Onselen, 1984 : 53). Firstly, most of the offenders with well-developed conscience have been filtered out by the criminal justice before reaching prison. What is left is a group of individuals who are violence prone in that they have not generally been socialized to reject violence as a way of solving problems.

They may also have participated in a criminal subculture of violence in the free society and have committed many acts of violence in the years before their incarceration.

A second reason for the relative weakness of internal controls against violence in prisons is the emergence of a socio-cultural structure variously referred to as the prisoner society or the prison subculture (Bowker, 1983 : 25). The main objectives of the 28 gang members are to engage in the following activities; boy-wives; providing food; clothing and engaging in wrongs against the institution. When the food is not well-prepared or not sufficient or not properly cooked, the 28 gang takes it upon itself to correct the situation as follows: The Doctor and the Inspector taste the food and thereafter, they report the matter to the authority or a member of the Correctional Services who is in charge of the institutional kitchen. When there is no improvement in the preparation of the food, then the 28 gang members act upon the cooks of the institutional kitchen.

The 28 gang members call themselves Boys from the West (*Abafana base Ntshonalanga*). One of the main duties of the 28 gang members is sexual relationship with the boy-wives. This is done at night. Before the 28 gang members call upon an "up" against the cooks, they send the Inspector (gang member) to inform the 26 gang and the Airforce gangs. The Big 5 gang members are excluded and are not therefore, advised about the action concerning the food, which is not well-prepared or not enough in quantity. On the day of the action, the Inspector will be the first prisoner to be served with food and thereafter the inspector will throw a dish of food on the ground and the soldiers of the 28 gang will start assaulting the cooks.

7.2

MEMBERSHIP IN THE 28 GANG

The applicant wishing to join the 28 gang is thoroughly screened.

Part of the screening includes a search for tattoos of other gangs. The Airforce 3 and 4, Big 5 and 28 gang also follow this procedure.

Case-study

"I joined the 28 gang voluntarily in Leeuwkop Prison. I was working for a mine and had a boy-wife relationship there. The only gang in prison which could meet my expectations is the 28 gang, because a boy-wife relationship is one of their objectives.

I am sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for armed-robbery together with my co-accused. In Leeuwkop Prison, there were many incidents of uprising in which I was involved. From there, I was transferred to Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison. Here at Baviaanspoort Maximum Prison, one uprising occurred between my gang, that is 28 gang, and the 26 gang during April 1988 and few prisoners sustained injuries as a result of that uprising."

7.2.1

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

The 28 gang members do not recruit other prisoners to join them. Prisoners join the 28 gang voluntarily.

The prisoners who want to join the 28 gang, must approach the 28 gang members and tell them that they are looking for employment. This implies that they want to join the 28 gang. It is a formality for applicants that they must go through before joining the 28 gang.

The prisoners who want to join the 28 gang, will be observed for six days before they are eventually admitted as 28 gang members. By observing those prisoners, the 28 gang members want to be sure that they are not from another camp (gang).

The 28 gang does not accept prisoners who are old or physically handicapped in order to join it. The 28 gang accepts prisoners who are still young and those who are still healthy in order to join it.

because out of the new gang members, there will be those who will be selected for light jobs (boy-wives) and those who will be doing hard work (soldiers). The prisoners who are still waiting to join the 28 gang are called "probations". The 28 gang members who are not allocated to have boy-wives can satisfy themselves sexually with the "probations". After the "probations" have been classified as soldiers, the 28 gang members are not supposed to make use of them as boy-wives. Instead they must use those who are selected for light labour as boy-wives.

7.2.2 RANK STRATEGY

The rank strategy of Note is similar to the rank strategy of the 28 gang which will be discussed in this sub-section.

Note reshaped the human resources at his disposal into a formidable band of professional criminals which Note named "*Umkhosi Wezintaba*" - The Regiment of the Hills, as Note himself, put it later. The system introduced was as follows: Note himself was the "Inkosi Enkhulu" or King. Then Note had an "*Induna Inkulu*" styled lord and corresponding to the Governor-General. Then Note had another Lord who was looked upon as the father of them all and styled "*Nomsala*". then Note had his own government who were known by numbers, number one to four. Note had a fighting general on the model of the Boer Vecht general. The medical side was entrusted to a chief doctor or "*inyanga*". further Note had colonels, captain, sergeant major and sergeants in charge of the rank and file, and the "*Amasoja*" or "*Shosi*" - soldiers (Van Onselen, 1984 : 12 - 3).

The rank strategy of the 28 gang has two divisions, namely the private and blood division. The private division is not suppose to be engaged in fighting, only the blood division is engaged in fighting. The private division includes the following gang members:

- * The boy-wives of the 28 gang members, namely: "*Masiliva*" one and two, Goliat one and two, "*Nkhayezi*" (Star) one and two. The

"probations" are boy-wives of the camp, and officers who are not allocated with the boy-wives, can have sexual advances with them.

- * Magistrate: Presides over the minor offences of the 28 gang members.
- * Mabhalane (Secretary): Notes down the minutes during the meeting as well as the minutes of the court proceeding.
- * Inspector (Investigator): Investigates matters which has a relevance to the 28 gang and is responsible for the joining of the new prisoners in the 28 gang. The Inspector is also acting as a prosecutor of the 28 gang.
- * Landdros: Is the nurse within the 28 gang. All the patients of the 28 gang members are placed under his care. The nurse gives the patients "umuthi" (medicine) in order to be cured from illness.
- * Doctor (*Inyanga*): Is responsible for the patients of the 28 gang and those who sustained injuries during the violence and is examining those prisoners who want to join the 28 gang, to make sure that they are suitable to join the 28 gang. The doctor is diagnosing the new members with special reference to their classification. That is, those who are suppose to do light labour (boy-wives) and those who are suppose to do hard labour (soldiers).

The doctor is also examining the knives to be used by the 28 gang members. The doctor sets the length of the knives in accordance with the seriousness of the offence to be carried out to the accused (prisoners who are sentenced by the 28 gang members).
- * Government: Handles the statute book of the 28 gang and is giving commands to the 28 gang members.
- * *Nonzala* (Instructor): Is the instructor of the soldiers and boy-wives of the gang. "*Nonzala*" is also exercising discipline among the soldiers and the boy-wives of the 28 gang.

The blood division consists of the following 28 gang members:

- * Soldiers: Protect the 28 gang - theirs, is to fight with mugs and assault as instructed by the 28 gang.
- * Sergeant two: A prisoner who wants to join the 28 gang, first approaches Sergeant two who will then take him to the Inspector and is also a drilling instructor of the soldiers of the 28 gang.
- * Sergeant one: Gives lessons to newly appointed soldiers of the 28 gang and is the man at the gate, and see to it that newly appointed soldiers should not run away after they have joined the gang.
- * Captain two: Handles meetings of the 28 gang whenever is necessary. During the meeting, the 28 gang members sit in a form of a semi-circle and is called "esekhumba".
- * Captain one: Handles minor cases of the 28 gang members. The gang member is the commander of the following gang members, namely: the Soldiers, Sergeant One and Two and Captain Two.
- * Jim Crow (Germiston-lieutenant): Is a gang member who is in the middle. All matters pass via him and is testing the 28 gang members who attended the lessons concerning the 28 gang activities as the gang member is an expert in the 28 gang codes. The gang member is also responsible for the allocation of the boy-wives to the 28 gang members.
- * Captain who works with a radio: Is supposed to collect all information concerning matter which are discussed about the 28 gang. The gang member collects all information which other gangs are discussing about the 28 gang, and informs the Colonel (28 gang officer). The gang member sees to it that the punishment which is imposed upon a gang member, should be carried out. When there is a complaint about food in the institution, is responsible to lodge a complaint to the officer of the Correctional Services.
- * Colonel: Writes the statute book of the 28 gang and allocates the 28 gang members with the posts. All the 28 gang members

should obey his commands. The gang member is defending the 28 gang members who are accused of offences and see to it that the accused of the 28 gang should receive a fair judgement.

- * General (Blacksmith): Manufactures weapons for the 28 gang members and makes sure that weapons are available or made to be available for the 28 gang members if they are to be used. The General is a 28 gang member who is aggressive and does not talk a lot and is responsible to call upon an "up" when the 28 gang is suppose to fight.
- * Judge (*Magilo-gilo*): Has no mercy and is only involved in the Twelve at Springs (meeting) when there is an offence which needs a death sentence upon the accused. The Judge is passing a death sentence and signs that it should be executed.
- * Lord: Is the senior gang member of the 28 gang according to the rank hierarchy, though the gang member has a limited influence to the 28 gang members.

7.3

THE 28 GANG CODE

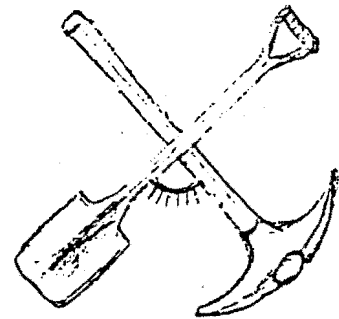
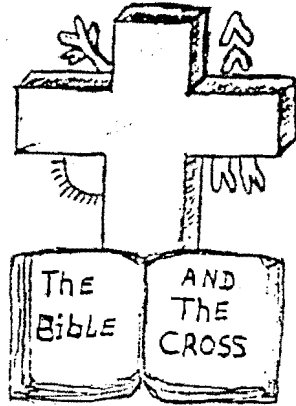
The following are the 28 gang codes:

- "* You have nothing of your own. Everything you have belong to the camp.
- * You must never be tired of your blood brother.
- * You will respect the gang codes.
- * There is only one gate at the camp.
- * Do not give up your brother.
- * You should die where your brother dies.
- * You should not point a finger at your brother.
- * You should not fight your own brother.
- * Do not be a crook to your brother as he is your mother's child.
- * You should not insult your brother, because if you insulted him, you have insulted the whole camp.
- * You should love your brother as you love yourself.
- * You should not sell your own brother."

7.4

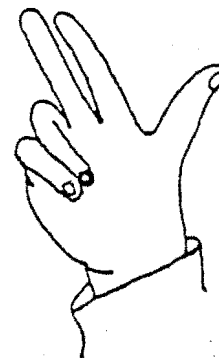
MODUS OPERANDI OF THE 28 GANG

The 28 gang members have tattoo marks on their bodies which could appear in one of the following ways:



The concept: Moliva

Greeting sign



(28)

Verbal greeting: Hosh

Indeed, such are the historical continuities within this grouping

that today, nearly a hundred years after the formation of the "Umkhosi Wezintaba" (Regiment of the Hills), the members of the 28 gang still greet one another with the saying "Umkhosi odla amahhashi" - a phrase which defines ready translation, but which in effect means "The Regiment who repossess the value of the Horse" (Van Onselen, 1984 : 53).

7.4.1 WEAPONS USED AGAINST CORRECTIONAL SERVICES AUTHORITY MEMBERS

The wrongs of the institution are corrected by assaulting a member of a correctional services or a Big 5 gang member as the Big 5 gang members collaborate with the members of the Correctional Services. The 28 gang members are not supposed to discuss with the members of the Correctional Services, except when they lodge a complaint or make a request to them. The 28 gang members feel that when their fellow 28 gang member is discussing with a member of Correctional Services, the gang member may expose their secrets to the members of the Correctional Services.

7.4.2 ESCAPE FROM THE INSTITUTION

According to the objectives of the 28 gang, their interests are in boy-wives, food which is not well prepared or not enough in quantity and to correct the wrongs of the members of the Correctional Services. The 28 gang members who escape in prison are the "probations", that is, the boy-wives of the 28 gang and when they are recaptured, they automatically join the Airforce 4 gang members. The 28 gang members and the Airforce 4 gang members work hand in hand. The Airforce 4 gang originated from the 28 gang. (See chapter 5 point 5.)

7.5 GANG SOLIDARITY

Like everybody else, prisoners are dependent on the recognition and confirmation. They want affection and excitement. They need security and a feeling of belonging. They all have to undergo the same experience of a complete deprivation of liberty in and enclosed

institution (Grünhut, 1948 : 164 - 5). The 28 gang members protect one another against the members of other gangs and towards prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang. The more cohesive the gang, the more likely its members will behave as follows:

- * Be more open to influence by other gang members;
- * Place greater value on the gang's goals;
- * Be active participants in group discussion; and
- * Be more equal participants in gang discussion (Goldstein, 1991 : 81 - 2). Equally important, is the fact that Note's Regiment is similar to the 28 gang.

Under Note's leadership the Regiment of the Hills thus emerged not only as a more tightly structured organisation but, perhaps, more importantly, as one with a certain amount of ideological cohesion and social purpose (Van Onselen, 1984 : 14). The 28 gang directly descended from the original ninevites.

7.6

GANG CONFLICT

Gang conflict focuses on the internal conflict, inter-gang conflict and victimisation of prisoners not affiliated to any gang.

7.6.1

INTERNAL CONFLICT

The 28 gang members apply the following disciplinary measures, namely:

- * The soldiers are under the discipline and control of "Nonzala". For the first disciplinary offence, a soldier can be warned by "Nonzala", but the second disciplinary offence, "Nonzala" slaps a soldier once or more with an open hand on his chest.
- * Sergeant number one and two are under Captain two. For the first minor disciplinary offences of both sergeants, captain two can warn them, but when the offence is serious they can be sentenced to eight strokes with footed shoes on their buttocks. When a sergeant committed a disciplinary offence for the second time, is instructed to clean what the sergeant has done. To

clean what the gang member has done, means that the gang member must stab another prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang or a Big 5 gang member. According to the 28 gang, it is forbidden that the boy-wives of the senior gang members should have sexual advances with the junior gang members.

When any boy-wife of the senior officers of the 28 gang could have sexual advances with the junior member of a 28 gang, is said to be dirty, and must be washed. The said junior member must provide a boy-wife with soap and a new washing-rug in order that the boy-wife should wash himself for eight days before a senior officer, a 28 gang member, could have a sexual relationship with him. When a 28 gang member exposes the secrets of the 28 gang, the judge imposes a death sentence upon him. When a 28 gang member stabs another 28 gang member with a knife, a death sentence is imposed upon him by the judge. On the day of the death sentence, two captains are escorted by the judge. The two captains are called upon to stab their fellow 28 gang member with knives to death. In the Airforce 3 and 4, Big 5 and 28 gang, when a gang member exposed the secrets of the gang, a death-sentence is imposed upon him.

7.6.2

INTER-GANG CONFLICT

Inter-gang member fighting takes a variety of forms, namely:

- * Fighting without weapons between two members of opposing gangs;
- * Fighting with weapons between two gang members of opposing gangs;
- * Fighting between a small group from one gang and single member from another gang; and
- * Fighting between two large gangs (Goldstein, 1991 : 31).

When a 28 gang member clashes with a Big 5 gang member, the 28 gang members send sergeant number one to go and negotiate for peace with the Big 5 gang members. When the 28 gang member clashes with a 26 gang member, the 28 gang sends captain number two to go and

negotiate for peace with the 26 gang. When peace cannot be negotiated after the 28 gang members have found a mistake to be of a 26 gang member, then the 28 gang members wait for the 26 gang members to react. The 26 gang members react usually after all prisoners have been served with breakfast, or meals or when they are exercising during the exercising period, after having observed that there are not enough members of the Correctional Services in the yard. When there are enough members of the Correctional Services in the yard the attack will be postponed, though it should occur within six days. When it could not occur within six days, then the attack will be automatically stopped forever. The attack of the 28 gang members occurs within eight days, and failure to occur within eight days, then is left forever.

7.6.3 VICTIMISATION OF PRISONERS NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY GANG

When a gang member clashes with a prisoner not affiliated to any gang, the 28 gang members send a sergeant to go and negotiate with the prisoner for peace. When a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang stabs a 28 gang member with a weapon, automatically a death sentence will be imposed upon him by the 28 gang. Two captains of the 28 gang members under the escort of the Judge, will execute the death sentence. This procedure is also followed by the 26 gang.

7.7 DISCIPLINARY ACTION

This sub-section concerns the convening of meetings, procedure at meetings and the implementation of resolutions by the 28 gang members.

7.7.1 CONVENING OF MEETINGS

The Secretary (Mabhalane) has the following duties within the 28 gang: to organise meetings; write down the minutes (though there is no minute book). A Secretary is a 28 gang member who has a good memory and the Secretary can quote the minutes of the different meetings. Captain number two is the chairman at the meeting of the

soldiers and the sergeants while "Nonzala" is chairing the meeting of the boy-wives of the 28 gang members.

For the senior officers of the 28 gang members, the Secretary informs the 28 gang members about the date and venue of the meeting and gives a feedback to the judge. The judge is a chairman of the senior gang members of the 28 gang.

7.7.2

PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS

The meeting of the 28 gang - the gang members sit or stand in a circle, which the 28 gang members call "esekhumba". "Esekhumba" means a circle. "Nonzala" is the chairman of the boy-wives of the 28 gang.

Captain number two is the chairman of the soldiers and sergeants and the judge is the chairman during the meeting of the senior officers of the 28 gang. The meeting procedure of the Airforce, 26, Big 5 and 28 gang is similar.

7.7.3

IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS

For the decisions reached at during the meeting of the boy-wives, "Nonzala" see to it that the resolutions are implemented.

The decisions decided upon during the meeting of the soldiers and the sergeants, the inspector is responsible for the implementation of those resolutions, while with the senior officers of the 28 gang members, the judge is responsible for the implementation of the resolutions reached at during the meeting.

"Masiliva" one, is the boy-wife of captain one and "Masiliva" two is the boy-wife of the lieutenant. Goliat one, is the boy-wife of the captain who works with a radio, and Goliat two is the boy-wife of the inspector. the general of the 28 gang, has two boy-wives, namely: "Nkhayezi" one and two (Star one and two). The boy-wives of

the general relieve each other, especially if one is sick. "Nonzala" is responsible for the handling of the complaints of all the boy-wives of the camp.

7.8

SEXUAL RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE GANG

The 28 gang members do have sexual relations with the junior members of the 26 gang, but not with the junior members of the Big 5 and the Airforce 3 gang. When a 28 gang member have an affair with a junior member of the 26 gang, the 28 gang gives the 26 gang a total of 26 packets of B.B. tobacco for that purpose.

A gang member who is cohabiting with a 26 gang member, should not influence him to join the 28 gang. The agreement is only that the 28 gang member should use a 26 gang member as a boy-wife, but not to recruit him to join the 28 gang. When the said gang member of the 26 gang is big enough to be a soldier, then the 26 gang takes him back by means of eight packets of B.B. tobacco.

The 28 gang members can easily have sexual advances with the Airforce 4 gang members. The reason is historical. They originated from them but not with the Airforce 3 and Big 5 gang.

Before, the 28 gang members used to have sexual affairs with the junior members of the Big 5 gang, but experience has shown them that the junior members of the Big 5 gang are poisonous, as they exposed the secrets of the 28 gang to their fellow gang members and to the members of the Correctional Services. According to the codes of the 28 gang, the 28 gang members are not prohibited to have sexual relations with prisoner not affiliated to any gang.

A boy-wife of a 28 gang member who no longer wishes to be engaged in sexual relations, is called upon by the 28 gang in order to motivate his reasons to that effect. If the 28 gang finds that a boy-wife has no valid reasons, is forced to be a boy-wife, and if has valid

reasons, is promoted to be a soldier. According to the 28 gang, one of the criteria of promoting a boy-wife to be a soldier, is when the said gang member is big enough to be a man. The homosexual relationship of the 28 and Big 5 gang is similar.

7.9 MOBILITY IN THE 28 GANG

7.9.1 METHOD OF JOINING ANOTHER GANG

A 28 gang member is not supposed to join another gang. According to one of the rules of the 28 gang, there is only one entrance at the camp. This means that a 28 gang member is not supposed to join another gang or resign from the 28 gang. When a 28 gang member joins another gang, the gang member is supposed to attack his immediate senior gang member as a sign that is no longer belonging to that gang, and the 28 gang members cannot ignore that, as they are supposed to revenge to the gang which let their fellow gang member join it. In this manner they avoid violence. The 28 gang members prohibit their fellow gang members to join another gang. The joining method of the 28 gang is similar to the joining method of the Airforce, Big 5 and 26 gang.

7.9.2 ADMISSION OF MEMBERS FROM OTHER GANGS

Before a prisoner joins the 28 gang, is inspected to see if the prisoner has no tattoo marks of another gang and if has tattoo marks of another, is automatically refused to join the 28 gang.

The 28 gang does not accept a prisoner who is from another gang, as this will lead to violence. This procedure is also followed by the Airforce, Big 5 and 26 gang.

7.9.3 HOW GANG MEMBERS ARE PROMOTED

The gang members are promoted through merit, knowledge of the gang codes and deeds of bravery. The latter is however not over emphasized. By deeds of bravery the gang members refer to the

number or occasions in which the gang member attacked other prisoners during the uprising.

7.9.4

RETIREMENT

The 28 gang members are given the opportunity to retire due to ill-health, physically handicapped or old age, though they remain inactive members of the 28 gang. The only rank which is supposed to be struggled for, if the gang member does not retire due to old age is that of a president.

When a president of the 28 gang is about to be released from prison, is forced to retire so that the colonel should be promoted to the rank of a general. In cases where the president was no longer actively involved in 28 activities before release, then the rank will be taken from him by means of bloodshed. By bloodshed means that a president must be stabbed with a knife or instrument before the rank could be taken from him. A 28 gang member who is supposing to stab him, is the colonel (a senior officer of the 28 gang).

7.10

SUMMARY

It has become clear from the foregoing discussion that the main objectives of the 28 gang members centre around food, boy-wives and the correction of the wrongs of the institution.

The 28 gang members do not force prisoners to join them, but prisoners join them voluntarily provided that they are not from other gangs. The newly gang members are classified according to their ages. The young gang members are classified as "probations" (boy-wives), and the older gang members are classified as soldiers. The boy-wives are supposed to do light labour, while the soldiers and other gang members are supposing to do hard labour, which means that they are to fight when necessary in order to defend the 28 gang. The 28 gang members complain about the food which is not well-prepared and the quantity of the food served to them. When the

28 gang members are not satisfied about the food served to them in the institution, they assault the cooks of the prison kitchen.

The other main objective of the 28 gang and the only interest in the 28 gang is the boy-wife relationship.

The senior officers of the 28 gang are allocated with their own boy-wives, and the other gang members who are not allocated with the boy-wives can have sexual advances with the "probations" of the gang. When a junior gang member has sexual advances with a boy-wife of a senior gang member, it is said that the boy-wife is dirty and must be cleaned. The junior gang member must buy soap and washing-rug in order that the boy-wife should wash himself for eight days. The day on which the 28 gang members are going to attack the cooks of the institutional kitchen, they inform all other gangs except the Big 5 gang. The 28 gang members are scared of informing the Big 5 gang members as they can expose their secrets to the members of the Correctional Services. The 28 gang members are not supposed to resign, but can be given the opportunity to retire due to old age, physically handicapped, and ill-health. The 28 gang members who are given the opportunity to retire, remain the 28 gang members and they are not supposing to join another gang. The Airforce 4 gang originated from the 28 gang. When a 28 gang member can stab another 28 gang member with a weapon, or expose the secrets of the 28 gang, a death sentence will be imposed upon that gang member. The Judge sees to it that the execution of the death sentence which is imposed upon a gang member is executed by the two captains of the 28 gang. The 28 gang members are promoted on merit, knowledge of the codes of the gang and brave deeds.

When a president of the 28 gang is due to be released from prison, is forced to retire so that his immediate should be promoted to his rank. When the president of the 28 hang is no longer associating with the 28 gang members before his date of release, the 28 gang

members will call him and force him to retire and should the President fail to respond to that, then an action will be taken against him. The Colonel of the 28 gang must take the rank by force. The Colonel of the 28 gang must stab the President of the gang with a weapon and thereafter, the Colonel will be promoted to the rank of a President.

The next chapter focuses on the essential aspects of the Big 5 gang, the control measures as well as the findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 8

THE BIG 5 GANG AND THE CONTROL MEASURES

8

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the Big 5 gang.

Control measures which include, recapturing of escape, discipline, privileges, isolation, solidarity confinement and mechanical restraint;

- * The role of prison gangs in violence which includes:
- * the prevention of unrest-related violence in prison;
- * effective communication system;
- * identification of the problem situation;
- * reaction to justifiable grievances;
- * removal of agitators;
- * keep detainees informed about their matters;
- * the role of personnel;
- * disciplinary programmes;
- * selected programmes for prison population; and
- * the role of external influences.

Dynamics of prison violence which include chemical agents for riot control, gas masks and fire-arms.

The Big 5 gang (originally The Torch Commando) was founded in 1951 at the Cinderella Prison by a prisoner called Masondo. The primary objective of this gang was to aid escapes. Masondo was killed in an escape attempt and the gang then decided to rather work with the prison service staff (Neser, 1989 : 150).

All the gangs in prison have names which unite them into a social whole. The Big 5 gang has unleashed a reign of terror on prison inmates with the help of high-ranking prison officers at Modderbee Prison in Benoni, a letter smuggled out by a group of concerned

prisoners claimed. The letter said that medical officers also refused to take injured victims to hospital after they had been assaulted by the gang members. The Department of Correctional Services acknowledged the existence of prison gangs, but denied that they worked with authorities. any allegations that certain gangs are favoured are false (City Press, October 25, 1992 : 5).

According to the American Correctional Association (1973 : 7) and Lombardo (1981 : 114), to show some favouritism to some members of the inmate population including gangs, means that others are being discriminated against. This discrimination can produce discontentment, which may erupt into rebellious behaviour.

8.1

RECRUITMENT OF THE BIG 5 GANG

A prisoner who does not belong to a group, often fears for his life when enters the prison. Whether inside or outside the prison, the gangs allow a person to feel like a man. The gang is like a family you belong to (Neser, 1989 : 15). The Big 5 members do not recruit other prisoners. Prisoners who have interest in the gang join voluntarily.

Case-study

"I joined a big 5 gang while I was still at the awaiting-trial section. The reason for joining the Big 5 gang, was that I needed protection, because I was ill-treated there. After joining the Big 5 gang, I was no longer ill-treated by my fellow awaiting-trial prisoners, as they feared that my fellow gang members would revenge on my behalf. I am serving fifteen years imprisonment for theft and my present rank with the Big 5 gang is a betlar".

8.1.1

SELECTION OF THE MEMBERS

The only criterion which the Big 5 gang uses in selection of new members, is whether the individual is old age or physical handicap. The Big 5 gang does not accept old or physically handicapped

prisoners to join the gang. The reason is that the gang emphasises physical strength, (Neser, 1989 : 137).

8.1.2

RANK STRATEGY

The rank strategy of the Big 5 gang from the lowest to the highest rank and their roles in the gang is as follows:

- * **Recruit:** A new gang member.
- * **Cat 1 (*soldiers*) :** The defence force of the gang. The soldiers protect the Big 5 gang members.
- * **Cat 2 (*gate-corporal*):** Sees to it that the gang members should not withdraw or join another gang.
- * **Cat 3 (a group of gang members called helpers):** They help their fellow gang members with anything.
- * **Cat 4 (*presiding officer*):** Is presiding over the minor cases called "*Stokkies*".
- * **Cat 5 (supervisor of the gang members):** A gang member is assigned with the task of gang members who are not suppose to co-habit with the boy-wives.
- * **Cat 6 (*drilling instructor*):** A gang member is responsible for the physical training of the soldiers and the recruits. During violent coaching, novices are taught the proper course of action to take towards people who provoke them. Their coaches teach them what they should and should not do when provoked by another person. Athens (1989 : 47) confirmed this research.
- * **Cat 7 (*fairline*):** A gang member is responsible for escorting other gang members whenever they are sent by the gang to go and negotiate with other gang members or non-members for peace.
- * **Cat 8 ("*brandkas*"):** this gang member stores the money and dagga (Marijuana) of the gang.
- * **Cat 9 (*collector*):** this gang member collects tobacco for his fellow gang members who cannot afford to buy tobacco from the whole gang.
- * **Cat 10 (*G.I. store-keeper*):** Is responsible for the storage of tobacco for the whole gang and also issues tobacco to gang

members who do not have tobacco. The gangs sometimes serve as a buffer against poverty, because when one gang member scores is expected to share with others (Neser, 1989 : 150).

- * **Cat 11 (*Leskin*):** A gang member is responsible for notifying the gang members about the meeting, accompanying gang members when they go and negotiate with other gang members or prisoners who are not affiliated to a gang for peace and the gang member is suppose to be present when the tobacco is issued by Cat 10 to any member or members of the gang.
- * **Cat 12 (*Medical examiner*):** The member examines the members to see if they are fit. The member works hand in hand with the drilling instructor Cat 6.
- * **Cat 13:** This gang member sees to it that the Big 5 gang members should not gossip. According to the Big 5 gang, members are not suppose to gossip about their fellow gang members, members of other gangs and prisoners who are not affiliated to any gang.
- * **Cat 14 (*Protector*):** Is responsible for the protection of his fellow gang members or non-members.
- * **Cat 15 *F.B.I. (Investigator)*:** Is responsible for investigating matters pertaining to the Big 5 gang.
- * **Cat 16 (*Magistrate*):** Is a chairman when the meeting is called upon by the Big 5 gang.
- * **Cat 17 (*Typewriter*):** Keeps the minutes whenever the gang members negotiate with other gang members or non-members for peace. The gang have no minute book, a gang member who keeps the minutes have a good memory.
- * **Cat 18 (*Reporter*):** Is one of the delegates of the Big 5 gang, and reports back to the gang after they negotiated with other gang members or non-members for peace, and the gang member is also responsible for reporting any matter or conduct of his fellow gang members to the Big 5 gang.
- * **Cat 19 (*Betlar*):** Teaches or coaches his fellow gang members about their codes and those who are inferior to him in rank. The gang member also act as escort of *Vlam 2* force when gang

members are ordered to discipline another gang member or a prisoner who is not affiliated to any gang. The Betlar attack first then followed by other gang members who accompanied him.

- * Cat 20 (*Field Marshall*): Is the leader of Vlam I force during a violent action.
- * Cat 21 (*Defence Force*): Defends his gang members and the non-members.
- * Cat 22 (*Peace-makers*): Negotiates for peace with every prisoner in the institution.
- * Cat 23 (*Minister of Justice*): Imposes sentences, either a death sentence or grievous bodily harm.
- * Cat 24 (*Prime Minister*): Has all the codes of the gang and is responsible for the explanation of all that is not clear to the gang and the gang member is vested with the authority to amend the codes of the Big 5 gang.
- * Cat 25 (*President*): The gang member is responsible for ordering or giving orders especially for Vlam 3 force to act violently.
- * Professor: Knows everything about the codes of the Big 5 gang and the codes of other gangs.
- * Scientist: Is no longer active in the gang and is viewed as a pensioner of the gang.

8.2

CHARACTERISTICS AND MODUS OPERANDI

The Big 5 gang uses a book for their codes. The rules are, however, not written down. The first book of the Big 5 gang was called a Khakhi book which was used from 1957 until the end of 1960. The Khakhi book was then amended, and the Big 5 gang made use of a spade book from 1960 until the end of 1966. Still, the codes of the spade book could not satisfy the needs of the Big 5 gang members. The end of 1966 a third book of their codes was released which was called a claps book.

The claps book is in operation until today. The Khakhi book and the Spade book included the following codes:

- * Do not provoke other prisoners;
- * Do not join any gang in prison;
- * If a prisoner of other gang or not affiliated to any gang provoke you, report to the Big 5 gang;
- * A gang member is not suppose to resign from the gang;
- * Do not expose the secrets of the gang to other gang members or prisoners not affiliated to any gang;
- * Do not work against the codes of the Big 5 gang;
- * The gang members are not supposed to go about gossiping about other gang members of the Big 5 gang or members of other gangs or non-members;
- * When a prisoner is in possession of a weapon, it must be taken from him by the Big 5 gang or the said prisoner should be reported to the members of Correctional Services;
- * The gang members must work in co-operation with the members of the Correctional Services;
- * The orders or instructions of the gang must be carried out;
- * No homosexual relationship; and
- * A member of the Big 5 gang should not ask for tobacco from other gang member or non-members.

The influence of prison codes forms a basis for the behaviour of prisoners towards one another and towards prison service members (Johnson, et al, 1970 : 401). The Claps book amended the code which prohibited homosexuality among the gang members, namely:

- * The boy-wives of the Big 5 gang should not associate with members of other gangs;
- * A Big 5 gang member is not suppose to force a boy-wife in order to co-habit with him;
- * A boy-wife of the Big 5 gang can, by agreement with the Big 5 gang associate with a non-member, but not with a member of another gang; and
- * The Big 5 gang members from Cat 11 up to professor are allowed to have boy-wives.

8.2.1

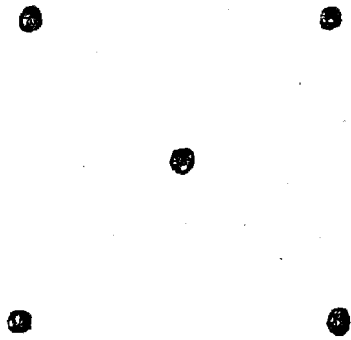
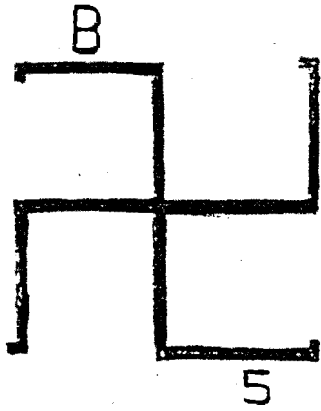
MODUS OPERANDI OF THE BIG 5 GANG

The Big 5 gang members collaborate with the prison authorities (Van Onselen, 1984 : 53). According to one of the codes of the Big 5 gang, the Big 5 gang members are not supposed to argue with the members of Correctional Services, but are supposed to work with the members of Correctional Services.

The big 5 gang members have tattoo marks of Big 5 and double Z on their bodies. The F.B.I. (Investigator) have no tattoo marks of the Big 5 gang, because the gang member is not supposed to be recognised by other gangs.

The tattoo marks of the Big 5 gang members on their bodies can appear in one of the following ways:

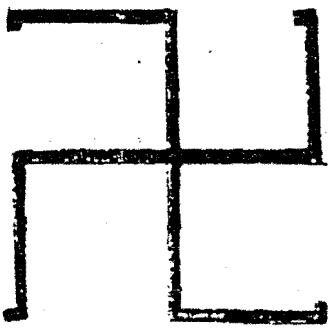
N.B.: SEE PAGE 192(a)



(BIG 5)

Z Z X 5

(BIG 5)



(BIG 5)

(BIG 5)

The Big 5 gang members greet one another by raising an open palm (City Press, October 25, 1992 : 5).

8.3 WEAPONS USED AGAINST CORRECTIONAL AUTHORITY MEMBERS

The Big 5 gang members do not use weapons against the members of the Correctional Services. The Big 5 gang is well known for spying on fellow prisoners and passing on information to the authorities in return for favours (City Press, October 25, 1992 : 5).

The gang members of the Big 5 report their problems to the members of Correctional Services, especially if they clashed with other gang members, but when a clash is within themselves, they act on their own. According to the Claps book, anything should be reported to the members of the Correctional Services, though presently, they no longer report everything to the members of Correctional Services due to the fact that there are sub-groups within the Big 5 gang.

8.3.1 ESCAPE FROM PRISON

According to the Big 5 gang, its members do not escape from prison, though originally the gang aided escapes from prison. Though the Big 5 gang states that its members do not escape from prison, there are a few of the Big 5 gang members who have escaped charges against them. This has been revealed by the institutional files of the Big 5 gang.

8.4 GANG SOLIDARITY

The Big 5 gang members protect their fellow gang members against other prisoners in prison. The Big 5 gang members in prison especially during the exercising period, associate with one another, and they do physical exercises together.

8.5 GANG CONFLICT

Under gang conflict, emphasis will be made on the following aspects, namely: internal conflict, inter-gang conflict and the victimisation

of prisoners not affiliated to any gang.

8.5.1 INTERNAL CONFLICT

When there is a clash among the gang members, a meeting is called upon in order to settle the dispute among gang members. When the gang members are found guilty by the gang members, disciplinary measures are taken against them. The Vlam one force, which consists of soldiers under the leadership of field marshall, carry out those disciplinary actions. A disciplinary measure could be in any of the following ways, namely: 25 slaps on the gang member or the drinking of five litres of water at the same time. Should the gang members repeat the same mistakes, then Vlam Two Force, which is bit harsher, carry out the disciplinary measures. Here, each gang member is struck 25 times by means of a shoe (blue gender) on the chest (see also 8.6).

8.5.2 INTER-GANG CONFLICT

For some gangs, conflict with other gangs are a major focus of group attention, even though little actual gang fighting may take place (Short, 1968 : 19). When the members of the Big 5 gang clash with other gang members such as Airforce, 26 and 28 gang, they send their delegates in order to go and negotiate for peace. The Big 5 on the return of the delegates, call upon an immediate meeting in order that the delegates should give them a feedback.

8.5.3 VICTIMISATION OF PRISONERS NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY GANG

When members of the Big 5 gang clash with the non-members, the Big 5 gang members send the delegates to the non-members in order to go and negotiate for peace with those prisoners. The delegates consist of Cat 11 (Leskin), Cat 17 (Typewriter) and Cat 18 (Reporter). The delegates on their return give a feedback to the gang in the meeting.

8.6

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The Big 5 gang has three different forces which are responsible for disciplinary actions, namely: *Vlam* one force, *Vlam* two force and *Vlam* three force. The *Vlam* one force consists of soldiers under the leadership of a field marshall. *Vlam* one force carries out minor disciplinary measures such as minor assault on the boy-wives, first offenders of their fellow gang members and non-members. The minor disciplinary measures could be 25 slaps to the individual or to drink five litres of water at the same time. *Vlam* two force is under the leadership of the gang member called *betlar*, attends serious matters, that is, disciplinary measures which are harsher in action to the gang members who are repeating the same mistakes or to the members of other gangs.

8.6.1

CONVENING OF MEETINGS

Cat 11 (Leskin) convenes the meetings in the following manner, informs the members of the Big 5 gang about the meetings as well as the venue, date and time of the meeting.

After the gang members have gathered together for the meeting, the Leskin gives the feedback to the chairman that they are ready for the meeting. The chairman then comes to convene the meeting.

8.6.2

PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS

Cat 16 the Magistrate, is the chairman of the meeting when it is called upon by the Big 5 gang. When a meeting is called upon, the members of the Big 5 gang sit in a form of a semi-circle. The handkerchief drawn Big 5 or double Z is placed on the floor and is surrounded by the Big 5 gang members. The boy-wives before they can say something in the meeting, raise left arms and thereafter, proceed on addressing the meeting (by raising the left arm, means that a gang member is a boy-wife). The rest of the gang members raise their right hands, stating their ranks and thereafter, proceed on addressing the meeting.

8.6.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS

The gang members of the Big 5 gang who attend the meeting, that is, the soldiers up to the rank of Cat 16 (Magistrate), know the resolutions which are decided upon during the meeting. The senior members of the Big 5 gang are not made aware of the resolutions, especially when it is a minor disciplinary action.

The senior gang members of the Big 5 gang, are only involved when Vlam three force is to implement the resolutions. The senior Big 5 gang members, give orders to their subordinates in order to carry out their instructions. When the orders or instructions are given by the senior gang members of the Big 5 gang, they are carried out willy-nilly.

8.6.4 HATRED OF OTHER GANG MEMBERS TOWARDS THE BIG 5 GANG

The Khakhi book and the Spade book empower the Big 5 gang members to be in possession of one knife. Cat 19 (Betlar) and Cat 20 (Field Marshall) are both responsible for the safety of the knife. A knife is used by the Big 5 gang members to defend themselves when they assaulted a member of another gang.

The Big 5 gang members make an allegation that the said gang member whom they assaulted intended to stab one of the Big 5 gang members, and thus, they overpowered him, and take a knife from him, which resulted that the prisoner should sustain injuries, which is a framed-up story. This created that other gang members should hate the Big 5 gang. The Claps book do not allow the Big 5 gang to be in possession of a knife for the purpose of a framed-up story against members of other gangs when they wounded them. When a Big 5 gang member sees a prisoner who is in possession of a weapon, should take that weapon or report the prisoner who is in possession of a weapon to the members of Correctional Services in order that they should seize that weapon from that prisoner.

The Big 5 gang members call a knife or weapon "500", shoes are called "blue ganders" and fists are called "shortguns". When they attack or fight a non-member called "dadelik", or other gang member is called "wurm" or "Kokopane" and the Airforce gang member is called "Naksak".

When a prisoner is assaulted by the Big 5 gang members, one should find out which force assaulted him, namely: when a prisoner is assaulted by Vlam one force, Cat 20 (Field Marshall) should be consulted, when assaulted by Vlam two force, Cat 19 (Betlar) must be consulted and when assaulted by Vlam three force, defence force, prime minister and president must be consulted in order to relate the whole story. The Big 5 gang members do not rob other prisoners in the institution. Most of the Big 5 gang members are interested in food called "12 apostol" or "Kragstasie" or "vyfpotte" and in wearing clean clothes called "tunic". The Big 5 gang members are interested in food, as most of their time in prison they are doing physical exercises.

8.7

HOMOSEXUALITY WITHIN THE BIG 5 GANG

Helpless young boys fall victim to the big 5 gang's sodomy practices (City Press, October 25, 1992 : 5, and Van Onselen, 1982, Vol. 2 : 187).

There are gang members who are not allowed to have boy-wives, namely: Cat 1 to Cat 10 and the Scientist.

The reason that Cat 1 to Cat 10 should not have boy-wives, is because they are the Defence Force unit of the Big 5 gang. They are supposed to be physically fit and for the Scientist is that the gang member is the supervisor of the Big 5 gang. The Big 5 gang members who have boy-wives are given the opportunity to sleep with their boy-wives on Saturday, and the Saturday is called a "canteen day". On Saturdays, the boy-wives are allowed to visit the Big 5 gang

members and sleep with them. From Monday to Friday, including Sundays, the boy-wives can sleep in any communal cell and pay a visit for the purpose of homosexual relationship on Saturdays. Despite the fact that the Big 5 gang members are allowed to sleep with the boy-wives on Saturdays there are exceptions. In some cases they force to sleep with their boy-wives daily in one communal cell.

The boy-wives of the Big 5 gang have a calender, which stipulates what they are supposed to do from Monday until Sunday.

Monday : swimming pool - the boy-wives bath.
Tuesday : school day - coaching day.
Wednesday : tennis - the boy-wives are given a chance to participate in any sport.
Thursday : laundry - washing day.
Friday : information day - every boy-wife visits his co-habitor to explain to him the codes of the Claps book.
Saturday : canteen day - the boy-wives visit the Big 5 gang members for homosexual relationship.
Sunday : a day of peace.

Cat 5 is assigned with a task to see to it that the Big 5 gang members who are not allowed to have boy-wives, should not co-habit with the boy-wives. When a boy-wife called "vryboom" of the Big 5 gang is eloped by another gang member, the Big 5 gang sends the delegates to that particular gang in order to negotiate with the members of the gang member concerned, so that their fellow gang member would stop to associate with a boy-wife of the Big 5 gang. In turn, the Big 5 gang members warn a boy-wife so that the gang member should not repeat the same mistake again. The Big 5 gang members fear that, when a boy-wife of the gang associate with a member of another gang, may expose the secrets of the gang to that particular gang member. Should a boy-wife of the Big 5 gang be found again having sexual affair with a member of another gang, then

a boy-wife will be disciplined by Vlam One force. A boy-wife may be given 25 slaps or given five litres of water to drink at the same time.

A boy-wife is given a lenient punishment, because is treated as a lady by the Big 5 gang.

8.7.1 SEXUAL RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE GANG

The Big 5 gang members who are allowed by the gang to have boy-wives, can have sexual relations with prisoners not affiliated to any gang, but they are not allowed to make sexual advances towards members of another gang, as this could lead to violence in prison.

8.7.2 GANG REACTIONS TO THOSE WHO NO LONGER WISH TO ENGAGE IN SEXUAL RELATIONS

When a boy-wife decides no longer to co-habit with the Big 5 gang member, the gang member is not forced to, provided a boy-wife does not join another gang. The said boy-wife is upgraded to the defence force category and becomes a soldier.

8.7.3 SEXUAL RELATIONS OF THE JUNIOR GANG MEMBERS OF THE BIG 5 GANG WITH PRISONERS NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY GANG

When a non-member called "dadelik", has a sexual relation with a junior gang member of the Big 5 gang, the Big 5 gang members send delegates to that particular non-member in order to negotiate with him.

According to the Big 5 gang, when a junior gang member of the Big 5 gang sleeps with a non-member, the matter is not so serious as compared to when a junior member slept with a member of another gang.

When the delegates and a non-member reach an agreement, the non-member is given a permission to co-habit with a junior member of the

big 5 gang. When a junior member of the Big 5 gang first asked a permission to co-habit with a non-member and is agreed upon, then no delegates will be sent to negotiate with that particular non-member.

A non-member who is associating with a junior gang member of the Big 5 gang, is expected to respect the Big 5 gang members as the non-gang member is given a permission to co-habit with their junior gang member. This information is obtained from the Big 5 gang members.

8.8 MOBILITY IN THE BIG 5 GANG

8.8.1 METHODS OF JOINING ANOTHER GANG

The Big 5 gang members are not allowed to join another gang, because they will expose the secrets of the gang to another gang. When a Big 5 gang member joins another gang, there will be a big fight between the Big 5 gang and the gang which their fellow gang member joined. When a Big 5 gang member insists on joining another gang, a death sentence is imposed upon him. When a boy-wife of the Big 5 gang insists on joining another gang, an immediate meeting is called upon by the big 5 gang members in order to discuss with the boy-wife. Failure to listen, a boy-wife will be disciplined by Vlam one force. When a boy-wife still insists on joining another gang, a boy-wife is disciplined by Vlam two force. When Vlam two force failed, Vlam three force is put into operation. Vlam three force is put into operation when a death sentence is to be executed upon a boy-wife of the Big 5 gang.

8.8.2 ADMISSION OF MEMBERS FROM OTHER GANGS

The Big 5 gang members do not allow other gang members to join them, because this could lead to violence in prison. Prisoners who have tattoo marks of other gangs, are not allowed to join the Big 5 gang. This is also applicable to the Airforce 3 and 4, 26, and 28 gang.

8.8.3

PROMOTION WITHIN THE BIG 5

The Big 5 gang members are promoted according to their work, seniority and knowledge of the codes of the gang. By work, the Big 5 gang means that a Big 5 gang member pointed or informed the members of the Correctional Services about any weapon or unauthorised article such as a hacksaw, which resulted that a prisoner who was possession of the said weapon or unauthorized article could be charged.

When a member of a Big 5 gang is promoted to the next rank, the gang member is promoted under oath. The said Big 5 gang member should wear that effectively will carry the responsibility of that rank and its roles in front of other Big 5 gang members. During the year, the Big 5 gang members do promote their fellow gang members, especially when they will in vacant posts.

At the end of the year, the Big 5 gang members have a parade of promotion called digging saloon. The senior Big 5 gang members act as the merit committee. The junior gang members of the Big 5 gang, are asked questions and if questions are satisfactorily answered, they are promoted to the next rank under oath. The Big 5 gang members have their own ways of naming the members of Correctional Services, namely:

Nine : a recruit or a member of Correctional Services.

Cat 2: sergeant of Correctional Services.

Cat 3: warrant officer of Correctional Services.

Cat 4: lieutenant of Correctional Services.

Cat 6: captain of Correctional Services.

Cat 7: major of Correctional Services.

25 ("laaste ou"): head of the prison or colonel of Correctional Services, and

Scientist : a general of Correctional Services.

A Big 5 member is not suppose to argue with a recruit or a member of Correctional Services, because such a recruit or member of

Correctional Services will not take the Big 5 gang members into consideration.

8.8.4

RETIREMENT

A member of the Big 5 gang can be given the opportunity to retire for the following reasons: old age, or physical handicap. A member who is given the opportunity to retire, remains a member of the Big 5 gang. The gang member is not discharged and allowed to join another gang. The retired gang member of the Big 5 gang is called a pensioner or a scientist. The retired gang member of the Big 5 gang, is responsible for the monitoring of the activities of the Big 5 gang. This principle is also applicable to the Airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gang.

8.9

CONTROL MEASURES

Much of the success of the correctional officer depends on the manner used to convey orders or instructions to inmates. Vague orders, inappropriate words, confusing instructions, or incomplete information are most damaging and, unfortunately, the most common mistakes made by employees (American Correctional Association Publications Board, 1983 : 23). In the control of prisoners, officer shall seek to influence them through their own example and leadership, and to enlist their willing to co-operation (Xenia Field, 1963 : 142, and Bedeian and Glueck, 1983 : 610).

8.9.1

RECAPTURING OF ESCAPE

Since escapes usually occur without warning, an institution must have well developed plans that can be brought about quickly. Time is the essence in blocking off the movement of escape and recapturing the inmate. While methods of escapes will vary, certain basic procedures applicable to all escapes would be known by all officers. Each officer should be familiar with the plan. The geographical location of an institution, its structural characteristics, the features of the adjacent land, and even the type of prisoners are all important

factors in the development of procedures to respond to an escape. American Correctional Association Publications Board, 1983 : 52) listed the following suggestions which are considered essential to any plan:

- * The institution should maintain current lists of all employees with addresses and telephone numbers arranged so that a minimum number of calls with contact a majority of officers.
- * Procedures for reaction to an escape should provide that an unauthorised absence of inmate will be reported immediately to the supervisor responsible. When an escape is determined to have probably occurred, the procedures for reaction to an escape should begin and pre-arranged signals sounded to notify all employees living in the area of the prison.
- * Procedures for reaction to an escape should include a complete list of posts to be covered by officers while the search is in progress. These may be divided into schedule A, B, C and so on, depending on information available. The posts covered may be only those included in certain areas.

The procedures should dictate that officers on assigned posts may be moved only by the person in charge of the search operation.
- * The supervisor should have available a kit of instructions to be handed to each officer on a post. If, for example, post number sixteen provides for the covering of a particular cross roads, this kit marked post number sixteen, would contain a map of the area, location of the nearest telephone, locations of the nearest law-enforcement officers or agency and any other information that will assist officers when they arrive on post.
- * At the same time initial assignments are given to officers on post, one employee should be designated to notify by telephone or radio all law-enforcement agencies in the area, county or state according to pre-arranged schedule. The telephone and communication lines should be monitored as long as the search is in progress.
- * Plans should provide that in case of a general escape alarm, all

personnel, meet in the assembly room or a previously designated place.

- * Officers assigned to essential maintenance posts, that is, kitchen, hospital and spans and who have under their supervision inmates who must remain on duty, should take a count at the sound of the emergency alarm and report it to the control centre.
- * At the sound of the escape alarm, officers assigned to arsenal units, should make immediate preparation to issue arms, ammunition and other equipment as may be needed; and
- * Procedures for reactions to an escape should outline the use of nearby radio and television stations. If plans have been made previously, co-operation of these public service facilities will be available.

8.9.2

DISCIPLINE

Discipline and control are key concepts in a prison. They not only represent the practical methods by which the institution is run, but they also stem from a basic belief in society that retribution must be sought, punishment inflicted, protection assured, and criminals reformed (Carney, 1979 : 118 - 9).

Prison officials are permitted to use some force in the following situations:

- * to protect themselves;
- * to protect another person;
- * to prevent escape;
- * to enforce the rules and regulations of the institution; and
- * to prevent further crimes (Reid, 1981 : 433 - 4).

Punishment is generally administered with the intention of promoting discipline. Discipline as a socializing experience is intended to lead an individual into a manner of behaviour more acceptable to a given society. A disciplined inmate will abide by institutional rules while suppressing inner urges to act out negativisually. In each case individual's inner prompting are contained and subjugated to others' standards.

True disciplining occurs when the prisoner conforms to those standards after incorporating them into his own value system (Cull and Hardy, 1973 : 103 - 4). Disciplined behaviour should have positive attributes for the individual. If the discipline has a strong identification with the society, and if the prisoner sees the need for the code the inmate will likely be more receptive to disciplinary measures (Cull and Hardy, 1973 : 106, and McWilliams and Pease, 1990 : 15).

Discipline is determined by the objectives of the prison administrator and his staff (Tappan, 1951 : 157).

The basic principles of discipline according to Richmond (1965 : 92), are:

- 1) Disciplinary action shall be taken only at such times and in such manner and degree as is necessary to regulate an inmate's, as well as gang member's behaviour within acceptable limits.
- 2) Inmate behaviour must be controlled in a completely objective, impartial and consistent manner.
- 3) Disciplinary measures shall never be capricious or in the nature of retaliation and revenge.
- 4) Group restrictions or penalties shall not be imposed as a means of discipline for the misconduct of an individual.
- 5) Appropriate disciplinary action should be taken as soon after the commission of an offence as circumstances permit; and
- 6) A record of all inmate misconduct and punishments shall be maintained.

A discipline policy is aimed at the development of self-discipline and self-control (Van der Westhuizen 1982 : 184). Discipline is considered as a continuing state of good order and behaviour (The Committee of Classification and Treatment, 1975 : 294, and Forsyth, 1983 : 49).

Discipline is regarded as that instruction, training, correction,

guidance and supervision of individuals with respect to behaviour, which results in a continuing, orderly, acceptable way of life.

The ultimate goals of institutional discipline are to develop self-reliance, self-control, self-respect and self-discipline, not only the ability to conform to institutional regulations, but also the ability and the desire to conform to accepted standards for individual and community life in a free society (American Correctional Association Publications Board, 1983 : 56).

8.9.3

DISCIPLINARY TRIALS

Throughout the history of corrections, disciplinary actions against prison inmates have been arbitrary, administrative operations controlled solely by wardens, their deputies, or other custodial personnel. Without a formal hearing, and at the direction of an institutional officer, inmates could be placed in solitary confinement, lose some or all of their privileges, or be deprived of good time credits (Inciardi, 1987 : 603).

Punishment is considered in terms of the following five essential criteria:

- 1) It must involve an evil, and unpleasantness to the victim;
- 2) It must be for an offence, actual or supposed;
- 3) It must be of an offender, actual or supposed;
- 4) It must be the work of personal agencies; and
- 5) It must be imposed by authority conferred through or by the institutions against the rules of which the offence has been committed (Hudson, 1987 : 2).

It is the usual practice in most security prisons to place the responsibility for disciplinary action in the hands of the deputy warden or assistant superintendent. Within certain limits the disciplinary officer has legislative, judicial, and executive functions with regard to discipline (Tappan, 1951 : 167, and Elderfonso, 1974 : 313).

All correctional institutions have rules and regulations that govern their operation. Inmate infraction of these directives results in disciplinary proceedings to correct the violation, adjust conduct, and punish the offender. Discipline is a prime requisite in any prison setting, where good order and accommodation to directions are the only workable premise for mandatory confinement. Discipline is imperative to both the custody and rehabilitation function of the institution (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 23 - 4).

The head of the prison or other member detailed in terms of sub-regulation (3) to act as prosecutor shall make arrangements for the attendance of the accused prisoner to give evidence at trial, and shall warn or subpoena according to the requirement, any other person to attend the trial to give evidence or produce any document or thing, whether in support of the charge or in defence of the accused prisoner (Regulation 99(4)(a) of Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959)).

The gang members who disturb the discipline of the institution, are charged in terms of Regulation 99(4)(a) of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959), and be dealt with accordingly.

Any commissioned officer deputed generally or special thereto by the Commissioner, shall have jurisdiction to act at a prison or at a place designated by the Commissioner of the purpose, any prison for alleged contravention or failure to comply with any provision of any regulation, whether such contravention or non-compliance is alleged to have taken place within or outside a prison. Upon conviction of any prisoner in respect of any such contravention or non-compliance, such commissioned officer shall have jurisdiction to impose any one or more of the following punishments:

- * a reprimand;
- * the deprivation of all privileges, gratuities or indulgences for a period not exceeding one month;
- * deprivation of one or more meals on any one day;

- * corporal punishment, not exceeding six strokes, if the prisoner is a convicted male prisoner apparently under the age of fifty years and no punishment other than a punishment referred to in paragraph;
- * is imposed upon him in respect of the same contravention or non-compliance;
- * i) Solitary confinement in an isolation cell, with full diet, for a period not exceeding thirty days; or
 ii) Solitary confinement in an isolation cell for any one of the continuous periods set out in the first column of the subjoined table, with for each such period of solitary confinement in an isolation cell, dietary punishment combined, where applicable, with full diet in the sequence set out in the other columns of that table opposite each such period of solitary confinement in an isolation provided that where on more than one count such punishment for a total period exceeding thirty days has been imposed, there shall after every period of solitary confinement in an isolation cell, with dietary punishment as so combined with full diet of thirty days; be an interval of fourteen days, or such longer period as the medical officer concerned may direct, upon full diet and without solitary confinement in an isolation cell:

<u>PERIOD OF PUNISHMENT</u>	<u>SPARE DIET</u>	<u>REDUCED DIET</u>	<u>FULL DIET</u>	<u>SPARE DIET</u>
5 DAYS	5 DAYS	NONE	NONE	NONE
10 DAYS	5 DAYS	2 DAYS	1 DAY	2 DAYS
15 DAYS	7 DAYS	3 DAYS	2 DAYS	3 DAYS
20 DAYS	8 DAYS	4 DAYS	3 DAYS	5 DAYS
25 DAYS	9 DAYS	5 DAYS	5 DAYS	6 DAYS
30 DAYS	12 DAYS	6 DAYS	6 DAYS	6 DAYS

(Section 54 of Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959)).

In terms of section 54 of the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959(F)) a recommendation that remission of sentence not exceeding

thirty days in respect of any punishment imposed upon the prisoner, shall not be granted to him.

8.9.4

PRIVILEGES

The authorities could withhold amenities and privileges as a penalty for misbehaviour. Amenities and privileges could also be used as a reward for good behaviour to induce order and discipline (Clifford, 1982 : 16). The loss of privileges, loss of good time, and confinement in punitive segregation are the sanctions imposed for violations of the institutional rules and which the gang members are not in favour of them. One of the strongest controls of prisoners' behaviour is the threat of loss of privileges. Letter writing, visits, recreation time, movies and radio privileges that may be taken away for the violation of rules (Tappan, 1951 : 168).

8.9.5

ISOLATION, SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND MECHANICAL RESTRAINT

Isolation is used universally to indicate an administrative mechanism that is under particular circumstances to support the safe custody function, for instance, enforcing discipline or isolating problems.

Isolation only applies to sentenced prisoners. Basically it has as its purpose an orderly community life and sound discipline in prison (Neser, 1989 : 210).

Punishment of prisoners for disciplinary infringements of the prison regulations varies and may consist of deprivations of privileges, solitary confinement, and in more serious cases, and corporal punishment (Midgley, et al, 1973 : 254). There are specific problems in segregating inmates who are potential victims (Ward and Schoen, 1981 : 43).

One of the forms of social control which is used by various institutions is segregation, that is, expulsion from the group, although this method is only minimally successful in prisons. In fact, the

worse the behaviour, the more prolonged is the inmate's probable stay in the institution. The inmate may be transferred to a more secure institution, that only relocates, but does not solve the problem. Another form of segregation is solitary confinement, usually imposed for extreme behaviour (Reid, 1981 : 185).

The isolation of a prisoner from the main body of the prison population is a form of punishment used for more serious violations. This type of punishment may be used with or without normal diet privileges (Tappan, 1951 : 169).

Solitary confinement has been variously referred to as isolation or segregation in the hole or in a strip cell. It is the total separation of an inmate from the general prison population in a special cell of meagre size and comfort, combined with the revocation of all prisoner privileges and constitutional rights, and often with a restricted diet. Placement in solitary generally occurs for serious violation of prison regulations, such as escape attempts, forced homosexual advances, assaulting guards or other inmates, or being excessively troublesome (Inciardi, 1987 : 602).

Administrative segregation is often necessary in an institution when an inmate presents a danger to self, other residents, staff, or threaten the security and order of the institution. Inmates who are in need of protection from other inmates are also included as possible candidates for segregation.

Handling of this situation requires additional care and caution. Records must be maintained concerning the activities surrounding the segregation process. Correctional officers should be particularly aware of the procedures, and document of any actions they may have to take to accomplish the goals of segregation (American Correctional Association Publications Board, 1983 : 61).

Where the institutional head is satisfied that the segregation is essential for:

- 1) the maintenance of good order and discipline in the institution;
or
- 2) in the best interest of an inmate,
(Jackson, 1983 : 43).

Segregation beyond the investigative stage would be authorised only where there are grounds to believe beyond a reasonable doubt that the prisoner has committed, attempted to commit or plans to commit acts which represent a serious and immediate threat to the physical security of the institution or the personal safety of staff or prisoners (American Correctional Association Publications Board, 1983 : 214).

The object of criminal punishment must be reformation of the offender without indulging the vindictive feelings. Offenders are viewed as unhappy, unfortunate creatures in need of moral guidance. The only form of punishment which could reflect these moral truths is incarceration, usually with an emphasis upon solitary confinement (Pillsbury, 1989 : 733).

As often and for as long as it is urgently and absolutely necessary to secure or restrain any prisoner:

- * who has displayed or is threatening violence; or
- * who has been recaptured after escape; or
- * who there is good reason to believe is contemplating escape

The head of the prison may order that the prisoner be confined in isolation cell, and in addition, or in the alternative, if necessary, to be placed in irons or subjected to some other approved means of mechanical restraint for such period as may be considered absolutely necessary, but not exceeding one month (Section 80 of Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959)).

8.10

SUMMARY

A number of interesting facts have emerged from the foregoing discussion. The Big 5 gang originated from the Torch Commando. It was established in 1951 at Cinderella Prison, Boksburg, by a prisoner called Masondo. Before it could be the Big 5 gang, it aided escapes in prison. After the leader of the gang, Masondo, was killed in an escape attempt, the gang then decided to work with the members of the Correctional Services. the members of the Big 5 gang do not recruit their members. The prisoners join the gang voluntarily. the Big 5 gang members use a book for their codes. The first book was called *Khakhi Book* which was used from 1957 until the end of 1960. Still, the codes of the spade book could not satisfy the needs of the gang members. At the end of 1966, a third book of their codes was released, which was called *claps book* and replaced the *Khakhi* and the *Spade* book. The *Khakhi* and *Spade* book prohibited the members of the Big 5 gang to have homosexual relationships with the boy-wives. The *claps* book amended the code which prohibited homosexuality among the gang members and is still in operation until today.

The control of the prisoners in the institution, go hand in hand with the prevention of escape. Escapes usually occur without warning, and the institution must develop plans that can be brought about quickly in blocking off the movements of escape and recapturing the inmates. The developed plans of escape should be made known to the members of the correctional services. Discipline and control are key concepts in a prison. discipline as a socialization experience intend to lead an individual into a manner of behaviour more acceptable to a given society.

The ultimate goals of institutional discipline are to develop self-reliance, self-control, self-respect and self-discipline. Discipline is imperative to both the custody and rehabilitation function of the institution. The commissioned officer may impose one of the following punishments, namely:

reprimand; deprivation of privileges; deprivation of one or more meals; corpora; punishment not exceeding six strokes if the prisoner is a convicted male under the age of fifty years and solitary confinement in an isolation cell with full diet for a period not exceeding thirty days. The authorities may withhold amenities and privileges as a penalty for misbehaviour.

One of the strongest controls of prisoners' behaviour is the threat of loss of privileges which is also applicable to gangs in prison. The isolation of a prisoner from the main body of the prison population is a form of punishment used for more serious violations. Placement in solitary confinement occurs for serious violations of Correctional Services regulations, such as escape attempts, forced homosexual advances, assaulting other prisoners or members of correctional services. The head of the prison may order that a prisoner be confined in an isolation cell, and in addition, or in the alternative, if necessary, to be placed in irons or subjected to some other approved means of mechanical restraint for such a period as may be considered absolutely necessary, but not exceeding one month.

CHAPTER 9

THE ROLE OF PRISON GANGS IN VIOLENCE

9

INTRODUCTION

The gang member's personality characteristics reveals a disassociated, hostile, status-involved adult who has a limited social conscience or concern for others. Most people are for him enemies to be manipulated, used, or assaulted, depending on a given situation. His gang associates are partners in violence, but not friends in the sense shared relationship to which he will give himself. The gang member has no concern for others since the offender lacks the empathic ability to identify with them.

Consequently, acts that are ego gratifying or rep-making dominate his behaviour. This research was confirmed by Yablousky (1962 : 252). On admission, the prisoners are orientated towards escape in prison and the consequences thereof. They are also warned towards bringing the tattoo marks on their bodies (Correctional Services Order B, Chapter 5(b)).

The following guidelines are a more effective approach to gang problems:

- 1) It is necessary for detached gang workers to be trained to diagnose accurately several types of gang structure.
- 2) The accurate diagnosis of the violent gang reveals different degrees of participation and involvement. Marginal members may be worked with through more conventional treatment approaches, core gang participants and leaders require a different and more intense form of treatment.
- 3) A gang can be further integrated by working through leaders (Yablousky, 1962 : 244 - 5). It has been confirmed by the gang members that, in order to solve the gang conflicts, the members of the Correctional Services should work through the gang leaders, because they give commands to the juniors in order to act.

9.1

PREVENTION OF UNREST RELATED VIOLENCE IN PRISON

It has been argued that one of the reasons for failure of preventing prison violence was that the inmates became involved in discipline (Reid, 1981 : 206).

As long as men have grievances that they feel powerless to resolve, the possibility exists that they will erupt into irrational and destructive behaviour. The heads of the correctional institutions, can reduce but not eliminate this possibility by diligent and concerned attention to all of the innumerable facts of correctional operation, which affect the stability and morale of the institutional community (South Carolina Department of Correction, 1973 : 19).

Grievance procedures and inspections alleviate prisoners' tensions and ensure the security of prisons (Nexus July 1988 : 30).

9.1.1

Effective communication system

A climate where inmates and employees alike can express constructive opinions and feelings without meeting defensiveness, ridicule or later reprisal, is required. The officials must maintain a well-defined balance between circulating and carrying on the administrative duties of their office. By maintaining this balance, the administrative personnel will be well informed about the general state of the institutional population and better able to handle any institutional problems.

Open channels of communication, both formal and informal, will ensure that valuable information is available to top-level-staff for evaluation and planning (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 19, and Skinner and Von Essen, 1982 : 20, and Kroon, 1986 : 492).

Some staff, especially officers and work supervisors, have sufficient informal contact with prisoners, to hear about problems. Such communication occurs between younger inmates and older officers, who have established reputations for being fatherly (Lockwood, 1980 : 131 - 2).

There are always certain employees who can develop a special rapport with particular inmate groups and who as a consequence become aware of tensions and dissatisfactions in their early stages of development.

Prisoners have an opportunity to lodge complaints regarding their treatment with either the warden of the prison or a representative of the warden and may also petition the Minister of Justice or an official conducting prison inspections on the Minister's behalf (Nexus, July 1988 : 31). A well-defined system of communication between line employees and administration is a necessity. It should be designed and maintained so that this communication link is always often and active (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 21).

Trust must be cultivated between the prisons service members and the prisoner, by establishing an effective channel of communication (Neser, 1989 : 152). Correctional institutions, should acquire and maintain good press relations. The press should be informed of significant events of both a positive and negative nature. There should be a well-defined statement of policy, of who, what and how news worthy items will be given to the news media (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 21).

Individual conversation with prisoners instead of always in group, is also recommended (Neser, 1989 : 152).

9.1.2 **Sensitive to a sign of tension including early identification of problem situation**

Disturbances in correctional institutions, can be prevented by being able to interpret and act on change in institutional atmosphere and behaviour patterns. For every form of behaviour, there is a reason. Experienced institutional personnel can sense in most cases any change in the general climate of the institution. Each institution will have its own particular early-warning signs and training programs should instruct new employees concerning these indicators (South

Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 21).

Prevention obviously involves placing the most alert and effective employees in areas of the institution, that are most critical, not only those involving security, but involving inmate morale as well. Good preventive actions are possible only when employees and inmates alike feel that management is confident, competent and really care what happens to people in the institution (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 23).

9.1.3 Positive reaction to justifiable grievances

Prompt and positive handling of inmates' complaints and grievances is essential in maintaining good morale. A firm no answer can be as effective as granting his request, in reducing an individual inmate's tensions, particularly if he feels his problem has been given genuine consideration by appropriate officials and if given a reason for the denial. This aspect has been confirmed by case-studies in chapter 5 and 7.

A most dangerous situation arises however, when inmates have grievances they feel can be corrected if only the proper officials are made aware of their problems. It is important for employees to seek authoritative answers to the questions raised, or to refer the inmate to the proper officials. Whenever the administration changes its policy or any part of it, the policy change should be made known to the line personnel responsible for carrying out the policies (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 23).

Grievance procedures in correctional institutions, have generally taken the form of a multi-level appeal process. Whatever the design of a particular mechanism, every grievances mechanism operating in corrections today, requires certain skills on the part of those who hold key roles in its operation (National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1975 : 29).

9.1.4 Identification, neutralization and removal of agitators

Institutional disturbances can be prevented by the recognition and neutralization of inmate agitators. An alert staff can identify the sources of agitation by observing which inmates are contracted by known hoodlums and enforces (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 24).

Prompt removal of key inmates to other institutions or to segregation, has been an effective means of blunting demonstration (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 24 and Sykes, 1958 : 41).

This research was also confirmed by the respondents. Violence either in free society or in prison is undesirable, because it disturbs the peace. It must therefore be restrained as far as possible. As far as restrictions are concerned the Correctional Services Act (Act No. 8 of 1959) and the Regulations, make provision for various security, restrictive and control measures to be applied, in dealing with violent prisoners, for example, solitary confinement, mechanical confinement, removal of items, such as cutlery when not in use (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 184).

9.1.5 Keep detainees informed about their matters

An essential procedure in the prevention of institutional disturbances, is having the inmates informed of their status, rights and opportunities for self-improvement. From entrance orientation on informative and explanatory guidelines and procedural policies, should be on-going to negate erroneous preconceptions gained from other inmates. In order to prevent misunderstanding, management should use all the institution's communication media, to transmit factual information.

Prevention can best be attained by constantly having fully informed employees (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 27).

9.1.6 The role of personnel

Correctional institutions, like any other business, industry or agency of government, must have competent, professional management if it is to be operated successfully. Many of the characteristics of a successful correctional head, cannot be necessarily taught at an institution of higher education. Among the many characteristics of an effective correctional administrator are, intelligence, self-confidence, emotional stability, flexibility, a strong personal commitment to corrections, inter-personal relationships skills, aggressiveness, sensitivity to the needs and legitimate grievances of other staff and inmates (Benton and Nesbitt, 1988 : 9).

The specific rules, well-defined areas of competence and responsibility, impersonal standards of performance and promotion which is similar in many respects to that of any modern, large-scale enterprise and it is this staff which must see to the effective executing of the prison's routine procedures (Sykes, 1958 : 40).

It is recommended that all employees in the correctional institution be given at least pre-service training before being independently assigned to a duty position (Benton and Nesbitt, 1988 : 71).

The guards must also cope with the stress produced by their prison environment. They must seek to reduce pressure to enhance satisfactions (Touch, 1982 : 285). When correctional officers define their tasks with such phrases as keep them from killing one another, maintain effective communications with staff, inmates and public (Touch, 1982 : 293).

Informed personnel are those who have been treated as though they are really part of the correctional team. The best informed employee is, of course the man who has been involved in developing new programs or whose opinion has been sought. Informed employees are prepared to carry out operational programs and they can give inmates reliable, anxiety-reducing information about such programs. One important

factor in reducing the potential of a riot or disturbance is in having different personnel who can handle their responsibility and emergencies they will inevitably meet in calm, confident manner, because they have been thoroughly trained in the necessary technical and interpersonal skills. The 28 gang reacts when its complaint about food to the personnel is not responded to, as indicated in chapter 7. Training combined with experience will enable a correctional services member to react appropriately to the many kinds of situations which will confront him (including ganging), to be authoritarian where this is called for, or to be concerned or less authoritarian at the proper time. To prevent and inhibit causes of disturbances, personnel need to be fair in dealing with inmates (American Correctional Association, 1973 : 27 - 8). The correction services members should treat all gangs on equal basis, because by favouring one gang in prison, will result in misunderstanding among gangs. An intensive job training that gives each recruit a taste of every aspect of prison ward is needed (McGraw, 1954 : 228).

It is the responsibility of the institutional head to see that all inmates are controlled in an organized manner (Manual on Orientation of Inmates in Correctional Institutions, 1956 : 21).

To exercise more effective control over prisoners, a favourable ratio of prisoners to personnel is essential. A member shall not strike or in any other manner assault a prisoner, except in lawful defence of another member, another prisoner, or any other person (Van der Westhuizen, 1982 : 184).

9.1.7

Disciplinary programmes

Prison discipline means the maintenance of specific norms and standards by the prisons officials, in order to ensure good behaviour, sound and orderly togetherness in prison. Discipline in the prison situation refers to the cultivation of specific values in a prisoner in the trust that he will retain them after release, for instance, the virtue of self-discipline (Neser, 1989 : 205). A discipline policy is

aimed at the development of self-discipline and self-control (Van der Westhuizen 1982 : 184).

Security measures inside a correctional institution are the day-to-day control and supervision procedures designed to expedite the movements of prisoners, to assure control of their whereabouts at all times, to guard against flagrant violations of the rules and to promote discipline and good order while institution routines are carried out (American Correctional Association, 1983 : 36).

A constructive programme in maintaining discipline is essential in preventing unrest and disturbances. The immediate goal of disciplinary procedures is conformance to those rules and models of behaviour that are necessary for the safe and orderly operation of the institution.

Good disciplinary programmes maintain order and conformance to the rules with the least friction, emotionalism or punishment for its own sake.

Discipline is based on respect. The individual being discipline must respect authority (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 31).

Custodial control can be motivated by guards, the institutional programme and the inmates themselves (Vedder and Kay, 1964 : 118 - 9). The fact is that the best source of information on institutional programmes for inmates is other inmates (National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1975 : 30).

Fighting between inmates is strictly prohibited. Inmates must conduct themselves in a respectful manner when engaged in conversation with employees (Manual on Orientation of Inmates in Correctional Institutions, 1956 : 12 - 13).

The nature and context of employee discipline programmes in correctional agencies, varies considerably from agency to agency. This variation is due to some extent, to the degree of unionization, and the size of the agency (Benton and Nesbitt, 1988 : 139).

The final objectives of disciplinary procedures are to teach self-control and hence self-discipline (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 31).

9.1.8 Differentiated and selected programmes for prison population

The objective of prison education in its broadest sense, should be the socialization of the inmates through impressionable and expressional activities, with emphasis on individual inmate needs. In addition to structured programmes, such as academic education, vocational training, organized athletics and handicraft, small voluntary groups in public speaking, drama, creative writing, chess, music and other special interests can be provided. Ideas for voluntary programmes can come from inmates in response to their own interests and should be considered and evaluated as well as those programmes originating from the staff. A wide range of institutional activity has a positive effect on morale, when inmates (including gangs) have a wide choice of self-improvement activities or constructive leisure-time, programmes in which they can become involved, tensions are reduced and the individual inmate is less inclined toward disruptive behaviour which would prevent his participation in these activities (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 32). Vocational education, focuses on course work, concerning specific occupations (Taylor, 1982 : 97).

An apprentice is one who is learning a trade by practical experience under the supervision of a skilled worker, that is, prison staff (Taylor, 1982 : 103). Many institutions offer training in technical courses closely related to shop instruction as a required part of vocational education. These include such courses as trade science, trade mathematics, blue print reading, trade safety, or other related programmes designed to improve technical competency (Manual on

Orientation of Inmates in Correctional Institutions, 1956 : 37).

As in any well balance community, play and relaxation are necessary and encouraged (Manual on Orientation of Inmates in Correctional Institutions, 1956 : 25).

9.1.9 The role of external influences

In prison, the relative influence of internal and external social control is reversed. Internal controls are for weaker than they are on the free society. although external controls are considerably stronger, they are imperfect. The result is that violence is much more common behind the walls than on the streets (Bowker, 1983 : 24 - 5).

There are many in our society who feel that the correction of social evils is too slow through normal parliamentary channels and who would speed up reform through strikes, sit-downs or lie in demonstrations, property destruction, or violent-confrontations. Another possibility of preventing unrest and rioting in prison is to note the influence of groups outside the prison. These groups can be classified into three categories, namely:

- 1) Racial ethnic groups;
- 2) Revolutionary groups; and
- 3) Community and professional groups.

(South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 32).

9.2 DYNAMICS OF PRISON VIOLENCE

The increasing incidence of violent prison riots, makes it wise for major correctional institutions to create and maintain their won instant riot response capability, providing trained manpower and equipment to control the institution. The degree and time of application of force will vary with each situation and will be determined on the scene, by whether hostages are involved, the physical lay-out and location of the disturbance area, and the degree of inmate armament.

In addition, a special standby task force should be organized trained, and equipped to take maximum advantage of modern weaponry and the latest tactics enabling the necessary force only principle to be applied before the violence and destruction escalate to the point where outside support must be summoned (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 123 - 4).

9.2.1 Chemical agents for riot control

The teargas provides the most effective means available to control or deter individual and gang violence. When the tear gases used properly and in sufficient quantity, they provide the quickest, most human response to riots and insurrection in correctional institutions (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 124).

9.2.2 Gas masks

Protective gas masks are mandatory for use by security, first aid, fire fighting, and other personnel liable to exposure to tear producing agents. These masks should be used in training with live tear gas munitions (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 125).

9.2.3 Fire-arms

Generally, the riot shotgun with its varied ammunition is the best shoulder weapon for correctional institution use (South Carolina Department of Corrections, 1973 : 125).

9.3 SUMMARY

The gang member's personality characteristics reveals a disassociated, hostile, status-involved adult who has a limited social conscience or concern for others. Most people are for him enemies to be manipulated, used, or assaulted, depending on a given situation. On admission, the prisoners are orientated towards escape in prison and the consequences thereof. the prisoners are warned not to join gangs in prison, but they join gangs in prison. They are also warned towards bringing the tattoo marks on their bodies. It is necessary for the

detached gang workers to be trained to diagnose accurately several types of gang structure. The gang participants and leaders require a different and more intense form of treatment.

A gang can be further integrated by working through the leaders.

In order to prevent conflicts, violence and riots in prison, trust must be cultivated between the members of correctional services and the prisoners, by establishing an effective channel of communication. The prison should acquire and maintain good press relations. The press should be informed of significant events of both a positive and negative nature. Disturbances in institutions can be prevented by being able to interpret and act on change in the institutional atmosphere and behaviour patterns. Prevention obviously involves placing the most alert and effective members of the correctional services in the areas of the institution that are most critical and not only those involving security, but involving inmate morale as well. Prompt and positive handling of inmates' complaints and grievances, is essential in maintaining good morale. This aspect was confirmed by the subjects. Institutional disturbances can be prevented by the recognition and neutralization of the influence of inmate agitators and the removal of key inmates to other institutions. An essential procedure in the prevention of institutional disturbances, is having the inmates informed of their status, rights and opportunities for self-development. An important factor in reducing the potential of ganging, is in having efficient personnel, who can handle their responsibilities and the emergencies, they will inevitably meet, in a calm, confident manner, because they have been thoroughly trained in the necessary technical and interpersonal skills. The immediate goal of disciplinary procedure is conforming to these rules and models of behaviour that are necessary for the safe and orderly operation of the institution.

The individual being disciplined, must respect authority. The controlled movement of inmates and segregation procedures, are two

broad classification of techniques used by custody to maintain order in an institution. In prison, play and relaxation are necessary and encouraged.

The objective of prison education in its broadest sense, is the socialization of inmates through impressional and expressional activities, with emphasis on individual inmate needs.

When inmates have a wide choice of self-improvement activities or constructive leisure-time programmes in which they can become involved, tensions are reduced and the individual inmate is less inclined toward disruptive behaviour, which would prevent his participation in these activities.

Another possibility of preventing unrest and rioting in prison is to note the influence of groups outside the prison. The increasing incidence of violent ganging makes it wise for major correctional institutions to create and maintain their own instant riot response capability, providing trained manpower and equipment to control the institution. In addition, a special standby task force should be organized, trained, and equipped to take maximum advantage of modern weaponry and the latest tactics enabling the necessary force to be applied before the violence and destruction escalate to the point where outside support must be summoned. The institution in preventing or controlling riots, may use chemicals, such as tear gas, gas masks and riot shotgun.

9.3. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.3.1.1 Findings

Despite the fact that the prisoners are warned not to join gangs in prison and escape from prison and informed of the consequences thereof, the prisoners do join gangs and from time to time escape from prison. Another factor which motivates the prisoners to join gangs in prison, is the fact that prisoners have friends who are already gang members in prison. They therefore join the gangs for friendship and

recognition. Other prisoners join gangs in order to be protected by the gangs when they are ill-treated by their fellow prisoners. Some prisoners were gang members outside the prison. They therefore belong to a gang in order to get recognition and prestige. Others, on the other hand, join the gang with a view to correct what they regard as wrong in prison. All the recruits are convinced that these improvements can be effected only in a group situation. The gang members provide their fellow gang members with dagga and tobacco in prison.

The younger prisoners join the gangs so that they should be "boy-wives" of the gang members and in turn, the gang members smuggle for them food in the prison kitchen.

Prison gangs do not force inmates to join. In effect, recruits join voluntarily.

In all the gangs in prison, there is only one gate used for the entrance, that is, if you joined the gang, you are not supposed to resign. A gang member can only be allowed to retire due to advanced age, physically handicapped or suffering from chronic illness, though you remain a member of that gang. The complaints and grievances of the prisoners should be handled. Before an action could be operated with special reference to violence, the gang members come together to discuss their plans and how the plans will be implemented.

Such plans are confidential as they are not made known to the members of the Correctional Services.

When violence is due to occur in the institution, all other gangs are informed except the Big 5 gang members who usually report the matter to the members of correction services. The relationship among other gangs seem to be positive, because they interact positively, informing for example each other of the day of violence in prison, except the Big 5 gang members. When the violence is about to occur and is known

to the members of Correctional Services, could be solved by communication through leaders of the gang or gangs.

The violence of the gang members occurs when there are few members of Correctional Services in the yard. During the violence of the gang members, innocent prisoners sustain injuries. Most gang members are found guilty by the court for murders committed in prison, but others are found not guilty in court as they weaken the evidences of the State witnesses to result in the benefit of doubt. Most prisoners who are not affiliated to the gangs, fear to testify against the members of the gangs in prison as they fear for their lives.

9.3.1.2

Recommendations

From the foregoing findings, the researcher recommends that:

- * There must be open lines of communication between the Head of the Prison and his personnel, between personnel and prisoners, so that the complaints of the prisoners could be attended to and channelized to the higher authority, if they cannot solve them.
- * The personnel and the prisoners should be properly prepared for the forthcoming changes. When the necessity for the changes can be clearly understood before they are initiated, the likelihood of hostile reaction to these changes will be significantly diminished. If personnel and prisoners are convinced that they are being dealt with impartially, their grievances are likely to result in a disturbance within the correctional institution.
- * The inmates should not become involved in the discipline of their fellow inmates, because this could contribute towards violence in prison.
- * The discipline among the prisoners should be consistent.
- * The inmates should be encouraged to participate in active recreational programmes, because these will relieve their tensions.
- * The members of the Correctional Services should not favour any particular gang in prison, but should treat all prisoners on an equal basis.

- * The members of the Correctional Services should patrol among the prisoners and especially when they are opened for the daily exercises, as such a situation is conducive to attacks of inmates upon inmates or upon the members of the Correctional Services.
- * In order to minimize the gang activities in prison, the grouping of the gang members during their exercises should be dispersed by the members of the Correctional Services to impair the promotion or development of their activities.
- * There should be enough members of the Correctional Services in the yard, so that they should be in a position to block or prevent any violence which could occur in the yard.
- * Once the proposed plan of the violence is known to members of the Correctional Services, it should be solved through communicating with leaders of the gang members.
- * It is important that the members of the Correctional Services should know the tattoo marks of the different gang members in prison and to know the gang members in order to be in a position to detect their activities.
- * The agitators of the gang should be transferred to other institutions as quickly as possible, in order to discourage the prevailing riots atmosphere among their fellow gang members.
- * It is highly recommended that the Heads of the Prisons or the Assistant Heads of the Prisons, should be given the authority to transfer gang members who are giving problems in the institution and those prisoners whose lives are threatened or in danger without replacement.
- * The prisoners who are from the spans or court, admissions and communal cells, should be thoroughly searched in order to seize the weapons or instruments which could be used by the gang members.
- * The plans of action toward escape in prisons, should be known to all members of the Correctional Services in order to prevent further movement of the escapee and to recapture him without delay.
- * The members of the Correctional Services who are escorting the

prisoners to the court, should be alert and careful in order to prevent escape. While the prisoners are in court, the members of the Correctional Services should stand where they can see any movement of the prisoners in the cell.

- * The prisoners who are transferred to any prison, before they could leave the prison, they should be thoroughly searched in order to remove the unauthorised articles from them, such as knives and hacksaws.
- * The prisoners who are out with a span, should be guarded by members who are in possession of fire-arms and two way radio.
- * The prisoners who have many previous convictions of escapes against them, should not be taken out with a span as they are high risk of escaping.
- * To exercise more effective control over prisoners, a favourable ratio of prisoners to personnel is essential.
- * The research into rioting should be continuous and the data on collective violence should be regularly and systematically collected, synthesized, and disseminated throughout the criminal justice system.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the findings and recommendations of this research will be useful to the Department of Correctional Services and other Departments and Organisations dealing with gangs.

ANNEXURE A

VOCABULARY

BIG 5

- * *Laaste ou* = Head of the Prison or Colonel of Correctional Services
- * 12 Apostol or *Kragstasie* or *Vyf-Potte* = Food
- * *Vryboom* = Boy-wife
- * *Naksak* = Airforce
- * G.I. = Tobacco
- * Tunic = Clothing
- * Blue genders = Shoes
- * *Dadelik* = Non-member
- * *Wurm* or *Kokopane* = A member of 26 or 28 gang
- * 500 = Means a knife
- * Shortgun = A fist
- * Digging saloon = Parade of promotion
- * Nine = Recruit or warder
- * Cat 2 = Sergeant of Correctional Services
- * Cat 3 = Warrant Officer of Correctional Services
- * Cat 4 = Lieutenant of Correctional Services
- * Cat 6 = Captain of Correctional Services
- * Cat 7 = Major of Correctional Services
- * Professor = Brigadier of Correctional Services
- * Scientist = General of Correctional Services
- * *Kantien-dag* = Means Saturday: The day in which the gang members of the
Big 5 gang could sleep with their boy-wives
- * Dagga = Marijuana
- * A boy-wife of Cat 11 (Leskian) = Diamond three
- * A boy-wife of Cat 12 (Medical Examiner) = Diamond four
- * A boy-wife of Cat 13 = Double 5
- * A boy-wife of Cat 14 (Protector) = Diamond 5
- * A boy-wife of Cat 15 = Double 7
- * A boy-wife of Cat 16 = Doubles

* A boy-wife of Cat 17 (Typewriter)	= Diamond 7
* A boy-wife of Cat 18 (Reporter)	= Diamond 8
* A boy-wife of Cat 19 (Betlar)	= Diamond 2
* A boy-wife of Cat 20 (Field Marshall)	= A Star
* A boy-wife of Cat 21 (Defence Force)	= Diamond 12
* A boy-wife of Cat 22 (Peace Maker)	= The moon
* A boy-wife of Cat 23 (Minister of Justice)	= The sun
* A boy-wife of Cat 24 (Prime Minister)	= A crown
* A boy-wife of Cat 25 (President)	= Queen or <i>Laaste Boom</i>
* A boy-wife of a Professor	= A rainbow
* <i>Esekhomba</i>	= Semi-circle

AIRFORCE 3 AND 4, 26 AND 28 GANG

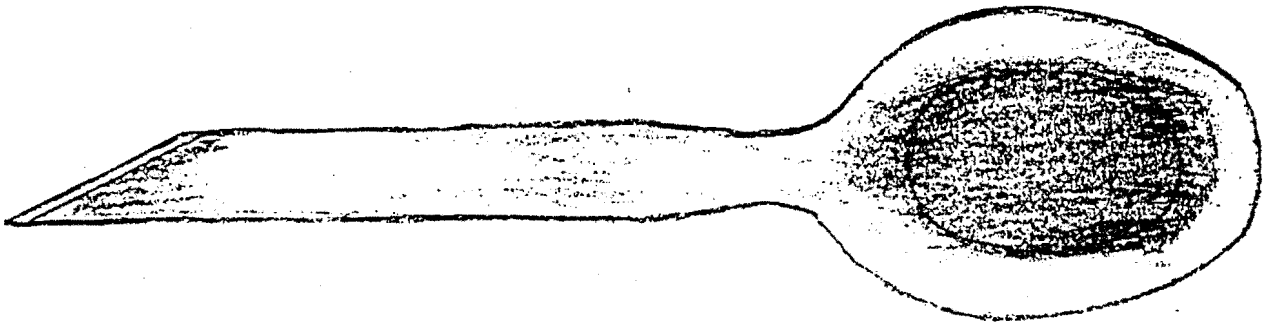
* <i>Amagwenya</i>	= Ranks (Airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gang)
* Dagga	= Marijuana (26 gang)
* <i>Mqophozi</i>	= Secretary (26 gang)
* <i>Mphatha</i>	= Non-member (26 and 28 gang)
* <i>Mqahvezweni</i>	= Cross-roads (meeting between the 26 and 28 gang)
* <i>Hlangana Skop</i>	= A meeting of the soldiers in section 1 of the 26 gang
* Twelf	= Meeting (26 gang)
* <i>Esekhomba</i>	= Semi-circle (airforce 3 and 4, 26 and 28 gang)
* Marital law	= Soldier (26 gang)
* Mountain (<i>Nongidela</i>)	= Gate-man (26 gang)
* <i>Valamageedi</i>	= Captain 11 (26 gang)
* <i>Nobhala (Mqophozi)</i>	= Secretary (26 gang)
* <i>Makhwezi-Khwezi</i>	= President (26 gang)
* <i>Maphoza</i>	= A member of Correctional Services (26 gang)
* <i>Amasoja or Shosi</i>	= Soldiers (28 gang)
* <i>Inyanga</i>	= Doctor (28 gang)
* <i>Mabhalane</i>	= Secretary (28 gang)
* <i>Jim crow (Germiston)</i>	= Lieutenant (28 gang)
* <i>Magilo-gilo</i>	= Judge (28 gang)
* Probations	= Boy-wives (28 gang)

* <i>Mshoshisi</i>	= Prosecutor (Airforce 3 and 4 gang)
* Israel (<i>Ngangezwe</i>)	= President (Airforce 4)
* <i>Nobangela</i>	= Reason (Airforce 3 and 4)
* Number two	= Tobacco (26 gang)
* Sign	= Matches (26 gang)
* <i>Isibelivana</i>	= Paper (26 gang)
* Chico-boys	= 26 Gang
* Boys from the east	= 26 gang
* <i>Abafana base ntshonalanga</i>	= Boys from the west (28 gang)
* <i>Nkhayezi</i>	= Star (28 gang)
* <i>Umuthi</i>	= Medicine (28 gang)
* <i>Nonzala</i>	= Instructor (28 gang)
* Blacksmith	= General (28 gang)
* <i>Moliva</i>	= 28 Gang

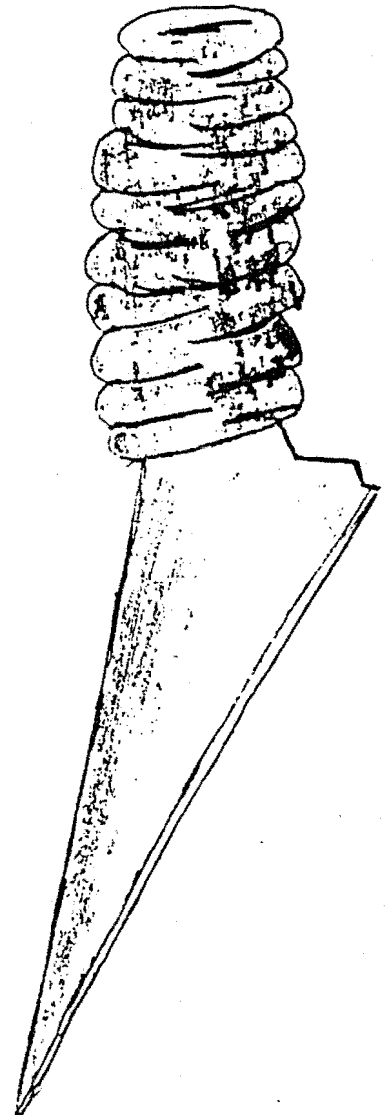
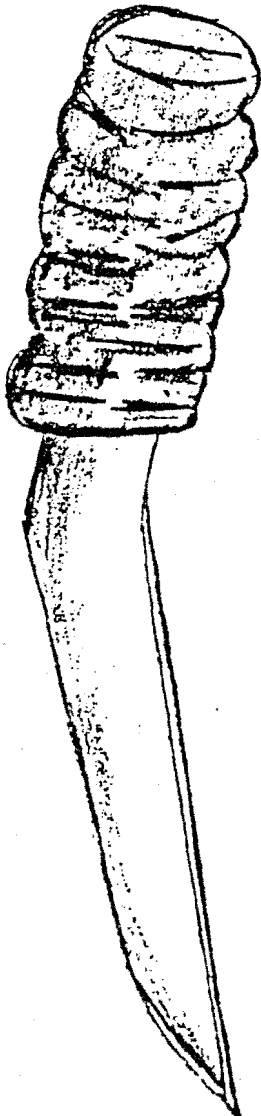
ANNEXURE B

WEAPONS USED BY THE 26, AIRFORCE, AND 28 GANG

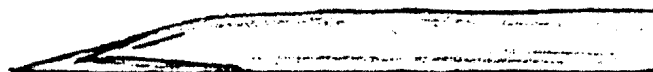
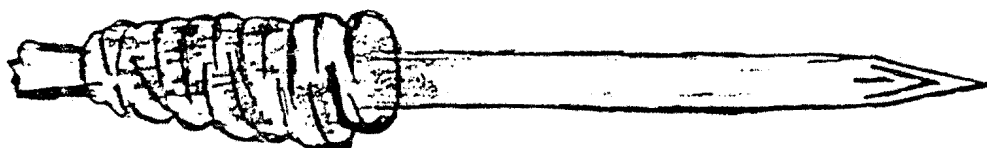
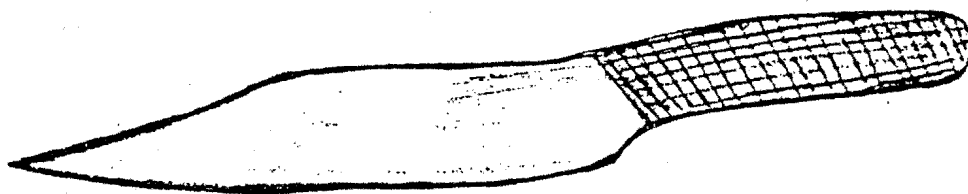
SHARPENED SPOON



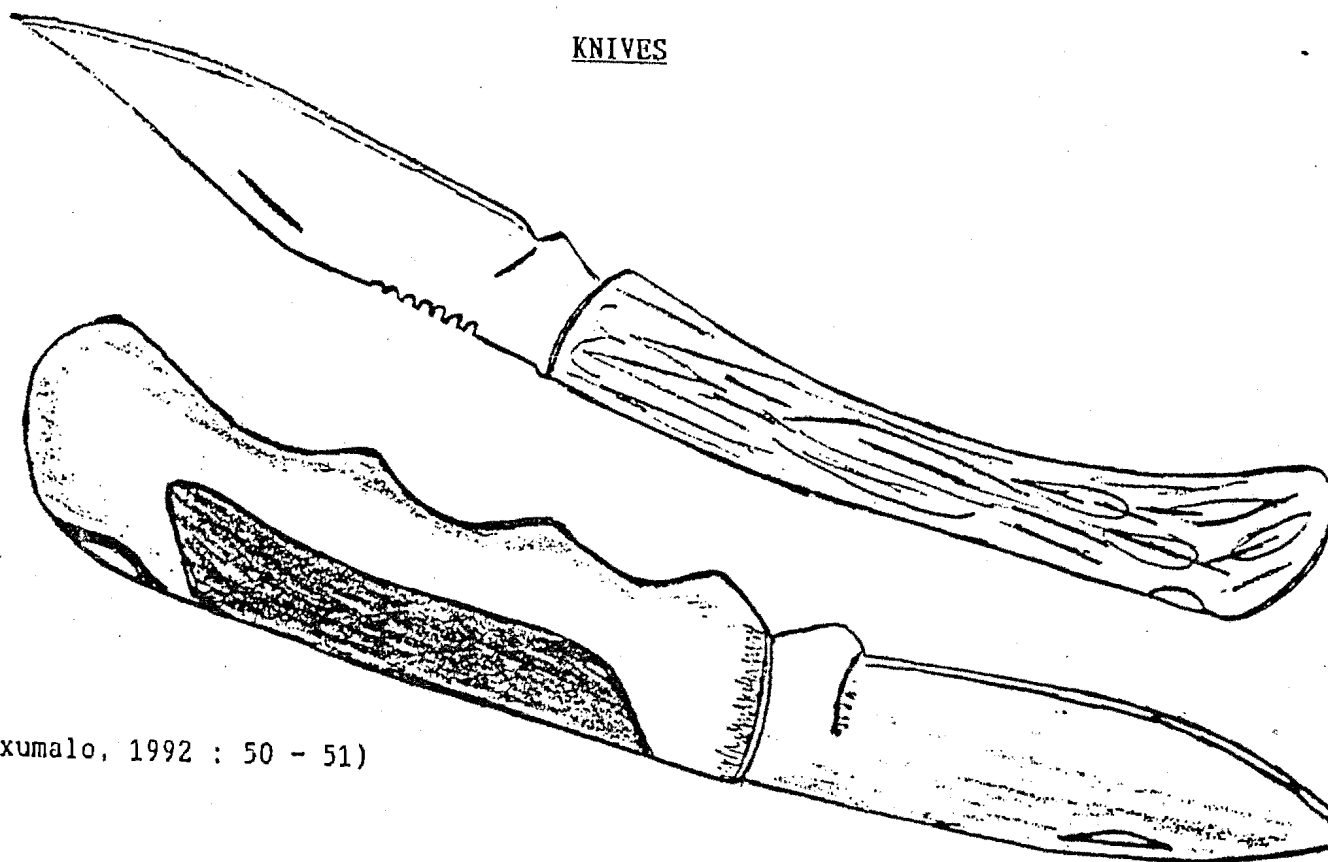
SCISSORS



SELF-MADE WEAPONS FROM PIECES OF IRON



KNIVES



(Nxumalo, 1992 : 50 - 51)

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