

GANG CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS:
A CASE OF WATERVAL, 1980 - 1992

BY

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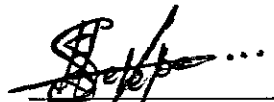
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(iv)

DECLARATION

I, **SIPHIWE HOPE SELEPE**, do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work in conception and execution, and that all sources I have used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by means of direct and indirect reference.



S H SELEPE

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, JOHNSON and EMILY, for their sacrifice and profound faith in education despite great odds.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NO.	CONTENT	PAGE
	Title of study	i
	Acknowledgements	ii
	Declaration	iv
	Dedication	v
	List of tables	ix
	Summary	xii
	Opsomming	xiv
	CHAPTER ONE	
1.	GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1	INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY	1
1.2	Problem of the study	3
1.3	The setting	3
1.4	Literature review	4
1.4.1	Classical functionalist theory	5
1.4.2	Anomie theory	6
1.4.3	Subculture theory	9
1.4.4	Labelling theory	10
1.4.5	A Marxian perspective	11
1.4.6	Approach to the study	12
1.5	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	13
1.5.1	Research design	14
1.5.1.1	Conceptualization	14
1.5.1.2	Method of data gathering	14
1.5.1.3	Method of data analysis	15
1.6	ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS	15
1.7	DELIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH	15
1.7.1	Qualitative delimitation	16

NO.	CONTENT	PAGE
1.7.2	Quantitative delimitation	16
1.7.3	Conceptual delimitation	16
	CHAPTER TWO	
	THE BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF WATERVAL PRISON	
2.1	INTRODUCTION	18
2.2	Accommodation of prisoners	20
2.3	Classification and separation of prisoners	20
2.4	Control at the main gate	21
2.4.1	Identification	22
2.4.2	Control of visitors	22
2.4.3	Unpermitted articles	22
2.5	PROBLEMS FACING WATERVAL PRISON AS A COMMUNITY	23
2.6	SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE	23
2.6.1	Housing	23
2.6.2	Recreational facilities	23
2.6.3	Climate	24
2.7	PHYSICAL CARE	24
2.7.1	Corporal punishment	25
2.7.2	Isolation	25
2.7.3	Dietary punishment	25
2.8	STEPS DURING 1985 TO 1989 FOR A NEW DISPENSATION	26
2.9	DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1990	27
2.10	RESUMÉ	29
	CHAPTER THREE	
	THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PRISON GANGS	
3.1	INTRODUCTION	30
3.2	HISTORICAL ROOTS OF PRISON GANGS	30

NO.	CONTENT	PAGE
3.2.1	Origin: one version	30
3.2.2	Origin: another version	32
3.2.3	Origin of the fourth camp	34
3.3	GENERAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF PRISON GANGS	35
3.3.1	Detail structure and functions	36
3.3.1.1	The 28-gang	36
3.3.1.2	The 26-gang	42
3.3.1.3	The 27-gang	45
3.3.1.4	Operations of the fourth camp	47
3.3.1.5	Air Force and the Fast Elevens	47
3.4	RESUMÉ	48
	CHAPTER FOUR	
	THE CHARACTER OF PRISON SUBCULTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE	
4.1	INTRODUCTION	50
4.2	DESCRIPTION OF PRISON SUBCULTURE	51
4.3	CONFLICT OF NORMS	51
4.4	STATUS HIERARCHY OF PRISON SUBCULTURE ...	52
4.5	INFLUENCE OF THE PRISON SUBCULTURE	53
4.5.1	Prisoner towards prisoner	53
4.5.2	Prisoner towards prison service member	54
4.5.3	Prison service member towards prisoner	54
4.6	FACTORS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF GANGS	56
4.6.1	Factors peculiar to imprisonment	56
4.6.1.1	The deprivation of freedom	56
4.6.1.2	The deprivation of goods and service	57
4.6.1.3	The deprivation of heterosexual relationship	57
4.6.1.4	The deprivation of autonomy	57

NO.	CONTENT	PAGE
4.6.1.5	The deprivation of security	58
4.6.2	Influence from outside the prison	58
4.6.2.1	Lower class influence	58
4.6.2.2	The influence of street gangs	59
4.6.2.3	The influence of reform schools	60
4.6.2.4	Gangs influencing members	60
4.7	RESUMÉ	61
	CHAPTER FIVE	
	ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA	
5.1	INTRODUCTION	62
5.2	METHODS USED FOR DATA GATHERING	62
5.2.1	<i>Interview schedule</i>	62
5.3	DESCRIPTION OF THE MEASURING INSTRUMENT	63
5.3.1	The schedule items	63
5.3.2	Statistical technique employed	64
5.4	DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA	64
5.4.1	Personal data	64
5.4.2	Existence of gang fights	69
5.4.3	Victims and involvement in deviance	74
5.4.4	Quality of life	76
5.4.4.1	General hygiene and food	79
5.4.4.2	Bedding and medication system	80
5.4.5	Attitudes towards prison gangs	81
5.4.6	Relationship towards gangs	83
5.5	RESUMÉ	84
	CHAPTER SIX	
	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
6.1	INTRODUCTION	85
6.2	RESTATEMENT OF THE AIMS OF THE STUDY	85

NO.	CONTENT	PAGE
6.3	RESTATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	86
6.4	HOW THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED	86
6.5	CONCLUSIONS	87
6.5.1	General conclusions	87
6.5.1.1	Need for more research	87
6.5.1.2	Future research	87
6.5.1.3	Control measures	88
6.5.1.4	Preventative methods	88
6.5.1.5	Quality of life	90
6.5.1.6	Attitude towards gangs	90
6.5.2	Specific conclusions	90
6.5.2.1	Relationship towards gangs	90
6.5.2.2	Recommendations	91
6.6	RESUMÉ	91
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	92
	ANNEXURE A	98
	ANNEXURE B	102

LIST OF TABLES

<u>NO.</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
Table 1	Age distribution	65
Table 2	Marital status distribution	65
Table 3	Distribution of ranks	67
Table 4	Sex distribution.....	68
Table 5	Distribution of educational level of members	69
Table 6	Distribution of respondents on gang fights	70
Table 7	Distribution of respondents according to conflict towards warders	70
Table 8	Distribution according to number gangs	72
Table 9	Warders assaulted, killed, hostaged by gangs	72
Table 10	Distribution of respondents according to sections in which gangs operate	73
Table 11	Distribution of respondents according to participation in gangs	74
Table 12	Application of restrictions to gangs	75
Table 13	Psychiatric treatment	77
Table 14	Distribution of services rendered	78
Table 15	Distribution of respondents according to conditions between gangs and warders	81
Table 16	Distribution of respondents according to their attitudes towards gangs	81
Table 17	Activity during spare time	82
Table 18	Relationship towards gangs	83
Table 19	Reaction towards treatment	84

SUMMARY

This research is based on *Gang Conflict in the South African Prisons, with special reference to Waterval prison, 1980-1992*. This research primarily attempts to describe the prison subculture in terms of its characteristics and influence as they relate to conflict situations. Furthermore, it outlines this phenomenon as it affects the behaviour and attitudes of prisoners in general and prison officials in particular.

In assessing the major impact of Gang Conflict as a form of deviance towards prison officials efforts to rehabilitation, the theories of Robert Merton as well as that of Karl Marx (i.e. Anomie and Alienation) have a tremendous influence in this study. Other sociological theories are considered as contributory to the study.

For purposes of collecting data, a survey questionnaire was administered to 50 prison warders, with more than 3 years experience, drawn from the total population of Waterval prison warders. To put the study of Gang Conflict in context, chapter 2 contains the background and development of Waterval Prison, which does not justify the conditions and treatment of priosners.

Regarding some gangs found in the South African prisons, chapter 3 gives an exposition to the origin, structure and function of most important prison gangs.

Chapter 4, further outlines the character of prison subculture and its influence on deviance to both prisoners and and prison warders. The existence and survival of prison gangs are due to factors both inside and outside the prison.

In the light of the findings of this study, the following was recommended:

- * The need for further research in a number of aspects, related to this problem and the service structure facilities needed.
- * The image of warders should be actively enhanced. Their sense of responsibility, loyalty, educational level, in-service training and ability to cope professionally with their task should receive top priority to combat gangs. This enhancement is further recommended to other prison departments, to ascertain a cross-cultural picture.
- * Prison officials should always be on the look-out for gangs and strict control measures by all personnel against gangs may be simple solution to the problem. Therefore, they should be able to identify gang members.
- * Health and welfare services as well as psychiatric and psychological services should be common functions of the prison without class interests. This might consolidate in the total eradication of Prison Gangs.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing is gebaseer op bende konflikte in die Suid-Afrikaanse gevangenis en verwys veral na die Waterval Gevangenis, 1980-1992. Hierdie navorsing wil hoofsaaklik die gevangenis subkultuur in terme van sy kenmerke en invloed op konflik situasies probeer beskryf. Die konflikfenomeen word verder toegelig in terme van die gedrag en houdings van gevangenes in die algemeen en gevangenisamptenare in besonder.

Die teorieë van Robert Merton en Karl Marx (Anomie en Vervreemding) het 'n groot invloed op hierdie studie, spesifiek in die bepaling van bende konflik as 'n vorm van afwykende gedrag tot die gevangenisowerhede se rehabilitasiepogings. Ander sosiologiese teorieë dra ook by tot hierdie studie.

Data is versamel uit vraelyste wat deur 50 tronkbewaarders van die Waterval Gevangenis, met meer as drie jaar ervaring, ingevul is. Hierdie getal is 'n steekproef van die totale aantal bewaarders van die gevangenis. Hoofstuk 2 van hierdie studie bevat spesifiek inligting oor die agtergrond en ontwikkeling van die Waterval Gevangenis, wat nie die toestande en behandeling van die gevangenis regverdig nie.

Hoofstuk 3 gee 'n oorsig van die oorsprong, struktuur en funksie van die meeste belangrike gevangenisbendes wat in die Suid-Afrikaanse gevangenis aangetref word.

In hoofstuk 4 word uitgebrei oor die gevangenis subkultuur en sy invloed op afwykende gedrag van beide gevangenes en tronkbewaarders. Die bestaan en oorlewing van gevangenisbendes kan toegeskryf word aan faktore binne en buite die gevangenis.

Die volgende aanbevelings word aan die hand van hierdie studie gemaak:

- * Verdere navorsing oor 'n aantal aspekte, verbonde aan hierdie probleem en die nodige struktuurfasiliteite, moet gedoen word.
- * Die bewaarders se beeld moet daadwerklik verbeter word. Hulle gevoel van verantwoordelikheid, lojaliteit, opvoëdkundige vlak, in-diens-opleiding en vermoë om hulle taak professioneel te hanteer, moet voorrang geniet. Hierdie verbeteringe word verder aanbeveel vir ander gevangenis-departemente om ten einde 'n kruis-kulturele omgewing te skep.
- * Gevangenispersoneel behoort altyd op die uitkyk te wees vir bendes en streng beheermaatreëls deur alle personeel oor bendes kan 'n eenvoudige oplossing vir die probleem wees. Daardeur behoort hulle in staat te wees om bendelede te identifiseer.
- * Gesondheid en maatskaplike dienste, sowel as psigiatriese en sielkundige dienste behoort sonder klasseverskille algemeen beskikbaar in die gevangnisse te wees. Dit kan dalk tot die totale vernietiging van gevangenisbendes lei.

CHAPTER I

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

Each person has an inherent need to belong to a group, for example, to the family. In prison we are confronted with a community which may be regarded as a subculture of the encompassing community culture with its own set of norms, values and behavioural codes. This is what Goffman (1961) called "total institutions". An individual that finds himself confined to this community for any period of time shows a need to express himself within this community or group. This need often becomes evident when the prisoner joins a prison gang and takes an active part in its activities. This behaviour may be directly or indirectly, socially acceptable or unacceptable. In this study therefore prisons are viewed as "colonies" of the larger society where the colonized become rebellious or deviant.

Prison life in South Africa throughout most of this century has been dominated by gang conflict which exist virtually in all prisons. By gang conflict in this study, the writer is talking about deviant behaviour that causes disorder in prisons. There are several theories of the origin of prison gangs in South Africa (HSRC gang report, 1994). Prison gangs are different from the "Mafia" such as exist in the Sicilian Village (Block, 1974). According to Block, the Sicilian Mafia began as a secret society formed by the poor and oppressed in their struggle against foreign rule. It also originated and operated in society at large whereas the "gangs" which are the object of this study, originate and operate within prisons, hence the term "prison gangs".

There have been some well known cases of this phenomenon in the history of prisons where the "colonized" became rebellious. One notable instance of this rebellion occurred at the State Prison at Attica, New York, where 32 inmates and 11 guards died. Perhaps the most serious of all prison disorders in terms of its level of brutality, is the one which took place at the New Mexico State Penitentiary in 1980 (Braswell et al, 1985).

These circumstances simply undermine or defeat any serious efforts at the rehabilitation of prisoners. The prison officers are turned to mere "turnkeys", concentrating on containing rather than training prisoners. Thus, gang conflict as a form of deviance has entered the discipline of Sociology. In Sociology and in everyday use, the term deviance, is generally applied to situations where behaviour is disapproved of and subject to some form of punishment (Goode, 1984). Therefore in the context of this study, crime is often equated with the term deviance.

Studies exist already on prison gangs. In his study, Tresher, stresses the following factors in the formation of gangs: Disintegration of family life, inefficiency of education, religious superficiality, political corruption and lack of opportunities (Ndabandaba, 1987:46). Much has been written about gangs as a cultural phenomenon, but less has appeared on the specific techniques applicable for treatment and prevention, and still less on the validation of such techniques. This study offers another concentrated attention on the phenomenon of prison gangs in general, and to gang disorder in relation to prison officials in particular.

1.2 PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

Gang activities are one of the more serious problems facing the South African prison service today. Gangs are not only almost solely responsible for mass disorder in prisons, but a large percentage of all individual and group disciplinary offences (e.g. assault, smuggling, escape, sodomy, etc.) committed by prisoners are directly ascribable to participation in gang activities which stands in sharp contrast with prison discipline.

Conflict is an essential part of gang struggle for existence, for it determines amongst other things that the status of the gang is in relation to other gangs. They (prisoners) develop special habits which they must keep up, or they may try to manipulate others so that they can have control over their unusual environment. As a result, this causes difficulties with the prison officials or management. This is why this problem is significant and worth studying.

1.3 THE SETTING

The practical setting of this study is on the South African prisons. This study is confined to a particular area, zone or region that is "Waterval Farm Prison", which is the right place to examine the problem set forth above. This research is further restricted to a particular period in history i.e., 1980 - 1992.

In South Africa prison gang disorder is exemplified by the case of Zonderwater Prison on 16 April 1977, when a group of prisoners set a part of the prison alight. This aberrant behaviour also took place at the Harrismith Prison on 9 July 1979,

when 212 prisoners refused to have a religious service and begun to throw about cups and plates (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 25 July 1980).

Furthermore, the study is undertaken with the following aims: to acquire a scientific knowledge and insight to the origin, structure and functioning of most important prison gangs by means of literature study; to describe the prison subculture in terms of its characteristics and influences as they relate to conflict situations; and to measure the impact of gang conflict towards prison officials effort for the rehabilitation of offenders.

The literature review which follows discusses how various social scientists view and analyze theories of deviance.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

Sociological explanations vary considerably in their emphasis on different factors within the social structure which can be linked with the gang phenomenon. However, here are various theories of deviance applicable and covered by this study. They are:

- (i) Classical functionalist theory
- (ii) Anomie theory
- (iii) Subcultural theory
- (iv) Labelling theory; and
- (v) Marxian perspective

1.4.1 CLASSICAL FUNCTIONALIST THEORY : EMILE DURKHEIM

Durkheim contends that crime is universal, normal and functional to society (Durkheim, 1972). Given that crime is behaviour that breaks rules, it might seem odd that functionalist argue that it is necessary and useful for society. The argument is based on the fact that the presence of the criminal allows the rest to draw to-gether and reaffirm their values. Thus, through opposition to criminal behaviour the social group or society is strengthened. Durkheim regards the criminal as someone who provides the community with an opportunity to reassert standards, which they had broken or opposed.

Arguing in the same vein Cohen (1968) claims that crime acts as a safety valve for the expression of dissatisfactions. It reflects an opportunity to express an early rejection of parts of the social structure. For instance, when prisoners continuously exhibit real differences from the values and general practice in large numbers, something is probably wrong with the system of so-cialization or the educational system. Thus, criminal behaviour constitutes an early warning mechanism of possible problems in the social structure.

Although talking of the inevitability and necessity of crime, Durkheim did not mean to suggest the more crime the better. Instead, he saw a certain level of crime as functional from the point of social order, but beyond that level it would cease to be functional and become dangerous and pathological. Thus gang conflict towards prison officials may be dangerous or pathological. Thus gang conflict towards prison officials may be dangerous or pathological.

1.4.2 ANOMIE THEORY : ROBERT MERTON

Merton states from the basic functionalist position that social stability is based on a strong consensus of values, which the majority of the people come to share. According to Merton (1968) a society in which there is an exceptionally strong emphasis upon institutional procedures is of primary concern to this theory. Their culture may be such as to lead individuals to centre their emotional convictions upon the complex of culturally acclaimed ends, with far less emotional support for prescribed methods of reaching out for these ends.

As a result, with such differential emphases upon goals and institutional procedures, the latter may be so weakened by the stress on goals as to have the behaviour of many individuals limited only by considerations of technical expediency. The technically most effective procedure, whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct. As this process of attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops what Durkheim called "anomie" or normlessness (Merton, 1968).

Turning from these culture patterns, Merton further argues that there are different types of adaption by individuals within the culture-bearing society.

We here consider five types of adaption, as these are schematically set out in the following table, where (+) signifies "acceptance", (-) signifies "rejection" and ($\pm$) signifies rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values.

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

MODES OF ADAPTATION	CULTURE GOALS	INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	-
III. Ritualism	-	+
IV. Retreatism	-	-
V. Rebellion	±	±

I. CONFORMITY

To the extent that society is stable, adaptation type I - conformity to both cultural goals and institutionalized means is the most common and widely diffused. Were this not so, the stability and continuity of the society could not be maintained. The mesh of expectancies constituting every social order is sustained by the modal behaviour of its members representing conformity to the established, though perhaps regularly changing, culture patterns. It is in fact, only because behaviour is typically oriented toward the basic values of the society that we may speak of a human aggregate as comprising a society. Since our primary interests centre on the sources of deviant behaviour little can be said regarding this type of adaptation.

II. INNOVATION

This response occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment. Therefore, the question arises, as to which features of our social structure predispose toward this type of adaptation, thus producing

greater frequencies of deviant behaviour in the social stratum than in another?

III. RITUALISM

The ritualism type of adaptation can be readily identified. It involves the abandoning or sealing down of the lofty cultural goals of great pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to the point where one's aspirations can be satisfied. But though one rejects the cultural obligation to attempt "to get ahead in the world", though one draws in one's horizons, one continues to abide almost compulsively by institutional norms. Since the adaption is, in effect, an internal decision and since the overt behaviour is institutionally permitted, though not culturally preferred, it is not considered to represent a social problem.

IV. RETREATISM

This response consist of people who are in the society but not of it. Sociologically, these constitute the true aliens. In this category fall some of the adaptive activities of psychotics, atheists, pariahs, ousts, vagabonds, tramps, chronic drunkards and drug addicts.

V. REBELLION

This adaptation leads men outside the envioning social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being a new, that is to say, a greatly modified social structure. It presupposes alienation from rising goals and standards. These come to be regarded as purely arbitrary. And the arbitrary is precisely that which can either exact allegiance nor possess legitimacy, for it might as well be otherwise. In our

society, organized groups for rebellion apparently aim to introduce a social structure in which the cultural standards of success would be sharply modified and provision would be made for a closer correspondence between merit, effort and reward.

1.4.3 SUBCULTURAL THEORY : ALBERT COHEN

Cohen's theory contends that social environment predispose certain individuals to join gangs. In contemporary sociology "delinquent subculture", refers to a way of life that has somehow become traditional among certain groups within the larger community culture. These groups are the boy's gangs that flourish most conspicuously (Cohen, 1971).

The process of becoming a gang member is the same as the process of becoming, let us say, a "Boy Scout". The difference lies only in the cultural pattern with which the individual associates. Furthermore, Chlowards and Ohlin (1958) suggests that the individual may respond to this situation by joining one of the three types of subcultures:

- (i) Criminal subculture - a type of gang which is devoted to theft, extortion, and other illegal means of securing income.
- (ii) Conflict subculture - a type of gang in which the manipulation of violence predominates as a way of winning status.
- (iii) Retreatism subculture - a type of gang in which the consumption of drugs is stressed.

We therefore say all the three patterns of subcultural delinquency are alike in that the norms which guide the behaviour of members are counter to the norms of the larger society.

1.4.4 LABELLING THEORY

The focus of this theory is on the interaction between the criminal or deviant and those who define him or her as such. According to Becker (1968:22) "... *Labelling is the process by which individuals and groups classify and categorize social behaviour and other individuals*". If a criminal is a person labelled as such, an initial question we must ask is: "Who does the labelling?" And when we see terms such as "social problem" or criminal, we need to ask who defines these terms. In addition, one must be concerned with the actions and motives of the labellers as those who are labelled. The reason for this emphasis on the ways in which people are labelled is that laws are essentially political products. They reflect that some groups in society can create laws and can determine what behaviour is seen as criminal.

This point leads us on to what is called "Selective nature of law enforcement". In a study by Circourel (1976) white middle-class youth in America were less liable to be identified by police and probation officers as having committed or being likely to commit a crime. The police were more likely to react towards those groups and individuals whom they see as being prone to commit criminal actions, often labelling such individuals before they actually commit a criminal act, e.g. Blacks, poor people, etc.

The police like most people, have stereotypical views as to the typical criminal or delinquent. This reinforces the perception that certain groups are inclined to criminality, and raises the issue of the relation between power and crime.

1.4.5 A MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE

In Marx's perspective crime is seen as a legal category created by the State and used by the economically dominant social class for its own purposes. Therefore, the starting point is the social structure itself. Marx states that the superstructure reflects the relationship between the powerful and the powerless. The State, the agencies of social control (prisons, the law) reflect and serve the ruling class interests. This greed, self interest and hostility generated by the capitalist system motivates many crimes at all levels of society (Tucker, 1978:70).

There is also a need for money that is produced by the modern economic system. Excess and intemperance come to be its norm. Furthermore, Marx says "... *subjectively this is even partly manifested in that the extension of products and needs falls into contriving and ever calculating subservience to inhuman, refined, unnatural and imaginary appetites*". (Tucker, 1978:93). Thus, the system reflects the potential for inhumanness. As a result the social structure that Marx talks about sharpens the evil potential.

The dehumanization that is perpetuated by the ruling class shows the background to the causes that makes people to be antisocial. This opens the doors for hatred

of one man from other man. He (Marx) further states that man no longer feels himself to be freely active in any but his animal functions - eating, drinking, procreating or at most in his dwelling and dressing up, etc., and in his human functions he no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal. What is animal becomes human and what is human becomes animal. Marx called this "alienation".

Most crimes therefore share a single important similarity they represent rational responses to the competitiveness and inequality of life in capitalist society.

1.4.6 APPROACH TO THE STUDY

The theory of Robert Merton as well as that of Marx have a tremendous influence in this study. The theory of Merton is primarily concerned with the society in which there is an exceptionally strong emphasis upon specific goals without a corresponding emphasis upon institutional procedures. The culture of this society may be such as to lead individuals to centre their emotional convictions upon complex of culturally acclaimed ends, with far less emotional support for prescribed methods of reaching out for these ends.

The radical approach to crime questions not only the agencies of social control both the society in which they function. The positive side of Marx's theory is that it gives focus on the crime of the ruling class. The other theories are considered as contributory to the study because they often compliment each other rather than inevitably opposed. They are therefore in the context of this study consolidated

into enlarge Sociological understanding on gang conflict in the South African prisons. Furthermore, the structure of our discussion in this study is as follows:

CHAPTER ONE : Covers the general orientation to the study which is outlined with reference to aspects such as introduction and motivation to the study, statement of the problem, setting, literature review, research methodology, etc.

CHAPTER TWO : Covers the historical background and development of Waterval Farm Prison.

CHAPTER THREE : Gives an exposition to the origin, structure and functioning of most important prison gangs.

CHAPTER FOUR : Describes the prison subculture in terms of its characteristics and influence.

CHAPTER FIVE : Analyzes and interprets data.

CHAPTER SIX : Gives conclusions and recommendations.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is the philosophy of the research process which serves as a rational for research and the standards or criteria the researcher uses for interpreting data and

reading conclusions. (Bailey, 1987).

1.5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design according to Bailey (1987) tells how the data will be collected or gathered and analyzed (e.g. what sample size, where the observation will take place). This study had a limited number of people used as subjects, taking into consideration their particular characteristics and the circumstances under which the data was gathered.

1.5.1.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION

This is a descriptive study which demands the technique of observation as the principal means of collecting data. The population of prison officials has been carefully chosen and clearly defined. However, particular attention has been given to safeguarding the data from the influence of bias.

1.5.1.2 METHOD OF DATA GATHERING

Data sometimes lie buried deep within the minds or within the attitudes, feelings, or reactions of men and women (Goode et al, 1952). In this study it is within prison officials. As with oil beneath the sea, the first problem is to devise a tool to probe below the surface. The survey questionnaire and interviews were used in this study. They were devised for securing answers to questions by using a form which respondents completed.

A sample of fifty (50) subjects or respondents from the area of research i.e. Waterval Farm Prison. A simple random sampling from the total population of the prison warders with more than three years experience working in prison was decided on.

1.5.1.3 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data was analyzed with a technique for logically ordering and presenting data in a simplest form. Tables were used for presenting data according to percentage distribution of respondents. Percentages were used for further interpretation with the aid of the following statistical formula:

$$\frac{x}{N} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

1.6 ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Consent from the subjects was obtained after the purpose of the study had been fully explained, and that includes what would happen to the results, and also how would the subjects benefit from the study. Anonymity of the subjects was maintained and subjects were not forced to participate.

1.7 DELIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

1.7.1 QUALITATIVE DELIMITATION

It refers to the nominal reduction of research. This implies that research is delineated in accordance with certain characteristics or qualities which are present

in each prison office member. Characteristics such as age, sex, etc. are usually the major refining criteria but any other human characteristics or social distinction could also be used, for example, rank, occupation, status, educational level, etc.

1.7.2 QUANTITATIVE DELIMITATION

Quantitative delimitation in this research project, means that the researcher will be limited to a particular universe or representative sample (for a discussion of sampling, see paragraph 1.5.1.2).

1.7.3 CONCEPTUAL DELIMITATION

This type of limitation implies that this research required clear and scientifically precise definitions of concepts with which the researcher proposed to work. The definitions interpret the concepts as it is employed in relation to this research. This shall not mean that there is any subscription to such definitions, but so long it is known precisely what the researcher mean when employing a particular concept, it should be possible to understand the research and appraise it objectively. (Goode and Hatt, 1952). Concepts are defined here under:

* CULTURE

"... are those artificial objects, institutions, modes of life or thoughts which are not peculiarly individual, but which characterise a group and have both spacial and temporal continuity; or in the often quoted words of Taylor, as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, lieu, custom and any other

capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Clemmer, 1958:85)

* PRISON GANG

"... is an illegal, organized group of prisoners with its own rank structure, behavioural code and language, with a common anti-social goal which aimed chiefly at undermining the authority of the State and the breaking down of the prison discipline." (HSRC gang report, 1994:2).

This research is the first of its kind undertaken at Waterval Farm Prison. The following chapter focuses on the background and development of Waterval Farm Prison.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF WATERVAL PRISON

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Waterval prison is almost 15km away from Newcastle and Utrecht and 9km from the so called "Ezimbhudu" Coalmine. This prison was established or deemed to have been established under the Prison Act of 1959.

It lies along the valleys of the Buffalo River, the so called "Umzinyathi". However, the primary responsibility of such a prison is the safe custody of prisoners.

According to Naser (1989) the long-term objectives of the safe custody are mainly to establish external measures for persons who did not behave within the control measures of the community. Waterval Prison therefore exist as a Department of Correctional Services and consist of prisoners as well as members who according to Correctional Service Act 8/1959, shall be known as Correctional Officials.

Although we read in the Bible about the use of prisoners for the duration of their sentences were approximately 250 years old. In so far as Coetzee (1992) during the Anburn System, total segregation was enforced day and night, prisoners detained in separate cells, they worked in groups in workshops during the day. The im-portance of these systems is that they had served as a point of departure for the development of the system in use in prisons in South Africa today.

During 1980, prison commands were divided into four regions, each under the control of a Regional Commissioner. With the rationalization of the central Public Service in 1980, attempts were made to make the Central Public Service smaller and more streamlined. The result was that the Department once again became part of the Department of Justice on 1 November 1980.

Recent developments since 1990, were that the Government had decided on 19 and 30 October 1989, that all State departments should be managed according to business principles. In this case, it was decided that the South African Prisons service should be developed as a pilot department. Against this background Waterval Prison is operated according to the concept of managerial units. Within this strategic managerial unit we differentiate between:

- 1) A Cost Centre : where functional services are executed such as medical, food, dress and treatment of prisoners,
- 2) A Profit Centre : which includes all commercial services such as agriculture, building, works and work shops; and
- 3) A Service Centre : to deal with managerial services such as manpower, finance and logistics.

On 21 December 1990 the name of the South African Prisons Service was changed to the Department of Correction Services (Nexus, 1990).

2.2 ACCOMMODATION OF PRISONERS

Waternal Prison was established with the provisions for sleeping accommodation consisting of single and communal cells, which comply with international standards regarding lighting, air supply and floor space. Morgan (1982) contends that the prison world is, by and large, an aggregation of self-centred individuals whose accommodation, one with another, is partly coercive, and only in a minimal way sympathetic. This prison was constituted by the population of male prisoners.

Furthermore, the prison provided for sufficient sanitary, bath and washing facilities where meals could be served. The minimum permissible floor space per prisoner was as follows:

(i)	Ordinary communal cells	:	3,344 m ²
(ii)	Ordinary single cells	:	5,5 m ²
(iii)	Hospital communal cells	:	4,465 m ²
(iv)	Hospital single cells	:	9,0 m ²

This area per prisoner did not include areas taken up by ablution facilities, walls and pillars in the cell. The minimum permissible air space per prisoner in a cell was 8,5 m². In so far as the structure of the prison Waternal was divided into medium A and B sections as well as the hospital and juvenile sections.

2.3 CLASSIFICATION AND SEPARATION OF PRISONERS

The classification system of prisoners was put into service from 1 January 1958. Prisoners were classified into four groups i.e. ultra-maximum, maximum, medium

and observation centre. From the beginning of 1971 a depth classification system was introduced in addition to the horizontal classification system. Herewith prisoners could be individually diagnosed and treated. The system made it possible to differentiate between various groups of prisoners on the basis of personality, intelligence and prognosis. This was in use to the end of 1985.

The separation of prisoners at Waterval was as far as practically possible, in terms of the Correctional Services Act (8/1959). Prisoners were separated and detained apart so that conflict, intimidation or influencing was restricted to the absolute minimum as far as possible. At the request of the South African Police, prisoners awaiting trial or sentence were separated from the sentenced or other categories of unsentenced prisoners. Prisoners under the age of 21 years were regarded as "Juveniles" and were as far as possible separated from the older and more hardened criminals. Furthermore, in order to combat the activities of sodomites and gangs, prisoners who play the female role and gang leaders should have been identified and as far as possible detained in separate cells.

2.4 CONTROL AT THE MAIN GATE

At the main gate there was a gateman whose duty was to ensure that no unauthorized persons were allowed into the prison and that no prisoner leaves the main gate without an escort (excluding monitors). Furthermore, it was ensured that no unpermitted articles enter the prison.

2.4.1 IDENTIFICATION

All unknown persons were identified by means of their identity documents/cards/passports or other acceptable document (PSO Bll. 3(f) (ii)).

2.4.2 CONTROL OF VISITORS

Strict control was exercised over persons who were not members of the Department of Correctional Services, when it involves access to prisons. The member in charge of the gate did not allow the person in before being sure of his identity.

A specific departmental identification plaque was designed for this purpose, the number of which was entered in the front gates inventory. Only after a visitor was appropriately identified and had completed the official visitors book, an identification plaque was made available to the visitor. It was not the intention to make identification plaques available to visiting judges, magistrates or other official visitors who would naturally be accompanied by a member (Coetzee, 1992).

2.4.3 UNPERMITTED ARTICLES

Firearms were not allowed in this prison. The unloaded weapons were locked up at the front gate. The same applied to all other dangerous weapons.

Next-of-kin and friends who pay social visits to prisoners, were not allowed to take handbags into the prison. An appropriate notice to this effect as well as information regarding the arrangements in respect of visits was affixed to a

conspicuous place.

2.5 PROBLEMS FACING WATERVAL PRISON AS A COMMUNITY

Waterval Prison was not only faced with the problem of supplying jobs to the community, but also with the housing problems. Unmarried members stayed in an old barracks hostel which accommodates 8 members per room without privacy at all. Married members enjoyed the privilege of occupying "big houses" with six rooms and a garage. The residences within the courtyard of the prison were divided according to colour, i.e. white and black residences. Furthermore, sports facilities and transport was also a problem.

This area had a growing large number of labour population, which needs recreational and sporting facilities, housing and transport, especially the black labour who resides in the surrounding areas like Osizweni location, Madadeni and also Utrecht.

2.6 SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

2.6.1 HOUSING

Housing was available for members within the ambit of Waterval Prison. This accommodation did not meet the required standards.

2.6.2 RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

This area offered two sport grounds for soccer players. It had one shop which opens until 16h00 from Mondays to Fridays. During Saturdays and Sundays it opens until 12h00. Its position was far away from the black members hostel.

2.6.3 CLIMATE

ALTITUDE	:	Near Sea Level
TEMPERATURE	:	Average Winter : 17,5°C
		Average Summer : 24°C
HUMIDITY	:	Subtropical (high)
RAINFALL	:	1073mm per annum

2.7 PHYSICAL CARE

Although a prisoner's freedom was taken away when he was imprisoned, he still retains basic human rights regarding access to a comprehensive health care system which will allow him to develop his full potential as an individual while admitting the individuals own responsibility to make an active positive contribution in this regard when he claims quality health care.

This branch on health care was established for purposes of medical treatment of prisoners. At Waterval Prison, a hospital was established and equipped according to local needs.

2.7.1 CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Corporal punishment was not administered before the district surgeon had examined the prisoner and had certified that he was in a suitable physical condition to receive such punishment. Usually, the district surgeon was appointed to administer corporal punishment.

2.7.2 ISOLATION

Isolation was contemplated for the prisoner. The district surgeon certify before hand that it will not harm the prisoner's physical or mental health.

Prisoners who were subjected to total isolation were visited by the head of the prison and a member of the hospital staff daily.

2.7.3 DIETARY PUNISHMENT

Before a prisoner was subjected to solitary confinement or dietary punishment, he was examined by the district surgeon. A prisoner who was subjected to dietary punishment, was visited by the head of the Waterval Prison and a member of the nursing staff daily.

If the district surgeon certifies that the prisoner was unfit to be subjected to solitary confinement with or without dietary punishment, the sentence was automatically cancelled and a suitable note to this effect was entered on the prisoner's disciplinary record.

2.8 STEPS DURING 1985 TO 1989 FOR A NEW DISPENSATION

The correctional service top management conducted an undertaking planning session during 1985, under the leadership of business consultant from Info-plan. During the session, attempts were made to compose and undertaking definition with due regard of the internal and external environment and to formulate long-term strategies. The eventual objective was to create a basis from where the department could direct actions to plan and create its own future to a greater extent by own initiate, rather than acting reactively by continually fighting fires (Nexus, April 1986).

A planning structure was created during 1987 whereby objective setting and measuring could be facilitated. During the managerial work session in 1988, the purpose of the Department was adopted to read as follows: To promote community order and security by dealing with prisoners according to statutory directives". The mandate described as follows: "To detain sentenced prisoners safely and with dignity until they were legally released."

In the following year the operationalization of undertaking plan-ning to execute levels, was discussed during a managerial conference. The operationalization phase commenced during the 1989/90 financial year by a managerial work session which was held at every prison command. This analysis was used to evaluate every prison command's achievements against that of the department and critical areas peculiar to the relevant prison command were identified to be concentrated on. The sessions were also combined with the inauguration of a productivity

improvement programme at executive levels.

2.9 DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1990

Most of the leading countries make use as far as possible, of alternative punishment options instead of imprisonment. The Minister of Justice and Prisons announced on 27 April 1990 that the creation of alternative community directed sentence options should be researched and developed.

In this manner the strategy for the development and promotion of the most economical and justifiable penological system was identified. This strategy had as its aim to bring South Africa in line with the rest of the world in respect of correctional supervision, and the restriction of unsentenced prisoners in detention. This would also accomplish greater community involvement and have rehabilitation take place in the community where a person had to spend his life. (White paper on the extension of the Department of Correctional Services and the introduction of correctional supervision as an alternative sentence option, 1991).

The system of correctional supervision was implemented on 15 August 1991 in the Pretoria and Wonderboom magisterial districts and extended to other larger censors during 1992. In order to accomplish greater community involvement, provision was made in the Act for the establishment of Correctional Boards. These boards were constituted from representatives of the relevant community, as well as from members of the department. The activities of the Correctional Boards censors around the effective reintegration of release prisoners and members of the board

were also members of the Institution Committees of the relevant prison, where the release of prisoners will also be decided on.

With effect from the 21st December 1990, when the name of South African Prisons Service changed to the Department of Correctional Services. Together the Prisons Act was also changed to the Correctional Services Act 1959 (Act 8 of 1950) which spells out the activities of the department as follows:

- (i) To ensure that every prisoner who was lawfully detained in a prison was kept therein in safe custody until lawfully released or removed therefrom.
- (ii) To, as far as possible, apply the treatment to convicted prisoners and probationers which might lead to their improvement and rehabilitation and to train them in habits of diligence and labour.
- (iii) To apply correctional supervision in respect of probationers. ("But this seem to be the prerogative of white prisoners.")
- (iv) To be as far as possible, self-sufficient by the optimal application and aids based on management according to business principles.
- (v) The performance of work which may be necessary or emanating from or in connection with the effective management of the Department.

- (vi) To perform the other duties charged to the department by the Minister from time to time.

2.10 RESUMÉ

Waternal Prison have become one of the most successful prisons in South Africa. However, the development of Waternal Prison did not in any case justify the conditions of work, and treatment of prisoners, which by implication were hazardous. The following chapter presents the exposition to the origin, structure and functioning of most important gangs.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PRISON GANGS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

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 and prison warders or officials was a major focus of group attention. Short (1968) contends that conflict gangs create roles expressive of their conflict orientation, thus differing in structure from other gangs.

3.2 HISTORICAL ROOTS OF PRISON GANGS

There exist many versions of how prison gangs came into being. This study is limited to only two versions. The first is the historical study which centred certain criminal elements amongst black mine workers on the Reef during the last years of the 19th century. The second is the example of the history of the prison gangs which is currently in circulation amongst inmates and warders.

3.2.1 ORIGIN : ONE VERSION

In the HSRC gang report Lotter and Schurink (1984) states that a young Zulu named Mzuzepi came to Johannesburg in about 1890 to seek employment at these mines. He was employed as a cook for a group of whites, who used their jobs as mineworkers as a front for their criminal activities. Mzuzepi or "Jan Note" as he

later began to call himself, was soon invited to partake in the criminal activities of this gang. He was by then not satisfied with his status as a paid labour and soon joined up with the group of black criminals, who were based in the Kliprivier Mountain, south of Johannesburg. The leader of the gang was called Mhlophe, but after he was taken into custody, where he began to study the Bible and was converted to Christianity, his place was taken by Jan Note.

At this stage, Jan Note also began to study the Bible and was especially impressed with the history of Niveve, whose population rebelled against the laws of God. He regarded himself and the members of his gang as rebels against the laws of the government. Jan Note, adopted a paramilitary structure for his gang to replace the older, more "loose" structure (as described by Van Ansdén, 1982).

His gang was known as the "Umkhosi Wezintaba" (the Regiment of the Hills). Jan Note regarded himself as the king and created amongst others, the following ranks: Lord, Nonsala, Government, Fighting General, Judge, Captain, Sergeant and Soldier. Certain circumstances surrounding the Anglo-Boer War were responsible for the almost total extinction of Jan Note's gang. Jan Note (or Nongoloza) as he was now called, was himself imprisoned in 1900 (Keswa, 1971).

In 1908 Jan Note was again taken into custody and sentenced to life-long imprisonment for such crimes as escaping and various counts of attempted murder. After he was transferred to Pretoria prison from Barberton prison, he began to organize an effective corps of "Ninevites" in the prison itself. Toch (1978) says,

in the years from 1908 to 1912 Nongoloza's gang was also revived in the free community and by 1912 his criminal empire included the whole Witwatersrand and surrounding areas.

By 1912 the authorities has also begun with a concentrated campaign against the Nenevites. This campaign was reasonable and successful and quiet soon a large number of Nongoloza's most trusted generals were in prison. A further blow was also dealt to the Ninevites in 1912, the gang was often revived in prisons during the following decade and even today the last remnants of Nongoloza gang are to be found in the organizational structure of the "28-gang".

3.2.2 ORIGIN : ANOTHER VERSION

Neser (1989) states that in the early years (this date was given as 1832, sometimes earlier and sometimes much later), Paul Mabasa (also called Peacock) had to flee from a small town in Pondoland after he had murdered a farmer. He found refuge in the mountains near Pietermaritzburg from where he launched numerous raids on farms in the district. With the passing of time, various other blacks joined "Pou", and amongst them were Nongoloza and Ngelejane.

Furthermore, when Pou Mabasa was an old man he ordered his gang to leave the cave where they had been residing and to leave him behind. Fifteen gang members left the cave and encamped at Mooirivier from where they continued their rounds.

Because the gang was too large to act in unison, it was decided to divide it into two groups. Nongoloza and seven members would go out at night, according to Naser (1989) they are those who approved of "boy-wives". While Ngelejane accompanied by six members, would go out during the day (who disapproved of boy-wives).

A great rift developed in the ranks of the gang not long afterwards. Ngelejane realized that while he and his followers were binding their time by partaking in sodomy and other homosexual practices. Ngelejane was not very happy with this state of affairs and very soon a bloody battle erupted between the two opposing factions. Suddenly heaven and earth were torn apart and a mysterious behaviour from above ordered everyone to stop fighting. Seven stars descended upon the protagonists and a cease fire was called.

The two groups decided to split up and that each group would in future do his own work. Nongoloza and his eight (8) followers (from which the "28-gang" was later derived) would busy themselves with amongst others, homosexuality and sodomy ("Wyfies"), while Ngelejane and his followers would commit murder and robbery ("Bloed kyk").

According to Lotter and Schurink (1984), in some years later both leaders were arrested and imprisoned in the Point Prison in Durban. Hence, the peace between the two rival gangs restored to a large degree. One day it was noticed that six fellow inmates who were not members of the gang (the so called "FRANSE") were

holding a conference. Upon being questioned, one of the six, a man called Gray, said that he and his friends were busy working with the money they had stolen ("besig om kroon te kyk"). Approval was granted that these men may form a separate gang or (kamp) and that they would in future be called the "sesse" or "26-gang". the 26-gang was to exist under the auspices of the "27-gang". It was declared that no further gangs would be allowed and should such a gang come into being it would be eradicated by the three other gangs acting in unison.

Those legends contains no historical truths, but it was important because it had an influence to the functioning and organisation of present-day prison gangs.

3.2.3 ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH CAMP

According to Johnson and Toch (1982) the "Big-5 gang" (originally the torch Commando) was established in 1951 at the Cinderella Prison by a prisoner called Masondo. The primary aim of this gang was to aid escapes. Masondo was killed in an escape attempt and the gang then decided to rather work along with the prisons servi-ce staff. This co-operation with the prison staff was aimed at protecting themselves from fellow-inmates. However, the Big-5 gang also took part in sodomy and smuggling activities. It was their aim to "piemp" and they are in constant conflict with other gangs.

Subsequently, other gangs developed. The Air Force gang were to aid escapes and to assault and overpower the prison service staff.

3.3 GENERAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF PRISON GANGS

The historical origin of the prison gangs provided the framework for the relationship between various gangs, between gangs and prison personnel, between gang members and non-members and between gang members themselves. Therefore, Johnston et. al, (1970) was of the opinion that as gang behaviour was problematic in prisons, it can be traced directly to the prisoner code. The code was largely responsible for all the deviant behaviour in prisons.

Gunether (1976) agreed and was of the opinion that the behavioural patterns of prisoners be comprehended against the background of the prisoner code. Conforming or deviating from the prisoners code forms the basis for the classification and description of the interpersonal relationships of prisoners. The influence of the prisoner codes further forms a basis for the behaviour of prisoners towards one another and towards prison service members.

Considering, the results of an investigation conducted by the Human Science Research Council, with special reference to the numbered gangs amongst coloured prisoners, the following general gang code were identified:

- (i) Be loyal to and dependant on the gang
- (ii) Don't inform or co-operate with prison service members
- (iii) A willingness to manipulate personnel
- (iv) Do not trust staff, staff was "sheat"
- (v) Brothers must be respected, supported and assisted and they be lived with

harmoniously.

Despite being applicable to gang behaviour, these behavioural prescriptions are also supportive of the more general ruling codes of the subculture he runs the risk of being labelled (Lotter and Schurink, 1984).

3.3.1 DETAILED STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

Symbolism and legends play an important role in gang life. The structure of the gang have an important influence on the behaviour and conduct of gang members as well as their language.

3.3.1.1 THE 28-GANG

(1) AIMS

The gang prescriptions determine that the gang activities must be centred around "blood" and "poison". In other words they are fighters, keep "wyfies" and must see to it that everything was in order in prison.

(2) ORGANIZATION

The gang was usually divided into the (subordinates) "privaatlyn" and (officers) "bloedlyn". The "bloedlyn" consist of wyfies and the "privaatlyn" of the ringleaders and fighters. The following was a form of the more important "ranks", according to HSRC gang report (1989):

PRIVAATLYN

BLOEDLYN

Silver 2

Soldaat 1

Goliat 1

Sersant 1

Landdros

Kaptein 1

Inspekteur

Jim Crow

Dokter

Kolonel

Government

Generaal

Regter

Lord

(3) SYMBOLISM AND PHANTASY

(i) The "Vel"

This was a symbolic skin of a cow on which the gang laws are written. It was also known as "isikhumba".

(ii) Country

The 28-gang originated at Mooiriver (a place somewhere in Natal). Gang members refer to themselves as "Koelies".

(iii) Flag

The symbolic flag of the 28-gang looks as follows:

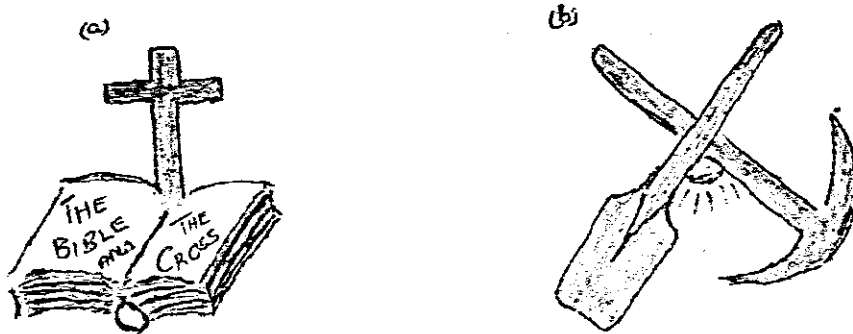
RED	WHITE	GREEN	BLACK

Red	=	Blood
White	=	Wyfies
Green	=	Discipline
Black	=	The death sentence

The gang functions only when the flag was flying. It only operates in accordance with one colour at a time. Red signifies war, white signifies peace, etc.

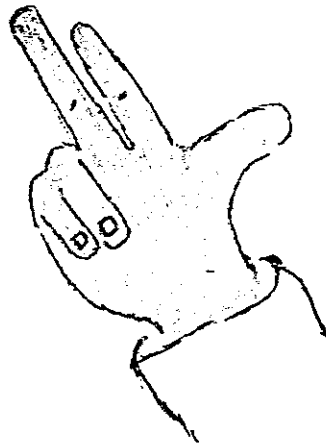
(iv) Tattoos

Hibbert (1963) states that the tattoo-marks which seemed to (Lombrosso, 1899) in his study L'umo Delinquente) of such peculiar significance were often obscene and the penis was not an uncommon motif. The genital organs were frequently decorated and prostitutes sometimes had the initials of their female lover tattooed in the arm pits. Homosexuals decorated their thighs with representative of wild pansies. The hands were sometimes marked and even the face. One man was found with a dagger tattoo on his forehead and obese it the legend: "Death to the middle classes". Furthermore, Lombrosso states that they marked themselves in this way not in revenge but as a sign of proietorship. According to the HSRC gang report (1989) the following tattoos are word by members of the 28-gang:



(v) Gestures

The following gestures are used by members of the 28-gang for identification purposes:



(vi) Ranks, Uniforms and Equipment

All gang members have their own imaginary uniform and equipment that corresponds with their rank. In an article, Zeeman et. al. (1977) maintains that the most common equipment during conflict situations are razor blades, spoons, mugs, knives. Controlling personnel are also often assaulted during conflict situations.

(4) **FUNCTIONING**

(i) Recruitment

New members are recruited from the ranks of the "Mpatas" (one who did not belong to a group) and are sworn in by an "officer" during a formal ceremony.

(ii) Training

New recruits are trained by the "sergeant 2" in, amongst others, the following aspects of gang life. Specification with regard to clothing; conduct towards prison officials and members of other gangs; drill; PT and saluting; guard duties; "bulvang" (how to rob "mpatas" of their possessions).

The "probation" or future "wyfies" are not trained in the use of weapons but only with regard to their future duties and privileges.

(iii) Promotions

Promotion usually takes place from one rank to the next. This procedure was not always adhered to and a person may skip certain ranks, persons may be promoted because of good behaviour, knowledge of gang laws, etc. Hysom (1981) states that promotion was also in certain cases coupled with "Bloed-vat". "Bloedvat" implies that a gang member first had to assault a fellow inmate or a prison official before he can be promoted.

(iv) Management

The 28-gang was managed by "Twaalf Punte". This was an organization made up from three officers of the "Bloedlyn" and three officers from the "Privaatlyn". the "Twaalf Punte" interprets gang laws, makes policy decisions, confirms new members, certifies old and sickly members, provides weapons in time of war and discusses everyday matters such as the distribution of tobacco and other valuable articles.

(v) Administration of Gang Justice and Punishment

Offenders against the gang laws are tried by "Twaalf Punte" and may be sentenced to the following:

- 1) Warnings (in case of less serious offenses)
- 2) Labour (to clean cells and wash clothes for a fixed period of time)
- 3) Exercises ("gymnastics") under the supervision of an "officer")
- 4) Fines (tobacco and other goods must be paid over "Umkhosi" or gang)
- 5) "Latte" (a predetermined numbers of slaps in the face)
- 6) "Skoeps" (the offender must drink a certain amount of water where upon he was repeatedly beaten on the stomach)
- 7) Sex (the offender was repeatedly raped by fellow gang members)
- 8) "Bloedvat" (wrongs may be corrected by assaulting a member of the Fourth camp or prison official in the court yard)
- 9) "Tou" (a gang member must condemn himself to death by murdering

a policeman or another prisoner).

3.3.1.2 THE 26-GANG

(1) AIMS

The activities of this gang are centred around money or "kroon". They obtain money by means of what they call "slim gedagtes" (smuggling, theft or extortion).

(2) ORGANIZATION

The gang was divided into the "Nommer Twees" (subordinates and "Nommer Eens" (officers). According to Scharf (1983) the following were a few of the more important ranks:

<u>NOMMER TWEES (SUBORDINATES)</u>	<u>NOMMER EENS (OFFICERS)</u>
Soldier	Doctor
Sergeant two	Agent
Sergeant-major	Secretary
Captain two ("Draadloos")	Judge
Doctor two	Inspector
Agent two	Fighting General
	General
	Government

(3) SYMBOLISM AND PHANTASY

(i) The Book

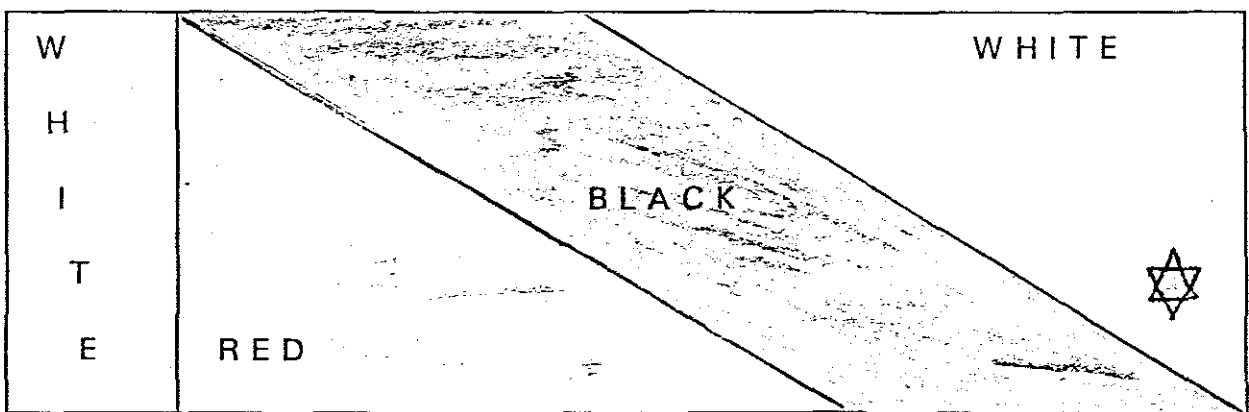
This was the symbolic book which the laws of the gang appeared. The book was represented as white, with a red stripe and a golden crown (Keswa, 1978).

(ii) Country

The "sesse" are from Chicago in the USA and refer to themselves as the mens from Chico or the Chico boys.

(iii) Flag

The following was the representation of the symbolic flag of the 26-gang:



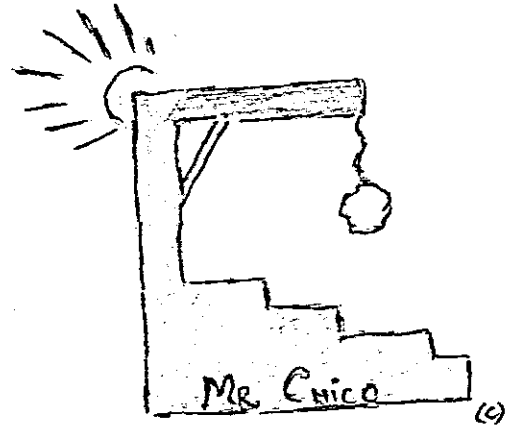
- Red = Blood
- White = Peace
- Black = Sodomy
- Red Star = Shine where you are

Just like the 28-gang, that 26-gang only act on one colour at a time

(Hysom, 1981).

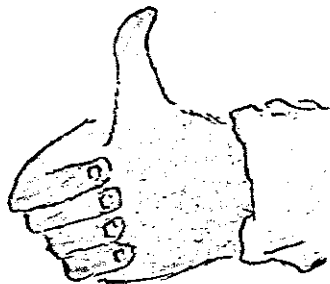
(iv) Tattoos

The following tattoos are more or less the same as those worn by members of the 26-gang for identification purposes.



(v) Gestures

The following gesture was used by members of the 26-gang for identification purposes:



(vi) Ranks, Uniform and Equipment

Just as in the case of the 28-gang, the 26-gang have also a symbolic uniforms and equipment for each rank.

(4) FUNCTIONING

Recruiting new members from the ranks of "Mpatas" are trained by the "captain one" and "inspector one" and "general". Training was said to be taking place during weekends. However, the same promotion policy as the one used by the 28-gang was used.

Lotter & Schurink (1984) states that the management of the 26-gang was called the "Twaalf Punte" and was made of senior officers. The administration of justice and punishment amongst themselves. They are such that offenders are tried before the "Twaalf Punte" who can sentence the offender to any of the punishments that are also used by the 28-gang (with notable exception of social punishment).

3.3.1.3 THE 27-GANG

(1) AIMS

Short (1968) had this to say that gang conflict, for the most part, was a combination of "cold" and "guerilla" warfare rather than sustained and carefully planned conflict between well organised groups. However, the 27-gang confine their activities to assault and warfare. Although not officially accepted as policy, smuggling and sodomy also take place.

(2) ORGANIZATION

Similarly to the other number gangs, the 27-gang was also divided into subordinates and officers, with the corresponding ranks.

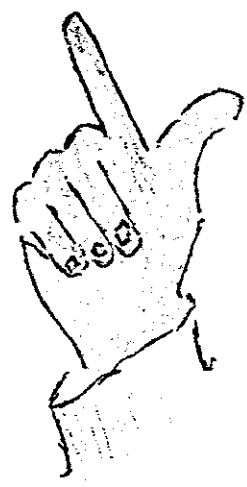
(3) SYMBOLISM AND PHANTASY

The laws of the sevens appeared on a symbolic plank. They (27-gang) originated in Holland i.e. their country. The sevens also, only act upon one colour at a time.

The following was a representation of their symbolic flag:

WHITE	=	PEACE
RED	=	BLOOD OR WARFARE

Although, no "official" tattoos are prescribed for members of the 27-gang, various tattoos may be found all over their bodies. However, the following gesture was used for greeting and identification by members of the 27-gang:

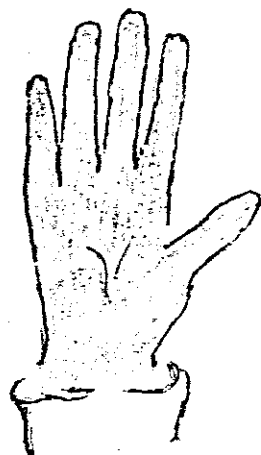


Just as in the case of the other numbered gangs, the members of the 27-gang have their own rank with its corresponding symbolic uniform and equipment. As well as their functioning was similar to that of other gangs.

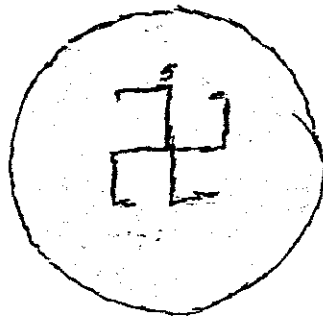
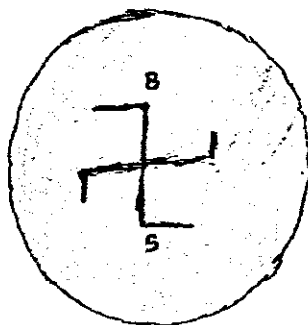
3.3.1.4 OPERATIONS OF THE FOURTH CAMP

Johnson and Toch (1982) states that the Big-5 gang and other gangs developed as the fourth camp. They are also known as the "German's". The declared aim of this gang was co-operation with prison authorities in order to protect themselves from fellow-inmates. They are inextricably linked with deviant activities and often used the following gestures and tattoos:

Gesture



Tattoos

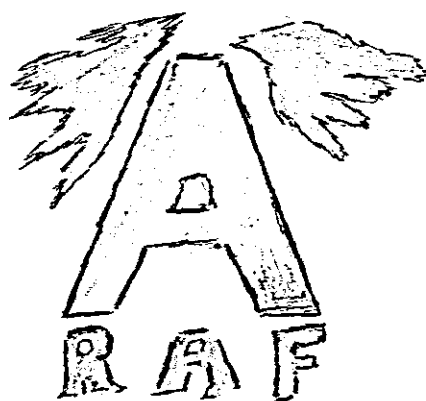


3.3.1.5 AIR FORCE AND THE FAST ELEVENS

Neser (1989) states that this was a splinter group of the Big Fives and have the same aims and modus operandi. The objectives of this gang are to aid escapes

and to assault and overpower the prisons service staff.

Furthermore, he contends that other gangs that occurred in Cape Prisons included, the One-Ones (they apparently developed from the Big 5 gang, also known as the Fast Elevens. The following gestures and tattoos are characteristics of the Air Force:



3.4 RESUMÉ

The influence that the prison set-up had on the individual takes the form of socialization. This socialization was directed at the prison subculture and involves conformity to the prison code. In due course the prisoner develops mutual interests with other prisoners in the form of increasing bitterness towards outsiders.

Clemmer (1958) states that the loyalty and dedication towards the group was reinforced by the basic separation between prison service members and prisoners.

Furthermore, the formal organization in the prison further assist the reinforcement of these feelings of solidarity.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHARACTER OF PRISON SUBCULTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON DEVIANCE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The nature of prison community in all aspects of prison life are managed and controlled by the same authority within the same physical environment, which puts it in a sharp contrast with the free community life. However, the life of any community is determined by culture, by affixed life patterns, by a comprehensive system of traditions and customs, and by the system of attitudes, values, norms and symbols. Therefore, according to Schrag (1960) a prison subculture, is a subculture with which the prisoner and to a lesser degree, the prison officials, must adapt and which is characterised by certain derivative circumstances. Within this framework the prisoner must satisfy certain basic needs and he is subjected to a socialization process wherein new behavioural patterns are moulded.

When these behavioural patterns are moulded, they consist of many groups of differing interests and power (e.g. 27-gang), who are constantly jockeying for positions of defence and advantage. Some crimes, says Vold (1978) can be described as minority group behaviour such as the number gangs. Therefore these gangs represent a unified group in conflict with an adult world whose values and power advantage threaten the gang members.

4.2 DESCRIPTION OF PRISON-SUBCULTURE

Clemmer (1970) describes prison subculture 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. As far as restrictions were concerned, the Prison Act (Act 8 of 1959) and the Regulations made provisions for various security restrictive and control measures to be applied in dealing with totally deviant inmates e.g. solitary confinement, mechanical confinement, removal of items, such as cutlery, when not in use, regular inspections, etc. To prevent personnel from resorting to unnecessary gang conflict, (Regulation 98(3)).

In his study, Thorstein Sellin (on culture, conflict and crime, 1938), pointed out that human beings were born into cultures that provide meanings to behaviour including the norms governing that behaviour. The more complex the culture becomes, the more likely it was that the number of normative groups which affect a person will be large and which might result to the conflicting of norms.

4.3 CONFLICT OF NORMS

The prison as a society becomes diverse because of the population growth, intermingling of cultures, competitive interests and so on. As a result persons living in such a society find themselves in situations governed by conflicting norms of some concerned groups.

These situations, in so far as Halleck's (1971) were inevitable when norms of one come into contact with those of another. These clashes may occur in any one of

the following circumstances:

- (i) When prison groups were in close proximity to one another;
- (ii) When the laws of one group were imposed to another; and
- (iii) When members of one group migrate into another group.

In many instances conflict may simply be the result of a misunderstanding or ignorance of the law or prisoner codes.

4.4 STATUS HIERARCHY OF CONFLICT GANG

Prison restrictions or control, however do not limit fighting between gangs and towards prison officials. Short and Strudbeck (1964) gives an example of a despot, that it is someone who abuses his own people, if he attacks and tyrannizes other groups, he is a great and victorious leader. This implies that a fight often occur because a gang or its leaders simply could not tolerate a real or implied threat to whatever reputation they had.

Fighting or deviant acts are a major and necessary activity for them and a means of acquiring respect, admiration, and prestige within them (Fox, 1971). They must and do fight often. They have a heavy investment in and therefore motivation towards combat. Their reputation and status are under constant challenge any time they falter some other gangs will try to make them fall. They must be prepared for defence, indeed, they believe they must attack from time to time before others attack them.

4.5 INFLUENCE OF THE PRISON SUBCULTURE

The prison subculture had a strong influence on the prison community, which results in prisoners figuring as highly integrated groups, with a strong group unity, morality and feeling. Higgins refers to loyalty among prisoners " ... these men cling to one another with a group loyalty not excelled in purity and inviolability by those fine emotions which animate and consolidate groups of human being ... In any relationship, group attachment clearly comes to the fore during conflict situations". (1970:423).

4.5.1 PRISONER TOWARDS PRISONER

The manner in which prisoners interact with one another was influenced to a large extent by the accepted prisoner code, as discussed earlier. The code had been built up through many years and results in part from the conception of some law-breakers of that society and the symbols that represent it (prison officials in this case) were natural enemies.

Clemmer (1958) gives an example of how the prison culture affect the behaviour of men in prison. Example: Prisoner A and B had an argument as to whose duty it was to clean the cell, and a fight ensued. A whipped B and, as a result B nursed a grudge. So far the behaviour was determined by personal-social determinants.

For revenge, B mutilated A's Bible and while A knew that B had done it, and hated him for it, yet he did not inform the officials. In not giving the information against B, A was responding to an item of the prison culture, an item which prescribes that

one inmate shall not inform officials about another. In possessing a Bible (which few prisoners do), A was responding to an item of the general culture, that was, the institution of the religion.

Inmates who learned of the affair began to admire A, whom they had considered, up to this time, merely a religious fanatic. Thus through conforming to the code of prisoners, he lessened the social distance between himself and certain other prisoners.

4.5.2 PRISONER TOWARDS SERVICE MEMBER

Lombardo (1981) contends that the manner in which prisoners act towards warders was a source of dissatisfaction and frustration for the warders. They even refuse totally sometimes to co-operate with them or to carry out their instructions.

The opinion of a prison service member was quoted from Lombardo: "... they do not understand what your job was, but they want you to understand their problems in doing their time. They want officers to take them as individuals, but they take officers as a group." (1981:118).

4.5.3 PRISON SERVICE MEMBER TOWARDS PRISONER

The methods of treatment of criminals have varied in content from time to time and place to place. However, there were two perspectives of the relationship between prison service members and prisoners that can be identified. One was the relationship where prisons service members act as a group towards prisoners. The

other relationship was where a warder acts as an individual towards a prisoner.

A prison service member who was known for the exceptionally good relations he maintains with his prisoners, Johnson and Toch (1977) is of the opinion that the key to these good relationships was his personal style and how he reacts to prisoners and situations and not his role as a prison official. According to Lager and Stratton (1977), warders subscribe to the following codes in their relationships with prisoners:

- (i) Prisoners cannot and may not be trusted, they remain criminals.
- (ii) Prisoners must always be kept in their place.
- (iii) They must be treated strictly otherwise they become manipulative.
- (iv) They were born bad, emotionally and morally inadequate.
- (v) Prisoners only understand one language, and that was punishment.
- (vi) Rehabilitation can only be successful in exceptional cases.
- (vii) They were wild and uncontrollable and can therefore only be controlled with very strict discipline.

These codes can be branded as generalisations dependent upon the policy and application of prison administration. Such codes or attitudes form the basis of behaviour and this plays a determining role in the interaction between warders and prisoners. Therefore, in this instance, the "frustrations" of prison service members were brought in. They were confronted daily by a variety of personalities that are for instance, characterised by inadequacy, immaturity or highly developed

manipulative ability.

Prison service members are also continually exposed to physical danger. In these circumstances, and against the background of the size of the prison population, conflict between prisoners mutually and between prisoners and prison service members, was in this case, actually always imminent. In this connection Lombardo (1981) is of the opinion that the walls of a prison emphasise the division between prison service members and prisoners, while they simultaneously unite the two groups as people who share a common environment.

4.6 FACTORS WHICH LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF GANGS

As it had been already indicated, many of the current prison gangs developed outside the prison. Therefore one cannot allege out of hand that gangs develop purely as a result of conditions in prison. However, prison conditions may contribute to the continued existence of prison gangs. The existence and survival of prison gangs were due to factors both inside and outside of the prison.

4.6.1 FACTORS PECULIAR TO IMPRISONMENT

4.6.1.1 THE DEPRIVATION OF FREEDOM

The most important result of the deprivation of freedom was that the prisoner was separated from all those who were dear to him. The realities and values of friends and family ties outside the prison fade with the passage of time and the prisoner starts to seek relationships inside the prison and the burden of isolation was

likewise lightened.

4.6.1.2 THE DEPRIVATION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

In prison, the prisoner was provided only with what the authorities consider he needs. The prisoner had a need to exercise his own choice about what he needs. Prison gangs therefore, specialize in obtaining the so-called "luxuries" such as alcohol, dagga and extra tobacco which were not obtainable by acceptable means. The 26-gang had quite a strong influence with their policy of looking at money ("kroon kyk").

4.6.1.3 THE DEPRIVATION OF HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

The deprivation of heterosexual relationships was experienced as a punishment. However, the deprivation may be overcome by unnatural means. In the case of men and especially black men, the gangs, (for example the 28-gang), offers the opportunity for homosexual practices and in so doing the deprivation of heterosexual activities was lessened.

4.6.1.4 THE DEPRIVATION OF AUTONOMY

A person imprisoned at Waterval, was not only being detained but was also subjected to extremely strict regulations. These regulations rule every moment of his daily existence. Where and when he had to eat, work, sleep, play, etc. was determined for him by others and on such a basis that he had little or no say in the matter.

Furthermore, the routine becomes unbearable for many prisoners with the result that smuggling and other opportunities to have a say in their own lives become attractive to them. Prison gangs provide both the opportunity and the means of autonomy and adventure to prisoners.

4.6.1.5 THE DEPRIVATION OF SECURITY

Many prisoners at Waterval were admitted as first offenders. The gangs know that and exploited the situation. They also make use of media and film presentations to prisoners who were assaulted and raped by hardened criminals. Prisoners experience the situation as one in which there was no security for them against the onslaught of prison elements. In such cases, gangs offer a "safe harbour" against any exploitation". Those who do not belong to gangs were the actual targets of the gangs, and often the only way to avoid victimization was to join the gangs themselves.

4.6.2 INFLUENCE FROM OUTSIDE THE PRISON

4.6.2.1 LOWER CLASS INFLUENCES

Most prisoners were from the so-called lower class. Poverty, unemployment, abuse of alcohol, broken homes and foster parents were often their way of life. Their youth was characterized by irregular school attendance, early school-leaving and an irregular working pattern. This way of life did not correspond with the accepted norm.

In this type of environment, according to Hysom (1981) certain characteristic behaviour patterns or actions were regarded as important if the individual wishes to win the esteem of the community. The characteristics which contribute most to people's admission to gangs in prison were the following:

- (i) Trouble as a means to achievement;
- (ii) Callousness as a sign of masculinity;
- (iii) Shrewdness as a method of outwitting others;
- (iv) Excitement as a way of experiencing sensation;
- (v) A belief in fate as the determining factor in man's destination;
- (vi) Excessive dislike of hard work.

These values were also built into the structures of prison gangs and that was why the values of prison gangs were easily acceptable to people of the lower classes.

4.6.2.2 THE INFLUENCE OF STREET GANGS

Research into the influences of street gangs on the formation of gangs had not yet been done nationwide. However, research in the Cape, Lotter and Schuring (1984) indicates that a large percentage of black and coloured male prisoners previously belonged to street gangs. The reasons why they turned to street gangs, may also be largely ascribed to lower class influences.

4.6.2.3 THE INFLUENCE OF REFORM SCHOOLS

A considerable percentage of the prison population, as related in the HSRC gang report, 1994, was the product of reform schools. Gangs were a general phenomena in reformatories. The smuggling of alcohol and dagga, homosexual practices, blackmail and assault were also general activities of these gangs. Ex-reform school pupils subsequently continued these practices in the prison by joining gangs.

4.6.2.4 GANGS INFLUENCING PRISON OFFICIALS

In the past, members have joined gangs voluntarily or by force. The following was an example of how a member may be forced to subject himself to the power of gangs.

A gang member will initiate a conversation with a member. Thereafter he requests that the member post a letter for him to his family. As soon as the member posts the letter, he was in the power of the prisoner because he had committed an offence in terms of the Act. The member was blackmailed into bringing forbidden articles into the prison, ignoring gang activities and in some cases even into joining the gang.

There was a special relationship of authority between members and prisoners. Furthermore, the Act requires that such a relationship be maintained. If relationships exist between prisoners and members, these can be exploited by prisoners to the general disadvantage of prison management. (Coetzee, 1992).

4.7 RESUMÉ

The reader should realize that gangs cannot be described as a homogenous group and that there will always be difference between gangs from one area to another. Until gangs become considerably less active in South African prisons, members should always orientate themselves adequately with regard to gangs in prisons.

The following chapter presents the systematic analysis of data gathered from the population of prison warders at Waterval Prison.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of the data collected in terms of an interview schedule.

5.2 METHODS USED FOR DATA GATHERING

The interview and questionnaire methods were used in this project to elicit information on "Gang Conflict" in the South African prisons, with special reference to Waterval Prison. The survey questionnaires and interviews schedule were administered by the researcher personally after having established the willing co-operation of the respondents who answered the questions in the presence of the researcher.

5.2.1 THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

If questionnaires were handed out and answered by respondents at their own leisure time it was difficult to obtain a full co-operation. For example, they may omit answers to some questions through either forgetfulness or distaste for facing a particular issue, or through not understanding the question.

The researcher, therefore visited Waterval Prison personally (i.e. field work) and met prison warders in this prison, in order to explain and answer questions concerning the purpose of the study; put warders at ease in a way that would not

had been possible with a pure questionnaire technique.

It was possible to build up feelings of confidence that made for cooperation and truthfulness on the part of prison warders. This interview was conducted on an individual basis with warders of more than three years experience.

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE MEASURING INSTRUMENT

5.3.1 THE SCHEDULE ITEMS

The schedule for conducting interviews was divided into six sections, i.e. A,B,C,D,E and F. Under each section a number of questions were constructed which varied in number from two (2) to six (6).

Under Section A, there was a list of questions which were intended to gather data on the personal data of Prison Warders (for example, age, marital status, rank, sex and the level of education).

Section B, had a list of questions which were intended or dealt with the existence of gang fights at Waterval prison.

Section C, was composed of questions dealing with victims and involvement in deviance.

Section D, was constituted with questions aimed at determining the quality of life for prisoners at Waterval.

Section E, had a list of structured questions intended to measure the extent of prison officials' attitudes towards prison gangs.

Section F, this section surveys the relationship of prison warders towards gangs, investigating on their problems as related to their treatment of prisoners.

5.3.2 STATISTICAL TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED

The technique for logically ordering data so that questions could be revised and answered was used. Tables and graphs were used for presenting research findings. Percentages were used for further interpretation with the aid of the following statistical formula:

$$\frac{a}{N} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

5.4 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.4.1 SECTION A : PERSONAL DATA

The composition of the population in a specified area like Waterval Prison, was usually viewed from such stand points as age distribution. To know the composition of a population was to know in short, certain fundamental facts about the people who comprise it (Clemmer, 1966).

The following table indicated the age distribution of prison officials at Waterval Prison:

TABLE 1 : AGE DISTRIBUTION

AGE	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
20 - 29	10	20
30 - 39	22	44
40 - 49	14	28
50 - 59	4	8
TOTAL	50	100

The age distribution of prison officials from a specified sample is indicated on the above table, from the total number of subjects, 20% of the warders were between the age of 20 - 29 years. 44% of these members were between 30 - 39 years of age. 28% were people whose age ranged from 40 - 49 years. the other 8% were between the age of 50 - 59 years.

TABLE 2 : MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION

In this aspect we confine our interest to a statistical consideration of warders who were married, widowed, divorced, separated or single. Facts such as there are of aid to the reader as he makes his own interpretations of certain practices in the prison community.

The following diagram shows the distribution of respondents according to marital status:

MARITAL STATUS	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Single	23	46
Married	25	50
Cohabiting	-	-
Divorced	2	4
Separated	-	-
TOTAL	50	100

The marital status distribution of prison officials in the above table, indicated that 46% of total population were still single. However, 50% was married. The other 4% were divorced. While we cannot compare this figure with the data we have secured about warders because of age and sex difference, yet we can see a general indication that warders at least, were not greatly different from the general population in the matter of marriage. Many other comparisons leading to more refined conclusions might have been drawn, but they would add little to the central thesis of this study.

TABLE 3 : DISTRIBUTION OF RANKS

RANK	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Warder	16	32
Sergeant	18	36
Warrant Officer	7	14
Lieutenant	2	4
Captain	4	8
Major / Colonel	3	6
TOTAL	50	100

Ranks, according to Longman (1988) are a level of relative value, ability, importance, etc. on a scale especially the official position someone holds in the army, navy, etc. Particularly to this study, this was a line of police warders standing side by side.

Furthermore, to have or regard as having a certain rank or relative position: This result ranks as one of their most successful elections performances of the past years. However, members may be reduced to the ranks as a punishment for deviant behaviour like drinking. The above table, indicates that 32% from the specified sample of the population of prison warders at Waterval were in the ranks of warders. 36% were in the ranks of sergeants. 14% were the warrant officers. As a result 4% enjoyed the privileges of lieutenant, 8% of the members ranked captain. Lastly 6% of the top rankers enjoyed privileges of being a major or colonel.

TABLE 4 : SEX DISTRIBUTION

SEX	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Female	4	8
Male	46	92
TOTAL	50	100

The obvious, but most important item is that the prison was almost an all male population, indicated to the careful student or scholar that behaviour patterns similar to a "frontier society" may develop, and similarly, some activities found in a sexually mixed population will not exist except in a modified form. According to Longman (1988) frontier society is an extreme limit of settled land, beyond which the court society is wild and undeveloped. The fact that a population was all masculine, however, indicated what the situation would be only within broad limits. The above table indicate a smaller population of females with 8% and 92% of male population.

TABLE 5 : EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MEMBERS

Their level of education was important because it was presumed that it would affect their perception in so far as prisoners treatment. We were interested here, in interpreting these data in terms of the formal education knowledge which members bring to the prison environment.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Std 7 - 9	4	8
Std 10	36	72
College/Technical	7	14
University	3	6
TOTAL	50	100

Table 5, above, indicates that 8% of the members level of education ranged from Std 7 - 9, 72% were matriculants who did not receive any tertiary education. However, 14% were from or had college and technical qualifications. The other 6% were the university graduates.

The educational level on the whole was intertwined with socialization, which embraces a range of characteristics, behaviour and experience for treatment of prisoners.

5.4.2 SECTION B : GANG FIGHTS

Prison gangs were responsible for a large percentage of the deviancy found in prisons. In cases of conflict situations they acted collectively. In so doing they were in a favourable position to intimidate other prisoners. Furthermore when a gang member had to "correct a wrong" which he himself had committed, he had to "draw blood". This means that he had to assault a non-gang member in the presence of other prisoners and officials. Lotter and Schurink (1984) states that certain promotions to higher ranks were only made possible through assault or

even murder. At some prisons such things were known. At other prisons, these phenomena achieve publicity because of their intensity. Occurrence of such "disorder" at Barberton in 1983 were known to most of the prison service members.

The following table indicates how serious were the gang fights:

GANG FIGHTS	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Very serious	33	66
Fairly serious	14	28
Not at all serious	1	2
Do not know/uncertain	2	4
TOTAL	50	100

At Waterval Prison, 66% of their members responded to have a very serious gang warfare, 28% indicated it to be fairly serious, while 2% stated that it was not at all serious. The other 4% was uncertain.

TABLE 7 : CONFLICT TOWARDS PRISON WARDERS

PROBLEM	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Increased	36	72
Decreased	1	2
Uncertain	2	4
Remained about the same	11	22
TOTAL	50	100

A relation apparently exists between the size of an institution and the incidence of conflicts. In the above mentioned table, table 7, investigation on gang conflicts at Waterval Prison, 1980 - 1992. It was found that 72% of warders reported that gang fights that involved members have tremendously increased. 22% stated that it had remained about the same, 2% stated that it had decreased and 4% were uncertain.

Throughout the world, the incidences of riots and disorder were on the increase. As a result of the increase in conflict situations in society, the number of violent offenders in prisons was also increasing. In reality, the prison was also a reflection of the community because it represents a segment of the community. Consequently, conflict and disorder in prisons will increase as it increases in society (Rox, 1977).

As a result we found that number-gangs were on their daily operation at Waterval Prison.

TABLE 8 : GANG CAUSING DISORDER

NUMBER-GANGS	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
26-gang first camp	7	14
27-gang 2nd camp	3	6
28-gang 3rd camp	22	44
Big-5 4th camp	8	16
Other	10	20
TOTAL	50	100

All prison gangs do cause disorder in prisons, with the passage of time some of the gangs especially at Waterval Prison were no longer intact. There were only 14% responses towards the existence of 26-gang, the 27-gang had turn to parade under auspices of the 26-gang. The 44% were for the 28-gang and 16% the Big-5 gang which exist as a fourth camp. The other gangs like Fast Elevens, Air Force and Desperadoes, with a full opposition to the Big-5 gang existed with 20%.

TABLE 9 : WARDERS ASSAULTED/HOSTAGED/KILLED BY GANGS

PROBLEM	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Assaulted	46	92
Hostaged	2	4
Killed	2	4
TOTAL	50	100

During the period 1980 - 1992, the above table indicates that 92% of prison warders have been assaulted by prisoners. 4% in this period have been hostaged

and 4% have been killed.

TABLE 10 : SECTIONS IN WHICH GANGS ARE ON THEIR DAILY OPERATIONS

PRISON SECTION	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Juvenile Section	17	28
Medium Section	4	8
Maximum Section	22	44
All Sections of the Prison	7	14
TOTAL	50	100

Waternal Prison was divided into sections, i.e. juvenile, medium and maximum. This implies the kind of behaviour expected per section. Because the prison environment differs from the normal environment conditions, it may be regarded as an unnatural environment which often contributes to heightened emotional tension as a result of limited personal freedom, regimentation, frustration, a feeling of helplessness and injustice, boredom, sexual depression, fear, the absence of sympathy and anxiety about family and friends (Fox, 1956).

However, the peculiarity of the prison environment leads to a feeling of comradeship amongst prisoners, to stand together against the "oppression" of the government. According to the above table, table 10, the juvenile section was said to have 28% on its gang operation, 8% for the medium section. Most of the troubles are said to have been started at the maximum section with 44%. Comments from the respondents were that the architecture of the maximum

section at Waterval Prison was initially not meant for a maximum security. This had turn to put prison officials in danger of being assaulted, killed or hostaged by prisoners.

5.4.3 SECTION C : VICTIMS AND INVOLVEMENT IN DEVIANCE

In this research none of the respondents have been the victim of gang fights. But many have witnessed assaults, hostages and killings of warder or prisoner by other prisoner. During the interview, warders described some circumstances that there was an assault of prisoner on prisoner on 16 January 1991. Unexpected disturbance of one prisoner by another prisoner. Due to police brutality it happened that one prisoner was killed, therefore on the following day prisoners started a fight, retaliating, as a result on prison member was assaulted.

Further, comments were that this usually take place when prisoners fight amongst themselves over wives or money or when they go indifferent about their ideologies especially that of gangs.

TABLE 11 : INVOLVEMENT IN GANG PRACTICE

RACE	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Black	20	40
White	2	4
Indians	8	16
Coloureds	20	40
TOTAL	50	100

In the past years, prison gangs spread to encompass coloured members and with the passage of time, this was found almost exclusively amongst black and coloured male prisoners. In the above table, Waterval Prison reflected 40% on black prisoners participated in gang activities. A small percentage of 4% were white prisoners, 16% were Indians. the other 40% were Coloureds.

TABLE 12 : RESTRICTIONS TO PRISON GANGS

In so far as Lotter and Schurink (1984:43) disciplinary measures were applied consistently and without exceptions. Prisoners quickly become aware when the Head of the Prison was laze in applying disciplinary measures. Gang members take advantage of such a situation to convince other prisoners that only their actions have any bearing on the prisoner's welfare. The consistent application of disciplinary measures had the further advantage that it leads to more complete records. The advantage of this was that gang members can be identified by repeated offences of by the nature of the offences and thereby be suitably classified (safe custody classification). Furthermore, they may be penalized by decreased privileges.

GANG ACTIVITY	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Restriction:		
Yes	31	62
No	19	38
TOTAL	50	100

The above table indicated 62% members who apply disciplinary measures toward gang activities. They commented from the interview that such prisoners were charged and degraded to a lower privileged group. Remission, was one of the privileges. Malan (1978:107) stated that the loss of remission of sentence was a drastic measure.

The seriousness thereof increases when it substantially affects the prisoner's date of release, seeing that this measure affects the freedom of the prisoner. Upon this deprivation of remission of sentence, two situations were distinguished. Firstly, it was taken at an early stage of the sentence. Secondly, it was taken away at a relatively late stage of the prisoner's sentence. Other restrictions include limiting the number of visits for the prisoner per year as well as recreational time with other inmates.

Furthermore, 38% of members at Waterval Prison did not apply those measures. Other members in this regard commented on the attitude of the Management that *it did not give members a chance to impose what they think can solve problems within the prison, except to accept what Management told them. That was top-down management practices.*

5.4.4. SECTION D : QUALITY OF LIFE

The department of National Health and Population Development, in so far as (Departmental Order Section B Service Order 3 and 4), was responsible for the rendering of psychiatric services to prisoners.

Psychiatric services were rendered to prisoners only at the larger centres and any prisoner at prisons like Waterval were referred to psychiatric treatment or examination by the district surgeon and transferred to the nearest centres allocated for this purpose.

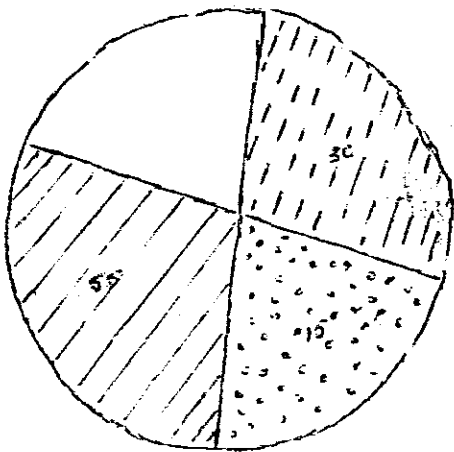
TABLE 13 : PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

SERVICES RENDERED	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Yes	-	
No	50	100
TOTAL	50	100

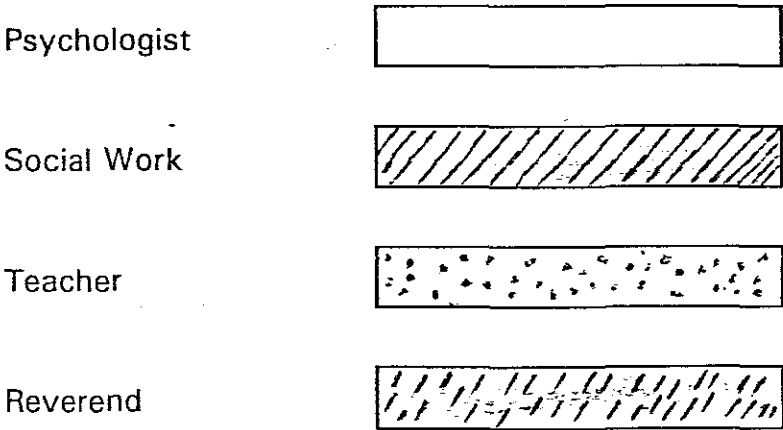
The above table indicated that there were 100% responses, that there were no psychiatric services rendered at Waterval Prison, during the time of the study.

Furthermore, when a prisoner was referred to a hospital or psychiatric treatment, this should also be mentioned to the social worker and the clinical psychologist of that prison. However, Waterval Prison had the following responses, in so far as these services:

TABLE 14 : DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SERVICES RENDERED



Percentage Distribution



The above diagram, table 14, reflected that Waterval, as a large prison, was operating without a psychologist. Furthermore, the prison library, under the supervision of the unqualified teacher, had a catalogue of about 6,000 books, most of which were light fiction. There was a monthly circulation of 12,000 books, indicating roughly that each book was assigned at least twice a month.

The religious services were held in the control yards. Each Sunday morning the chaplain conduct services for all inmates who wish to attend. Both meeting were quite typical of church procedure in the normal community. The chaplain was assigned full-time duty, receive remuneration every month, with partial maintenance, and spend about six hours a day in prison. In addition to their church duties they hold interviews with inmates and assist in the holiday activities.

5.4.4.1 GENERAL HYGIENE AND FOOD

The general hygiene of every prison was expected to have sufficient toilets, washing and bath facilities as well as fresh drinking water. All cell accommodation were expected to be properly cleaned and neat.

Concerning the personal hygiene of prisoners, including shaving and haircutting was part of the orientation on admission. According to the responses during the time of interviews, the general hygiene was unsatisfactory. On the other hand, satisfactory food staff was provided. The general mess seats 500 men. There were six sections of tables, each of which provides for 100. Everyone faces the front of the building and occupies an individual seat.

The inmates enter the dining room in double-breast formation and march to their seats. They were not allowed to talk as they eat and the sight of 500 men stoically eating in silence was gruesome. Everything was placed on one metal plate which often makes an unpalatable appearing mess. Coffee or tea was poured into the tin cups which the men bring with them. In quantity the food was

adequate, although the monotony of the diet and the unappetizing preparation and serving were the cause of much complaints and conflicts.

5.4.4.2 BEDDING AND MEDICATION SYSTEM

During the first year in which data for this study were collected, the bedding and medication system had been unsatisfactory at Waterval Prison. This building was a block type. The cells were 7 feet long, 6½ feet high, and 4 feet and 8 inches wide. Between each cell was a solid stone and cement partition of 8½ inches. The back and sides of the cells were of solid concrete, painted grey. The steel-barred gate constituted the front part of the cell. Some of the cells were not even equipped with double deck, gas-pipe-frame bed. The mattresses for beds were of cheap construction and filled with excelsior. In this oldest building, ventilation was provided by blower fans which were not very effective. The narrow windows were also opened on occasions. The building of this prison was reminiscent of Apartheid structures. This therefore suggest that the issue of prison clothes or bedding should be reconsidered in good time, according to the seasonal changes or climatic changes.

A prisoner at Waterval, as an example, was not forced to undergo medical treatment, with the exception of:

- (i) Prisoners who have been certified mentally ill. in terms of Mental Health Act (including their nutrition); and

- (ii) Prisoners who were suffering from a contagious disease or where there was a suspicion that a prisoner was suffering from a contagious disease.

TABLE 15 : CONDITIONS BETWEEN GANGS AND WARDENS

CONDITIONS	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Improved	1	2
Same	15	30
Worse	34	68
TOTAL	50	100

Conflict conditions have never attain improvement in this particular prison, according to the above table. Incidences of assaults have been mentioned in the earlier chapters.

5.4.5 SECTION E : ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRISON GANGS

TABLE 16 : DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS GANGS

SAFETY	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Yes	14	28
No	36	72
TOTAL	50	100

The above table indicated that 72% of members did not feel safe working alongside prison gangs, 28% felt safe especially with their batons and firearms.

Clemmer (1966:183) stated that guards do not possess the reformer's zeal. They have their own lives to live; they have their own little frustrations, sorrows, and tragedies, and few people, guards included, have a "sense of state".

The personality problems of employees in prison may be quite as serious as those of the inmates with whose care they were charged. The student of social science did not hate a stupid, brutal guard, just as he did not hate the feeble-minded rapist. For the betterment of the society both need to be controlled, but the point of view must be kept objective.

Furthermore, most of the members at Waterval, during interview, have express feelings that, they did not talk freely about gangs and their misbehaviour in prison. But to other members they did talk. Most of these members had been influenced by prison life which was exhibited through their behaviour. The following table, table 17, indicated the kind of activities members engage in during their leisure time.

TABLE 17 : ACTIVITY DURING SPARE TIME

ACTIVITY DURING SPARE TIME	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Attend church service	10	20
Participate in sport	8	16
Drink with friends	31	62
Visit friends	1	2
TOTAL	50	100

The above table, table 17, indicated that 20% of members attended church services, 16% took part in sport, 62% drank with friends, and 2% usually visit friends. The kind of activity one did pre-supposes the kind of influence one have according to status and occupation. Therefore, members were also influenced by gang behaviour. As a result, most of the prisoners "go out" not ready for society. this proved that the lack of discipline among members, created chances for prisoners to take the prison as a home. "Some of them came back to prison after a month from their discharge", commented one member of warders.

5.4.6 SECTION F : RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS GANGS

TABLE 18

RELATIONSHIP	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Good	13	26
Bad	9	18
Indifferent	28	56
TOTAL	50	100

The relationship of warders towards gangs in the above table, 26% of members had good relationship, there was that mutual respect and communication, 9% denied any relationship. However, 56% proved indifferent (one member commented that: "Prisoners complain about everything one did or say, I therefore adapt the way of living from them. When they behave good, I am also good. When they behave bad, I am bad too."

The data collected therefore, confirmed that the relationship between prisoners and staff had not improved and the way prisoners react towards treatment was demonstrated by table 19 below.

TABLE 19 : DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES ACCORDING TO PRISONERS REACTION TOWARDS TREATMENT

REACTION	N° OF SUBJECTS	PERCENTAGE
Good	6	12
Bad	7	14
Indifferent	37	74
TOTAL	50	100

A happy prison community gives the least problems; that was why it was so important that a happy relationship was fostered especially between members and prisoners. The data indicated that 12% had a good reaction. Those that see the need of changing criminal behaviour, 14% had a bad reaction. On applying rules they tell you that's Apartheid rules. The most aspect of behaviour of prison gangs that annoyed according interviews was its existence and practices of killing and assaults as well as other deviant behaviours.

5.5 RESUMÉ

The next chapter gives the conclusions of the main findings and also give the recommendations that might help institutions like Waterval Prison.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the conclusions which may be drawn from the findings of the study. The format adopted was to give general conclusions as well as specific conclusions, then made some recommendation and future directions.

A research study similar to this may also be undertaken, so that other unstated or deeper dynamics of Gang Conflict in South African Prisons can be studied in depth.

6.2 RESTATEMENT OF THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

- (i) The study was undertaken to acquire a scientific knowledge and insight to the operation of most important prison gangs by means of literature study.
- (ii) To describe the prison subculture in terms its character and influence as they relate to conflict situations.
- (iii) To measure the impact of gang conflict towards prison officials effort for rehabilitation of offenders.

6.3 RESTATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Gangs are one of the most serious problems facing the South African prison service today. They are not only almost solely responsible for mass disorder in prisons, but a large percentage of all individual and group disciplinary offenses (e.g. assault, smuggling, escape, sodomy, etc.) committed by prisoners are directly ascribable to participation in gang activities which stands in sharp contrast with the prison discipline.

Conflict is an essential part of gang struggle for existence, for it determines amongst other things that the status of the gang in relation to other gangs. They (prisoners) develop special habits which they must keep up, or they may try to manipulate others (warders included) such that they may have control over their unusual environment. As a result, this causes difficulties with prison officials or management. That is why this problem was significant and worth to study.

6.4 HOW THE RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED

A sample of fifty (50) respondents was chosen at random from the total population of prison warders at Waterval Prison. An interview schedule was administered personally by the researcher and it was expedient when considering the duration of the study.

The data collected from the interviews was then presented, analyzed and interpreted in terms of tables, using the formula stated in paragraph (1.6.1.3). Percentages were written except in questions where respondents had to give more

than one response.

Conclusions of the study are discussed hereunder.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS

6.5.1 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

6.5.1.1. NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH

The findings in this study indicated the need for further research in a number of aspects, related to this problem and the service structure facilities needed. Such areas include among others:

- (i) Literature on Gang Conflict in prisons
- (ii) Controlling measures to prevent and do away with gang behaviour in prisons.

6.5.1.2 FUTURE RESEARCH

In the last chapter on data analyses, it had been concluded that the image of warders should be actively enhanced. The sense of responsibility, loyalty, educational level, in-service training and ability to cope professionally with his task should receive top priority to combat gangs.

This enhancement is further, recommended to other prison departments, to ascertain a cross-cultural picture.

6.5.1.3 CONTROL MEASURES

Gang fights are still a problem in most prisons, at Waterval Prison (66%) of their members responded to have a very serious gang warfare. The study therefore *concluded that collective counter measures by all personnel against gang may be a simple solution to the problem.* Therefore members should be able to identify gang members.

The identification of gang members is impeded by the code of secrecy to which all gang members are subjected. However, all gang members may be identified by the following characteristics:

- During gang warfare and directly afterwards, at which stage the members of one gang are prepared to point out members of another gang for revenge.
- The tattoo marks of different gangs.

6.5.1.5 PREVENTATIVE METHODS

It is further concluded that gang problems required that members should be on the lookout for gangs. 44% of the respondents at Waterval indicated that the 28-gang are on their daily operation, as well as 56% of other gangs.

The situation according to Robert Merton (1957) is caused by "frustration" which rise to the state of anomie. Therefore, it suggest that, prisoners should not be subjected to pointless labour, nor be allowed to stand around idling during working hours. Furthermore, they should positively encourage prisoners to participate in group activities, such as sport, music, study and concerts.

In so far as Durkheim (1964) in this regard, through opposition the criminal behaviour (like that of gangs) the social group or society (i.e. members and significant others) should be strengthened, which implies an opportunity to reassert standards. Because that particular deviant behaviour might be an expression of dissatisfactions.

According to the findings of the study 38% of members at Waterval prison did not apply those measures. In this regard members commented about the management practices, which did not give them a chance for suggestion. This attitude, according to Marx is embodied in the social structure itself, which is responsible in a double sense, the higher class commit crime and the oppressed react to crime. This is to say prisons as systems reflect the po-tential for inhumanities. As a result this sharpens the evil potential.

Finally, the inhumanization that is perpetuated by the ruling class, shows the background to the causes that simply overcome any serious efforts at the rehabilitation of prisoners.

6.5.1.5 QUALITY OF LIFE

According to the findings the quality of life at Waterval Prison was not satisfactory. The professional services like psychiatry, psychologist and teacher were not rendered during the time of the study. Therefore, a multi-disciplinary approach is required to help, prevent and provide resources to alleviate the problem of gang conflict.

6.5.1.6 ATTITUDE TOWARDS GANGS

The attitude of prison members towards rendering treatment services needed to be developed positively towards gangs, which might have alleviated unnecessary torture by police or fear of gangs. Taking into consideration that their frustrations might have been quite as serious as those of inmates with whose care they were charged. But this study concluded that, for the betterment of the society both needed to be controlled.

6.5.2 SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS

6.5.2.1 RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS GANGS

A good relationship with strict disciplinary measures for the combating of gang activities as implied by the findings. Therefore members were to be able to identify deviant actions or gang members. Characteristics for identification had been outlined in paragraph 6.5.1.3.

6.5.2.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Almost all countries, including South Africa, are in the process of developing their legislation in order to strengthen their departments more effectively. It is recommended that these services should be a common function of the state without class interests. These services generally comprise of Health and Welfare services, psychiatric and psychological services, correctional supervision that do not discriminate and other improved methods of punishment.

6.6 RESUMÉ

In this chapter, the researcher outlined the conclusions drawn from the research study on Gang Conflict in South African prisons, with a special reference to Waterval, 1980 - 1992. These were fully discussed with the intention to prepare a way for professional evaluation.

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ANNEXURE A

GANG WORDS AND PRISON SLANG

"afkoel"	-	(cooling down) relaxed, nice life, leaving gang activities aside for the moment
agent	-	defender; rank in gang
"agge", "ags"	-	(eights) the 28-gang; members of the gang
"agterryer"	-	(outrider) favourite
baba (pa)	-	person who plays active or leading role in sex-ual relationship, male partner of "wyfie" (female)
bait	-	potential victim of number gangs, such as in the fourth camp
"band straf"	-	(gangbang) sodomy, usually by different officer (in gang) as punitive measure
"bedmaak"	-	(making a bed) start a sexual relationship
"berge"	-	(mountains) disciplinary cells; isolation "koeloekoets" ("in the cooler")
"berge sak/agter"	-	solitary confinement
"bloed kyk"	-	(see blood) to be involved in serious violence
"bloed vat"	-	(shed blood) assault with the purpose of shedding blood; to correct a wrong
"blok is warm"	-	danger; gangs fighting
"bloubaadjie"	-	(blue jacket) habitual criminal
"bom"	-	frame up, conspiracy or trap laid, especially by the Big Five
boom	-	dagga
"bos, bos, los"	-	confess, pimp
"bra"	-	brother
carry-on	-	collective assault applied as disciplinary or control measure
Chico boys	-	reference to the 26-gang
"dood maak"	-	kill, disavange, betray
double z	-	symbol of Big 5 gang
"draadloos"	-	spy (wireless), specific rank in gang
duty	-	assignment (in gang context)
fighting	-	high rank in gang : "war general"

"follies drie"	-	food
"follies een"	-	dagga
forty	-	gang hospital, gang old-age home, place where gang members who have been promote, receive fur-ther training
fourteen	-	short term prisoners
general	-	gang commander, high rank in gang, a key figure in gang
Germany	-	refers to Big 5 gang
gomorra/ghomorra	-	reference to the 28-gang
Holland	-	reference to 27 gang
"hondjies"	-	matches
"hosh/hooshi"	-	gang greeting
"jet"	-	member the big 5 gang (usually those involved with assault)
"blue jet"	-	light assault
"black jet"	-	death
"joembaan"	-	object to hit with (such as a cup in a sock)
"jood"	-	place where orders for purchase for prisoners are received and executed
"kamp"	-	gang; residence of gang
kana-kana	-	knife; sharpened object
"kantoor afskiet"	-	achieve position by means of assault or "bloed vat"
"kondems"	-	gang members who have been injured or are old and enjoy retired status; condemned persons
"lanie"	-	boss
"magalies"	-	tobacco issued as prison ration
"ma-se-kind"	-	(mother's child) "Gazilami"
"mpata"	-	person who does not belong to the gang
"nommer"	-	gang, gang law
"Ouens"	-	fellow prisoners of number gangs
"Ouens van af"	-	member of 28 gang
Ouens van bloed	-	members of the 27 gang
Ouens van oorkant	-	members of the other gang
Ouens van op	-	members of 26 gangs

Parliament	-	meeting of management of different gangs; mee-ting of gang members of all ranks
"poke"	-	hide object in rectum
"pump"	-	investigate to establish whether something was hidden in rectum
ringkop	-	dominant person in relationship with "wyfie"
sand	-	sugar
shalom	-	greeting
one time "shotgun"	-	ceremonial stamping of feet during gang meeting
(also)	-	two times shotgun
(or)	-	three times shotgun
"slice"	-	make a mistake, transgress gang rules
soldaat	-	lowest rank in gangs
"spare diet"	-	scenty diet as punishment
"spieëls	-	eyes
"gooi spieëls	-	spy
"spien"	-	manner in which object is sent from cell to cell, loiter from cell to cell without permission
springbok	-	escape, chronic escape
spyker	-	money (28 gang)
stamp slaan	-	initiation ceremony for newcomers in gang
swak	-	ignorant
swak met nommer	-	ignorant regarding gang laws
"trees are moving"	-	assault, sexual assault by group as punishment (big 5 - gang)
Umfana	-	wyfie
Umkhosi	-	camp, gang, all the people from the gang
Vuilhond	-	prisoner who co-operates with officials
vuurmaak	-	incite to violence (usually by general)
"wakha ihlathi"	-	get "wyfies" together
"werk serk"	-	is attempting to join the gang
"wet slaan"	-	participating in gang activities; act according to gang codes; resistance to the authority

Wipe	-	defeat; eliminate
wireless	-	one who carries messages
"wit bene"	-	die, deceased
"wit bene march"	-	to die
"witly"	-	peace
"loop op die witlyn"	-	follows policy of peace
"wrong"	-	unreliable, offence against gang
"wyfie"	-	jail wife, person who plays passive role in sex-ual relationship
"wys raak"	-	be informed, convince, often by violence
wysmaak	-	tell, convince
"wurms"	-	number gangs, as called by the Big 5 gangs
"Zock"	-	dagga, smoke dagga

ANNEXURE B
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

GANG CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS : A CASE OF WATERVAL
1980 - 1992

Dear Respondent

I hereby bring to your attention a copy of Survey Questionnaire. I am sure you will try to find fifteen minutes somewhere in your busy schedule and please respond honestly.

This survey is conducted by the Sociology Masters student from the University of Zululand. The main objective is to gather data about Gang Conflict in Prisons. Please respond to the following questions by putting a cross (x) on the appropriate box.

We shall always appreciate your kindness.

(By: Mr S H Selepe)

1. SECTION A : PERSONAL DATA

1.1 AGE:

- 20 - 29
- 30 - 29
- 40 - 49
- 50 - 60

1.2 MARITAL STATUS:

- Single
- Married
- Divorced
- Widowed

1.3 RANK:

- Warder
- Sergeant
- Warrant Officer
- Lieutenant
- Captain

or other, please specify

1.4 SEX:

- Female
- Male

1.5 PLEASE SPECIFY YOUR LEVEL OF EDUCATION

- Std 7 - 9
- Std 10
- College/Technical
- University

or other, please specify

2. SECTION B : EXISTENCE OF GANG FIGHTS

2.1 HOW SERIOUS ARE THE GANG FIGHTS IN THIS PRISON?

Is it: Very serious
 Fairly serious
 Not at all serious
 Do not know/uncertain

2.2 DO YOU THINK THE PROBLEM OF GANG FIGHTS ESPECIALLY TOWARDS PRISON WARDERS IN THIS PRISON (WATERVAL) HAS INCREASE, DECREASED OR REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME SINCE 1980 - 1992?

No gang problem here
 It has increased
 It has remained about the same
 Decreased
 Do not know/uncertain

2.3 DO YOU THINK GANGS ARE ON THEIR DAILY OPERATION IN THE PRISON WHERE YOU WORK (i.e. WATERVAL)?

Yes
 No

2.4 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING NUMBER GANGS YOU THINK IS LIKELY TO CAUSE TROUBLE OR DISORDER?

26-gang First Camp
 27-gang 2nd Camp
 28-gang 3rd Camp
 Big-5 4th Camp
 All of the above

or other, please specify

.....

2.5 HOW MANY WARDERS DO YOU KNOW, HAVE BEEN ASSAULTED/
HOSTAGED/KILLED BY PRISONERS FROM 1980 - 1992?

1 - 3

4 - 7

8 - 10

None

2.6 IN WHICH SECTION(S) OF THE PRISON ARE THE GANGS MOST FRE-
QUENTLY IN THEIR DAILY OPERATION?

Juvenile Section

Medium Section

Maximum Section

All sections of the Prison

3. SECTION C : VICTIMS AND INVOLVEMENT IN DEVIANCE

3.1 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THE VICTIM OF GANG FIGHTS i.e. BETWEEN
PRISONERS AND WARDERS?

Assaulted

Scorn (angrily disrespected)

Hostaged

or other, please specify

3.2 HAVE YOU EVER WITNESSED ANY ASSAULT/HOSTAGE OR KILLING OF
WARDER OR PRISONERS BY OTHER PRISONERS?

Yes

No

3.3 If yes, describe circumstances:

.....
.....

Do you think all the prisoners do involve themselves in
the gangs misbehaviour?

3.4 DO YOU PLACE ANY RESTRICTIONS TO PRISONERS WHO PARTICIPATE IN GANG ACTIVITIES?

Yes

No

3.5 If yes, which are those restrictions?
.....
.....

4. SECTION D : QUALITY OF LIFE

4.1 IS THERE ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY FOR PRISONERS TO SPEAK TO:
(Please make a cross (x) in the appropriate space)

Psychiatrist
Psychologist
Doctor
Teacher
Social Worker
Reverend

4.2 TELL US WHETHER YOU DO FIND THE FOLLOWING SATISFACTORY OR UNSATISFACTORY TOWARDS PRISONERS?

	<u>SATISFACTORY</u>	<u>UNSATISFACTORY</u>
General Hygiene		
Food		
Clothing		
Bedding		
Medication		
Sanitation		
Other, comments		
		

4.3 HOW HAVE CONDITIONS AT WATERVAL CHANGED BETWEEN GANGS AND WARDERS SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN THERE:

Improved
Same
Worse

5. SECTION E : ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRISON GANGS

5.1 DO YOU FEEL SAFE TO WORK ALONGSIDE PRISON GANGS?

Yes
No

5.2 WHAT DO YOU DO USUALLY WHEN YOU ARE NOT AT WORK?

Attend church service
Participate in sport
Drink with friends

or other, please specify

6. SECTION F : RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS GANGS

6.1 HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH PRISONERS?

Good
Bad
Indifferent

Please comment:

.....

6.2 DO YOU THINK THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRISONERS AND STAFF ARE BETTER NOW THAN WHEN YOU ARRIVED AT WATERVAL?

Improved
Same
Worse

6.3 HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE WAY PRISONERS REACT TO-
WARDS YOUR TREATMENT?

Good

Bad

Indifferent

Please comment:
.....

6.4 WHAT ASPECT OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF PRISON GANGS

- (a) Annoy you
- (b) Please you