

**A SOCIAL CAPITAL PERSPECTIVE ON PRISON THEATRE AND CHANGE:
A CASE STUDY AT THE YOUTH CENTRE, WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL
FACILITY, DURBAN**

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DECLARATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Drama and Performance Studies), in the Graduate Programme in the School of Literary Studies, Media and Creative Arts, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. All the references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Drama and Performance Studies) in the Faculty of Humanities, development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

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To my grandfather,

Dr. C.A. Naguran

For opening the doors to academia for me.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the effects of a Prison Theatre project conducted at the Youth Centre at Westville Correctional Centre in 2010. It explores the relationship between change and increased levels of Social Capital that staff and offenders attribute to the performances. The centre houses male offenders between the ages of 18 and 25. The project was of particular interest because it involved offenders, correctional staff and management.

The plays were made using a problem-posing methodology that involved the audience in proposing solutions. These were documented and circulated to management, staff, and offenders. The plays addressed three topics. The first topic was chosen by the cast, and the other two topics were chosen by the management. The topics were:

- Increasing self-esteem in the Youth Centre (Chosen by offenders)
- No smoking policy (Chosen by management)
- Sexual assault (Chosen by management)

I interviewed the cast, a sample of the audience, and correctional staff and managers. The data was analysed in terms of levels and elements of Social Capital (Putnam, 1995) and included Negative Social Capital. I have not found other examples of research in the field of Prison Theatre that have made use of concepts related to Social Capital to analyse the impact of theatre projects. This research therefore establishes a new area of focus for the field of Prison Theatre.

The findings proved that the theatre project was an effective means of increasing communication between members of different gangs and between correctional staff and offenders in a non-threatening manner. This provided opportunities for changes in relations of power and increased problem solving in the correctional environment. As a result two systemic changes occurred. The staff provided feedback on offenders' requests and complaints and designated smoking areas were created.

The findings demonstrate how notions of Social Capital can explain how theatre affects change in a correctional context because it focuses on social dynamics rather than systemic issues. This is important in a correctional environment where offender's ability to effect systemic change is limited.

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Chapter One: Introduction

“One of our strongest weapons is dialogue” – Nelson Mandela

“I think there is a change between staff and offenders; they have better communication skills now. Offenders to offenders, staff to staff, staff to offender; it [the relationships] is [are] getting better.” - Offender at Youth Centre, Westville Correctional Facility

How is it that a Prison Theatre project was able to increase communication across hierarchies of power at the Youth Centre at Westville Correctional Facility, in Durban? Could this increased communication have re-negotiated power dynamics within an otherwise resilient carceral system? Was the theatre project able to mediate the negative psychological effects of the correctional environment? If so, was this the result of an increase in Social Capital? This dissertation seeks to explore how a Prison Theatre project increased Social Capital at the Youth Centre at Westville Correctional Facility, and examines how increased Social Capital provided greater opportunity for social and systematic change.

Background

This research is positioned in the field of Applied Theatre¹, in the area of Prison Theatre. It involves empirical research in the form of a case study and re-examines data generated by earlier research conducted by Christopher John nee Hurst at the Youth Centre. I will re-examine interviews I conducted, as a research assistant, for the report entitled *Prison Theatre and Change: A case study related to issues of Self-Esteem, Smoking, and Sexual Abuse at the Youth Centre, Westville Correctional Facility* (John, 2011). This report was about changes arising from a Prison Theatre intervention conducted at the Youth Centre in 2010. I will re-examine the data using a Social Capital (Putnam , 1995) lens in order to broaden the view about change and to explain underlying dynamics that facilitated change. This research responds to James Thompson’s (1998) challenge to Prison Theatre practitioners about the extent to which theatre in prisons can effect change, particularly in terms of institutional and systemic change. He asks if by

¹ I have chosen not to discuss Applied Theatre in the body of the text, as participatory forms of theatre are not the focus of this study. Please see Appendix D

participating and performing a person can reflect not only upon their lives, their environment, their community and their society, but if in doing so they can contribute to a process of personal, institutional and social change (Thompson, 1998: 11). The potential to effect change through theatre with offenders is, however, limited because of the inherent inequality of power relations within the carceral system.

The Drama and Performance Studies Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has, since 1999, been conducting Prison Theatre projects at Westville Correctional Facility, at the Medium B Centre (a men's maximum-security facility), the Female Centre, and the Youth Centre. The reports and dissertations (Hurst, 2001; Hurst, Young and Nkala 2002; Young-Jahangeer, 2002; Hurst, 2008; Young-Jahangeer, 2010 and Hurst, 2010) indicate that the work has made a social impact on offenders and that they have used theatre to negotiate certain power relations.

The most recent of these projects was created by John in 2010 at the Youth Centre. The intention of the project was to use participatory theatre to create an opportunity for offenders to speak out and engage in collective problem-solving discussions with the correctional authorities. The plays addressed three topics, two of which were chosen by the management of the Youth Centre. The first topic was chosen by the cast of offenders in order to open up discussion and to encourage behaviour that might facilitate a climate of discussion in the centre. The remaining two topics were identified by the management. The topics were as follows:

- Managing self-esteem in the prison (Identified by offenders).
- Making the centre a no-smoking area (Identified by management).
- Sexual assault within the offender community (Identified by management).

An evaluation report (John, 2011) indicates that the project affected change in the following areas:

- Reduction in sexual assault.
- More offenders attending school which also indicated a reduction in gang activity.
- Certain sections introduced designated no smoking areas.

- Increased communication between offenders and guards.
- Increased communication between members of different Numbers Gangs (see page 40).

This and earlier reports (Hurst, 2001; Hurst, Young and Nkala 2002; Young-Jahangeer, 2002 and Hurst, 2008) indicated that the theatre work achieved a social impact. However, the reasons for why the theatre work achieved the social impact were not explained.

My research involves re-analysing the data used for the report (John, 2011). I will re-code the interviews with offenders and correctional staff using a Social Capital lens. Changes in the levels of Social Capital might explain why the theatre work made an impact. My literature search has not produced any examples of research in the field of Prison Theatre that has made direct use of concepts of Social Capital in order to analyse impact.

Thompson's (1998) challenge, that theatre can engage change within the carceral system, gives priority to the concept of the individual on the one hand and to systemic and institutional structure on the other. The concept of positive Social Capital might more easily explain how theatre affects institutional change because it focuses on social dynamics and behaviour, rather than systemic issues. Offenders can seldom initiate changes in policy. They can, to some extent, effect change through behaviour and, therefore, through social dynamics. My hypothesis therefore is that the theatre work alters the levels of positive Social Capital within the correctional environment and this enables other changes, systemic and social, to occur.

Key Questions

This dissertation will address the following key questions:

- What are the perceptions of offenders and correctional staff about the changes that occurred within the Youth Centre that they feel they can attribute to the theatre project?
- How do the perceptions of change reflect increases or decreases in levels of Social Capital – Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital?
- How do the perceptions of change reflect increases or decreases in levels in the elements of Social Capital – trust, norms, reciprocity and networks?

- How do the perceptions of change reflect increases or decreases in terms of Negative Social Capital?
- What are the implications of these findings for Prison Theatre practice in terms of the relationships between change, notions of Social Capital, and the effects of the carceral system?

Limitations

This research is not without limitations. The interviews were limited by my inability to speak isiZulu. I had to rely on impromptu translation by participants during the interview process and therefore certain nuances and details in responses may have been lost. Also, the participants' use of English varied. Some offenders chose to speak in English and in certain cases this might have limited their ability to fully articulate their perceptions.

The correctional culture gives priority to routine and correctional imperatives. Outside interventions, in this case research, disrupts the day to day running of the centre. For this reason some correctional staff were resistant and reluctant to support or participate in the research. There was also some suspicion and insecurity about expressing opinions and this sometimes hampered participation from both staff and offenders. This Prison Theatre project engaged objectives around offenders speaking out about problem-solving. Some staff found these kinds of objectives incongruent with those related to discipline, surveillance and correction. They also resented the manner in which the project seemed to alter certain power relations. This I felt led to a strong bias in the responses of certain members of staff. In addition certain offenders saw the research process as an opportunity to raise grievances. Correctional staff were almost always present during interviews with offenders, which may have restricted the offenders' responses.

Last, the scheduled questions asked about change and were not specifically tailored to explore concepts of Social Capital. A different questioning strategy might more purposefully have captured information that links the Prison Theatre project to the impact on levels and elements of Social Capital. It may also have provided richer data, particularly about dynamics within the correctional staff groups. The data used in this project does not address Bridging (see page 16) and Bonding (see page 15) amongst correctional staff. This is possibly because the questionnaire did not specifically ask

about changes in social dynamics within groups of staff, but could also be because staff perceived the project to be aimed at offenders, and therefore distanced themselves from the project. However, my sense after conducting the interviews is that discussion around change produced sufficient information for analysis and the sample did include different groups of people in terms of the hierarchy in the Youth Centre.

The Organisation of the research

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. The background and outline of the study is presented in Chapter One. Chapter Two presents a literature review including an overview of the field of Prison Theatre both internationally and locally, a discussion of the prison context, the Numbers Gangs and finally, a presentation of concepts of Social Capital. Chapter Three – the methodology- discusses how the data was generated, how language barriers were managed, the coding of the data, and how confidentiality was managed. Chapter Four offers a description of the theatre intervention that forms the basis of this research. Chapter Five presents examples from the data used in this study and explains the manner in which the data engages Social Capital. Chapter Six presents the findings of this study. Chapter Seven discusses the implications of these findings for the field of Prison Theatre.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The Field of Prison Theatre

James Thompson, in his book *Prison Theatre: Perspectives and Practices* (1998) offers a definition of Prison Theatre as a field of study and practice. He notes that it is strange that we define the practice by the place, prison, rather than by the community, offenders, as is the case with Black Theatre or Worker Theatre. His definition acknowledges the over arching effect of the correctional system. He then argues that the identification of work as theatre in prisons, rather than theatre with offenders, offers an umbrella term that accommodates the wide range of theatre practice that occur in prisons (Thompson,1998: 15). Practitioners of Prison Theatre approach the field from different perspectives and with experience from different disciplines: some are theatre artists, some therapists, others ex- or current offenders (Thompson, 1998: 11).

Thompson asks a wide range of questions regarding the purpose and role of Prison Theatre. He asks:

Does theatre bring health to the prison or does it provide a basic human need? Does it bring morality to a place where there is none? Does it provide the means to transform a person's life or does it transform the whole community? Should we bring the arts in the same way others provide food? Or are they a vehicle for something else? Is theatre a prisoner's window to view and understand society or a means of personal reflection? Is theatre in prisons about bringing 'soul' and humanizing the system, or is it to transform it? Does the very existence of theatre in prison mean that a society can be judged as civilized? (Thompson, 1998: 10).

Thompson (1998: 11) challenges practitioners about the extent to which their work can affect change. His collection of writing about Prison Theatre includes the work of Clean Break Theatre Company and Insight Arts Trust who both focus on using ex-offenders. This work has assisted the relationship between theatre and the criminal justice system. Both companies work inside and outside correctional centres, thereby bridging these two communities (Thompson, 1998: 12-13).

Thompson (1998:13) covers Pauline Gladstone's work with Clean Break Theatre Company which examines the relationship between therapy and theatre, as well as Geese Theatre's work which is also concerned with the therapeutic and rehabilitative aims. Geese Theatre's innovative fusion of rehabilitation theory and theatre methods

establishes The Geese Theatre Company as a key practitioner of this dominant approach to theatre in prisons. The company is at the centre of practice in specialized rehabilitation, particularly in the areas of violent and sexual offender treatment (Thompson, 1998: 13).

Thompson's collection of writing also includes the work of Theatre in Prisons and Probation (TiPP) Centre which has developed many theatre programmes and research in the field of Prison Theatre within the criminal justice system in the United Kingdom (Thompson, 1998:16). TiPP is linked to Manchester University's Drama Department and offers graduate and undergraduate teaching in Prison Theatre (Thompson, 1998:16).

Michael Balfour, in his book *Theatre in Prisons: Theory and Practice* (2004) also supports Thompson's notion that Prison Theatre should effect institutional change. He argues for greater rigor in research evaluation, noting that much of the writing about Prison Theatre provides only anecdotal evidence. Balfour expands the view of Prison Theatre by including a wider range of examples of work, both in terms of practice and geographical location, than Thompson (1998).

Although Balfour expands the view of Prison Theatre to include work in Nigeria (Idoko in Balfour, 2004:177-189 and Saro-Wiwa in Balfour, 2004: 177), and South Africa (Centre for Conflict Resolution in Balfour, 2004: 161-175), still published examples of work in Europe, the United States of America, Australia and South America dominate the examples (Thompson 1998 and Balfour 2004). Prison Theatre practiced in Africa, it is not well represented in this literature.

I have discussed Thompson (1998) and Balfour's (2004) collections because they represent a comprehensive view of the field. The range of work that they cover involves rehabilitation, often engaging cognitive behaviour theory (Beck *et al*, 1993, McGuire, 2004); notions of speaking out and identity creation in terms of High Art; and theatre which engages social change involving consciousness raising and action (Thompson, 1998: 19-22). Other writing tends to be more case specific. For example, *The Geese Theatre Handbook: Drama with Offenders and People at Risk* (Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002); *The Use of Drama in the Rehabilitation of Violent Male Offenders* (Balfour, 2004); *The Violent Illusion: Drama therapy and the Dangerous Voyage to the Heart of Change* (Bergman & Hewish: 1999); *The House of Four Rooms: Theatre, Violence and the Cycle of Change* (Mountford & Farrall: 1998), all

represent the work of Geese Theatre Company, a company whose documented practice dominates the field and engages a rehabilitation agenda with a focus on the individual offender.

Prison Theatre in Africa

Although Prison Theatre projects in Africa are not well documented, Prison Theatre is practiced in Africa. In Nigeria, Emman Idoko (Balfour, 2004:179-187) used a Theatre for Development approach in correctional facilities. Also, Cont Mhlanga produced unpublished, written accounts of his work with offenders at Khami Correctional Facility in Zimbabwe (Hurst, 2010: 39).

In South Africa, The Centre for Conflict Resolution (Balfour, 2004:161-175) focused on using theatre games at Pollsmoor Correctional Facility. A video documentary titled *Be-for(e) pilot project* (1998) documents the “*B4 Pilot Project*” involving art, dance and theatre workshops conducted with youth at Pollsmoor Prison” (Hurst, 2009: 40). This work concludes that “the primary value of such a project was to keep the offenders occupied with constructive and positive activities” (Hurst, 2010: 39). *Victory Sonqoba Theatre Company* ran theatre projects in Gauteng prisons (Hurst, 2010:39).

Prison Theatre at Westville Correctional Facility

South African Prison Theatre practice includes interventions and research that has been conducted at Westville Correctional Facility over the past eleven years. This work is captured in reports, articles, chapters, and dissertations that document the collaboration between the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and the Department of Correctional Services.

Three reports (Hurst 2001; Hurst, Young and Nkala 2002; and Young-Jahangeer 2002) have been produced for the Department of Correctional Services that evaluate the theatre projects between 2000 and 2002 (Hurst, 2011: 39). They list the social impact on offenders in terms of personal development and social skills such as increased problem-solving and communication skills, thinking more broadly, and support between offenders.

Another report (Hurst, 2008) “documented suggestions developed at a symposium involving theatre practitioners, correctional staff, and male and female offenders, held inside Westville Correctional Facility” (Hurst, 2010: 39). The

purpose of the symposium was to generate recommendations for the Department of Correctional Services about the use of Theatre for Development in Correctional Centres in KwaZulu-Natal.

Young-Jahangeer has published chapters and articles (Young-Jahangeer 2004 a; Young-Jahangeer 2004 b and Young Jahangeer 2005) that engage how offenders at the Female Centre at Westville Correctional Facility used theatre to explore issues of patriarchy through the lens of gender and identity.

Young-Jahangeer (2010) has also written a doctoral dissertation entitled *Working from the inside/out: Participatory Popular Theatre in the Negotiation of Discursive Power and Patriarchy in Female Prisons: The example of Westville Female Centre, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa 2000-2004*. This dissertation analyses the narratives of five women as they evolved through performances of plays over a period of five years (Young-Jahangeer, 2011: viii). The discussion and argument “pivots on how the women at Westville Female Centre appropriated and used the Prison Theatre in the negotiation of discursive power and patriarchy” (Young-Jahangeer, 2010: viii).

Hurst has also written a doctoral dissertation entitled *Workshopped Plays in a South African Correction Centre: Negotiating Social Relations Through Theatre* (Hurst, 2010). This research demonstrates how the offenders used theatre to negotiate social relations particularly issues of power relations involving the correctional system and the Numbers Gangs (see page 12-13).

Fitzalan-Howard (2010) produced a research paper, based on the same theatre project at the Youth Centre that forms the basis of this research. Her research addressed the social impact on offenders who participated in the theatre project. She used criteria developed by Francious Matarasso (1997) to analyse the impact. These criteria are: personal development, social cohesion, community empowerment and self determination, imagination and vision, and health and well-being.

The Prison Context

The opportunity for rehabilitation of offenders is limited by the systematic functioning of the correctional environment. The systematic functioning of the Prison is dependent on and promotes the unequal power relations between staff and offenders. This inequality creates learnt passivity within the offender community. Under these circumstances, it is difficult for offenders to take initiatives to effect change, both

personally and socially. The correctional environment is polarized with staff at one end, and offenders on the other. This polarization creates and sustains Negative Social Capital (see page 17) within the correctional community.

In order to analyse change related to Social Capital within the correctional environment, it is useful to understand the situational and dispositional factors of the correctional system and how these function. Foucault (1975) offers an explanation of how the correctional system functions and how it operates as an apparatus involving panoptic power relations.

Foucault (1975) describes the panopticon as an architectural structure which induces the offender into a state of consciousness and permanent visibility or surveillance that assures the automatic functioning of a certain kind of power (Foucault, 1975: 201).

At the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on either side which allows light to cross the cell from one end to another. All that is needed then is to place a supervisor in a central tower, and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man. (Foucault, 1975: 200)

The architecture described achieves this power dynamic. Foucault (1994: 82-84) describes panoptic power as polymorphous and polyvalent. He argues that panoptic power has four characteristics: economic power (wages in exchange for labour or fee-paying), political power (where directors of institutions have authority over others within that institution), judicial power (where one has the right to punish or reward) and epistemological power (extracting knowledge from or about individuals who are already observed and controlled by the other powers, with the intention of establishing new methods). The main aim of panoptic power is to attach institutionalized individuals to apparatuses of correction and normalisation of individuals (Foucault, 1994: 78). These norms are determined by the institution and by a dominant class. This is linked to emergence of capitalism in the nineteenth century. Like capitalism, panoptic power serves the interest of the dominant class. Panoptic power not only involves extracting time from an individual, but controlling time in order to turn it into a commodity. It also exercises control over the individual's body with the intention of turning the body into labour power (Foucault, 1994: 80 – 82).

Foucault (1975: 232) also argues that although the prison fails to reduce recidivism, it remains a resilient institution. He explains that the carceral system

provides society with an economy for offending behaviour. By asking what the carceral system really serves, he explains this resilience, and the true function. He says:

One would be forced to suppose that the prison, and no doubt punishment in general, is not intended to eliminate offences, but rather to distinguish them, to distribute them, to use them; that it is not so much that they render docile those who are liable to transgress the law, but that they tend to assimilate the transgression of the laws in a general tactics of subjection. Penalty would then appear to be a way of handling illegalities, of laying down the limits of tolerance, of giving free rein to some, of putting pressure on others, of excluding a particular section, of making another useful, of neutralizing certain individuals and of profiting from others. In short, penalty does not simply 'check' illegalities; it 'differentiates' them; it provides them with a general 'economy'. And, if one can speak of justice, it is not only because the law itself or the way of applying it serves the interests of class, it is also because the differential administration of illegalities through the mediation of penalties forms part of those mechanisms of domination. (Foucault, 1975: 272).

While Foucault explains how the carceral system functions, Zimbardo (2004 and 2009) explains the psychological effects, on offenders and correctional staff, of the correctional apparatus. Zimbardo is critical of the rhetoric of rehabilitation and discusses the dehumanizing effects of the carceral system. Zimbardo says that there is substantial evidence that prison neither rehabilitates nor act as a deterrent to future crime and that this is evident in the rate of re-incarcerations (Zimbardo *et al*, 2004: 20). Zimbardo (2004: 20) also argues that on humanitarian grounds prisons have also failed. He says mass media is filled with accounts of atrocities committed daily, in reaction to the penal system or in the name of it. He adds that the experience of prison creates an intense hatred and disrespect in most offenders for the authority and established order of society into which they will eventually return (Zimbardo *et al*, 2004: 20).

In Zimbardo's famous Stanford Prison Simulation, he explored the ways in which offenders and correctional staff become locked in relationships of power, induced by the carceral system, which were destructive to their humanity (Zimbardo *et al*, 2004:37). He created the essential characteristics of the prison environment in the basement of the Psychology Department at Stanford University. The aim was to create a functional simulation of a prison (Zimbardo *et al*, 2004). He selected a group of 24 'ordinary', college students, and randomly divided the group into two groups, one group was assigned the role of 'guards' and the other 'offenders'.

Zimbardo (*et al*, 2004: 26-27) explains that the findings showed that, generally, both 'guards' and 'prisoners' marked an increased tendency towards negativity. Guards expressed the need to do harm, and the prisoners internalized their negative position in

the prison environment. Offenders were more passive, while guards were more authoritative. In fact, the project ended earlier than the expected time, after six days, when five ‘offenders’ had to be released due to their extreme emotional distress and depression. When the project ended prematurely, the offenders were delighted, while the guards had difficulty in giving up their positions of power and control (Zimbardo *et al*, 2004: 26-27). Zimbardo says:

The profound psychological effects we observed under relatively minimal prison conditions which existed in our mock prison force us to wonder about the devastating impact of chronic incarceration in real prisons. (Zimbardo *et al*, 2004: 27)

The simulation demonstrated that it was not dispositional factors but situational factors that produced the different behaviours. It showed that the systematic functioning of the correctional environment has a profound psychological effect on both guards and offenders. The environment induces its inhabitants into roles of aggression in the case of correctional staff, and passivity in the case of offenders.

The Numbers Gangs

Unequal relations of power and abuse occur not only between staff and offenders but within the offender community, in the dynamics and control exerted by the Numbers Gangs.

South Africa’s prison gangs are known as The ‘Numbers’ Gangs, and operate in Correctional Centres throughout South Africa. Gangs use sex, drugs, tangible valuables, and money all as a form of currency in Correctional Centres (Young-Jahangeer, 2009: 9). When an offender is initiated into a gang (this is known as “picking up a number”) the mark of the gang is tattooed onto him (Young-Janahgeer, 2009: 9). The two major gangs that operate in the prison are the 26’s who control physical goods, and the 28’s who control sexual activity (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002 in Young-Jahangeer, 2010: 9).

The objective of the 28s is to “pamper, protect, and organise [...] ‘wyfies’ (wives) for sex” (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002 in Young-Jahangeer, 2010: 9). When controlling sexual activity in Correctional Centres, gender roles are imposed on offenders, resulting in certain male offenders being perceived as women. This is humiliating for the ‘wyfies’. An upgrade to male status occurs through acts of violence towards other offenders or staff (Hurst, 2010: 22). The ‘wyfie’ engages in sexual activities with ‘her’ husband in exchange for goods such as food or drugs (Gear &

Ngubeni, 2002 in Young-Jahangeer, 2010: 10). The 26's concern themselves with controlling the trade of "physical goods (such as drugs and cigarettes) and money" (Young-Jahangeer: 10).

Smaller gangs include, the 27's, the Big Fives (25's), and Airforce 3 and 4 (Young-Jahangeer: 10). The 27's are a smaller gang aligned with the 26's and are associated with physical violence. Young-Jahangeer (2009: 10) says that the 27's, in exchange for goods, offer protection to the 26's. The 25's also known as the Big Fives, work together with the Correctional Centre Staff and authorities. Airforce 3 and 4 concern themselves with escaping from prison (Young-Jahangeer, 2010: 10).

John (Hurst: 23) says that members of one gang are not permitted to communicate with members of other gangs or non-gang members. Only certain members of the same gangs are allowed to speak openly during gang meetings, reinforcing power structures within the gangs, and dehumanizing those who rank lower in the gang hierarchy. John adds that "Gang leaders resist the authority of the correction centre and encourage their members not to participate in education or activities organized by the correctional staff" (Hurst, 2010: 22).

Young-Jahangeer (2010: 10) points out that

[I]n prison, there are also many benefits to being in a gang, such as security, a sense of belonging, acquisition of goods and sense of identity and power that are hard to resist. Particularly since the stigma of 'criminal' saps one of respect and agency within society, the gangs provide a means to access lost power. (Young-Jahangeer, 2010: 10).

On one hand, the benefits that gang membership offers makes it difficult for offenders not to participate in gang activity, even if they do not want to be affiliated to gangs. On the other hand, abiding by gang law gives rise to Negative Social Capital (see page 17) The gangs are inward looking social networks, each with their social norms (see page 17) and levels of reciprocity (see page 16). These social networks exclude each other. This assists gang leaders to maintain statuses and power. If lower ranking gang members are unable to form ties with lower ranking members of other gangs, the possibility of organizing to resist the authority of the gang leaders is reduced. Conformity is imposed and social division within the offender community is sustained.

Social Capital

I have used categories of Social Capital to code the data. Definitions of Social Capital vary, and different authors offer varying emphasis around definitions of Social Capital. Putnam (1995) defines Social Capital as the "features of social organisation such as

networks, trust, and norms that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam in Kasimbazi, 2009: 11). Putnam (1995) also says that like any other form of capital, “Social Capital aids the productivity of individuals and groups”, though not necessarily economic productivity (Putnam in Farr, 2004: 9). Farr (2004) says that it is conceptualised as the network of associations, activities, or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms, which are essential for civil society, and contribute towards future collective actions (Farr, 2004: 9).

Although definitions and conceptualisations of Social Capital vary, all possess the common thread that Social Capital deals with certain “aspects of social structure that enable social action” (Adam and Roncevic in Kasimbazi, 2009:11).

History of Social Capital: Conceptions and Perspectives.

The origins of the concept of Social Capital can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and is rooted in the literature of economics, sociology, anthropology and political science (Claridge, 2004:1). The conceptualisation of Social Capital has not remained fixed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century to present, it has evolved. Farr (2004), explains that,

The political economists of the nineteenth century took capital from the social point of view. Today’s social capitalists, apparently, take “the social” from capital’s point of view. The one reflected an age coming to terms with capital, the other reflected an age coming to capital for its terms. Then “social capital” expressed an explicit antithesis to an unsocial perspective upon capital, now, and implicit antithesis to a non-capitalist perspective on society. (Farr, 2004: 25)

Farr (2004) states that although the term Social Capital was not yet established, John Bates Clark (1885), Hendry Sidwick (1883) and Karl Marx (1867) had used ‘Social Capital’ in the context of “the transformation of classical political economy” (Farr, 2004: 22). Farr says that they attacked “what they regarded as the unsocial point of view of classical political economy, as well as the doctrine [...] that wages were advanced to workers by capitalists from the antecedent fixed fund that the capitalists’ [...] abstinence had made possible” (Farr, 2004: 22). Although the first use of the term is not entirely certain, many authors have agreed that that it was Hanifan who first used the term ‘capital’ to highlight the importance of social structure to people with an economics perspective (Claridge, 2004:2). In 1916, Hanifan said:

In the use of the phrase Social Capital, I make no reference to the usual acceptance of the term capital, except in a figurative sense. I do not refer to real estate, or to personal property or to cold hard cash, but rather to that in life which tends to make these tangible substances count for most in daily lives of people, namely, goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit. (Hanifan in Farr, 2004: 11)

Hanifan explains that if neighbours come into contact with each other to work together, there will be an “accumulation of Social Capital”, which may improve living conditions in the whole community (Hanifan in Claridge, 2004:1).

Uses of Social Capital

The concept of Social Capital lends itself to a diverse application. Social Capital theory has been used to address health care, public education, maintenance of the functioning of government institutions and to exercise informal control over criminal behaviour (Falk, Golding and Balatti in Kasimbazi, 2009:12).

Levels, Elements and Negative Social Capital

I have used Levels of Social Capital, Elements of Social Capital and Negative Social Capital as key concepts to code data and in my discussions of findings.

Levels of Social Capital

Social Capital operates on three levels: social Bonding, Bridging and Linking. Bonding Social Capital is derived from relationships between people on the same level (those alike in sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics) with similar interests (Kim, Subramanian and Kawach, 2006: 116). Bridging is also derived from relationships between people on the same level, but with dissimilar interests (Kim, Subramanian and Kawachi, 2006: 116). Linking is derived from relationships between people across levels of hierarchy and power (Kim, Subramanian and Kawachi, 2006: 116).

Bonding Social Capital

The first level, social Bonding refers to the “strong ties that are shared amongst dense, inward looking social networks” such as families or church groups (Waschauer, 2003 in Kasimbazi, 2009: 14). Bonding Social Capital links individuals together who are on or

at the same level, and serves as a protection mechanism (Kasimbazi, 2009: 14). Should a member of the community face hard times, other members of that community step in to assist to manage the crisis (Kasimbazi, 2009: 14).

Bonding Social Capital may produce anti-social behaviour towards members of different social groups and involve bullying, exclusion and mistrust of outsiders (Portes in Ferlander, 2007: 119).

Bridging Social Capital

The second level, Bridging Social Capital, refers to “linkages that reach beyond the confines of closed communities and intersect with other homogenous groupings” (Warschauer, 2003 in Kasimbazi, 2009: 15). This is an interaction between different social groups or networks. This interaction is mutually beneficial and allows access to greater resources through increased social contacts. Homogenous groups who do not have access to certain resources may connect with other homogenous groups to increase access.

Linking Social Capital

The third level, Linking Social Capital, describes the connecting of people “across vertical differentials up and down the social scale” (Ferlander, 2007:119). This is categorized by relations where “different levels of power are vital for accessing support from formal institutions” (Kasimbazi, 2009:21). Linking enables people to access different resources outside their closed social network, but it occurs across vertical lines with people on different levels of hierarchy and power, as opposed to horizontal lines between people on a similar level as with Bridging (Field, 2003 in Ferlander, 2007: 119) . This can involve, for example, interactions between government and communities. Ferlander (2007) says that Linking Social Capital can be used for negative purposes, for example: nepotism, corruption and suppression (Ferlander, 2007:119).

Elements of Social Capital

Within each level of Social Capital, the following elements can be present. This study involves four basic elements of Social Capital: social trust, reciprocity, social norms and social networks.

Social trust refers to having confidence in other people (Ferlander, 2007:116). Kazimbazi (2009) explains that trust is a major component that sustains Social Capital

between and among people and groups “facilitating cooperation and coordination for mutual benefit” (Kasimbazi, 2009: 14).

Reciprocity refers to a “variety of forms of exchange of social support” (Blanchard and Horan, 1988 in Ferlander, 2007: 116). Kasimbaz (2009: 13-14) explains that “one gives to someone else expecting fair and tangible returns at an undefined future date. [...] Reciprocity is an important intervening variable through which shared social rules are enabled to yield social stability” (Kasimbazi, 2009: 13-14).

The United Nations Industrial Organisation (UNIDO, 2011) offers a definition of social norms. “Social norms are informal rules that condition behaviour in various circumstances. Social norms provide informal social control that removes a need for formal, institutionalized legal sanctions” (UNIDO, 2011:1). UNIDO says that it determines what forms of behaviour are valued and approved, for example, surrendering a seat on public transport for an older citizen (UNIDO, 2011:1).

UNIDO (2011) also offers a definition of a social network. “A social network is a basic form of Social Capital that generates strong norms of reciprocity” (UNIDO, 2011:1). UNIDO (2011: 1) adds that a social network consists of interconnected individuals who usually have an attribute in common, for example, religion. Each network will have its own set of social norms and levels of reciprocity between its members (UNIDO, 2011:1).

Negative Social Capital

In a discussion paper on Social Capital and Wellbeing produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2002), it is argued that,

Although Social Capital may be likely to contribute to a range of positive outcomes in areas of social concern, it is important to note that there are negative outcomes to which Social Capital may contribute. The existence of some highly bonded groups such as cartels, illegal immigrant smuggler groups, mafia operations and terrorist groups can embody high levels of internal trust and reciprocity, but use their Bonding Social Capital to exclude others, and serve ends which do not serve the public interest or the community at large (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002: 8)

Increased Social Capital in a community may not always be beneficial to all who belong to it. Highly bonded social networks may impose conformity and create divisions between themselves and outsiders

Chapter Three: Methodology

General

The original research project: my role in generating data

In 2010, I was a research assistant working on a Prison Theatre project headed by Dr. Christopher John, at the Youth Centre. I observed but did not participate in the playmaking process. I recorded my observations in the form of a daily journal, which allowed me to describe the project. I also observed the performances of the plays. I looked at the manner in which the audience participated in the group discussions that concluded each performance.

I tracked the outputs of the performances by collecting and storing the newsprint, on which the cast wrote down the audiences' responses. John used these newsprint sheets to write reports that summarized the audiences' responses. These reports were circulated to the Head of the Centre and management team, then to the unit managers and case officers, and back to the offenders who comprised the audience and cast.

As a research assistant I conducted interviews that were used as data for an evaluation report written by John for the Department of Correctional Services (John, 2011). The data was coded by John in order to identify perceptions of changes by staff and offenders that resulted from the theatre project. This research project involved recoding this data using a Social Capital lens. This research therefore draws on the previous sampling and interviewing processes.

The original research project: The sample

I conducted the original interviews which consisted of individual interviews with correctional staff and group interviews with members of the cast and a sample of the audience. This research complied with the policies of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Department of Correctional Services. All respondents signed informed consent forms and the Department of Correctional Services has authorized this research project (See letter from DCS, Appendix B). The sample method used in determining the participation in interviews was self-selected sampling. The sample from the audience was acquired by asking members of the cast along with the members of the audience in each discussion group, during the performance, to nominate participants to be interviewed. Each of the four sections had four discussion groups. Four members of each discussion group were nominated in each section. The total sample comprised 64

members from the audience. Finally, 38 people participated in the interviews. Participation reduced because some of the proposed respondents were not available at the time interviews were scheduled. I had asked the cast to ensure that members of all the gangs as well as non-gang members were represented amongst the nominees. Offenders are not always prepared to admit their gang status to outsiders and the Department of Correctional Services does not formally acknowledge the Numbers Gangs. It is possible only informally and in this manner to manage a broad representation from different power groups amongst the offenders.

The Youth Centre management team all agreed to participate in the interviews. This comprised Head of Correction Centre, Youth Centre; Deputy Head of Correction Centre, Youth Centre; Head of Development, Youth Centre; four Unit Managers; and two Case Officers from each of four units. This totalled fifteen members of staff. The sample of case officers was determined by the staff on duty in the section who volunteered to participate on the day that the interviews were scheduled.

The interviews were conducted with the three groups of people (staff, audience and cast) originally in order to triangulate the perceptions around change related to the themes addressed by the plays. The audio recordings of the interviews were given to a professional transcribing service that produced transcripts of all the English sections of the recorded interviews.

Managing Language

The interviews were recorded using a Dictaphone. All interviews with staff were individual interviews and were all conducted in English. All offender interviews were conducted as group interviews. A list of interviews can be found in Appendix C. During group interviews with offenders, the questions were asked by me in English and translated into isiZulu by one of the interviewees, who volunteered to be the translator. When members of the group chose to answer in isiZulu these responses were translated into English by the translator. The number of offenders in each interview group varied slightly, but on average ten offenders formed one interview group. The number of offenders in each interview group who chose to respond to the interview questions in isiZulu also varied, but on average, four of the ten offenders in each interview group opted to respond in isiZulu. Although both English and isiZulu responses were recorded, only the English responses and the English translations of isiZulu were transcribed.

From the cast of sixteen, ten cast members volunteered to take part in the interviews. They participated in a group interview conducted in English with two participants choosing to speak in isiZulu with a member of the cast translating their responses into English. Again, only the English questions, responses and the English translations of isiZulu were transcribed.

My research: re-coding the data

My research began by re-coding the transcripts of the interviews. The original sample provided a useful representation from all the levels and constituents that comprise the Youth Centre. This provided perspectives useful for the analysis of perceptions around notions of Bonding, Bridging and Linking. Access to conduct interviews inside correctional institutions are difficult to arrange and disruptive to institutional routine. Therefore, the re-examination of existing data derived from an appropriate sample was advantageous.

The data was re-coded to identify changes in social dynamics, relating to Social Capital theory. I analysed the data in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the collective perceptions about the impact of the plays in terms of Social Capital related to notions of Levels and Elements.

I first analysed the data in order to identify information related to notions of Levels of Social Capital. Then I analysed the data in order to identify information related to Elements of Social Capital within Levels of Social Capital, within the levels of hierarchy of the Youth Centre. Last, I analysed the data in order to identify information related to notions of Negative Social Capital.

Charmaz (1994: 100) describes the initial coding process as looking for leads and ideas in the data. I conducted initial coding by reading copies of the transcripts and noting, in the margins, any information that appears to relate to Positive and Negative Social Capital, levels or elements. This was a relatively free and unstructured process. This assisted me to become familiar with the data and begin the process of identifying categories. I then used a more structured process to sort information using categories related to Levels of Social Capital. I manually coded the data placing examples (extracts from the transcripts) on individual coding memos along with the Level of Social Capital to which it relates, for example, Bridging. The coding memos were then used to identify information related to Elements of Social Capital within Levels of Social Capital, for example, Trust within Bridging.

When presenting the data and discussing findings, I selected examples of extracts from the interview transcripts from the coding memos.

Managing confidentiality

The offenders' participation in the theatre work and in the research was voluntary. The appropriate documentation regarding permission and informed consent were used in gathering the data. The Correctional Services Act, 1998 (123.1) states: "No person may publish any account of prison life or conditions that may identify a specific prisoner unless the prisoner concerned grants permission for such publication" (Department of Correctional Services, 1998:94). I will, therefore, not use any real names to identify offenders or correctional staff who participated in this research.

Chapter Four: Description of the Project

A typical Performance Day

On performance days, Dr. John and I would arrive at the Youth Centre at 8.30am, anticipating a performance start time of 9.00am. On arrival at the Youth Centre, we would be asked to wait for an escort, then sign in as visitors and be searched for weapons, money or other undeclared objects. We would then be asked which section the cast would be performing in on that day, and would be taken to the relevant section.

On arrival at the section, the case officers and unit managers would meet us with varying degrees of enthusiasm and knowledge about arrangements for the project taking place in their section on that day.

Whilst we waited in the section, the cast members would be rounded up by another staff member. There were often delays in this process as some of the cast members worked in the kitchen, and first needed to be relieved of kitchen duty before attending the performance. Staff members on duty would visit each cell in the section, inviting offenders to be part of the audience. The levels of enthusiasm by offenders to participate as audience members varied. Once voluntary audience members were let out of their cells, and the cast had been rounded up and brought to the section, the performance was ready to begin. Organizing a performance in the different sections or wings of a correction centre is not easy and disruptive to the normal routine. Performances rarely began at the anticipated start time of 9.00am.

Each performance began with members of the cast and audience making one circle. Either John or I would come to the centre of the circle to introduce the project and its aims. At this point, the audience was made aware that their participation in the project was vital to its success. The cast members would then begin a Zulu song and dance. This was used as an invitation to the audience to participate in the project. It involved the audience and built a cohesive group. Through song and dance the audience consented to the leadership of the cast members as facilitators of the participative theatre process. The cast members would then come to the centre of the circle to perform the play. Once the play was over, the cast members would again initiate a song and dance this time using dance, rhythm and movement to divide the audience into four smaller discussion groups.

Each of the four discussion groups were lead by members of the cast who posed questions to the audience. The aim of the questions was to get the audience to reflect on

the issue addressed by the play and to offer suggestions about how it might better be managed by offenders and staff. The suggestions that the audience produced in each group were recorded on news print. These were given to John to use for the writing of reports that would summarize the suggestions. The reports were circulated to management, staff, and back to the offenders.

The discussions were concluded with another song and dance that celebrated the event and released any tension generated by engaging the topics. All performances ended with me thanking the audience for their participation in the project, as well as an explanation about John producing and circulating the reports.

The Plays

“Self-esteem play”

This first play was used as a means of teaching the cast how to use theatre as a tool for stimulating debate. The plot, devised by John, told the story of a boy named Siphon whose bad choices led him to prison, where he was stabbed and killed.

The play comprised five images that tracked a series of events in Siphon's life: Siphon's abusive family, his friends rejecting him, his drug abuse, him stealing and being stabbed and killed in prison. Throughout the play, his thoughts and feelings during these significant events in his life were presented (Fitzalan-Howard, 2010: 14-15).

The focus of the play was originally on thoughts and feelings that get one into trouble. It was then discussed that one of the factors that got Siphon into trouble was his low self-esteem. He was constantly rejected by his friends and family, and was willing to get himself into trouble if it meant that he would be accepted by his peers. The focus of the play then shifted to how self-esteem could be better managed in the Youth Centre. The change of focus did not change the play itself, but the questions posed to the audience during the post performance discussions addressed how staff and offenders could maintain each other's self-esteem in the Youth Centre.

The Smoking Play and The Sexual Assault Play

The cast of offenders, facilitated by four honours students, created “The smoking play” and “The sexual assault play”. All the plays followed the structure described above.

“The smoking play” discussed the impact on offenders if a proposed no-smoking policy were to be enforced. The play involved a professor visiting offenders to

ask about the impact of the no-smoking policy. After the play, cast members in the role of ‘professors’ facilitated smaller group discussion where the audiences discussed the impact and solutions around the no-smoking policy. Points were recorded on newsprint sheets.

The sexual assault play dealt with the effects on an individual after being sexually assaulted by other offenders. The play involved a character ‘uBaba’, the father of an ex-offender, telling a story of how his son’s behaviour had changed since he had been sexually assaulted in prison. He was visiting the offenders to discuss this problem and to ask what should be done about the issue. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic and stigma around male rape, the character of the son (the ex-offender who was sexually assaulted) was never seen or played by a member of the cast. In the smaller discussion circles, each facilitator assumed the character of uBaba in order to generate suggestions and solutions (Fitzalan-Howard, 2010: 15).

The suggestions

The suggestions generated during the performances were summarized and circulated as a report. Below is a summary of the suggestions produced by the offenders. The summary of suggestions is taken from John’s *Report On All Three Plays Performed As Part of the Theatre Project at Westville Youth Centre* (2010).

The Self-esteem play

Suggestions on how staff and offenders can increase self-esteem in the correctional environment:

Offender to Offender

- Trust
- Working together
- Have a positive attitude
- Accept who you are and your background
- Have hope and strive for what you believe in
- Respect each other and avoid conflict; be self-disciplined and respectful to each other; Don’t swear at each other; A good approach creates feelings of togetherness
- Mind your own business. Take care of yourself

- You must not take a small thing and make it a big thing
- Gossip needs to stop because it promotes conflict
- Self-discipline and introspection are important
- Improve communication; Negotiate with each other and maintain peace; negotiate with each other to solve problems
- Share resources; help each other with soap and phone cards
- Reduce jealousy and share the resources in the cell and sponsor those who do not have access to things
- Give each other advice and help
- Encourage each other
- Teach one another good things
- Treat each other equally such as sharing feelings at weekly meetings about things that got us into trouble
- Become involved in activities
- Access education
- Engage in sports such as football
- Keep active
- Increase support and communication
- Treat each other equally
- Do not turn our backs on each other
- Discuss our problems and share ideas

Offender to Staff

- Tolerance
- Improve communication
- Speak-out about your feelings; share your feelings to the members
- Speak respectfully to staff; don't backchat
- Report to the staff if you have a problem
- Respect the staff and comply with rules and regulations; be obedient and willing to agree with the staff members; respect the staff and their position in relation to rules and regulations
- Love the staff: Treat them as you would like to be treated

- Treat them as our parents
- Do not argue with staff, listen to them
- Listen to staff; do what we are told
- Build better relationships

Staff to Offender

- Love
- Respect the offender
- Treat us like human beings
- Provide good advice
- Improve communication
- Talk to us first before you act
- Do not call the offenders by derogatory names
- Reduce pride-fullness: They must not tell us about their possessions
- Do not look down on us. Share their views with us
- Treat offenders like members of your family; Staff should be more like a father to the offenders and be awarded the similar respect
- Treat us equally and avoid favouritism. Do not take us for what we have.
- Have a positive attitude towards the offenders. Smile at them.
- Corporal punishment must be stopped
- Staff should not take their own personal frustrations out on the offenders
- Staff should not punish all the offenders for a single person's bad behaviour
- Give us more time for contacting our families on the phone
- Respond to our complaints
- Allow the side plugs to be on 24 hours
- Extend the visiting times by starting on Friday
- Allow visitors to visit two offenders
- Reduce the price of the goods in the shop
- Increase exercise; give us time for exercise so we can de-stress
- Do not set the offenders against each other
- Do use political propaganda to the offenders
- Do not lock us up for the day

- Allow property such as cosmetics in the visits
- Increase opportunities for education such as learning skills like plumbing and welding
- Provide better cooked food and include fruit

The no-smoking play

Here are the suggestions about managing a no-smoking policy.

Concerns about implementing the No-Smoking policy

Tobacco operates as money

- Tobacco has an important function as money in the correction centre
- Sexual assaults will increase because offenders will have to trade their bodies instead of tobacco
- We won't be able to wear neat attire because we use cigarettes to purchase them
- Tobacco is an asset for those who do not smoke because they can buy anything with them
- If you have tobacco in jail life is easier

Problems with addiction and withdrawal

- There will be increased conflict as smoking decreases levels of stress
- The sense of one's sentence will be longer
- Offenders will become bad tempered
- Offenders will commit suicide
- Offenders will become frustrated
- There will be increased stress

Bad behaviour as protest

- There will be an increase in assaults
- There will be no respect between offenders and correctional staff
- Offenders will not participate in programmes
- Strikes will happen, hunger strikes, not going to the kitchen, even rape of correctional staff
- Offenders will attempt to escape

- Offenders will stab the correctional staff at the visits
- Cells will always be dirty
- There will be robberies that target the correctional staff
- We will refuse to be locked up and the correctional staff won't stand for us because we are many
- The prison will become ungovernable
- Lack of communication between offenders and correctional staff
- Gangsters will hurt other offenders
- We will set our cells on fire

Suggestions about how to implement a no-smoking policy

Create no-smoking zones

- Separate offenders according to whether they smoke or not thus creating smoking and no smoking cells
- Put signs up marking smoking and no-smoking zones
- Separate offenders by age so that those who are over 21 years of age can choose to smoke
- Respect others by going to the toilet to smoke

Create no-smoking campaigns and support

- Provide and ration cigarettes to offenders
- Provide Nicorette patches (treatment for nicotine addiction)
- Provide rehabilitation inside for people who are addicted
- Run anti-smoking campaigns

Create jobs so offenders can earn money

- Create jobs so that offenders can earn and not rely on tobacco as money

Bargaining

- We must not throw the filters away and make a mess
- We must not fight for cigarettes
- Do not put money in visits through cigarettes

- Show correctional staff respect
- When programmes come we will participate
- Always look neat
- Participate in sports activities
- Reduce smuggling in visits and from the kitchen
- Reduce violence
- There are no solutions just blood and bleeding

“The sexual assault play”

Here are the suggestions generated about how to better manage sexual assault in the correction centre.

What are the major reasons for sexual assault?

- If your parents do not visit you and you need things
- If you do not have visitors who can help you with materially needs
- Offenders must understand their situation of having nothing
- If you are a ‘man’ you need to be patient
- If you don’t appreciate what you have in terms of cosmetics and such
- If you do not have control of yourself in terms of wanting food
- Some of them they have outside hearts [they desire material things that belong to others]
- If you like things you can’t afford
- If you love things you don’t need
- If you like food too much
- Lack cigarettes
- Have cravings and addictions
- Fear and weakness on the part of the offender who is assaulted (These suggestions blames the victims and excuses coercion and rape conducted by perpetrators)
- If you are a ‘man’ you need to know yourself
- If you join gangsterism
- If you are ill discipline and lack of respect for yourself

- If you don't have self-esteem and can't speak or stand up for yourself
- If you are scared
- If you are bullied into it
- Because 'female' wardens make offenders have sex together although they are 'men'
- If you have had no orientation about how to manage yourself while incarcerated
If you are new to jail and are vulnerable and do not understand the situation
- You do not know who you are listening to in terms of other offenders
- If you do not know that you must not accept anything from someone
- If you let other offenders to call you homeline [build a relationship with claiming to come from the same area]
- If offenders living with the pressures of long term sentences are mixed with new offenders doing short term sentences
- Mixing adults with juveniles cause this
- Doing a long sentences increases the risk
- There are homosexuals in the centre (Only passive partners seem to be stigmatized as a homosexual).
- You see these things on TV and it influences you
- Some offenders like to do this
- When you act like a girl in jail you will get sexually assaulted
- To those who are doing it they must stop
- They (offender involved in sexual activity) must know that they are 'boy'

How can incidents of sexual assault be reduced?

- Condoms must be taken away from the offenders [presumably offenders feel this encourages or condones homosexual activity]
- Create opportunities for offenders to work and earn money or generate more support for their material needs.
- Create jobs for offenders who do not have visitors
- Warders must stop picking and choosing who gets jobs (priority should go to those without support)
- DCS must provide cosmetics to those people who do not have visitors

- DCS should provide more food
- The Government should pay offenders R14 a month allowance
- DCS should increase jobs and stage play activities
- Separate offenders serving long term and short term sentences
- Those pulling long and short sentences must be separated
- Increase activities outside the cells
- We must not be locked in the cells all day
- We must engage in activities
- DCS must deliver all the sports activities
- Encourage offenders to participation in education activities
- DCS should provide more security and more activities
- Increase monitoring and security
- DCS should have 24 hour surveillance
- Increase security, like security cameras
- Everyone must eat in the dinning hall
- They must put tablets in the food [to reduce sex-drive]
- Offenders must ask for help
- If you are having problems you must speak out early
- When you have a problem approach the wardens
- Offenders should report these activities to the staff
- Create orientation programmes for new offenders
- The Head of Prison must let someone advise offenders about these things in prison
- If I give you something I should not expect another thing in return
- You need to know who you are where you are from and what you need
- Learn to be independent and don't lose hope
- Teach new offenders how to manage in the correction centre
- Do not allow an offender to touch you whenever he is talking to you
- You can be at risk if you are a first time offender and you hear stories and you are afraid
- Don't allow another offender to call your home line who you don't know
- If you want to do sex you must go to the shower and masturbate

- Expressions of values that stigmatize homosexuality
- If you are a 'man' don't allow another man to be easy on you
- If you are a man don't wear short pants
- Offenders kick other offenders when they see them doing that[, this stops it]
- In the centre are those who love sex and those who like this thing and they should be put in the same cells
- Counseling for victims of assault
- Visit the psychologist
- Help for those with addictions
- If you can't fight against craving you must quit cigarettes
- If you need and don't have cigarettes you are at risk
- Encourage values of sharing and helping each other
- Encourage values of Ubuntu

Participation of Cast

As mentioned earlier (see page 13) gang leaders resist educational projects and encourage their members not to participate in activities organized by the correctional staff (Hurst, 2010: 22). For this reason, the decision for offenders to participate in this project was not without pressures. Despite these pressures, the attendance and participation of most cast members was consistent and committed, with only one member pulling out, and another only attending occasionally.

At times, audience participation was reluctant, making the performance difficult for the cast. Instead of becoming despondent, the cast pulled together, and persevered strongly in leading the group discussions. These group discussions involved a particular set of gang politics which the cast needed to negotiate. The discussions required communication between members of different gangs. The members of the cast were sensitive to this dynamic.

Audience Participation

Section B5²

On arrival at Section B5, I was informed by a staff member that gang culture was strong in this section. Gang members resist activities organized by the authorities, the audience was reluctant to participate during the first performance. During the first performance, the offenders' participation as members of the audience was not voluntary, but compulsory. After experiencing resistance from gang members, all subsequent performances involved audience members who volunteered to be a part of the audience, and those who did not wish to participate were locked into the cells. As a result the level of audience participation increased during the second and third performances. That said, members of different gangs and non-gang members participated in the performances possibly without the senior gang members or leaders.

Section C2

In section C2, the level of participation was very high. This is largely due to the fact that the unit manager for this section took a great interest in the project, and was very supportive in the organisation of performances held in his section. Also, the offenders housed in section C2 are either new to the centre, or are waiting to be released from the centre. Gangsterism is not as rife in this section. The number of voluntary audience members was large to begin with, and continued to grow during the second and third performances.

Sections B4 1-4 and B5 5-8

In sections B4 1-4 and B4 5-8, levels of participation grew steadily from the first to the second performance. However, on arrival at B4 5-8 for the third performance, we were informed of an incident of assault which had occurred the night before. This incident affected the level of participation, with only half the number of audience members volunteering when compared to the second performance. This is possibly due to the fact that offenders feared that they would be victimized by gang leaders if they chose to participate in the performance.

² B5, B4 5-8, B4 1-4 and C2 indicate the specific section or wing in which the offenders reside.

Staff Participation

It was very evident, from the staff's reaction to the project, that the project was disruptive to the daily routine in the Youth Centre. The Youth Centre Management was committed to accommodating these disruptions, and to facilitating the successful completion of the project. The levels of commitment, support, assistance and enthusiasm from unit managers and case officers varied greatly from section to section. Some staff members would be helpful in organizing the project in their section, but sometimes seemed uninterested in topics of the plays or suggestions from offenders. Others took a greater interest in all aspects of the work and others demonstrated no interest. It was evident that the levels of participation from the staff often matched the levels of enthusiasm in the offenders from the same section.

Chapter Five: Presentation of Data

In this chapter, I present examples of the data I have analyzed. I have organized the data in the following manner. The examples are organized by levels of Social Capital. I have explained the manner in which the examples engage with the elements of Social Capital. This explains the dynamics present in each example. I have begun by ordering the material in terms of Bonding and move through Bridging to finally discussing Linking Social Capital. The constituencies involved in these interactions comprise offender groups (that can be defined as cast, audience, members of the 28 and 26 gangs, and non-gang members) and correctional staff that can be grouped into management, security staff, and professional staff (teachers and social workers).

The data does not involve groups outside the correctional centre such as senior management at Westville Correctional Facility, and Department of Correctional Services at a provincial or national level, members of the public, or university students. Examples of Bonding only include Bonding between offenders, and not between members of staff (see page 36). Examples of Bridging relate to interactions between groups of similar status, for example, the different offender in-groups. Examples of Linking involve interactions between offenders and correctional staff. As well as providing positive examples of Social Capital, I conclude this chapter with examples of Negative Social Capital involving inward looking Bonding.

I have presented and referenced the data in the following manner. I did not use the real names of the respondents. Therefore, 'R' indicates that the respondent is speaking. In the case of group interviews, the respondents have been numbered in order to differentiate between the respondents. In this case the number corresponding to the respondent is given, for example 'R5'. 'I' indicates that the interviewer is speaking. I referenced each example from the interview transcripts. I did so by indicating from which interview the data was taken, for example cast (a full list of interviews can be found in Appendix C), as well as the page number on which the example can be found in the transcript, for example (Cast: 2).

Bonding Social Capital

Social Bonding refers to the strong ties that are shared amongst inward looking social networks. This is described in detail on page 15. The examples of Bonding found in the data only refers to offenders. An intention of the theatre project was to encourage members of different groupings within the correctional centre to communicate more effectively with each other. The majority of examples of increased Social Capital found in the transcripts involved Bridging and Linking. There were fewer examples of comments that demonstrated Bonding. I only found examples related to Bonding in the interviews with offenders, and not in interviews with staff. This could possibly be because relations in the Youth Centre are polarized between offenders and staff, as well as between members of different gangs, and non-gang members. Therefore, inward looking groups are the social norm. When discussing their observations about change, therefore, people were more likely to comment on increased interactions between groups, as interactions between in-groups are less common. Also, a lack of examples of changes in interactions amongst different groupings of staff could stem from a weakness in the design of the questionnaire. The interview questions did not specifically ask about changes related to interactions amongst members of staff, and therefore there was no opportunity to gather examples involving increased Bonding between staff. It is also possible that the staff perceived the project as involving offenders and to some extent held themselves at a distance and remained closed about interactions amongst themselves. The panoptic power relations (see page 10) define much of the nature of their work.

Offenders - Examples of Bonding Social Capital

The example of Bonding given below, demonstrates that the theatre project brought about an understanding amongst offenders of how, through changes in social norms and increased Bonding, the offenders could effect change in the correctional environment.

Bonding: Elements involved - Social Norms and Trust

R1: Ja, they [offenders] react nicely with the project, because the project was going to let them to respect one another and to understand how it feels to be in jail, and to understand how it feels to change the jail. (Audience, B4 5-8: 3)

This quotation demonstrates an offender's perception of how the theatre project brought

about change in social norms. First, the offenders used more respectful behaviour towards each other, acknowledging and understanding how other offenders in the Youth Centre were feeling. This comment explains how offenders used respect to build stronger ties with each other and this, it seems, increased levels of trust between offenders. These new social norms and increased trust supported lower-conflict interactions between offenders (see page 38).

Increases in the use of low-conflict behaviour and communication are also present as new social norms in the examples of Bridging (see page 39) where members of different offender groups treated each other with more respect. The example on page 40 indicates how the cast's behaviour during the play provided a model for low conflict behaviour that was then picked-up and used in the context of daily interaction.

One of the plays addressed the topic of self-esteem. The following quotations demonstrate how this play increased self-esteem amongst offenders.

Bonding: Elements involved - Social Norms and Trust

R2: From that, self-esteem, [if] it's here in the jail, it's not easy to see someone whether he's changed [...]. But now somebody, maybe he can talk for himself just like me. I can say the self-esteem, well I didn't know [about it], I didn't notice nothing about it until you all talked about it. But to me that thing it help me because now I know how to express myself to people, and show them in a good way, you see. (Audience B5: 10)

R5: This project really helped my self-esteem because now I can, if I see something that I don't like somewhere, something. I do tell someone that this thing. I don't like it really. (Audience B4 1-4: 9)

Increased self-esteem brought about changes in social norms. Because offenders felt more confident, they were more ready to speak out about things that concern them and were developing more successful strategies to communicate and problem solve. This suggests increased trust between offenders because it became safer to speak out about their concerns. These examples of increased self-esteem amongst offenders all seems to be connected to examples of increased communication.

About half the examples involving Bonding (5 out of 9) described an increase in communication between offenders. The example below discusses the play involving sexual assault, and explains how that play provided an opportunity for greater public discussion on the topic. Here is the comment:

Bonding: Elements involved - Social Norms and Trust

R: Yah in our section, B4 5-8³, the offenders like the drama and everything will go right. And they were talking about this programme. They say, 'hey this thing is gonna work and help us in prison. We are gonna get something else you see, we are gonna stop [sexually] assaulting each other and gonna stop making these wrong things in prison. (Audience, B4 5-8: 3)

This comment demonstrates how the play opened channels of communication on the topic of sexual assault. In order to discuss these issues more openly the increased communication would need to be accompanied by increased trust between offenders. Further, an increase in communication and trust seemed to have supported a reduction in incidences of general assault. Managers reported a 50% reduction in reports of assault in 2010 compared with 2009 (Mdunge, 2011). The following comment from another offender supports this.

Bonding: Elements involved - Social Norms and Trust

R2: I think there's a change a lot in assault, because now many offenders, before they were short tempered, now [drama] convinced them about how to react towards to each other. If there's a misunderstanding, you need to talk, because this misunderstanding started by talking, not fighting. You can't solve conflict with fight. You must solve it by talking. (Audience, C2:10)

New social norms of increased communication between offenders supported low conflict approaches to problem solving. This respondent tells us that talking about the causes of the conflict now substitutes previous, violent approaches to problem solving. This indicates new social norms and again increased trust between offenders.

These examples demonstrate how the theatre project increased Bonding within the offender community, and introduced new social norms. These social norms involved increased communication between offenders, involving more low conflict strategies for problem-solving which, to some extent, seemed to increase levels of trust. These changes resulted in a reduction in incidences of assault. However, these new social norms not only support increases in levels of Bonding, but also support increased levels of Bridging (see page 39-42) and Linking (see page 43-47).

Bridging Social Capital

Bridging is defined on page 16 and involves interaction beyond the confines of closed

³ B4 5-8 indicates the specific section or wing in which the offender resides.

groups to include other groupings on a similar level. Here examples involve interactions between different groups of offenders. Perceptions in the interviews about Bridging only refer to offender groups. Again staff made no comment about interaction between different groups amongst themselves.

Offenders – Examples of Bridging Social Capital

The example of Bridging given below demonstrates that during the performances, the audience and cast used respectful behaviour towards each other.

Bridging: Elements involved - Social Norms and Trust

R3: Me too I remember a lot of things. I remember, I was a guerrilla⁴ [...], my character was oh, I've learnt that once you see audience speaking to another person [...], when we're doing image drama you have to be respectful when you're talking to him [the member of the audience]. You must tell him nicely [...] They didn't give us a problem about that [audiences] cause we give them respect as well then they're giving us respect, that's what I remember. (Cast:2)

The behaviour used by this member of the cast built trust between the cast and audience through the use of respectful behaviour. The respectful conventions for managing the audience were developed during rehearsals. When used during the performance they modelled new norms around communication to offenders in the audience.

In the Youth Centre, gang leaders resist the authority of the correctional staff and, encourage their members not to participate in education or activities organized by the correctional centre (Hurst, 2010: 23 and see page 39-40). This then is the social norm. It is within this context that the following comments about interactions between members of the 26s and 28s were made:

Bridging: Elements involved - Social Norms and Trust

R1:[translated by one offender for another] Actually, I'm so glad about the gangsterism [gangsters] cause it was, the majority of them, it was sharp and quickly to get [them] to participating. 'Cause it was the majority of them, it [that] was participating with us [in the play]. I wasn't expecting the gangsterism [gangsters] to connect with us and participate as we [were] participating. I'm so glad about it. (Cast: 5)

This respondent did not expect the gang members to participate in the performances

⁴ Here the use of guerrilla refers to the role in the play where certain cast members managed and controlled the audience using carefully chosen behaviors and strategies of speaking. This was not done from the stage but while moving around behind or amongst the audience.

because it was an activity organized by the correctional staff. This comment demonstrates a change in social norms within the gangs. Most of the members of the cast belonged to the 26s and despite this, members of the 28s agreed to participate. This implies an increase in levels of trust between members of different gangs.

Other comments also indicated that these new norms around communication and trust extended to non-gang members, and that these behaviours continued after the performances, once the offenders returned to their cells. Offenders and staff verified this. Here are some examples of such observations from offenders and staff:

Bridging: Elements involved - Social Norms, Trust, and Social Networks

R: They [gang members] were still normal like we are playing the play

I: Yah

R: They were talking with each other, having some words about the drama

I: This was after the play?

R: Yah, negotiating, hey this drama was like this and like this. It was lovely how it was. Busy asking each other, and we asked them also how it was, the drama. And they told us 'hey it was cool'. We never noticed that the drama should have been like this, but we're happy for it. (Cast: 6)

Here are comments on the same topic from two different Unit Managers⁵.

R: You know normally, one wouldn't, get a 26 member, and a 28 member... they would not be laughing at [with] each other, you understand. They would be blowing [hitting] at each other, but, this honestly, I saw drama at an excellent level. (C2 unit manager: 5)

R: No, they do communicate. And it's not like it was all the gangs. There were those few that are non gangsters and I think this thing gave them, it build that relation between the gangs and the non gangsters between the offenders. Because after a while you can see that there are, there is that communication between all the type of offenders. (B5 unit manager: 2)

Members of different gangs began communicating with each other and with non-gang members. They were defying the rules of gang culture. The increased communication between different groups of offenders indicates that to some extent they began to organize and unite. Here are the examples of comments from offenders:

Bridging: Elements involved - Social Networks, Social Norms and Trust

R: About the gangsterism in prison, they were participating [...] they come together like we are children, like we stay together like brothers, they join us, they feel comfortable, we negotiate. They give us some views; they show us that they're not scared of other prisoners. Like we love each other in the prison. (Cast: 6)

⁵ A Unit Manager is a correctional staff member responsible for an entire wing or section.

R2: Like, the gangsters, they don't treat the non-gangsters the way they were treated them before. After the drama, they start to recognise no, these are our brothers. We can live together without violence. (Audience, B4 5-8: 10)

Here are examples of comments on the same topic from two different Case Officers⁶:

R: Yah after the play there was a big change [...] and I do think they got a lesson after the play. Because after the play they actually, there was this spirit of togetherness. [...] Among the gangs and the non-gangs. Which means that maybe the play taught them something because it was, the main aim of the play, it was all about how should one, how one should behave amongst each other

I: Okay, how did they behave differently? You said there was a change. How? Can you give me an example?

R: Yah, like before you know those that were part of the gang and stuff, they were used to isolate themselves in that gang. But after the play, there was this togetherness spirit. (Case officer 2, C2: 3)

R: As I said previously, [...] initially gang members were very, like the 26 gangs would hang around only with the 26's. And the 28's as well as non-gang members would hang around with their own kind. But as the plays went on, they became like brotherhood. The 26's would interact with the 28's, as well as the non-gang members. There was no, there was no ranks, there was no, differentiation in who they were. They were like brothers as one. (Case officer 2, B4 5-8: 1)

Here are comments on the same topic from a member of management:

R: You know their [offenders] groupings, the way they stand, they stand in groups according to their, the formations. But, the issues, because you know as I said that this tool [drama] is very powerful because it forces people to participate, not aware that they are making contributions, because they just take it spontaneously and speak out what they feel within, and sometimes they forget that they belong to two groups and then find themselves absorbed in the content of the play. (Management 1: 2)

The offenders challenged the authority and rule of the gangs when they introduced these new norms involving communication and interaction across the informal boundaries established by the Numbers Gangs. In the comment below a member of management explains how in order to attend school, offenders had to withdraw from the gangs they were affiliated to. Increased enrolment at the school, therefore, demonstrates that these new social norms reduced gang activity and directly benefited the offenders who were now able to access education. In the following examples offenders and staff speak about increased attendance at school. Here are the responses from offenders:

⁶ Case Officers are correctional staff who work in the wings or sections, supervising assigned groups of offenders. The general public might recognize them as guards.

Bridging: Elements involved - Social Norms

R2: Most of us we tell ourself that we want to go to school and gain more knowledge than to stay there in the section and do nothing, only downloading ourself with what is not right. We say, we are going to go to school, do what is better, make our families, parents, friends better. Make them happy because we want to show that we are gonna really, really change. We want to show them that we have recognised our faults. So we want to do better, we want to do, we want to correct ourself. We want to start afresh in the world. We want to start afresh and do everything better. (Audience, B4 5-8: 2)

R1: Ja it's changed because, we think to go back in school and to not to be a part of the gangs and all and to not to respect each other. To not to do the assault and that's it. (Audience, B4 5-8: 10)

Here are the responses from Case Officers:

R: As I said, the interaction and the belief that, you know, even the number in the school section has grown to plus or minus 200 students this year. That, I should think, since I've been here, has been the most. That for me is an indication that what was done during the plays really helped them [offenders] start believing in themselves and trying to make somebody of themselves. (Case officer 2, B4 5-8: 2)

Here is a response from a member of the management:

R: There's something that you'll be hearing for the very first time from me. We've been struggling to fill up our classes [...] but you'll be surprised that this year, we're running out of space. [...] Because the boys that are still at primary school level in terms of education have been reluctant to go to school, or they feared going to school and starting at primary level because they are all at the same age. [...] When they see other boys going do matric and grade eleven, everybody wants to go to those classes. But the reality of the matter is that you cannot just jump from primary school to high school; you'll be caught within one week. [...] So this time, they were brave enough to say I will start where I'm supposed to start and I strongly believe it's because of the transparency that this project brings. As you must believe in yourself in that you can start from somewhere and get somewhere instead of lying to yourself and wanting to be something that you are not [...] Because previously we'd tell them [to withdraw from gangs] but they'll start, every year will start with chaos. Fighting and people still clinging to their gangsterism beliefs and protecting the 28's and 26's. But this time we just, were able to continue from the project and say boys if you decide to come to school, it's your decision, you are improving your life and therefore gangs have no place in the school [...] And it was easy to just send that message. And it was understood by everyone. So we haven't had any violence in the school. (Management 1: 3 – 5)

Increased Bridging between offenders belonging to different groups resulted in increased communication and trust. This was combined with more low-conflict behaviour and strengthened new social norms that challenged the 'Numbers' Gangs' authority and as a result more offenders were able to take up the benefit of attending school.

Linking Social Capital

A full definition of Linking is provided on page 16. It involves interaction between groups holding different positions in terms of levels of power. In the context of this research, this involves increased interaction between social networks comprising correctional staff and offenders.

Linking: Elements involved - Social Norms, Trust, and Social Networks

Here are responses from offenders, followed by those of case officers, unit managers, and managers that related to Linking and address increased communication.

Offenders:

R5: Between staff and offender relationships, yes there have been [changes], yah. Yah, they have more, they are communicating more. More, well than they used to be before the play started [...] I think there is a change because they have come to an understanding. (Audience, C2:10)

Case Officers:

R: Also, to be more open when it comes to social workers and also to the CMC [Case Management Committee], and the parole board and also with the staff in general. (Case Officer 1, B4 5-8: 3)

R: During the play, you know, there was that sort of, they were communicating. The communication was like, there was a gap [...] that this is an official, this is an offender. But after the play, there was this you know, spirit of togetherness, treating each other like human beings. (Case Officer, C2: 3)

Unit Managers:

R: [...]So I think that the self-esteem part played a very important role with regard to the communication of offenders to members and vice versa. And the rate of sexual harassment was noticed to be declining a little bit. And, another thing that I think this drama of [about] sexual harassment brought, people could come out and say what happened during the night, which was not easily done before. (Unit Manager, B4 5-8: 2)

Managers:

R: The major changes that I can just quote is about improvement in communication. That's the major changes, and just to build up a trust that the, the officials must just have that trust to the offenders, so that they will encourage them to do much better. (Management 3: 5)

R: As I said initially, that normally the communication is always one way [...] coming from the officials and the offender's accepted it, will receive it and just accept, not question it. But the members this time are able to allow offenders to make an input in whatever they were saying. (Management 1: 2)

These responses demonstrate changes in social norms. Offenders and staff tended to respond to the unequal power dynamics inherent in the correctional system and this has reduced

communication between them. The theatre project provided an opportunity for offenders and staff to establish a few new social norms that increased communication between them. These responses indicate that these new norms involved increased levels of respect between staff and offenders. In order for levels of communication to have increased, and for offenders and staff to be more respectful towards each other, the degree of trust between correctional staff and offenders would also need to have increased.

One of the benefits respondents spoke of was how increased communication, attributed to the theatre project, helped to ease tension between staff and offenders. Here, a manager speaks about this:

R: I feel it [the plays], it provides a wonderful tool that eases tension between the management and the offenders, because of the nature of our environment, there tends to be a tension whenever serious issues are discussed. But if we use a play, those tensions come down. (Management 1: 1)

The theatre project provided a non-threatening platform in which serious issues could be addressed. Again, increased levels of trust are implicit here.

The increased communication and reduction in tension includes a re-negotiation of power relations between staff and offenders. The following responses by offenders, case officers, and unit managers address the issue of power relations:

Linking: Elements involved - Trust and Social Norms

Offender:

R2: Even the chief too, they're not taking us like we are the prisoner. They're taking us like we are the brothers. (Audience B4 1-4: 6)

Case Officer:

R: There was a sense of togetherness during the plays. Staff would interact with offenders, like they wouldn't really differentiate. If you stood on the outside, you wouldn't really say that was an offender and that was an official, except for their uniforms. And afterwards, there has also been a change. A general undertaking that, you know, that although I am an official and they are offenders, but we are one. And, you know, and we are on the same level and we are working towards the same goals. (Case officer 2, B4 1-4: 1)

Unit Manager:

R: As I've said, the boys, the inmates, are rather, they are receptive now. There seems to be an open channel between staff and them in terms of when they want to speak about something or whatever. They are much [more] free to come up to the staff now and address. That's what I speak for my team. (Unit Manager, C2: 9)

This indicates a change in social norms related to relations of power. Previously, the staff seemed to assert their authority over offenders, constantly reminding the offenders that they were perceived to be inferior. The theatre project seems to have provided an opportunity in which staff and offenders could re-negotiate old established norms around expressions of power relations. These new behaviours moved across into daily interactions. The re-negotiation of power relations supported increased problem-solving. The responses from offenders and staff support this. Here are some examples:

Linking: Elements involved - Trust, Social Norms and Social Networks

Offenders:

R1: Yeah they [staff] are different. They changed because they are assisting us with the many things we are asking for. (Audience B4 5-8: 7)

R4: Yeah, I've noticed in the staff, changing in the staff. 'Cause staff now are reacting very well toward us. And if we are not talking, they keep asking us what do we want, we must talk and not keep things inside us. If we want something we must ask it, they will give us at that time. If we need help, we must ask for help. If we want to go to the doctor, we must say it because they will help us. (Audience B4 5-8: 12-13)

R5: Yeah the staff were, they very change. We noticed a very big changed because now if they want to tell us something, they know how to call us to speak to us, to sit down and talk to us. And then we are talking with them now. They are not accuse us like we are the prisoner. They are talking [to] us like we are the children for them. Everything what we want they are asking us. 'Hawu, what you all want today?' 'What, even you change in your face in the one day.' They are asking you 'What happened? Does something happen [to] you or what?' And then we are talking. Hhayi no, maybe I'm sick, maybe I'm [got a] headache. So you see they are helping us all that. (Audience B4 1-4: 13)

Case officers:

R: I would say it [the plays] was a wakeup call. 'Cause there were things that we didn't know. There were things that we didn't know that was brought about [by] the play. Now it's like you're a parent. There's something that you're constantly, like, doing to your kids. But you are not aware of it

I: Okay

R: Then the message brought with the play. It brought an awareness to us that there are some things that we need to change, which are like customary. The bad ones [behaviour] of course

I: Yes

R: And there are the good things that we need to emphasize.

I: Yes.

R: So that there's a smooth running between these two parties. As the offenders, they are our clients and we have a job to do. (Case officer B41-4: 3)

The re-negotiation of power relations provided an opportunity for both parties to use a wider range of behaviours. This is expressed here as willingness for staff to assist offenders and solve problems.

This social networking across the hierarchies of power in the Youth Centre generated norms of reciprocity between staff and offenders. Here, a response by an offender addresses this:

Linking: Elements involved – Reciprocity, Social Norms, Trust and Social Networks

R7: One offender translates the response for another offender] You see before, we used to take exercise maybe about one hour. Because the way we behave. We not behaving nice. But now after that play, we. The staff, they now, they even now come and talk with us. Today we are going to give you about five hours exercise. Because now we are behaving well. Now, that's the other thing we can see. (Audience, C2: 10)

All the elements (trust, reciprocity, social norms and social networks) are present in this example. There seems to be an improvement in relationships between staff and offender networks, which also indicates increased trust between staff and offenders. However, the norm of reciprocity mentioned here involved low levels of conflict, or trouble free behaviour, by offenders in return for which the correctional staff allow them more time outside their cells. This is not really a new norm. It is a well established practice that offenders receive more time to exercise in return for good behaviour. What is interesting is that in combination with other changes the offenders finds this worthy of comment.

The social networking across hierarchies, changes in social norms, increased trust and increased reciprocity mentioned above all seem to lead to more effective solving of simple problems in the Youth Centre. The examples are given below: A substantial part of the responses addressed changes in behaviour. These changes, however, made an impact on certain systemic issues within the centre. Two areas involving systemic change were mentioned. These were more effective feedback and problem solving and the implementation of designated smoking areas in the centre

These changes resulted from the increased levels of problem-solving and are addressed in the next section. They arise from increased cooperation between offenders and staff and I have, therefore, coded them under Linking.

Linking: Element - Social Norms.

In the comment below an offender describes improved feedback and problem-solving involving staff and offenders. This demonstrates more effective networking between staff and offenders.

R1: Yah the staff have reacted very well after this project, because even in the morning when we are complaining, putting our requests and complaints, they give us the feedback. But before they didn't do that. (Audience, B4 1-4: 4)

Linking: Elements - Social Norms.

One of the plays involved the offenders in making suggestions about how best to manage smoking. This was in response to a proposal from the Department of Correctional Services to designate the entire Youth Centre as a non-smoking area. As a result of the debate, conducted through theatre, offenders suggested creating designated smoking areas rather than completely banning smoking. These suggestions, recorded and circulated in the reports, led to the creation of designated smoking areas in one section, and the strategy being considered in another sections.

Offenders:

R7: Yah from the project, I learned that they have to divide people. Those who smoke, those use drugs have to go one side. Those people who doesn't use drugs have to go one side. Cause there are some people, they are use now to smoke cigarettes. So now if we tried to cut cigarettes, it would be a problem in jail. People are gonna fight one way, so we learn that thing. (Audience, C2: 2)

Case officers:

R: I notice, yah I notice, a huge change in the notice of no smoking policy. Because after the play we were told to create some smoking corners. (Case officer 2, C2: 3)

Management:

R: Because we do not have a facility [to divide smokers from non-smokers...] all of them are congested in one cell and sometimes they don't smoke during the day, but at night they smoke. So we were hoping after some programmes, that we would be able to divide them according to smokers and non-smokers. But we just don't [have] the accommodation to do that, because we have to separate them in another manner. (Management 2: 3)

Negative Social Capital

Negative Social Capital refers to highly bonded inward-looking groups that use Bonding to serve interests that do not benefit the community at large. A full definition of Negative Social Capital can be found on page 17. Of the 83 examples involving increased Social Capital found in the data, 68 examples referred to notions of positive Social Capital, while 15 addressed Negative Social Capital.

In certain instances Unit Managers used the theatre project to express other grievances to the management that were not related to the issues at hand. At the time the theatre intervention was conducted, new shift schedules involving different working hours for correctional staff had been introduced. The staff resisted this change in shifts. When resisting or frustrating the theatre project, they were in fact expressing and resisting the management. In the following response a member of management speaks directly about this. Here is the comment:

Management:

R: I think on the side of the offenders, I think it worked miracles. But I was disappointed with the officials. But I know that their attitude is not, it's not hostility towards the staff from UKZN, or the drama. It's only that the project started at a time when the entire region or province was upside down because of the change in shifts. People are still unhappy about the change, which makes your work very difficult, because you come in an environment where people are unhappy

I: Yes okay

R: So sometimes we may read it incorrect and say they are not co-operative, whereas they are angry because of other factors. (Management 1: 5-6)

In this case the, Bonding between certain staff members was used in a manner that did not support the needs of the offenders. Instead, the theatre project offered an opportunity for staff to express their unhappiness with change by frustrating a new project in the centre.

Further, the theatre project gave offenders the opportunity to speak out about issues that concerned them. Some staff members seemed to perceive the theatre project as threatening to their authority, and were unwilling to allow offenders to participate in the problem solving processes. Here managers make comments about this:

Management:

R: The reactions were very mixed. On the part of the staff, there was resistance of not being told by offenders what they need to do. And on the part of the offenders, I think it was beneficial because they expressed, they expressed how they would want to be treated now that they are here. And how each of the play, of the plays that were done relates to their story of them being in prison. (Management 2: 1)

R: I noticed that the officials that were drawn into the project have changed, but those who have who just decided to stand aloof, it didn't help them because they, I think, intentionally, they were afraid that they'll find themselves having to change. (Management 1: 1)

Certain members of staff did not want to form ties with offenders, regardless of whether these ties might prove to be beneficial to everyone in the Youth Centre. These staff members seemed to want to retain a position of power that involved only themselves in processes of decision making. This extended to certain staff members being unwilling to distribute the reports to the offenders and frustrating the cycle of communication. This unwillingness for staff to share information with offenders demonstrates inward looking Bonding among members of staff which served interests that were not beneficial to all. Here, an offender describes the perfunctory manner in which the reports were circulated in his section:

Offenders:

R1: I remember that the report came in with the members. They just gave it to one of the prisoners and they said that they must read it there in a room.

I: And nobody went through [it with you].

R1: Nobody went through while, but from my side, I think it was a duty of one of the members in charge of the room to, to speak to the prisoners about it, not give to, to one prisoner and say that he must read it because there's like 40 of us in a room. To go to, one report to everyone is gonna be hard for everyone to read. (Audience, B5: 11)

Here is a supporting comment from another section:

R5: Yeah, if I can be honest, if I can be honest, one of the unit managers in our section showed, I saw him got this feedback, but it never get to us. (Audience, B4 1-4: 11)

This comment from a manager supports the comments by offenders..

Management:

R: Because I discovered that in one section, I'm not going to mention it but I went there, I found the reports were duplicated still on the table, lying on the table not distributed to offenders. (Management 1:4)

The theatre project also faced resistance from certain offenders. Certain gang members appeared to have put pressure on offenders who were a part of the project, to withdraw from the project. Here a manager provides an example:

Management:

R: The only small problem that occurred, we are all not sure whether it was through extended discussions after the project or you remember that towards the end, I think it was during the, the sexual assault play that the boys were reluctant to continue, but we talked to them, and they then continued. But I guess it was because mostly, the 28's are into sexual assaults and the 26's are not know for that, so as the plays or the

discussions go further, you tend to touch on issues that will offend other, other groups [the 28s]. (Management 1: 6)

The project seemed, in some instances, to cause tension between members of the 26 and 28 gangs. Members of the cast belonged to the 26 gang who were not linked to same sex practices or sexual assault. In the plays, the cast directly addressed issues of sexual assault implicating the 28 gang. It seems then that the 28's perceived the plays as critical of their practices. It seems that this criticism, in some cases, widened the gap between the two gangs. It seems that this also encouraged inward looking Bonding amongst the two gangs. In some cases, this seems to have increased Negative Social capital involving the 26 and 28 gangs. It seems also that the project, in some cases, caused tension between offenders who chose to participate in the project, and those who did not. Here is an example.

Unit Managers

R: During the play and after the play, I believe they acted exactly the same than what they would normally do in front of members, staff members within the unit. Yes, the big trick is how did they behave once they're on their own inside the cell. Because, I have unfortunately noted quite a bit of, awkward behavior when this play was [over], for example, once exercised within the unit, and the rest of the offenders were locked up. There seems to be an awkwardness that I detect between offender to offender.

I: When you say awkwardness, what do you mean? Can you give me an example?

R: For example, the prisoners would be very conscious of seeing who's looking at them while they are doing whatever, and in that sense, awkwardness, because, yes, when we get, when they get locked up, it's a complete different ball game because then there's no member that can or might intervene in their type of activity to correct this or that individual. (Unit manager, B4: 1)

As mentioned above, gang authorities resist outside activities. It is also clear that the project caused tension between members of the 26 and 28 gangs. For these reasons, it seems that the decision for offenders to participate in the project was a controversial one as it challenged existing norms that separate and limit communication between gang members. This then was in part a reaction to change resulting from the theatre work which increased social networking across gang structures (see page 40). This social networking seemed to be disapproved by those who chose not to participate in the project.

In this example, a member of staff speaks about a threat made in the suggestions about increased violence against staff, should the no-smoking policy be implemented. Here is the example:

Unit Managers:

R: Very nice I would say it's [the reports] nice. I wouldn't necessarily agree with everything in the report. Okay, basically, I think it's a two way street. I think, I heard in terms of not discussing the report, you know with these guys. But I think you know, what we, your facilitators, and Chris as well, and you guys have got to be very certain when you deal with these guys, you understand. You're not dealing with normal day to day guy, you understand. You're dealing with a criminal mind here. There's no way of picking up wrong, I'm not putting them down or something, but whilst you are thinking two steps, he's thinking ten steps ahead of you, you understand. And they're good in the sense they can manipulate anything, you understand. Where I read a thing there in the reports, if this doesn't happen [if suggestions about managing smoking are not implemented], what will be the repercussions. And let's say staff would be raped, and this and that and that. I read it. And now you know I don't know whether they use the law as a tool to come back to us. (Unit manager, C2: 6-7)

Because of the threats of violence made against staff by offenders, if a no-smoking policy were implemented the staff seemed to feel more fear and separation from offenders. This involved Negative Social Bonding on the side of staff and offenders. On the side of offenders, the offenders are bonding together to threaten the staff with violence. This does not serve the interest of every one at the youth centre and further entrenches division. On the side of staff, they felt threatened by offenders, and have greater reason for distancing themselves from offenders. This stands in contrast to other accounts where increased communication about this issue led to some effective problem-solving (see page 47).

Here I discussed the manner in which the data engaged notions of Social Capital. In the next chapter, I move on to discuss how changes that were perceived by staff and offenders to be resultant of the theatre project reflect increases and decreases in levels and elements of Social Capital.

Chapter Six: Findings

In the previous chapter, I presented the data in a manner that linked the data with categories that defined levels and elements of Social Capital. This chapter answers the research questions posed on page 3-4. These questions relate to perceptions by correctional staff and offenders about changes that they attributed to the theatre project. The questions also ask about the relationship between these changes and increased levels and elements of Social Capital. Finally, I address the topic of Negative Social Capital in relation to the changes. The last and fifth question is related to the implications of these findings for Prison Theatre practice and research and I will address this in the conclusion (see page 56-58).

It is difficult to discuss changes in levels and elements of Social Capital independently of each other, as increased elements offer explanations of how increased levels of Social Capital occurred. For this reason, I have chosen to concurrently discuss how the perceptions of change reflect increased elements and levels of Social Capital.

The plays created a safe space for offenders to meet and discuss issues that were important to them and the correctional staff. The plays also provided an opportunity for offenders to model new behaviours and this established new social norms involving respect (see page 36-37), increased communication (see page 40), and increased levels of trust (see page 37). These behaviours were then carried back into the discussions about the plays by offenders in cells (see page 40) and so the new social norms found their way into the daily life of the correction centre. These new social norms made an impact on the manner in which in-groups amongst the offenders interacted with each other. This facilitated increased communication between gangs (see page 40), less conflict between offenders (see page 38), increased problem-solving amongst offenders (see page 37), fewer incidences of sexual assault (see page 38), challenges to gang authority (see page 41) and increase in number of offenders choosing to attend school (see page 42)

The new behaviours and increased communication established by the theatre project facilitated the improvement of relationships between staff and offenders. This increased Linking between staff and offenders facilitated other changes. These were improved communication between staff and offenders (see page 43-44), increased problem solving between correctional staff and offenders (see page 45-46), staff

delivering feedback on offenders' complaints (see page 46-47) and the creation of designated smoking areas (see page 47).

The introduction of new social norms strengthened Bonding Social Capital between offenders (see page 36-38) and increased Bridging Social Capital involving members of different gangs and non-gang members (see page 38-42). The new social norms also made an impact on communication (see page 43-44) and problem solving (see page 45-46) between staff and offenders.

The first change involved increased communication between members of different gangs. This change was supported by increased Bridging Social Capital between members of different gangs (see page 38-42) and involved the following elements: new social norms, increased levels of trust, and networking.

Offenders then spoke across the informal boundaries of the gangs and were able to resolve conflict more successfully and reduced the use of violence (see page 37-38). Increased Bridging Social Capital and the new social norms and elements of trust and networking supported low conflict approaches to problem solving (see page 37-38).

Changes in terms of increased communication, reduced conflict, and improved problem solving resulted in reduced incidences of sexual assault (see page 38). These changes created a more supportive environment in which offenders were also more likely to speak out about issues of assault and to report incidences of sexual assault to staff (see page 43). This involved increased Linking Social Capital which I will discuss later (see page 54).

Both offenders and staff commented on increased communication by offenders across the informal boundaries between 28s, 26s, and non-gang-members (see page 40). They also report that as a result of the plays more offenders reduced their involvement in gang activity and choose to attend school (see page 42). There was a reduction in sexual assaults and offenders also felt more able to report such incidences. Increased Bridging Social Capital and elements involving new social norms, trust, and networking brought about changes such as increased communication, lower levels of conflict, and increased problem solving. This enabled offenders to challenge the authority of the gangs. The Numbers Gangs identity and culture involved social norms around violence and the restriction of communication. These older and more well established social norms supported the inward Bonding that separated the different factions of the Numbers Gangs. The changes involving communication, attendance at school, and the reduction in sexual assault demonstrate how increased levels of Bridging Social Capital

enabled offenders to successfully break the norms established by the gangs and also to make choices that were more beneficial to themselves.

Increased communication between staff and offenders (see page 43-44) involved an increase in Linking Social Capital. The theatre project eased tension between staff and offenders (see page 44). The gangs resist correctional authority, and discourage their members from participating in events organized by the authorities and yet members from the different gangs and non-gang members participated in the performances (see page 39-40). As a result of the theatre project, offenders and staff began to communicate more with each other (see page 43-44).

The increase in Linking Social capital involved new social norms around communication. Staff and offenders spoke more easily to each other (see page 43-44) and raised and addressed problems (see page 45-46). Staff also broke out of their role of guard taking on a more paternal role and started to treat offenders as their children (see page 45). These new social norms and networks along with improved levels of trust and reciprocity constituted the elements of Social Capital that supported Linking. Increased reciprocity involved the following: exchanging more time outside the cells for good behaviour (see page 46); increased problem solving discussions between offenders and staff (see page 45-46); providing feedback to offenders requests and complaints (see page 46-47) and staff offering to help offenders (see page 45) . Increased Linking Social Capital enabled offenders to report sexual assault more easily. It also facilitated increase problem solving of daily issues. This led to two simple systematic changes in the Youth Centre. These changes were the delivery of feedback to offenders' requests and complaints (see page 46-47), and the creation of designated smoking areas in the Youth Centre (see page 47).

Negative Social Capital.

The theatre project introduced new social norms and other changes into the daily culture of the Youth Centre. This involved increased Social Capital particularly in terms of Bridging between offender groups and Linking between offenders and correctional staff. This presented a change to older more well established social norms that supported Negative Social Capital in the form of inward looking Bonding.

Inward looking Bonding maintains the separation between the different Numbers Gangs and between correctional staff and offenders. Some of the comments indicate that the theatre project's discussion of sexual assault created tension between

the 26's and 28's which saw some of the cast members wanting to withdraw from the project (see page 49).

Some correctional staff members resisted the project wishing to maintain the division between staff and offenders. They avoided circulating the reports (see page 49). They saw the introduction of new social norms as threatening the long established relationships of power within the carceral system (see page 48-49). The threats of violence communicated to the staff by offenders, if the no-smoking policy were implemented, also promoted these divisions (see page 51).

These tensions did not escalate to a level where cast members actually withdrew from the project, neither did this tension have broader implications for the Youth Centre such as increased violence between the two gangs. Nor did the resistance by some members of the correctional staff unduly disrupt the project. In fact, the introduction of new social norms and increased levels of Social Capital greatly reduced Negative Social Capital in the Youth Centre.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This chapter deals with the implications of the findings for Prison Theatre practice. Thompson (1998: 11) asks if Prison Theatre can effect change within the carceral system. Both he and Balfour (2004) acknowledge the application of Prison Theatre to agendas around rehabilitation and those involving artistic expression. They challenge practitioners and question the extent to which Prison Theatre can effect systemic change.

The systemic changes achieved by the Prison Theatre project at the Youth Centre were limited to formal feedback on the complaints raised by offenders (see page 46-47) and the introduction of no-smoking areas in certain sections of the Youth Centre (see page 47). The other changes involved behaviour, particularly the introduction of new social norms that supported an increase in trust, networking and reciprocity. These elements supported an increase in the Levels of Social Capital particularly Bridging and Linking. The institutional benefits were social and involved such things as reduced conflict, increased communication and problem solving. The use of behaviour to effect institutional change is significant here. These changes were initiated by offenders and moved up to engage the correctional staff. In the correctional environment, the potential for offenders to effect systemic change is very limited. However, the theatre project provided the impetus for the offenders to effect social change within the institution through the strategic use of behaviour categorized here as new social norms.

Increased Bridging and Linking Social Capital brought offenders and correctional staff closer together. The offenders achieved lower levels of violence and improved problem solving and together offenders and correctional staff achieved better communication and engaged in problem solving. The renegotiation of relationship implicit in increased levels of Bridging and Linking is important. Offenders speak of staff being like parents to them after the project (see page 45). A staff member speaks of offenders and staff working together during the performance and being the same except for uniforms (see page 44). Further, offenders re-negotiated social norms established by the gangs, by speaking across informal boundaries of the 26 and 28 gangs, and by participating in the performances. As a result, some offenders reduced their involvement with the gangs and took the opportunity to access education (see page 42). All these examples involve a renegotiation of relationships of power.

The importance of this project is not that it achieved systemic change but that it achieved social change within the carceral system. Foucault (1994: 82-84) argues that as an apparatus the Prison functions to generate panoptic power relations that are fundamentally unequal. Zimbardo (2004: 37) argues that the systematic functioning of the carceral system has a profound psychological effect on both guards and offenders. It traps them in the role of guard and offender in a manner that is destructive to their humanity.

The increased Bridging and Linking Social Capital generated through the this Prison Theatre project was able to some extent mediate some of the extreme inequalities in terms of relations of power. Along with some of the more negative effects on staff and offenders who are locked into the roles of prison guard and prisoner. They were able to access a slightly wider range of behaviour.

The three areas Balfour (2004) and Thompson (1998: 19-22) identify for impact by Prison Theatre involve rehabilitation (Beck *et al.* 1993; McGuire, 2004); notions of speaking out and identity creation in terms of High Art (Thompson, 1998: 19-22); and social change involving consciousness raising and action (Thompson, 1998: 19-22). These research findings indicate that Prison Theatre can impact on social conditions in terms of Social Capital. This then establishes a fourth area of impact within the field of Prison Theatre. This fourth area would involve work that consciously engages with notions of the relationship between change in the correctional environment and Social Capital. Work engaging such objectives would deliberately engage with an agenda around altering levels of Social Capital in order to mediate, to some degree, the destructive social effects of the carceral system.

The establishment of this fourth area of impact within the field of Prison Theatre opens the door for more theatre projects to be specifically designed to engage Social Capital. These new projects also need to engage research about the potential for Prison Theatre to impact on Social Capital within the correctional environment.

Further theatre work at the Youth Centre might involve greater creative collaboration between correctional staff and offenders. This theatre project did not involve equal participation from staff and offenders. I would recommend that the next intervention at the Youth Centre involve a more equal participation from staff and offenders in the production, creation, and performance of plays.

This research used a questionnaire that was not specifically designed to link Prison Theatre work to Social Capital. Further research needs to address Prison Theatre

and Social Capital in the correctional environment. This would need to engage a research design specifically aimed at investigating the full impact on correctional staff as well as offenders. The participation of correctional staff and the potential for Prison Theatre to impact on them in terms of Social Capital as well as offenders is an important area for further research. This research in some small way opens this door for further investigations.

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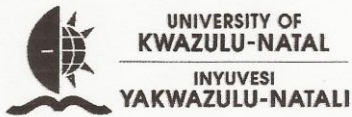
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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM UKZN



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20 July 2011

Ms LA Naguran (206508137)
School of Languages, Literacies, Drama & Media Education
Faculty of Humanities, Development and
Social Sciences
Howard Collge Campus

Dear Ms Naguran

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0585/011M
PROJECT TITLE: A Social Capital Perspective on Prison Theatre and Change: A Case Study at the Youth Centre, Westville Correctional Facility, Durban

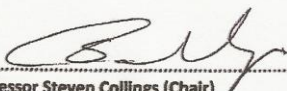
In response to your application dated 15 July 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.



PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


.....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor: Dr C Johns
cc. Mrs S van der Westhulzen, Post-Graduate Office

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APPENDIX B: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH FROM DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O Church and Schubart Street, PRETORIA
Tel (012) 307 2000, Fax (012) 328-5111

Ms. LA Naguran
74 Somerset Country Estate
Durban
4001

Dear Ms Naguran

RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON "A SOCIAL CAPITAL PERSPECTIVE ON PRISON THEATRE AND CHANGE: A CASE STUDY AT THE YOUTH CENTRE, WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL FACILITY, DURBAN"

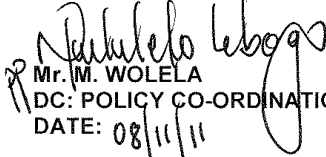
It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Division Head: Training and Education (Durban Westville), Mr. P Pillay**. You are requested to contact him at telephone number (031) 204 8852/8819/8843 before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity document and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) e.g. offenders not prisoners and Correctional Centres not prisons.
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits, however the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication (including presentation at workshops, conferences, seminars, etc) of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number 012-307-2770/2359.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully


Mr. M. WOLELA
DC: POLICY CO-ORDINATION & RESEARCH
DATE: 08/11/11

APPENDIX C: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

- January, 2011. *Audience B4 1-4*. Youth Centre, Westville Correctional Facility. Unpublished.
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APPENDIX D: THE USE OF APPLIED THEATRE FORMS IN THIS RESEARCH

The Geese Theatre Company (2012) defines Applied Theatre as theatre applied specific audiences and settings with particular outcomes mind.. The field of Applied Theatre is very broad, encompassing areas of study such as Theatre in Education (TIE), Drama in Education (DIE), Community Drama and Prison Theatre. This research is positioned within the field of Applied Theatre. This study is based on a Prison Theatre intervention at the Youth Centre which was reliant on participatory forms of Applied Theatre. These participatory forms were drawn from Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979). For the purpose of this study, I have provided a brief background and description of the forms of participatory theatre that were used during the play-making process in the Youth Centre.

Theatre of the Oppressed

Theatre of the Oppressed, developed by Augusto Boal (1979 and 2000), is a participatory form of theatre. Using theatre as a medium, participants identify, and pose solutions to, issues relating to oppression. The aim is to conscientize the mind and to free the bodies of the oppressed. These liberatory aims are achieved through various techniques and games, which were used during the intervention that forms the basis of this study. These techniques, and concepts that inform the techniques, are discussed below.

The Spect-actor

A spect-actor is a "member of the audience who takes part in the action in anyway" (Jackson in Boal, 1979/2000: xxiv). During a participatory performance (which depicts some form of oppression), members of the audience are empowered with the invitation to join the action of the performance, thereby transforming from a spectator to a spect-actor. In joining the action, the spect-actor has the power to change the course of action in a way that they feel will liberate the oppressed in that specific scenario. The transformation from spectator to spect-actor is also a transformation from the passive observer to the active change-maker.

Image theatre

Image theatre is “a series of exercises and games designed to uncover essential truths about societies and cultures without resorting to spoken language” (Jackson in Boal,1992: xix). This involves the participants creating still images relating to a theme. These images usually depict various forms of oppression and imbalances of power. The images are a catalyst for action and discussions about issues relating to the selected theme. Once the still images are created, the audience makes suggestions as to how the oppressive situation could be bettered. Spect-actors then change the image from the “real” –the oppressive situation depicted in the original image- to the “ideal” – what the situation should or could be like. This transformation from the “real” to the “ideal” reveals possibilities of social change.

This form of theatre transcends issues of language and culture. This is particularly useful in an environment like Westville Correctional Centre, where the language barrier between offenders and theatre practitioners often poses a challenge.

Forum Theatre

Forum Theatre sees the transformation from spectator to spect-actor. The spectators are presented with a skit that problematizes an aspect of oppression. The audience is then asked if the situation presented is ideal-for example, does the situation serve the interest of all characters involved, or only a selected few? If the audience objects to the given scenario, they may replace the actors on stage (thereby becoming spect-actors) and change the action in the scene. This form of theatre allows the spectator not to passively observe the action, but to join and even change the action in ways that they feel will liberate the oppressed in that situation.

Young-Jahangeer says that in Applied Theatre, forum theatre is regarded as the form which most enables the conscientisation of participants since it engenders optimal intervention and optimal participation (Mda in Young-Jahageer, 2010). Paul Heritage adds that ,

...the essence of Forum lies in the dialogic relationship between stage and audience constructed through the use of the space, the performance style, and the conduct of the actors and the joker. The theatrical goal is to achieve a common purpose with the audience, as solutions are sought and rehearsed in a shared safe space (Heritage 1994: 30).

The use of form of Applied Theatre such Forum Theatre and Image Theatre reveal alternatives to current strategies of dealing with oppression. By rehearsing different ways of dealing with oppression, we are in fact rehearsing revolution.