



JUPIIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial

Available online: <http://jurnal.unimed.ac.id/2012/index.php/jupiis>

SOCIAL BOND ANALYSIS OF CORRECTIONAL INMATES AT CLASS IIA CIBINONG CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION: THE PHENOMENON OF VIOLENCE AMONG INMATES

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Accepted: June, 4th 2023

Published: December, 1st 2023

Abstract

Correctional Institution has the goal of guiding criminals to obtain a better life, be able to reintegrate and be accepted by the society. However, realizing such goal is not as easy. As a place where people from various backgrounds and different criminal records, Correctional Institution has become an ideal area and prone to disputes. This includes violence among inmates, that is reported to be the most common type of violent in prison. Nonetheless, it is not impossible to avoid such issues in the prison setting. In order to understand this possibility, this article attempt to study the social life in prison in relation to violence among inmates. Mainly, this study aims to: 1) find out the condition of violence among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution; and 2) analyze social bond to understand the phenomenon of violence among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution. This study uses a qualitative approach to be able to understand the object of study concretely through their own thoughts and words. The findings of this study indicate that there were no cases of violence among inmates in the form of instrumental attacks, include bullying, domination of power among inmates, fights among inmates, or clashes between inmate groups. However, the expressive type of violence, triggered by emotional response of inmates, happened a few times. The results of the analysis show that inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution have strong social bonds, which can completely prevent inmates from engaging in instrumental violence among inmates. Meanwhile, expressive attacks can be handled.

Keywords: *Correctional Institution, Expressive Inmates, Instrumental, Social Bonds, Violence.*

How to Cite: Salma. R.R. (2023). Social Bond Analysis of Correctional Inmates at Class IIA Cibinong Correctional Institution: The Phenomenon of Violence Among Inmates. JUPIIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial (152-162)

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ISSN 2085-482X (Print)
ISSN 2407-7429 (Online)

INTRODUCTION

Correctional Institution (CI) is a place where convicts serve their sentence. As stated in the law, the correctional system is “a series of law enforcement that aims to make inmates aware of their mistakes, improve themselves, and to not repeat criminal acts so that they can be accepted again by the community, can actively contribute to the development, and can live normally as good and responsible citizens” (Correctional Act 1995). Therefore, Correctional Institution is not at all limited to the idea of imprisonment; rather, the main purpose is to provide guidance so that the criminals can return and be accepted by the community.

To achieve this objective, it is then important to maintain the prison conditions as safe and orderly as possible. However, it is not an easy task to realize such goal. The inmates come from various backgrounds, with different criminal records. To live with strangers in a prison setting must be difficult as each inmate certainly has their own living habits. Given such differences, it is not an exaggeration to then say that the prison might face difficulties in guiding the inmates as intended. One of the issues that might occur is violations in the form of violence or attacks among inmates (prisoner-prisoner violence). Such obstacles have long been a worrying problem in prisons, McGuire (2018) reports. When this happens, it could cause considerable harm, be it physical and psychological, to both inmates and the staff.

Among other cases of physical violence, it is reported that the violence among inmates is the most common form of prison violence (Wortley, 2004; Rolfe and Tewksbury, 2018). This type of violence includes all forms of fighting, assault (with or without weapons) and killings where the inmates are the perpetrators who target other inmates as victims (Wortley, 2004). In this case, the violence act is divided into two types: expressive and instrumental. This concept was first developed by Fesbach (1964), in explaining violent behavior in the homicide case (Pecino-Latorre *et al.*, 2019). This idea is then adapted by Bowker (1985) in the case of violence among inmates.

In this case, expressive attack tends to be triggered by trivial things; while, instrumental attack is described as an attack that is carried out to gain some advantage – such as power, status, revenge, goods, etc – and tend to involve planning (Wortley, 2004). The difference, as stated in Adjorlolo and Chan (2016), lies on the intention of the act. The main objective of expressive attack is to hurt others. In this case, the victim is the real target. In contrast, the objective of instrumental attack is to gain something or to obtain some specific goals. In this case, others are perceived as means to achieve those goals. Hence, the perpetrator hurts the victim.

To be more specific, expressive attack occurs as an emotional reaction of one inmate to another. While instrumental attacks include bullying, domination of power among inmates, fights among inmates, or clashes between inmate groups. Furthermore, this type of violence can be motivated by various things. O'Donnell and Edgar (1998) revealed that the most common reasons for such occurrence are revenge, debt problems, resolving conflicts, gaining status/power, obtaining certain materials, or eliminating boredom.

Edgar and Martin (2000) identify that monotonous prison life, suspicious of other inmates, or additional material needs have create an atmosphere of distrust and anxiety, which makes it hard for inmates to trust and live freely. They stated that such social climate can worsen any conflicts that arise, exacerbate discord and eventually lead to violence.

Comparably, McGuire (2018) outlines prison conditions that influence the possibility of attacks or threats among inmates –both as perpetrators and victims– from several studies:

- feel threatened and insecure
- have been mistreated by staff
- has been wrongly accused or convicted
- assume unfair treatment (Day *et al.*, 2015)
- become subject to (penalty) additional restrictions (Jiang & Fisher-Giorlando, 2002)
- have fewer work assignments, structured routines, or program

participation rates (Pérez *et al.*, 2010; Steiner, 2009; Meade & Steiner, 2013; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2009).

- feel that regulations are not being enforced, or that officials have less legitimacy (Wooldredge and Steiner, 2012, 2014)

In their research, Edgar and Martin (2000) describe the three general inferences that were made by inmates regarding prison life: it contains the potential for danger, intimidation, and exploitation. This research also obtained the results of a survey of inmates who believe that violence in prison is inevitable.

Seeing such apparent condition in prisons, which can be said is prone to disputes, has led the author to study further about social life in prisons. More precisely, regarding the social control in relation to the case of violence among inmates. Then the questions arise: is it possible for a prison to be violence-free? how do inmates, who live in prison setting, are able to avoid the violent behavior?

According to social control theory, essentially, everyone has the potential to commit a crime; however, there are those who manage to avoid such behavior. This theory rests not on “why would someone commit a crime?,” rather, “why does a person not commit a crime?” (Pratt *et al.*, 2011). Basing his theory with this view, Hirschi (1969) proposes that individual behavior is influenced by the social bonds they have. Hirschi’s social bond theory is often used when studying social control. Hirschi developed a theory of social control that focuses on an individual’s social bonds, which he argues, can prevent a person from committing a crime. In this regard, Hirschi proposed that the social bonds that a person maintains are divided into four main elements (Siegel, 2010; Pratt *et al.*, 2011; Nijdam-Jones, 2014):

1. Attachment (*keterikatan*): refers to close relationships with others. This concerns a person’s affection for others, as well as others’ expectations towards them. Acceptance of social norms and social conscience depend on attachment to and concern for others. This element relies on control agents within the community.

For example, agents of social control in prisons include fellow inmates and prison officers.

2. Commitment (*komitmen*): refers to the rational component of social bonds. This concerns a person’s commitment of time and energy towards conventional activities and goals (e.g. work), knowing that they will benefit from it. For example, individuals who have been active in activities will then continue to be committed and maintain that position, for fear that their hard work will be in vain.
3. Involvement (*keterlibatan*): individual involvement in conventional activities, will leave little or less time for violating behavior. For example, an individual who is actively involved in an activity will not have time to engage in violating behavior, because he or she focuses on responsibility for completing the activity.
4. Belief (*keyakinan*): this concerns the belief of a person in norms, morals, and rules of a society. People who live in the same social environment, often have the same moral beliefs –they may subscribe to values such as sharing, sensitivity to the rights of others, and adherence to the rules.

These four elements of Hirschi are often used in analyzing social bonds of individuals with their community. Previous studies, generally, use this theory to understand the phenomenon of individuals who are succeed to avoid the deviant or violating behavior in a specific setting.

Aji (2017) conducted research to explain how family roles and family control mechanisms can influence children’s involvement in collective violent behavior (brawls). In particular, the research was aimed at children who live in a bad environment, which prone to conflict in Jakarta. Aji tries to see the level (strong or weak) of the social bonds are in relation to the child’s behavior. The results of this study indicate that permissive parenting causes weak bonds and social control, which then encourages children to violent behavior.

Another research done by Apriyani (2019) attempts to analyze the social bonds of high school and vocational schools in drug-prone area: whether high school and

vocational schools were exposed to drugs in such setting. Apriyani seeks to explain how children who are in drug-prone environments can avoid the violating behavior. By analyzing the four elements by Hirschi, this study shows that social bonds in high school and vocational high schools are high. Apriyani concludes that this is what makes the schools and the students not easily exposed to drugs.

Nijdam-Jones *et al.* (2014) also conducted an analysis of social bonds in their research on criminals, who are also patients of a forensic mental health hospital. With this specific subject, they aim to understand the quality of service based on the patient-criminal perspective, knowing that this is crucial to the recovery of the patients. By collecting data through interviews, they then analyzed the findings according to Hirschi's four elements of social bonds. The results of this study suggest that the patients-criminals' understanding and experiences of recovery coincided with components of social bonds theory. This indicates that social bonds do affect behavior: strong social bonds encourage positive behavior, and vice versa.

Different to the existing research, this article seeks to analyze the social bonds in the Correctional Institutions setting, which can be said to be ideal and prone to violence. This analysis is expected to explain the status/condition of violence among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution.

Thus, this study aims to: 1) find out the condition of violence among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution; and 2) analyze the social bonds to understand the phenomenon of violence among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach to be able to understand and explain the findings. Through qualitative research, real and concrete experiences of the object of study can then be obtained directly through their own thoughts and words (Cropley, 2021). This is relevant to the purpose of this article, which is to explain the real situation in Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution. Thus, the views of those who live in the institution are very important. With this approach, the researcher can also carry out

field studies and direct observations. Thus, a qualitative approach is used, with the hope that the researcher can obtain real information with a clear context.

This study uses primary and secondary data sources. Primary data sources are obtained directly from informants, who provide information related to the phenomenon being studied. The informants in this study include the inmates and the prison officers who guided the researcher while visiting the prison. In addition, the primary data in this study were also obtained through observation. While secondary data sources are obtained from the data that are already available. Secondary data sources are obtained from journal articles, books, websites, and other publicly available relevant data.

By using a qualitative approach, this study uses data collection methods through group interviews and observation. Interviews were conducted to gain a deeper understanding of information from a phenomenon through the subject's own experience. Thus, this research is expected to capture clear and comprehensive informations. More precisely, this study uses the unstructured interview method, which runs freely according to the flow of the conversation. This means that the researcher can freely ask questions, through a natural two-way communication. While the observation method is carried out by going to the field, by visiting and observing directly the condition of the Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution. These are done with the aim of obtaining complete information, without any interference by other parties.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Findings

This research obtained various information on prisoners' life (including activities and facilities) in Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution. The following findings are obtained from observation and description from the prison officers.

Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution consists of four blocks, namely Block Alfa (A): for general criminal case convicts and detainees who are still awaiting trial; Bravo Block (B): for corruption convicts;

Block Charlie (C): for general criminal case convicts; Delta Block (D): mostly (80-90%) for narcotics cases. This institution has a capacity of 930 inmates. However, currently the total occupants, including convicts and detainees, is about 1,500 people. As a result, one room cell which has a capacity of 14 inmates, are occupied instead by 18 to 25 inmates (overcapacity).

Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution has programs focusing on coaching independency and religious belief. Self-reliance/independency coaching is a program in which inmates have the opportunity to work and hone skills through various conventional activities. This program aims to provide 'provision' for inmates once leaving the institution. In addition, inmates can acquire wages or premiums for their work through this program. Activities available at the Cibinong CI include:

- *Giatja* or *Kegiatan Kerja*: catering, confectionery, handicrafts (e.g. making lanterns or dolls), landscaping, hand sanitizer production, hairdressing, furniture production (tables, chairs), laundry services, landscaping (decorative plants). The results of the work from this activity are then managed and sold, both offline and online.
- *SAE* or *Sarana, Asimilasi, dan Edukasi*: animal farming (cows, goats, catfish, crickets), agriculture. This program is only for inmates who have served at least half of their sentence and have shown positive behavior throughout their sentence (through assessment). Specifically, for cattle and agricultural activities, inmates can live in the vicinity of the site (also known as open camp).

Meanwhile, religious coaching is carried out by the respective services of houses of worship, such as mosque, church or other monasteries. In particular, there is a religious coaching program for Muslims, namely '*pesantren*'. Through this program, inmates spend most of their time doing worship and prayers, learning to read the *Qur'an* for those who cannot, and memorizing the *Qur'an* (*tahfizh*).

In addition to the programs above, there are programs that inmates can participate in to fill their free time, including music groups or sports activities. There is

also a routine exercise every Friday morning which inmates participate in. The sports facilities available include: court tennis, table tennis, futsal, volley ball, or badminton. Furthermore, for inmates who like to read or write, a mobile library is available. For inmates who wish to study and continue their education, there is e learning program offered by the institution (*paket* A, B, and C).

Technology-based facilities can also be found at Cibinong CI. One of them is a fingerprint scanner. This feature is available in the '*Saung Jempol*' and canteen. The '*Saung Jempol*' is a self-service facility where the prisoner only needs to scan their thumbs to get information on their administrative rights (remission, remaining detention period, conditional leave, etc.). In addition, the fingerprint scan feature can also be used in the canteen. The premium/wage from inmates work can be used for shopping in the canteen. Inmates only need to do a finger scan, and easily make a purchase.

During fieldwork activities, the interactions between the staff and the prisoners were also observed. Based on this observation, it can be said that prison officers (including activity supervisors/development officers, security officers) have good relationships with the inmates. They even maintain a casual friendly relationships with inmates. This was apparent when seeing the officers conversing with the inmates. A way of communicating that tends to be informal but polite, more of a friend-like relationship. More precisely, informal communication with casual everyday language; however, still respectful.

The interactions among inmates likewise. Based on the observation, it can be said that the inmates have a good relationship with each other. This was apparent by observing their casual interactions and activities at the time. It is like a customary habit to do greetings when they see each other, at any time, anywhere. In addition, inmates are often seen carrying out activities together and conversing with one another. In other words, there was no intense and stiff relationship apparent; instead, a nice and normal interaction occurs.

Furthermore, interviews were conducted in order to better understand the life of inmates in Class IIA Cibinong

Correctional Institution. In this section, the findings related to the research objectives are specifically described. Interviews in this study were conducted in groups, involving three inmates. The three informants will be referred to using pseudonyms, namely Ari, Budi, and Ciko.

The first inmate, from block D, was subject to Articles 111 and 114 of the Narcotics Law, hereinafter referred to as Ari. In Cibinong Correctional Institution, Ari participated in a special program, namely the *Santri* Program. Through this program, inmates specifically become students at the *At-taubah* Islamic Boarding School within the institution. For inmates who take part in this program, their daily activities are spent doing religious activities, including participating in spiritual coaching, *Al-Qur'an* memorization programs (*tahfizh Qur'an*), and other religious studies. The inmates also have a special cell room which only filled by the participants of the program, and are allowed to pray five times a day at the mosque.

The second inmate, from block C, was subject to Article 82 of the Child Protection Law, hereinafter referred to as Budi. In prison, Budi participated in the *Giatja* or Work Activities program. Budi has been very active in various activities, namely landscaping activities, laundry services, and hand sanitizer production. Currently, he takes part in catering activities. Joining such activities can be said as choosing one job in the outside world. Hence, catering is his current 'job' in the institution.

The third inmate, from block A, was subject to Article 82 of the Child Protection Act, hereinafter referred to as Ciko. In prison, Ciko participated in a cooking program for inmates. This program requires the inmates to prepare food three times a day, for other inmates (approx. 1.500). Usually, after doing the *Fajr* prayer, at around 5:00 am, Ciko immediately rushes to the kitchen to prepare breakfast, which needs to be ready at 8:00 am. For the lunch and dinner likewise, with the adjusted time. Taking part in this, Ciko's current 'job' hence is a cook.

First of all, the three inmates explained the life situation in the prison. They stated that basically the life in the institution is pretty much the same as that outside. In a sense, they carry out activities like people

outside prison in general, like eating, bathing, exercising, and even working. However, indeed, differences emerge when including the element of supervision. More precisely, regarding the prison officers whose job is to oversee all the activities of inmates. Apart from that, the three informants admitted that life in Class IIA Cibinong Correctional Institution was not much different. However, of course the activities carried out in accordance with a predetermined time.

When they first arrived at the prison, the three inmates stated that inmates were usually placed in Block A first, to occupy a cell and undergo a three-week '*mapanaling*', which stands for '*masa pengenalan lingkungan*' or usually known as orientation period. During this period, new inmates will go through an orientation course to adjust to life in prison. The three inmates admitted that they had never received bad treatment from any party (both from prison officials and fellow inmates) when they first arrived at the prison. Furthermore, the three informants described their way of adjusting, the first time they arrived at the institution. They stated that the inmates who were already in prison helped with the adjustments, by guiding the newcomers. Meanwhile, to relieve boredom, the three informants choose to take part in activities and programs available in the institution.

They further explained that inmates are given three meals a day, in the morning, afternoon, and evening. Breakfast is provided at 8:00 am; lunch at 11:00 am; and dinner at 3:00 pm. The institution also applies the open-close cell routine for the inmates. There are two period of times which the inmates are allowed to come out from their cell. The first period starts from after breakfast around 8:00 am, until 1:00 pm; while the second period starts from 2:00 pm until 4:00 pm. Hence, there are a total of 7 hours for inmates to be outside their cells. During this time, the inmates carry out their respective activities and/or enjoy some free time.

Ari spends most of his time at the mosque to pray (both mandatory and *sunnah*), recites and memorizes the *Qur'an*, and do other religious activities. Meanwhile, Budi works at his station. For Ciko, he goes to the kitchen and cook, but only when preparing the meals. Once finishing their

respective activities, the inmates use their time usually to meet friends and gather at the mosque, do sports with other inmates, or even go to the canteen to buy some snacks.

Overall, a significant difference in life inside and outside the institution is the supervision of the officers. Various activities of the inmates –starting from eating, sleeping, exercising, and working– are all supervised by officers. Nevertheless, the three inmates asserted that the officers and the inmates have a good relationship; thus, they feel comfortable.

After knowing and understanding the overview of life in Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution, the discussion then continue into more specific matter, violence among inmates.

When asked specifically about violence among inmates that involves instrumental attacks (include bullying, domination of power among inmates, fights among inmates, or clashes between inmate groups), all informants asserted that there has never been such cases during their time in the institution. They further added that small clashes among prisoners had occurred, but only on a very small scale and had never been escalated into a serious act of violence.

Furthermore, the social life of the inmates is discussed. Based on the informations given, there are several things that can be said are able to dim the violent behavior among inmates, which include relationship with the officers, relationship between inmates, and the presence of respected figure in each cell room.

First off, Ari stated that officers are always quick and responsive in detecting conflict triggers, and then immediately addressing the issue. Every time there was a tense conversation or event, the officers would quickly intervene and ready to respond, and eventually stopped the dispute before they escalated. Based on the informations given, this also supported by none other than their fellow inmates. They would help to intervene and stop the fight, especially when the ‘respected’ inmate is already involved. The respected inmate, here they call as ‘yang dituakan’ translated as ‘elderly’, are inmates who have the presence of a chairman of which all inmates in each cell have agreed to obey to. The figure is not those

who are the oldest or have been in the institution the longest; rather, those who are more mature and have a leader-like presence.

Moreover, the inmates are said to have a routine forum in their respective cell rooms. Through this forum, the inmates could share their joy and grief as this is the time where they can be open to each other. This is carefully maintained in order to protect the good relations among inmates, and to detect things that have the potential to trigger disputes.

In addition to the social relation described above, the informants added that there are consequences that comes after a conflict. The sanctions are not only in the form of formal sanction, but also the informal one. The formal sanction would be confinement, while the non-official, informal sanction could be exclusion by other inmates, as a result of not obeying the social rules and the ‘elderly’ (chairman).

One other thing added that is significant to their condition in the institution is the support from people outside the prison (e.g. family). Depressed feelings, which can trigger a lot of bad things, usually arise as a result of outside the institution. For example, family members who are not supportive, relatives who leave and make them feel like they have no one, and family or friends conflict outside the institution. When something like this happens, they then depend on their fellow prisoners or officers who will embrace them.

Based on this findings alone, it can be said that such relationship and concept of respect they have for each other is one of the things that hold their urge to be involved in violent act. Continuing, all findings in this section is further explained in the following section of this article.

2. Analysis

In this section, analysis of social bonds in Cibinong Class IIA Correctional Institution is specifically conducted, in accordance with the findings, as an effort to understand the phenomenon of violence among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution.

Using social control theory, this study seeks to understand the condition of violent behavior among inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution. In conducting the

analysis, the researcher refers to the four elements proposed by Hirschi (1969), namely attachment, containment, involvement, and belief. The analysis was carried out based on the findings from the field studies.

The first, attachment. This element focuses on the individual's close relationships with others. This element is apparent when the informants were asked about their mental state during their time in the institution. They answered:

"Galau-galau, depresi kayak gitu buat orang yang baru dateng" (Informant Ari, 2022).

"... Depresi itu dari luar, bukan dari lingkungan di sini dan teman-teman sekamar" (Informant Ciko, 2022).

Ari added:

"Makanya langsung 'dirangkul' sama kita-kita. Karena kita juga pernah ngerasain..." (Informant Ari, 2022).

The above suggests that unstable feelings were felt during the beginning of their time in the institution. They asserted that such mental state were the results from outside the prison (e.g. friends, family issues). This indicates that inmates rather rely heavily on their relationship with one another, as they are in the same position and understand the feelings.

Moreover, this element is shown in the informants' narratives when asked about whether they have ever involved in any violent act in the institution, be it as the perpetrator or the victim, for which one informant stated:

"Selama saya di sini belum pernah" (Informant Ciko, 2022).

Agreeing with the statement, Ari added:

"... kita (warga binaan) sama petugas (Lapas), hubungannya baik. Itu yang buat di sini nyaman ... Karena kalo di kamar saya ya, kita tu komunikasinya itu benar-bener dijaga... kalo saya di kamar saya saling sharing. Kalo saya sih di tiap kamar sih... kalo tiap malam minggu, kita pasti ada buat forum di kamar. Tim santri ada waktu khusus, biasanya malam minggu ngadain forum. Nah itu kita curhat masalah apa." (Informant Ari, 2022).

The other informants agreed and stated that they have the same routine forum in their respective cell rooms, of which they can share their minds. In addition, all of the

informants agreed that they find comfort and see other inmates as a source of support, knowing that the family and friends outside the institution are distant. This indicates that instead of having negative feelings, they feel like being in the institution is a status they share. Hence, they feel empathetic and help each other out. As seen in the following statement:

"...kita tuh dirangkul lah... karena mikirnya gitu.. senasib sepenanggunganlah ya..." (Informant Ari, 2022)

Once again, the findings show that they feel like *they are in the same boat*, thus, feel the need to take care for one another. They hold each other out from doing something bad, include violence.

This element is also apparent during the observation. Many inmates were walking around the institution as it was their free time. During this time, it can be seen that they casually have a friendly conversation. The same goes with the officers. They can be seen greetings one another at any chance. This simple but meaningful routine can also play a part in the relationship, discouraging the inmates to be involved in violating behavior.

These findings suggest that the inmates have strong attachment. This affection has become crucial in their life to the extent that they want to maintain and protect this relationship so that they are not ruined. By relying on this, they are then able to avoid having violent behavior.

The second, commitment. This element focuses on the individual's commitment to a routine. In this case, inmates make rational decision and care about what they gain and loss. This concerns the conventional activities pursued by inmates.

As stated before, there are various activities that inmates can participate in. Investing their time and energy into such activities requires considerable amount of hard work. It's like they have put meaning into their activities. Hence, they value every process of it and eventually put meaning into the activities. In regards to this, when asked about their activities in the institution, one inmate stated:

"Kegiatan terus aktif, fokus cari sertifikat sana sini" (Informant Budi, 2022)

He mentioned that this is to prepare himself for the outside world once completing

his time in prison. This way, Budi has his own goal that's carefully prepared. He mentioned that he wants to try working or even start his own business. This has become one of the factors that keeps him from doing something harmful.

The same for Ari. He works hard on his religious belief. Focusing and caring only about his religion, stated the following:

"Jangankan yang makruh, yang mubah saja kita batasi, memperbanyak yang sunnah"
(Informant Ari, 2022)

This statement means that he avoids everything that is not allowed, tries his best not to involve in trivial things that might bring sin, and totally spend his time to pray, be it the obligatory ones or not.

One other perk of participating in *Santri* program is that he is allowed by the officers to be out of the cell room to go to the mosque, even if its door closing time. Showing that they have earned a complete trust by the officers, which will be good for his portfolio in the institution. He gets to do everything in regards to his belief, trusted by the officers. Moreover, honing his religious skills will certainly help him in the future. Hence, he tries his best to not ruin such reputation. So does Ciko. All he does inside the institution is cooking. Doing this, has put meaning into his daily life. He earned the skills, keep learning, and making it valuable for his future self.

Overall, by committing to conventional activities offered by the institution, inmates gain many things. They get to earn the skills, premium/wage, trust of the officers, portfolio of good behavior, and even possible to earn a remission. The informants also mentioned that to be out of the prison is the dream of the inmates. Hence, inmates make rational decision, choosing things that benefits them the most.

In this case, reputation matters. They will do their best to maintain it, and avoid things that can tarnish that reputation. They know that there are many things at stake: daily life, trust, wage, and ultimately the dream to be out of prison immediately will be in vain. These findings suggest that their routine to the conventional activities brings many benefits, of which will not easily be left by inmates. They will continue to commit and maintain that position. They have strong commitments to these, so they can avoid

getting involved in violent behavior.

The third, involvement. This element focuses on individual's involvement in a conventional activity, which then leaves less or no room for any violating behavior. In this case, inmates' overall activities in the institution. Various activities and facilities available in the institution is the starting point. Pursuing this lifestyle will take up a lot of their time and energy. As well as their mind, which will focus on carrying out the activity/work. This is apparent of when the informants were asked about their schedule in the institution.

Ari, who participates in *santri* program, spends most of his time praying and doing other religious works. He mentioned that he spends most of his time at the mosque, to pray and receive coaching. By participating in *santri* program, Ari asserted that the schedule is packed. Participating in these activities have also worked as a distraction to other negative thoughts and activities.

Answers throughout the interviews by other two informants who participate in different activities seem to also support this statement, indicating the packed daily time in the institution. Ciko, who has to prepare food for a huge number of people (approx. 1.500 inmates), every day, for three course of meals. It took him about more than two hours to prepare for the meals, and after done, he has to be ready to serve the food for the next meal time, as stated below:

"bangun pagi jam 5 subuh, langsung ke dapur... tiap hari, jam 8 sudah (harus) dianter (makanan untuk warga binaan), makan siang jam 11, makan sore jam 3"
(Informant Ciko, 2022)

Meanwhile, Budi, who is active in the *giatja* program, has to be present at all times to do his work. The inmates are obliged to be on time when starting and leaving work.

Overall, by pursuing such conventional activities, inmates are investing their time and energy to focus on these, leaving no room for other harmful activities. Due to the busy schedule, inmates are tired to even try. The engagement to conventional activities has bring so much productivity to the inmates. Moreover, once inmates choose their activities they have to be fully responsible to carrying out the job. Just like working outside the prison, there are many process to it. There

are assessment, to see if the inmates are fit for the job, which means that they cannot join and leave as they please. They have to be fully engaged. This means that they have to focus and serious, which then will take up lots of time and energy.

These findings suggest that being active to pursue prosocial activities left no time and energy for other irrelevant activities that will only bring harm to the inmates. Even if they have the free time, the informants mentioned that they prefer to just chat and hang out with each other, as they found this to be relaxing. Another thing they prefer doing is to do sport. Various facilities available also has become a mean for inmates to be involved in positive activities. They would play futsal or volleyball together.

Finally, the fourth, belief. This element focuses on binding oneself to social values, such as sharing, sensitivity to the rights of others, and compliance with applicable rules.

In this case, shared value and understanding for consequences of violent act matters the most. First of all, inmates are aware of the existence of the formal sanction to their actions. This apparent when asked about inmates' involvement in violent behavior, stating:

"... kita ngga mau macem-macem, nanti... jadi, kita udah di dalem penjara, di penjara lagi.. nah gitu" (Informant Ari, 2022).

To this, Budi added:

"Di ruang isolasi" (Informant Budi, 2022).

The formal punishment is clear and open to the knowledge of each inmate. Moreover, inmates could also be banned by doing their routine activities, then lose the wage, the trust, and mainly lose the dream of getting out immediately. They have made up their mind to this belief, then are discouraged to be involved in any violating behavior.

Not only the adherence to that official sanction, inmates also aware that there will be social consequences await. As explained before that inmates in Cibinong Correctional Institution have strong attachment to one another, indicating that the group values are important to them. Inmates do not want to be excluded by their groups. This can be seen in the following statement:

"(terkait pertikaian antarsesama warga binaan)... kan kita ini... masing-masing ini

ada yang dituakan di kamar. Jadi, ngga akan terjadi (pertikaian)... jadi kan misalkan saya sekamar ama dia (menunjuk Budi), ada masalah ama dia gitu ya. Nanti dikumpulin aja sama (yang dituakan/ketua kamar itu)... 'kamu masih mau ngikut peraturan kita di sini? Masih ngehargai saya?... oke kamu masih di kamar. Kalo engga, kamu saya pindahkan,' gitu..." (Informant Ciko, 2022).

The findings suggest that inmates are trying their best to keep their good image, in fear of being ostracized from the group. In order to remain in his group, inmates then avoid violating behavior that will distance him from the group.

Moreover, there is also unwritten rules regularly reminded by the officers. This is the social values that can be said also embedded in inmates belief. When asked about banter that might have trigger violence among inmates, Ciko stated:

"Engga pernah (mendapatkan ejekan). Karena kan di sini petugas udah ngasih tau, 'jangan pernah saling menyindir atau mengejek temennya, semua kalian di sini orang-orang yang bersalah... Allah udah membuka aib kalian. Yang di luar belum dibuka, nah kalian di sini harus memperbaiki diri. Jadi, keluar jadi manusia lebih baik'" (Informant Ciko, 2022).

This is such a reminder to the inmates that they are in the same position, having the same struggle, thus not have the rights to make fun of others.

These findings suggest that inmates obey the norms and social values applied in the institution. They try to maintain and adhere to the rules, be it formal and informal. All because the inmates know there will be consequences await. In this way, inmates are then able to avoid any violent behavior.

Lastly, it should be noted that the findings shows there are no violence among inmates that include bullying, domination of power among inmates, fights among inmates, or clashes between inmate groups. As explained before, these fall into the category of instrumental violence. However, the informants mentioned that expressive attacks do happen a few times. As seen in the following:

"kalo untuk gesekan-gesekan gitu sih ya namanya kita dari berbagai macam latar

belakang, dari berbagai macam kasus... cuman alhamdulillahnya itu petugas-petugas siap tanggap begitu. Jadi, kalo udah ada pemicu-pemicu, langsung ditangani” (Informant Ari, 2022).

The informants then asserted that the cause of it is usually only something trivial. The example would be a joke towards an inmate who is in a bad mood, then he would get offended by it, and eventually get angry and attack the other inmate. In spite of this, the fights have never been escalated into a fight that involve a serious violent act.

CONCLUSION

All in all, this study has shown that, overall, the inmates have strong social bonds, of which able to keep them away to be involved in any instrumental violence among inmates. Fellow inmates and the officers are proven to be effective control agents. This study have found that there are strong attachment among inmates, strong commitment to the activities they pursue, high involvement to the prosocial activities, and adherence to the norms and social beliefs.

Their shared status as inmates have given them similar sentiments and sensitivities, encouraging respect among them. The inmates depend and trust one another, making them value the social norms and rules applied in the institution. Inmates' will to be out immediately and have a better life have also become a motivational goal that make them focus on doing conventional activities. Not only that, great rapport among inmates and with the officers are also apparent in this case. Control agents in the institution have shown to be significant. The fast response of the officers and the fellow inmates also deserve an applaud. Finally, the programs and facilities offered by the institution also plays a crucial part in keeping the inmates busy with positive activities. All of these are then able to protect the inmates to be involved in violating behavior in the form of violence among inmates.

While this study finds that strong social bonds is effective to completely stop instrumental attacks; however, not for the expressive ones. The expressive attacks, resulting from the emotional response of an inmate still happens from time to time. In spite of this, strong social bonds are able to

avoid such problems to escalate into huge fights that involve serious act of violence.

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