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Everyday Practices and Scenarios for The Reintegration and Resocialization of “Trouble” Adolescents in Russia

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Relevance.

In the Russian practice of juvenile justice there is no law on juvenile courts. In Russia there are isolated institutions for adolescents who have committed a crime. Mary McAuley emphasizes several problems of juvenile justice in the Russian Federation. These issues include: lack of juvenile-oriented legislation, ineffective system of work and rehabilitation with troublesome adolescents and the absence of various probation services and alternative sanctions for juvenile delinquency. Pilot projects of juvenile justice failed in Russia due to staff and rightful issues [Golovizinina, Danilova, Lihtenshtejn, 2006]. At present time there are attempts to differentiate juvenile justice in some Russian regions. However, there are problems with the implementation of projects and legislative initiatives to create an effective juvenile justice system in Russia. [Muravyeva, 2017]. One of the reasons is the conservative views of Russian society and authorities. In Russia, there is a complex and fragmented system of social support institutions, which can be an alternative to the imprisonment of adolescents who have committed a criminal offense. This system includes two actors: civil society and the public sector. Organizations working with troublesome adolescents are regulated by a number of Federal laws, local normative acts and administrative orders.1 In Russia there are special educational institutions of open type, special educational institutions of closed type2 were established an individual approach to troublesome adolescents. These institutions are alternative to criminal liability, in cases where the troublesome adolescents cannot bear it3. Referral to institutions is carried out by a court decision, for a period of not more than 3 years and involves the isolation of

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2 Chapter 3. Article 15 The Federal law «About bases of system of prevention of neglect and offenses of minors » of 24.06.1999. No.120-FZ.
3 According to the Federal law of 27 June 2018 No 170-FZ "about modification of the Federal law" on bases of system of prevention of neglect and offenses of minors", articles 22 and 66 of the Federal law " on education in the Russian Federation «About recognition become invalid for separate legal acts (provisions of legal acts) of RSFSR and the Russian Federation» Art. 4 the name special educational institution for adolescents with deviant (socially dangerous) behavior will be renamed into special educational institution for the purpose of the best improvement of further life of pupils.
adolescents. The researchers note that in these institutions the adolescents undergoes a complex adaptation caused by coercive measures and the restriction of the freedom of choice [Leus, Sidorov, Solov'ev, 2008]. Educational institutions of open type do not create isolation of adolescents. Educational institutions of open type create their regime services for the control and education of adolescents. Adolescents are sent there not by a court decision, but by recommendation of commission for cases of minors and Psychological, medical and pedagogical Commission. Referral of troublesome adolescents to special open-type institutions is carried out for systematic offenses which do not include criminal liability, non-attendance of a secondary school for a long time, neglect and other reasons. These institutions also have a special pedagogical approach to the adolescents and carry out various reintegration and re-socialization programs aimed at the «return» of the troublesome adolescents into the society and the restoration of social status. Researchers [Sidorov, Bondarenko, 2012] highlighted that the legislative language that define the functions of these institutions provides little information about their activities. The General «portrait» of such adolescents includes the following characteristics: the presence of one or more chronic diseases, significant gaps in knowledge of the school curriculum; difficult life situation in the family or socially dangerous situation; poor vocabulary. Adolescent in these institutions tries to take a passive-performing position in the performance of different goals. Troublesome adolescents are on the account of the Commission on Affairs of minors and protection of their rights, drink alcohol, psychoactive substances [Sidorov, Bondarenko, 2012: 65]. Special institutions of open type work on the principles of restorative approach. This approach can be an alternative to the punitive approach. However, the opportunity to get into this institution is very limited compared to closed institutions. In Russia, there are about 20 open-type institutions and 48 closed-type institutions as of 2015 statistics [Modern structural, science-based..., 2015]. Open-type institutions are not represented in every region. In Russia, there are a number of state rehabilitation and correctional organizations. Referral to these organizations is carried out by decision of Psychological, medical and pedagogical
Commission. This state rehabilitation and correctional organizations created for adolescents expelled from educational institutions and committed crimes. These organizations are practically not mentioned in the system created on the basis of classification of the Federal law "The Federal Law «About bases of system of prevention of neglect and offenses of minors» of the Russian Federation of 24.06.1999. No.120-FZ. Another type of social support organizations is represented by the civil society sector\(^4\). These organizations are not officially included in the classification of the open- closed type institutions, but perform similar functions and tasks with respect to their pupils. One of the goals of all organizations is the rehabilitation, re-socialization and reintegration of adolescents. Everyday interactions, the experience of adolescents in all organizations are varied. Organizations carry out policy aimed at restoring the social status of adolescents in the society. Organizations are not isolated and do not restrict the freedom of choice of the adolescent, but have different modes (regimes). Every organization has a unique everyday life. The experience of the social group of adolescents studying and brought up in social support organizations is transformed under the influence of various regimes and factors. Everyday life of adolescents and interactions are the situational models of behavior most common for each scenario. The social group of adolescents can form the dense social capital or remain open structure with various micro societies and hierarchies. All the variations of the actions of adolescents are determined by the situation and conditions (factors) in different social environment. Thus, various scenarios of re-socialization and reintegration of adolescents are formed. The focus of the dissertation research is the everyday life and everyday practices of adolescents studying in different social support organizations.

\(^4\) The main mission of educational institutions of the open type is «to create a set of conditions for sustainable personal growth of participants in educational activities», and the purpose of activities: «implementation of psychological and social rehabilitation of children and adolescents with deviant behavior, including the correction of their behavior and adaptation in society...»[Public report..., 2017: 2 – 3]. The objectives of the correctional school is the implementation of education on adapted programs, correction of pedagogical neglect, behavior and other deviations, as well as the creation of a comfortable and safe environment for personal development, their adaptation and integration in society [the Charter of the correctional school...]. The purpose of a non-profit organization providing social and cultural services (on the example of a social circus) is to provide services aimed at the implementation of circus activities, as well as the socialization of troublesome adolescents, their reintegration into society, improving their position [Charter of a non-profit organization...].
**Literature review:**

Adolescence age as a concept was defined in the works of Stanley Hall [Hall, 1983]. Initially, adolescence was considered as a special period between childhood and adulthood, determined in terms of psychological characteristics of the individual and age chronology. The work of S. Hall «Adolescence» is the starting point in the studies of adolescence. Physiological approach to the study of adolescence focuses on the study of changes in the human body in adolescence. Physiological approach replaced the functionalism [Parsons, 1942; Eisenstadt, 1971]. C. Griffin criticizes physiological and functionalist approaches. In work «Representation of Youth. The Study of Youth and Adolescence in Britain and America» [Griffin, 1993] notes that for a more accurate definition of adolescents, it is necessary to break the conditional patterns of definition. Griffin associates with adolescence various constructions and discourses of «normal» and «deviant» in the period of growing up of a young man and cultural and family practices in which childhood and youth takes place.

Researcher H. Fine [Fine, 2004] defines adolescence as a separate phase of life, which is characterized by social and cultural needs. In the works of E. L. Omelchenko [Omelchenko, 2000, 2004] adolescence is considered in the context of the definition of youth. Young people considered as a non-homogeneous group defined by various parameters. This group includes the movement from childhood to adulthood. Identification of oneself as an adult can occur both in early youth and in later age, since it is associated with a feeling of dependent and independent stage of an adolescent. E. L. Omelchenko considers youth in the context of «movement from dependence to independence, from irresponsibility to responsibility». In the work «Youth cultures and subcultures» there are three stages of transition from the adolescent stage and the end of childhood to the stage of youth, which are predetermined by the institute of family, education and work [Omelchenko, 2000]. The period of growing for children without parental care is much more difficult process [Abramov, Chernova, 2016].

Artificial environment in the institution reduces the possibility of socialization of adolescents in independent life. The orderly daily routine of the institution
encourage to reducing freedom of choice and life development trajectories [Abramov, Chernova, 2016: 13-24]. The stage of dependence is delayed for such adolescents. The stage of independence is achieved for quite a long period. So, adolescence is a complex cultural and social category defined by the individual and society. In this paper we define adolescent as an individual who is a cultural and social construct. The adolescent seeks to overcome the dependent stage and gain independence. This process takes place through several stages, accompanied by the search and study of the world, confrontations with social institutions and norms. The concept of risk is correlated with the concept of adolescence. Through risky practices occur learning process and the construction of identities [Omelchenko, 2000]. Risk construction is a historical process that is constantly changing [Swadener, Lubeck, 1995]. Any practice can be attributed to risk in the context of changes in legislation and dominant culture [Tait, 1995]. Often «risk» characterizes only practices that are not approved by society [Omelchenko, 2004] and lead to moral panic in the public [Yasaveev, 2010]. New phenomena of the risk group are constructed with the decriminalization or criminalization of certain practices in the legislation [Surette, 2016]. Risk and deviation are the structural components of the definition of an adolescent in society. «Deviations» are manifested not only in behavior, but are attributed and associated with the status, class positions that the young man occupies. For example, young workers, college students are represented in society as a poorly educated group that poses a threat [Walker, 2013]. It is «devices» that marks the behavior of young people, and the group is defined as a social problem [Omelchenko, 2000]. As Christine Griffin notes, since the 19th century deviance and deviations have been considered in the context of the «victim-guilty» model, which explained the causes of deviant behavior through the theories of deprivation and deprivation of any social group [Griffin, 1993]. Howard Becker made major contributions to the sociology of deviance and delinquencies. H. Becker in «Outsiders» identified differences between delinquent youth and non-delinquent on the example of marijuana consumers. Inclusion in «outsider groups» is the result of adaptation to the values of a particular group. H. Becker showed that differences in
the definition of «delinquency» and «normality» lie in the definition of «others» by a particular social group. For example, for marijuana users’ deviant communities will be those groups where do not use drugs. A close concept to H. Becker theory is the theory of labels by Edwin Lemert [Lemert, 1972]. This theory is based on transitions from normal to deviant behavior. The H. Becker theory and the theory of labels have created a new direction in the definition of youth deviance – clinical discourse. Clinical discourse defines delinquency as a «curable condition that is «normal» and «natural» for adolescents at a certain stage of his life cycle. Through state support practices it is possible to change the life scenario of an individual [Laub, Sampson,1993; 1997, 2009; Moffitt, 1993, Maruno, 2001, Suontausta, 2013].

Thus, adolescence is a stage of transition from a dependent state to an independent one, and is also associated with risk and deviance, which is determined by social institutions from the standpoint of norms and their violations. Some groups of adolescents are not only marginalized by certain institutions, but also stigmatized. So, the concept of «difficult adolescents» is considered in the work as a specific youth culture of outsiders with community norms and culture. In the work of S. Stephenson «Street children in Moscow: using and creating social capital» [Stephenson, 2001] social connections and capital of groups of «street children» are analyzed on the example of street and homeless children. S. Stephenson notes that groups of «street children» are not so fragmented. In these groups, there is a progressive accumulation of social capital and relationships that are used for survival and mutual assistance (for example, to find jobs, etc.).

Mary McAuley's study «Children in prison» [McAuley, 2008], is devoted to the analysis of the system of punitive justice for minors. M. McAuley notes that imprisonment does not contribute to the correction of personality or reducing juvenile delinquency. The "hard" sanctions system, involving isolation, contributes to the increase in crime, the identification of an adolescent with stigma and criminal subcultures. Studies of everyday life in isolated correctional or group home institutions emphasize that in isolation it is impossible to restore and rehabilitate

The actual direction is the research of restorative justice systems, where «soft» correction methods are used, without isolation and coercion [Cullen, 2007; Kohler, 2013; Maruna, 2001; Spiegel, 2016]. There are problems in realization of pilot project in juvenile justice in Russia. The problems for the implementation of juvenile pilot projects in Russia are outlined by a number of personnel and legislative obstacles as well as public discourse [Goloviznina, 2006; Muravyeva, 2017]. Studies of adolescents in special educational institutions of open type highlight high aggression and low self-esteem of adolescents [Sidorov, Bondarenko, 2012; Peretolchina, 2013]. The work of the institution is based on the implementation of a set of programs for the reintegration and re-socialization of pupils. In dissertation we consider how the groups of adolescents construct cultural norms and practices models of behavior in special open-type institutions? Irving Goffman in «Asylums» considering the totality of the institutions, in which occurs the process of erosion of the «old» identity of the individual and the construction of new, under the influence of the institutional environment [Goffman; 1961a: 312 – 338; Goffman; 1961b]. Irwin Hoffman in work «Asylum» considers total institutions, where the process of constructing a new identity of an individual takes place [Goffman; 1961a: 312 – 338; Goffman; 1961b]. Other researchers [Weinstein, 1982; Could, Howson, 2011] interpret these processes in Hoffmann's work as re-socialization, denoting a process consisting of two components of the individual construction of the «other self» and the institutional change. Another approach to the definition of re-socialization is presented in the works of P. Berger and T. Lukman [Berger, Lucman; 1967]. The researchers associated re-socialization with the social transformations of the individual. Re-socialization is defined as the transition from one world to another. The difference between socialization and re-socialization lies in the radical restructuring of the individual's worldview, accompanied by the entrance to the «new» social world. Anthony Giddens defines re-socialization as the process of restoring ties with society and social status. In this paper we rely on the definition of
re-socialization proposed by A. Giddens. Re-socialization is a certain policy of a certain social institution (a set of programs), which aims to change the life scenario of an adolescent in the context of re-education. The process is determined by the mode and daily life of the organization and its impact on the adolescent is subjective. A similar concept is reintegration. This phenomenon is most often considered on the example of demobilization of the military from the places of armed conflicts [Humphreys, Weinstein; 2007] Reintegration is also seen as a process of returning prisoners from prisons [Burnett, 2010]. Reintegration is a direction of social policy, a set of social programs that help the individual in restoring social ties as a result of a dramatic change in the social environment [Ward, Maruna, 2007; Burnett, Maruna, 2006]. In the dissertation work we consider reintegration as a direction in the policy of the organization, which includes special comprehensive programs and methods that contribute to the inclusion of the deprived «difficult» adolescent in youth cultures and practices outside the organization.

Reintegration and re-socialization of troublesome adolescents are the direction in the policy of the organization aimed to modify, repair or correction of difficult adolescent. The results of reintegration and re-socialization are subjective. In the dissertation work we consider certain scenarios that reflect not a specific result of reintegration and re-socialization, but a vector of development of a group of adolescents in the conditions of organization, various actions and situations, interaction and communication.

In the dissertation, the author uses a scenario approach of S. Ortner [Ortner, 1973]. The key scenario is certain cultural codes and patterns of behavior. The followers of this concept [Brednikova, 2017: 34; Lerner, 2009] define the key scenario as an ideal model, providing for consistent steps and actions of the individual in the form of a replicated biography, which will vary in different social situations. We use this concept for the re-socialization and reintegration of difficult adolescents. In different organizations, with their differences and peculiarities, certain scenarios of re-socialization and reintegration are formed-situational models of behavior and consistent actions of difficult adolescents with different variations
in the conditions of training in the organization with the policy of reintegration and re-socialization, which determines certain practices and strategies of individuals.

**The aim of the research:**
To analyze everyday practices and scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization of difficult adolescents in social support organizations.

**Subject of research:**
Adolescents-pupils of social support organizations at the age of 13-17 years.

**Object of research:**
Everyday practices of adolescents and regimes, structures, in social support organizations.

**The hypothesis of the study:** reintegration and re-socialization of troublesome adolescents occurs in various scenarios.

**Research question:** What are the scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization of difficult adolescents in specialized institutions? What shapes these scenarios?

**Aims:**

1) To study the basic concepts of the definition of re-socialization and reintegration and, using a scenario approach, to derive the concept of «reintegration and re-socialization scenarios»;

2) To summarize the system of institutions and organizations engaged in education, training and social work with troublesome adolescent;

3) To analyze different situations of entry and adaptation of adolescents in organizations, everyday practices in groups of adolescents, communication practices within and outside organizations, design career orientations and highlight the main scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization;

4) To identify the factors and conditions that shape reintegration and re-socialization scenarios, as well as the main barriers;

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5 The basic age of pupils is determined by local regulations of organizations and/or Federal laws № 120, №273. The average age of pupils is 13 – 17 years. See Chapter 2 for more details.
5) To highlight the modes of relationship between the employees and pupils of the social support organizations.

**Empirical base and research methodology:**

The study was carried out in a qualitative paradigm; the main strategy is case study. The advantage of the case study is that the strategy allows us to consider specific cases immersed in a special context. The «case» in the study are the different scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization of troublesome adolescents, emerging in organizations. The case study method examines each case at the micro level and highlights its features of development in specific conditions. Cases are immersed not only in the conditions of functioning of a particular organization, but also in the geographical context. The difference between the locations of cases emphasizes the individuality of each case, but, nevertheless, allows us to extrapolate the data to other organizations. Cases were selected in a small city, a large city and a medium city.

The empirical base of research consists of two special educational institutions of an open type (one of which is a secondary school, one vocational school); a school that implements adapted programs as an educational organization, including working with adolescents with behavioral disorders; NGOs that provide social and cultural services. All these cases are social support organizations. Two institutions are located in the Federal city: a Special educational institution for children and adolescents with deviant behavior special secondary school (open type), a non-Profit organization providing social and cultural services "Uppsala circus". Two institutions placed in the Far Eastern Federal District. In a large city there is a Special educational institution for children and adolescents with deviant behavior vocational school (open type), in a small town a Secondary school with adapted programs. The study was conducted by the author of the dissertation in the period from November

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6 The educational institution has the status of a school with adapted programs VII type (for children with mental retardation and behavioral disorders)

7 In three cases all materials were collected by the author personally, in the case «Uppsala circus» together with a student of HSE – St. Petersburg Department of sociology (5 out of 10 interviews were collected by the author of the thesis). In the diploma work «Features of re-socialization of troublesome adolescents in art-oriented institution (on the example of «Uppsala-circus»)» the original methodology of this dissertation is used in the revised and adapted version.
2016 to April 2018. In each of the selected cases, it is relevant to use the method of semi-structured interviews with biographical elements (n=29) with adolescents from 13 to 17 years old in order to study in detail the daily practices of adolescents inside and outside the institution. The expert interviews with teachers (n=11) is an additional method. Also, in order to comply with the principle of triangulation we used the methods of observation (approximate 66 hours) and analysis of documents (16 text documents, 72 visual).

**Scientific novelty:**

1. Scenario approach is applied to the analysis of reintegration and re-socialization of adolescents studying and brought up in social support organizations;

2. The classification of the system of education and social work with troublesome adolescents in Russia is clarified through the allocation of different types of social support organizations;

3. The key scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization of difficult adolescents are presented;

4. The factors that form the scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization of adolescents in different institutions and barriers are highlighted;

5. We have identified the key modes of relationship of adolescents with adults in various social and support organizations.

**The key statements of the dissertation:**

1. In the dissertation research a scenario approach is used to study the behavioral patterns and social actions of adolescents studying and educated in socially-supporting organizations. Scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization are understood as situational models of behavior and sequential actions of troublesome adolescents.

2. A number of social support organizations are an alternative to the punitive approach. We include special open educational institutions, correctional and rehabilitation institutions (schools that implement adapted programs;
psychological and pedagogical centers), civil society institutions (non-profit organizations). They perform similar functions, pursue a policy of reintegration and re-socialization of pupils, the ways of entry and ways of adolescents in them are similar, despite some differences (voluntariness, recommendation to the direction).

3. The author identifies six scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization of troublesome adolescents for social support organizations.

«The scenario of a merger». This scenario involves the absolute involvement of the adolescent in the practices of the institution, identification with culture of organization. The scenario is characterized by long-term entry of an adolescent into the community, high filters of selection of candidates and a dense support network.

«The braking barriers scenario». This scenario is a way from a «deviant» adolescent with limited contacts to overcoming various restrictions and barriers, reintegration into youth cultures. In this scenario, there is an artificial separation of the adolescent from the usual social environment. The adolescent goes through a difficult adaptation. Adults line up in a neutral relationship. Adolescent faces the challenges of reintegration in the city after being recognized by a peer group.

«The subordination to the regime scenario». This scenario of reintegration and re-socialization involves the absorption of the adolescent by the institution, formal and informal inclusion in the practices and everyday life of the organization. The adolescent fulfills the required standards.

«The scenario of passive participation». The scenario is characterized by low involvement in the everyday practices of the institution with the exception of formal parties (training, production, disciplinary).

«The escapee scenario». In this scenario the adolescent faces barriers during integration into the organization. Adolescent goes through various trials and faces the desire to leave the community. After the exit the community there is a return to previous practices and communities.
«The isolation scenario». The scenario is characterized by the situations of exclusion of adolescent which leads to the destruction of contacts within and outside the organization. Relationships with adults and peers are based on constant conflict. Adolescent can be included in criminal subcultures.

4. Scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization forming the forming and particular factors. Forming factors determine the vector of development of the scenario. These factors are the most common characteristics. The forming factors include the modes of relations between organizational staff and pupils, the presence/absence of artificial separation of the adolescent from the usual social environment. Particular factors determine the uniqueness of the scenario and the variation of actions of adolescents relationships in groups of pupils in a particular organization. By particular factors we mean any unique features of the institution itself, as well as the peculiarities of its localization (such as the urban environment). Particular factors are: the bias of the organization or orientation (sports, industrial) youth culture (circus); resources of the organization and its capabilities (infrastructure, environment); the direction of the policy of reintegration and re-socialization (special method, road tours, mediation and mediation institutions, etc.); personnel (especially the formation of the teaching staff), the division of responsibilities for control, education and care between several social institutions, limited contacts with other organizations and stigmatization etc. The impact of private and general factors determines the barriers to reintegration and re-socialization in a particular scenario faced by adolescents. The barriers to reintegration and re-socialization are understood as certain difficulties and related situations in the implementation of the reintegration and re-socialization policy of the institution. We identify environmental barriers that are determined by the city; stigmatization in the organization. Organizational barriers are associated with the peculiarities of the policy and regime of the organization itself (stigmatization, increased regime, chaotic reintegration and lack of bias, etc.); subjective barriers are
determined by the adolescent: the desire and motivation to participate in the daily practices of the organization, the perception of labels etc.

5. The study outlines the 4 basic modes of relationships between staff and students:

- Mode of formal control and care. This mode is defined by formal relationships within the organization between «adults» and adolescents. The employees play the role of «formal supervisor». Adolescents resist this mode. Adolescents construct the behaviors that are demonstrative.

- Mode of democratic control and guardianship. This mode is oriented to democratic control of the pupils. For adolescents becomes possible to participate in the life of the organization. Teachers and adolescents work together in formal and informal settings within the institution. The organization provides a loyal regime of the day. Adolescents have enough freedom to self-determination and to meet their needs.

- Mode of overprotection and control. The mode is determined by emotional relationships in the community of workers and adolescents. Employees seek to control all aspects of the life of adolescents. These relationships do not contribute to the manifestation of initiative. Both formal processes and informal aspects of life of a group of adolescents are controlled.

- Mode of mentoring and solidarity relationships. «Adults» (employees) and senior members of the organization (adolescents) equally perform control and care in relation to the «junior» members of the organization. Relationships between staff and students built on the emotional and solidarity relationships.

**Theoretical and practical significance of the work:**

The theoretical significance of the dissertation research is the use of scenario approach on the example of reintegration and re-socialization of troublesome adolescents. Proposed a new concept «scenarios for the reintegration and re-socialization», identified the main scenarios of reintegration and re-socialization for social-supporting institutions.
The practical significance of the study is that the study materials can be used in the development of guidelines for specialized institutions and agencies in charge of their work. It is also recommended to use the materials in the undergraduate educational programs in the areas of «sociology», «social work».

**Evaluation of results:**

**Journal publications**


**Conferences:**

1. "Sociology in Action" (St. Petersburg, February, 2016).
2. XXIII International Conference for students, graduate students and young scientists "Lomonosov-2011" (Moscow, April, 2016)
3. VII sociological international Grushin’s conference. Towards the future. Forecasting in sociological research (Moscow, March 2017)

4. XVI International scientific conference of students and graduate students "Spectrum of Social 2017" (Moscow, March, 2017)

5. XVII International scientific conference of students and graduate students "Spectrum of Social 2018" (Moscow, April, 2018)