



REPORT

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QUALITATIVE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
STUDY

T▲BOOS AND RITES OF PASSAGE EXISTING IN GOIAN PRISON FOR JUVENILES

Descrierea CIP a Camerei Naționale a Cărții

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Introduction

The educational function of the family and school may be carried out if the basic needs of a child are satisfied. The involvement of adults in satisfying the primary needs – food, clothes, home, protection and defense, education and training, become indispensable in ensuring the superior needs a person tends to – trust, self-esteem, independence, etc. The lack of conditions required to meet the needs of children (poor parental care, social exclusion, failure of social institutions to ensure the quality of life for all categories of persons, social intolerance, etc.) determine in the long run the increase of the number of cases of delinquent behavior of a child.

Re-educational institutions are the ones which contribute to changing the behavior of teenagers, their successful reintegration in the social environment. Thus, rites and taboos are component parts of this system and an expression of the collective affiliation highlighting, in fact, the internal processes not duly referenced and explored by all other participants. A detailed analysis conducted via an anthropological research of a holistic and forecast type would allow understanding the complexity of the social relations based on several dimensions: teenager – teenager; teenager – institution (educator); teenager and society relationships.

Being an anthropological concern, the issue of rite had been in the center of attention of researchers for many years. Various meanings had been attributed to it and its special importance for the human

collectivity had been highlighted. Since XIX century, *the rite* is the topic of the site researches of French ethnologists and, primarily, of A. Van Gennep. The author, remarkable due to his work *Rites of passage*, synthesizes the types of rites by making reference to exotic groups of population and to their life style, including the initiation one. The rite of passage, irrespective of the culture and society, performs the function of mediation between the nature and culture, biological and social, and the part we are most interested in this research, the mediation between the individual and the group; although everyone is born and dies alone, passing through the existence in uniqueness, an individual cannot survive in seclusion, outside the group he is bound to by the infinite strings of social relations. “Rites of passage highlight our separate individuality and character, but remind us at the same time decisively and vigorously that we belong to our group and that existence cannot be conceived separately of the group”¹. The objective of the topic of our research, considering these statements, was to analyze the peculiarities of the relations between the detainees of Goian Prison, starting from the rites of passage existing now and performed by them.

Being new in the research area, this topic became a challenge considering the environment or the site of the research, and namely, the Goian Prison for juveniles. The international scientific practice proved and highlighted numerous times the need for qualitative scientific researches to ensure a better understanding of the problem and to describe the aspects that cannot be immediately detected as a result of a quantitative research. Qualitative studies are used for and are applicable to some topics sensitive to public opinion and society, in general, while in our case, to a detention environment and

¹ Barbara Myerhoff, *Rites of Passage: Process and Paradox*, in: *Celebration, Studies in Festivity and Ritual*. Victor Turner Editor. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D. C, 1982, p. 109

convicts who are juveniles. In USA, for instance, researches aimed at understanding the life and life style in general of convicted juveniles are conducted at the level of national investigation. In other words, the state is interested to understand their condition in the conviction environment, and especially the possibilities for social integration and success after the detention period. The goal of these studies is covered by the public policies aimed at understanding the mechanisms that determine the high criminality level among juveniles, as well as establishing the measures to mitigate and reduce the phenomenon.

UNICEF, an international institution known for its fight for the rights of the child, is also concerned, either by qualitative or quantitative studies, to attract attention to juvenile justice, a wide concept including legal, normative, and social type references.

In Europe one of the most famous organizations supporting the rights of children and not only is the Children of Prisoners Europe². Annually, this organization conducts research studies the target groups of which are both convicted juveniles and their families. The results of researches are consequently used to establish future directions of institutional development, influence the European public policies in the area of human rights protection, etc.



These statements highlight the importance of the research topic analyzed in our case, even if it is a part of a complex system of relations determined by the prison as an institution with the juvenile convict. At the same time, it reveals the high level of awareness of the need to address issues considered a taboo in the society as a result of the closed-type system represented by the institution of penitentiary, as well as of social labeling, very often negative, attributed to convicts.

The study of the rites of passage in the Goian Prison reflects the important aspects of interpersonal and communication relations among the members of the convicted juveniles group, the aspects which are detected via elements and manifestations of rites. Thus, in its most general form the “rite” is defined by its manifestations: habits, traditions (customs), communication protocols, labels, performances, ceremonies, holidays, etc. The Romanian researcher Mihai Coman in his synthesis of presenting the definitions of the term rite, identifies also the one provided by S.Lukes as follows: “...an activity governed by rules, of a symbolic nature, which attracts the attention of participants to some objects of thought and some feelings which they render being full of meanings.” The holistic approach specific to anthropology tended to identify and analyze some manifestations and elements of the rite of passage, some deriving from the abovementioned definition.

² See activity reports: <http://childrenofprisoners.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/PrisonsAcrossEuropeNewslettersite.pdf>; <http://childrenofprisoners.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/AR2012site.pdf>



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research was based on the qualitative-type methodology, while the method applied was the thorough interview completed by direct observation. The questions of the interview were structured in a modular manner, so that a full picture of the condition of the respondent juvenile is obtained in terms of the researched topic.

The age of respondents was 17-19 years old, in other words, it represented the period of adolescence characterized by occurrence of a series of specific needs. These needs are the need to know, the need of affiliation to a group, of independence and the need of models.³ The prison as a closed system may meet by some elements these needs, but may also offer a positive model by joint efforts of the administration to resocialize, correct the manner of being and seeing things by detained juveniles. We will analyze in this paper the way these needs are satisfied by the convicted juvenile members in prison due also to the rites of passage.

The prison is a total institution where we have a strong control over the cultural, emotional, training and educational life, while in some institutions of this type the rules are more important than persons.

Hypothesis:

- As in any closed-type institution (with all current reforms) we assume the presence of a strong control over the cultural, training and educational and emotional life, while “freedom” is manifested through rites of passage/initiation, tattoos, agnomens – at informal level, which exist in parallel with the formal rites of passage.
- Some new values and behavior models are undertaken from the peers they are in contact with directly and permanently, but also the contact of juveniles with adult detainees in Prison No. 13, Balti Prison, etc., which hinder the effort of reeducation.

Objectives of research:

- Determine the presence of rites of passage in the given institutions;
- Describe the rites of passage in case of newcomers;
- Analyze existing taboos in the relations among juveniles;
- Assess the relations of juveniles in the re-educational institutions with their parents/relatives, colleagues, teachers;
- Determine the emotional condition of the teenagers at the moment of arrival to the institution;
- Determine the main values of this category of teenagers;
- Describe the rite of parting, leaving the institution;
- Assess the conditions which would provide the possibility for social integration.

³ Sion Gratiela, *Psychology of ages*.
Bucharest: Editura Fundatiei de Maine, 2003, p. 194

The following principles were observed in order to ensure an efficient communication with the target group of the research and the employees:

- informed agreement;
- protection of psychological welfare;
- individual contributions of interviewed person;
- anonymity of individual answers.

In order to conduct the research 18 juveniles from Goian Prison and 2 released juveniles were interviewed. The interviewed juveniles were aged 17-19. The barrier in conducting the interviews in Goian Prison was the impossibility to record the statements of the interviewees and no access to dictaphones was allowed. Another barrier was the fact that the juveniles had an agreement not to respond to questions related to their life in prison, and specifically, to the ones related to the rites and taboos, some of them telling this openly. Nevertheless, the interviews were conducted, while the fragments provided to us in the interviews and

in the 2 interviews of 2 released juveniles about the life, relations among juveniles in prison, taboos, and existing groups allowed us to understand what their life is in a total institution.

Individual thorough interviews of the employees of the GP were conducted in the second part of the study. The principle of confidentiality does not allow us to indicate the position of the interviewees, as they could easily be identified and this would be in conflict with the research ethics.

Therefore, we will use the general term – employees.





The number of interviewees:

- **20 juveniles** (18 juveniles from Goian Prison, 2 released juveniles)
- **10 employees of the prison.**

The participants were selected by the “snowball sampling” method, considering several characteristics required to ensure homogeneity of the interviewees, on the one hand, and their heterogeneity, on the other hand. The data were collected in the period of October-November 2014.

Data were collected with the help of interview guidelines specific to each category of respondents. The research tools had the following structure: Reconciliation with the past, Ritual and non-ritual behavior in prison, Future and values.



RECONCILIATION WITH THE PAST

2.1 Juveniles from Goian Prison – assessment of the past

The manner in which individuals associate themselves with the past is complex. Reconciliation with the past for juveniles from prison is an ambiguous process. Reconciliation with the past, apparently easy to describe and understand, implies an internal tension felt by the juvenile. Firstly, it implies both an action by the juvenile and the expectation of an action outside the individual by another person: friend, psychologist, teacher. It implies both the interior and the exterior.

In case of the question: **What beautiful things happened in your life?** the respondents referred to important persons in their lives, such as: mother, friends, siblings and the pastime they spent together. One of the respondents speaks with sadness about the time spent with his girlfriend prior to getting to prison; all dreams vanished upon his arriving here.

Box. Beautiful moments in the life of juveniles

Family – means everything, leisure, entertainment, moments we are together. Recreation with friends, travelling to Nistru, monastery. I made a mistake being in a state of alcoholic intoxication. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

When I was released for the first time. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

I really whole-heartedly loved the girlfriend I had before prison, but it happened and I came to have a rest for 15 years, I also stayed in Lipcani and in 13th prison. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

I was at home, it was fun. I attended school. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

Box. Returning to the past – what would the juvenile tell him/herself in the past

I would change everything, I would make him learn. Not to leave sports, not to drink, not to smoke. Only about good things. I do not regret I am here because I developed here, but I already want something else. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

Not to do what I did. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

I would tell him not to steal. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

To live for himself and not for others. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

Not to do foolish things anymore. He tells those at large to behave themselves. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

To calm down, but it is useless now. Many people told me this, aaahh, what, I, I will not be caught. I would show him a video for him to watch what will happen to him, don't do foolish things. I would change everything not to make reckless things. Maybe my father would be at home. I lost a lot when I came there. A lot. I lost my father, mother and friends who were my good friends. (a juvenile from Goian Prison)

One of the interviewed juveniles said he was member of an incomplete family, his father left him when he was a little boy. He was communicative and social since he was little, but he “got mixed up with” some “friends” with whom he started to steal and became aggressive. According to him, “I had both good and bad” friends, although the closest friends were the “bad” ones. They went together fishing, cooked grilled meat and had fun, and because he had no father to support him financially he started to steal. He was arrested for robbery and was supposed to serve his sentence until 2017. Initially, he stayed in Prison No. 13. He said that both here and there the same problems prevail – he did not want to be more specific. However, in time he acknowledged that there are more options for integration into society in Goian Prison: he already has two specialties – cook and mechanic, and now he registered himself for the hairdresser course. He is not frustrated because of what he did, although he wants to serve his sentence as soon as possible.

Another juvenile was very reserved and suspicious; he did not accept any dialogue. His answers were binary: Yes – No or I don’t know. Before getting to prison he “professionally” played football, met his friends and grilled meat, talked on different topics: friendship, how to make money. He is member of an incomplete family, he has no father – he died when he was a little boy and his step-father does not accept him in their family. His mother used to work hard and had no time “to spend with them”. He was supposed to stay in prison until 2021.

In another case, the interviewed juvenile said he did not speak Romanian, only Russian, we assume because he wanted to avoid the interview, as outside he spoke good Romanian. Before getting to Goian Prison he stayed in Balti Prison, and now in Goian

Prison. He has an elder brother aged 23 and a sister aged 19. They do not visit him. He says that “my family estranged from me, only my mother visits me once a month.” The sentence will be served until 2016. Before getting to prison he had an active lifestyle, he skipped school and had fun with friends. He said he took the blame upon himself and the 3 friends he committed the theft with are now in Balti Prison. He regrets about being transferred here, he lacks communication with the other detainees in the prison. He does not work, does not want to learn, as only the weaklings work – “I did not degrade that much so far.” To the question: “How many are you in the room?” he answered – 2-3 persons in each room, we are in goods relation, and if the relations are not good – there are certain punishments – they know where to hit and how to hit, but such cases are rare, as “they get each other’s point immediately” – there are many rooms and they cannot be unnoticed.

Some of the juveniles mentioned that there is a well-established hierarchy. Persons that are black-washed or are on the bottom level of the hierarchy are called „obijennî” (*translator’s note: offended*), while the ones working in the prison are ‘neputio-vîi’ (*translator’s note: good-for-nothing*). The other talked only about the category of “blatnîe” (*translator’s note: tough guys*) and “neputioviie” (*translator’s note: good-for-nothing*). None of the interviewees acknowledged they are “neputioviie” (*translator’s note: good-for-nothing*) or “obijennî” (*translator’s note: offended*) or “blatnîe” (*translator’s note: tough guys*). Other interviewees stated that there is nothing like that here (in Goian Prison). The ones who refused to speak were the last to be interviewed. They invoked the rule “not to speak about the life here in the prison.”

2.2 Social and emotional profile of juveniles in view of prison employees

The statistics of the Republic of Moldova shows the following based on the data provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs:

Table 1. Number of crimes committed by juveniles, 2009-2013

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Crimes committed by juveniles	1143	1358	1268	1468	1142
including: by girls	120	173	150	103	89
by boys	1023	1185	1112	1365	1053

Most frequently the juveniles are involved in committing thefts, with a share of 73,4%, followed by robberies – 7,0% and hooliganism – 3,1%. In 2013 per population of 100 thousand aged under 18 around 160 crimes were committed by juveniles, as compared to 149 in 2009 and 206 in 2012.

Table 2. Number of juveniles detained in closed-type prison, 2009-2013

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Total	35	35	32	39	43
including: by girls	27	32	29	39	41
by boys	6	2	3	0	2

The ratio of juveniles detained in closed-type prisons is 6 detained juveniles per 100 thousand juveniles. The increase of the number of juveniles detained in closed-type prison is determined by the involvement of juveniles in commission of more severe acts or commission of repeated crimes.⁴

In adolescence young people go through self-awareness versus the confusion of social roles. Specialists in psychology mention that teenagers seem to be physiologically mature, but from the affective perspective some of them may resemble small children, who think that the whole world revolves around them. A regression occurs – return of the subject to a previous development stage – childhood with certain mental and emotional characteristics, irascibility, unplanned reactions, etc.

⁴ <http://www.statistica.md/newsview.php?l=ro&id=4335&idc=168>

The interviewed employees state that the detained juveniles are victims, most of them being from socially vulnerable families, families with many children or having parents focused on concerns other than education of children. The fact that the children are in prison is an error of the parents and society. The reasons for their being in prison are different – perhaps most of them stole in order to satisfy their certain physiological needs, for food, clothes. The others – to be like the other children who avail of possibilities better than theirs. The others – because of certain emotional experiences that occurred in their life. These conclusions result from the case files and from discussions with them. There is also the past of the parents who are ex-detainees or divorced or the alcoholic mother is unemployed or does not care about her children.

Box. Opinions about the environment the juveniles come from

Many of them arrived here wronged by life from families where parents consume too much alcohol, where there is no control and poor children have to steal and gain some money to live. He is a calm, obedient child. I asked him, X how come you got here: “Sometimes I had even nothing to eat. I do not know my father, he left us when I was a little kid, my mother is consuming alcohol and we are hungry. What I did is I went to a rich man and stole. I disagree with the number of years in the sentence...” (employee)

These children come from families where the financial capacity is poor, but there are also children who, judging by the way they look, come from good families. (employee)

The employees assess their manner of behavior and of proving their worth both positively and negatively, the juveniles being characterized by a rapid transition from one affective condition to another, by emotional outbreaks. Very often this affective instability becomes the impulse for the commission of acts or taking thoughtless decisions.

Box. Emotions of juveniles, motivation to change

Not all of them wish the change, some of them are indifferent. Even when we have classes, they say: “I don’t need this.” I bring examples that help them understand the importance of this 9-grade certificate in the future. We help. “But I do not need it.” They motivate they answer by the fact that they are in prison for several years and they will not need the certificate. (employee)

There are many harsh and bad-tempered persons, we try to change them, and we bring them examples from real life. We tell them about correct life rules, but they have their own views. (employee)

But their wings have grown to a certain extent, they know that they are supported and you cannot imagine how harshly they behave with the educators. They venture to talk to them in filthy language, and they almost hit them. One day I asked the educator: “How come you allow them speaking to you like that?” He answered that “some day he may lose his job.” I think they should be tougher with them, for them to feel that if they got here their life broke off, that somewhere there is this darkness. They need to be aware that they should not do this. A few of them will get out of here respectable persons. They have too many rights. (employee)

There is one boy who studies well, is educated, obedient, he never talks back. (employee)

Prison – is a new word for a new-comer. New regime, new persons, everything in general is new to them. Teenagers have different characters, different level of education, it is difficult for them to adjust. There is a

strict regime; one has to get up at a certain time, to go for a walk at a certain time, while for some juveniles this is difficult. They do not have an idea of civilized behavior, of planning their own activity, of social and affective relations. They lack intellectual skills because of abandoning school.

Box. Difficulties the juveniles had to face upon arrival to prison

Perhaps at home or wherever they were they did not have a regime or there was no one to supervise them to be neat, to tell them to do this or that. (employee)

Juveniles are afraid of this stage, he arrives and he is being assigned to a category, either to be with the superior ones or with the ones who work, who sweep corridors, or to be in the lowest class which eats separately and no one touches them. When he goes to the bathroom he washes his socks there as well and does everything he is told to do. (employee)

He comes to a different group, there are different conditions. He is not at his mother's home. A rupture is being felt and obviously it is very painful for children who come from families that gave them education and respect to parents, to older ones. But for those who knew only the street since they were little this place is better than home, they are being fed three times, the bedrooms are clean. (employees)

He is being tested and asked certain questions by other juveniles. (employee)

Box. Opinions about acceptance of newcomers by detained juveniles

It depends on the committed crime and the way he imposes his authority. Those who committed rapes are treated badly, they are isolated and eat at a different table, and they have a different status there. They are viewed as isolated, no one touches them, and they do not drink from the same cup with them. But it also depends on the person. There was a shy boy, they used to say that X would do the works, he would sweep. Whatever they told him, he executed. He did not oppose. (employee)

It is their law, the law of prison, there are *bratanii* (translator's note: cellies), he needs to fight, confront and if he is able to stand he quickly joins the group, but some of them hardly adjust. There is a 15-year old child, I think convicted for a rape, educators, psychologist, doctor and teachers worked with him, he kept crying for around three months like a child in a kindergarten that he wanted to his mother, he wanted home. He got into a completely different environment, but he adjusted gradually. (employee)

The interviewed employees consider that the others, i.e. administration, psychologist, social assistant, etc. make their best to contribute to reeducation, to contribute to reintegration of these young people in the society.

Box. Assessment of the effort made by the employees

...we try to help them, to understand them. He came, one needs to get to know him, to let the person confide in order to... everyone is treated equally irrespective of the committed crime. (employee)

Psychologically it is hard to resist. (employee)

Everyone is working hard. (employee)

There are many activities organized for them, a lot of work is being done. There are results: for instance, the open day which had indeed been an event. (employee)

The juveniles from the prison assessed happiness by referring to those days in the prison they wished to repeat, for instance, the open day, parents' visits, but also the moments when the representatives of religious institutions come to visit them. The faces of the interviewed juveniles expressed huge joy when they spoke about the visits of their relations. These visits became a value and a need for emotional survival in the prison and for return to the society.

2.3 Between happiness and unhappiness

Box. Moments of happiness of juveniles

It makes me happy when someone visits me, unhappiness to me is the fact that I am here... (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Sport – releases me of negative energy. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The open day, when my parents come and they are allowed to enter the prison. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The “open days” when mother comes from home. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The open day – allows communication with the parents. It is important to communicate with my mother. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

An interior conflict may be perceived in them, originating from interior self-condemnation they are being subjected to by their own judge, i.e. interior conscience.

Box. Reasons for state of unhappiness of juveniles

The fact that I am not released before the expiry of the term. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Nothing makes you happy in prison. There were moments. I felt better because I excelled and it was pleasant that I *rulem* (translator's note: ruled), it was pleasant to me. Look at how big he is, he has about 90 kg and if I said that things should be like that, he cannot do anything to me because he cannot even raise his hands. He cannot take the liberty of hitting me, otherwise he will be punished. I enjoyed it, I was glad because I *rulem* (translator's note: ruled), however, daily I used to think that this life is not for me. No matter how poor you are, home is home. (released juvenile)

I want to see the changes mother did at home, the renovation. I want something different from the life here.

(juvenile from Goian Prison)

The employees confirm what the juveniles stated, and namely that unconventional activities make the young people forget their dramatic condition: eager for liberty, but in prison.



Box. Employees about what makes the prison juveniles happy

Attention of their relations, family, their attention coming from the bottom of their heart, guidance in the right direction. (employee)

When parents come. Extra-curricular activities. Contests they take part in – they make them happy. But visits of their parents, relatives make them the happiest. (employee)

The graduation ceremony when I saw that many children were glad. It was a real event for them. A party organized just for them is not a rejoicing for them. But when guests come I think they feel differently. Children from lower social class feel a fresh surge of energy, they feel more confident, the ones from higher social class return to their childhood because they feel they are real men now. Many activities of this kind would be appreciated, but I think they are very difficult to organize. It is a great responsibility: one may enjoy admiring, but someone bears great responsibility. But the educators did well. (employee)

They are always merry, they joke. But there are periods when they are sad. (employee)

O constituent element of the process of institutionalization is the punishments and the coercive methods perceived as consequences of violation of rules. A set of punishments consists in temporary withdrawal of privileges. For instance, a punishment in prison may be the confinement of an individual in a secure punishment cell or prohibition to play football, volleyball, but also the prohibition to be visited by their relations. The moments that may make a person unhappy.

Box. Reasons making juveniles unhappy in the opinion of employees

The regime and the fact that they have to wake up, go to the bathroom to make their morning preparations. When they are reprimanded or prohibited to do certain things because of their inadequate behavior. There is a movie today and you do not go today or otherwise no one will go. (employee)

The barracks, closed, controlled and oppressive system. They have a gym, it is strict, several minutes and that's it – you need to attend classes or be somewhere else. This makes them sad, but football and everything related to life makes them happy. (employee)

When no one comes to visit them, their parents do not come. Probably many continue their lives. But the fact that someone is visited each week, but they are visited one a year, if visited at all, discourages them very much. They would be encouraged if something would be organized each month so that mandatorily someone visits them. (employee)



RITES OF PASSAGE

3.1 Rite of passage in prison for juveniles – its stages

The rites are an expression of the human need to belong and to be part of a group. They are symbolic and stereotype acts of interaction of the members of a community. Persons may express through them their opinions, values, norms, and emotions.

Types of rites:

Rites of passage – important for an easier adjustment of an individual in his/her new position, they mark a change in the status of a person;

Component parts of these rites are other rites known as:

- separation rites;
- initiation rites;
- aggregation rites.⁵

Another set of rites that refer to the rites of passage are:

- Rites of degradation – that have as a consequence isolation of a group member, descending social mobility, refer to persons who did not meet the expectations;
- Rites of intensification – are aimed at promoting a positive image of the organization and at motivating others to make efforts in this regard;
- Rites of conflict reduction – have the effect of distracting attention from the conflict, to mitigate it in order to restore good relations between the parties, in case of prison: juveniles-supervisors, colleague-colleague, etc.;
- Rites of integration – help a person become and feel part of the organization, may occur

on different festive occasions: Christmas, New Year, birthday, open day, etc., moments when the group members relax in a pleasant and cheerful environment and communicate in a less formal manner;

- Rites of segregation – have a negative meaning and are aimed at delimiting persons being part of the group of other persons.

All these rites exist in prison being accompanied by a specific language, a specific way of nicknaming, specific tattoos expressing their experience in the prison, even if as compared to the prison for adults everything here is at a very low level, only as much as it was possible to borrow when some of them were in prisons for adults or while being detained in the Lipcani Prison for juveniles.

Rite of passage

According to Arnold Van Gennep (1996), *the rites of passage* occur in other three forms of interdependent rites: *rites of separation, rites of transition or initiation and rites of aggregation*. Van Gennep calls separation from the past “preliminal rites”, the ones in the transitional phase “threshold rites” (liminal) and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world “rites of aggregation” (postliminal).

Rites of separation, in case of the individuals arriving to Prison No. 10, Goian Prison for juveniles, separation occurs prior to arriving to the juvenile prison by detaining the young men during criminal investigations in Prison No. 13 or other prisons such as Balti Prison or in case of juveniles who had previous experience of being detained in Lipcani Prison.

⁵ Van Gennep A., *The rites of passage*, Iasi: Polirom, 1996. p.22

Box. Separation seen by juveniles

It was hard to find common language. It is as if visiting a foreign country. There were strangers. I did not know what a prison was.... There were children staying there for a long time and they wanted to show that they were important, they had their own group. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

It was very hard, I did not know anything, there is a different law and a different life in general and it is very difficult if you do not know anything, especially considering that I had a child's mind, a long time had passed until I learnt, I was beaten many times. They informed me so that I also know what a prison is. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I was beaten by my mates. We were 10 persons in *hată* (translator's note: house) and I was not interested in their prison life. I liked the way I was at large, but they did not like it, there were conflicts, we fought. There were conflicts which were even examined by court. (released juvenile)

It was very complicated in Lipcani Prison, I had never in my life been so worn out as I had been there. People stayed in prison from 15 years old until 23 years old, but there were persons who were 24 and they were called *bugori* (translator's note: fore-men), they were adults but were serving their sentence with juveniles. They used to gather and when it was about beating they used to beat up cruelly using *bats*, legs and fists. I was thrown from the second floor in a *tumbocică* (translator's note: bedside table) and I was operated in Pruncul, I had problems with my head. (released juvenile)

The expression *very hard* is the key expression to describe the condition of a newcomer to a prison. Arrival to a prison implies disturbance of roles programming, because individuals need to find their place in the institution, a new social identity. In this regard, the individual is dispossessed of some personal objects – a very important aspect, because in general the self-determination of persons is conditioned by their possessions. Juvenile detainees in a prison are individuals with different values, ethnos and culture known first of all in terms of the

committed crimes and not of social identity.

Rites of initiation are a period between the phases when the person does not have the status he/she used to have prior to detention, and at the same time, he/she is not acknowledged by the other juveniles as their friend, it is the period of those 15 days when the juvenile is in the solitary confinement cell, he/ she sees the others through the window of the cell but contacts only with the doctor, psychologist, supervisor, etc.

Box. Period between phases

He is not introduced by the administration, he stays in the solitary confinement cell for 15 days. The psychologist, the officer on duty come to visit him. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The one who arrives stays in the solitary confinement cell for 15 days. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The new coming juvenile is scarred by the 15 days in the solitary confinement cell, the time when, as they say: "makes you think of life." The period includes organization of different types of tests, both medical and psychological ones. The fact that the newcomer is immediately taken to the solitary confinement cell by the prison administration and is in not in any way introduced to the rest of the group is acknowledged as a norm accepted and known by all members of the group of convicts. The solitary confinement cell is at the same time the space where

the future cell or floor mate of the members of the group of convicts stays. It is a space of curiosity and challenges, at the same time, because the newcomers wish to integrate in the group – an integration which would cease the state of uncertainty, the state of a stranger. Then follows the moment when he is transferred to one of the cells next to the other young men. Communication between the integrated juveniles and the newcomer follows – a period which allows getting to know him and assigning him a social status, the class he is part of. Informal rules to be observed are announced.

Speaking about other prisons, juveniles mentioned the so-called *propisca* (translator's note: residence permit), when the newcomer, upon arriving to the cell, takes part in *obșenie* (translator's note: communication), communication during which he talks about his life, the article under which he had been convicted. The person lying about the article or the moments of his life risks getting a punishment in future. His habitude, his manner of showing himself determines the social status he will be part of and which will let him, if he is part of *nepuțiovii* (translator's note: good-for-nothing) group to communicate with persons from this category, but also with those who are part of *blatnii* (translator's note: tough guys) category. If he lies and the social class he is part of is low, he will be punished; juveniles speak of beating in such cases.

In the last phase, the one of **rites of aggregation**, transition from a phase to another takes place, from one social role or position to another by integrating human and cultural and value experience. Moreover, access to a different existential stage is allowed only in this manner, and these rites are respected and valued by all community members. However, some interviewees deny the existence of initiation, while the others speaking about the prison life provide explanations about what they experienced and experience in this institution: existing categories, lifestyle of each category, criteria based on which a juvenile becomes part of certain category.

Box. Deny existence of initiation

I was welcome. There is no baptism, initiation. We are not aggressive to newcomers; he is a man just like me. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Box. Existing categories in Goian Prison for juveniles

The life of juveniles is simpler, you can be there either *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy), or *nepuțevii* (translator's note: good-for-nothing) or woman, i.e. *abijenii* (translator's note: offended). *Blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy) is a kind of a *crutoiu* (translator's note: cool guy), he does not do anything at all, he keeps his feet up.

Nepuțiovii (translator's note: good-for-nothing) is a simpler person, he *șnîrește* (translator's note: darts in and out), in other words: "Hey you, make me a tea, hey, wash the clothes", such kind of a man. He is like a servant. He is not *obiazan* (translator's note: obliged to), but if he finds himself with *blatnii* (translator's note: tough guys) he has to do it, as he is not allowed to raise his hands. He may also work in the kitchen.

The *abijenii* (translator's note: offended) are having the hardest time, they are primarily women. But there are others: for instance: I am *nepuțiovii* (translator's note: good-for-nothing), but he is *abijenii* (translator's note: offended) and he slapped me in the face, or spitted in my face, or I ate after him, or I smoked after him – that is it, I become like him. The contact. Their life is very complicated; they are not allowed to shake hands. There is no way they can move from the *abijenii* (translator's note: offended) up to other categories. But from *nepuțiovii* (translator's note: good-for-nothing), if one *stremești* (translator's note: tends to), if one does his best, if one contacts more with people, i.e. *blatnii* (translator's note: tough guys) one does not work. One should have the possibility for the *bratva* (translator's note: criminal mob) to bring him many things. It is one of the possibilities to rise. (released young man)

You say that juveniles have these categories; where do they have them from in Goian Prison if the prison was opened one year ago?

From Lipcani, central. Wherever one stays it is strictly the life of prisons.

Obijenii (translator's note: offended) have three types of lifestyle: there is an *obșii crug* (translator's note: common circle), *srednii crug* (translator's note: middle circle) and *greaznii crug* (translator's note: dirty circle).

Obșii crug (translator's note: common circle) includes those who by accident got into the *abijenii* (translator's note: offended) category or who *cantacit* (translator's note: were in contact with him) – they slapped him in the face, etc.

Srednii crug (translator's note: middle circle) are those who say I eat with you, you and you. And nobody else, like a *semeica* (translator's note: family).

Greaznii crug (translator's note: dirty circle) includes all women. It is complicated for them both there and when at large.

But if a *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy) took something to eat from *neputiovii* (translator's note: good-for-nothing) he becomes a *neputiovii* (translator's note: good-for-nothing). It is allowed but it is *zazorna* (translator's note: shameful), it is sick or I *ne scitaiu nujnim* (translator's note: do not consider it necessary).

For instance I am a *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy), I was *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy), and will remain *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy) all my life, I stay at a table with two or three *neputioviie* (translator's note: good-for-nothing) or devils as they are also called, I may stay at a table with them. But I will not allow that any of them touches my plate or cup, as I will immediately beat them up. If he knows what life is he will not allow himself doing it. But if he is aware of what he is doing and he touches my plate I can *smelo* (translator's note: fearlessly) bitch-slap him. And if I do not have the power to *răzbiresc* (translator's note: deal with it) myself, I can make two phone calls to the right people and half of his health will be destroyed.

Teenagers are tempted to imitate persons they consider leaders and they tend to replace. Decency is not positively regarded, while negative behavior is a protest they display whenever it is convenient to them.

Box. Employees about categories in prison

There is a difference when one is convicted for murder, correspondingly, one has a higher status in the prison, while those convicted for a whatsoever theft bring tea, bring chair and, in general, may stand because he has no authority here. There are children who are afraid of going to the bathroom, they have sexual relations there and they are from the lower category. There are 3 categories, social classes, and those from higher class humiliate those from lower class, make them have sexual relations, wash corridors, they do all the work for them. (employee)

There are 3 classes – those who do not do anything, everyone is afraid of them, they set all the rules. Then, there are children who work, and here everything depends on one's character. If one can defend oneself, one has one's own position, they simply leave him alone. No one touches them, they work, they are paid – they do not know what the rule is. And the third category is the ones who perform all the menial work, wash corridors, WCs, provide sexual services. (employee)

Bernstein (1964) speaks about several symbolic functions of the rite. By means of the rite an individual is integrated in a new social order, respects a hierarchy already established by those who were there prior to his arrival, and every time revives the rite.

Rites of initiation

The relations of respondents with colleagues is based on understanding and observance of informal norms established by the members of the group of detainees. These norms, in fact, are the elements of initiation which marks the entry and the acceptance of an individual in a certain social group, in this case, the group of juveniles from the Goian Prison. As a matter of fact, it has been concluded from the answers of the respondents that norms and behavior of a new coming convict in prison are established at group meetings, they get to know and share the rules of the group. The initiation of the newcomer is marked also during these meetings, which in essence are an event, or a rite. The newcomer is introduced to the group and presents details about his life, the reasons he got there, etc. The place of the convict depending also on the criminal past (it is worth mentioning that some of the crimes and, therefore, the criminal individual are not tolerated by the members of the group; such crimes as rape, according to some interviewees) is being determined also during this meeting, but also in the course of the detention. This event also marks the first phase of initiation – *precoding*, as the order of acts and things is being determined by other persons (perceived as already

having a status acknowledged by all other members) before they are executed by all other actors. The remark of a respondent shall be mentioned in this regard: “You see I came here already having a status, the people knew who I was...” It has been noticed from the observations and statements of the respondent that he was the leader of the group of convicts.

Box. Illustration of the manner of determining the status of a juvenile in prison

We are in the room with around 10 persons and a *novicioc* (translator's note: newcomer) comes and he is from a village and does not know very well this kind of life. We try to explain him if he does not understand and his refusal to join us means that he opted for a *unijeno* (translator's note: humiliating) life as compared to our mates. It is not only about a lifestyle there in prison, there are several life styles: *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy), *simple man*, *raboteaga* (translator's note: hard worker) and lower levels. (released young man)

Time needs to pass until you become *blatnoi* (translator's note: tough guy). (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Another juvenile detained in Goian Prison says that there is no initiation in Prison No. 13. When a new detainee arrived the roommates (there were 5-6 persons in a room in Prison No. 13) had an “*obșenie*” (meeting) where the “*poniații*” (rules of behavior) were set, which are the “*zapretul*” (interdictions) and the “*sprosul*” (requests, material values). If someone understands and violates the rules, he is beaten up; it happens that someone considers himself above all the others without any reason – “*drabuha*” – then “he is taught the lesson”. In general, each person has his own position. Everyone is part of a closed society; no one needs to know what happens among them. They call this society “*Bratva*” (translator's note: criminal mob). (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The social learning theory mentions that the aggressive behavior, the manner of showing oneself are being learnt just like other types of behavior, especially, by observing some models. Those social categories existing in prison are learnt by juveniles from the detainees from other prisons, such as Prison No. 13, or Balti Prison, etc., while the other category of juveniles learnt from Lipcani Prison this model of closed community and transferred it to those who had to a lesser degree been in contact with the world of detainees. This lifestyle is imposed by physical, emotional, verbal violence. The strongest survives.

The interviewed persons state that they established a rule – *do not hit the person next to you...* This rule originates from the need of those in prison to create a group which has a cohesion and this cohesion to denote a power which may be gained only if they are together, one next to the other.

Box. Rules required to be observed and specified by the juveniles

If we shout at employees they write a report and issue prohibitions for meetings, parcels, phone calls. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We are not allowed to fight as it is possible that our sentence will be extended. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Disclosed secrets are considered as betrayal. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We have to observe the regime; we are not allowed to disturb it. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

One has to adapt, to know *for life*. One is not allowed to raise hands, one should not pick up fight without a reason and *bespredel nu se dapustește* (translator's note: chaos is excluded). (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Pastanove (translator's note: rules)? They mean if something is being said it needs to be observed. There are *pastanove* (translator's note: rules) for each category of detainees. But there are *pastanove* (translator's note: rules) for everyone: disorder must be excluded, for instance, if someone is having rest, one may not touch him, irrespective of how important it is, one is not allowed to wake him up or for example burn his heels with a match. One may be beaten up for such a thing. (released young man)

Adjustment in a group of convicted juveniles, as an effect of initiation, is accompanied by a number of difficulties enumerated by the respondents: homesickness, longing for friends, remorse as a result of the committed criminal act.

Prior to the sentence the majority of respondents spent some time in Prison No. 13, Balti Prison where they learn the accepted informal code of conduct, taboos related to the relations between the categories of juveniles in prison.

Rites of intensification

The rite of intensification is applied by a community in a period of crisis affecting all members. A kind of crisis was caused by the arrival of anthropologists to prison. Their arrival was treated as an attempt at intimacy, as a penetration of a prohibited territory belonging only to juveniles and employees, as a danger for the usual state of things. The juveniles, all without exception, speak only the best about the conditions they have in the prison, the possibility to learn different crafts, the possibility to go in for sports, the possibility to attend gymnasium, the positive attitude of the prison employees. We see this rite of intensification consisting of two phases and two categories of performers: the phase when

the *employees* speak at different activities, events in the prison about the good conditions in prison allowing reintegration; and the second phase when the *juveniles* in certain situations reproduce exactly what the employees conveyed by words and through specific activities in which a part of them takes part. The function of the rite of intensification is to support the positive image of the prison, which is advantageous to both categories: 1) employees who set the task to show how much is being done for reintegration of juveniles and for their good; 2) juveniles who support the employees even in case when they disagree with some realities, they do this in order to avoid the disgrace both of employees and colleagues. The assessment is done in comparison with other prisons where these juveniles stayed.

Box. Perception of Goian Prison

Lipcani Prison – no possibility for me to change. I was aggressive and wanted to continue like that... (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We had only classes in lipcani, gymnasium studies. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

It is better in Goian than in Lipcani. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I studied three consecutive years in Balti Prison, until the 9th grade. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We can attend different courses: hairdresser, cook, mechanic. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We were 6-7 persons in cell in Prison 13. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

First I stayed in the central prison; there are 5 cells for juveniles. They take you in the first day to the cell with the others, it does not matter how long you stayed in prison, 2-3 years or half a year, even on the first day the take you to *hată* (translator's none: house), with everyone, you need to adapt to them, otherwise – you will harm yourself. (released young man)

Was there a place specially designed for juveniles in Balti Prison, Prison No. 13, or one could communicate with adults?

We could communicate, we could meet, but the rooms are separate for juveniles.

It is not a problem to communicate with adults. (released young man)

They come either from Balti Prison or from Prison No. 13, or from Lipcani Prison, they know each other from there. Possibly, the first initiation in prison life originates from there, when arriving here they apply it to a lesser extent. The detainees from prisons for adults are a model for subsequent relations in Goian, a model to build this micro-world.

3.2 Birthday – a rite of passage

The rites closely associated with the birth and its celebration are public rites. In such a case, “passage” means the acknowledgment of the fact that a person passed from one social status to another. Everyone passes different stages in life, newborn, child, teenager, youth, maturity, old age. A rite of passage is a social event. In anthropology the element we are interested in is the cultural value, the social recognition and the acceptance by the community members that the social status had changed.

The rite of passage from an age to another, from a life period to another by celebrating a birthday is very important. Celebrating a passage is very important for the development of a person. This celebration allows one remembering the best events of one’s life. Celebration has a significant impact on every stage of personality development, especially parents, close relatives and friends are positively involved. The reason to celebrate birthday and the age of 16 for young men at large is that they may legally drive; or the age of 18 – that they have some privileges adults have, etc.

This rite in prison becomes an insignificant, spontaneous, unstructured and non-festive rite. This event is perceived positively because it lets the juvenile pass to the next stage of life, or negatively – when the juvenile reaches 18 and is transferred to the prison for adults. The euphoria which implies memories of the celebrated event together with the family, friends, pictures, presents, etc. is wiped off in the context of a prison. The celebration is very modest. Parents, siblings may visit the juvenile, the birthday

is celebrated with them, but in the cell. Family support is very important to them. A party organized in the cell together with other colleagues looks like that: sweets and tea are being served. Preparing and serving strong tea called *cifir* is specific to this day.



Box. Celebrating birthday by juveniles

It is good when those from home come to congratulate us. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

My relatives came, they congratulated me. We stayed together a bit. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I celebrated my birthday together with my cell mates, we talked, had something.

The administration posts a greeting, anyone passing by may read and see it. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We celebrate, gather, watch a movie or have tea or coffee in the cell. We get parcels. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

One of the interviewees describes the following way of passage, of celebration: at one o'clock his room-mates wake him up and congratulate him, the next day either mother came with a cake or they simply had a "strong tea" which makes one skid.

Most interviewed juveniles perceive celebration of birthdays as a possibility to see their relatives, a moment which makes them happy. One of them said that those from administration buy a cake and make a present to the person celebrating his birthday. This statement was made only once, but subsequently it was confirmed by one of the employees who said the same thing.

Box. Employees about celebration of birthday

They celebrate birthdays together, they are allowed to listen to music, drink sweet sparkling water, and eat biscuits; that is it. Not every parent comes to bring sweets. Not everyone is visited when it is the open day or June 1. They make invitations by hands... There is a board at the entrance where the name of the person celebrating birthday and a greeting are posted. (employee)

Birthdays are celebrated, there was a birthday of a juvenile several weeks ago. I found out because parents with sweets and food arrived. The pupil did not attend classes, he celebrated a little with his family. His brother, mother and aunt came to visit him. I think he also celebrated with the boys upstairs, because the bag was huge, I don't think he celebrated only with parents. (employee)

Parents also come. Juveniles from socially vulnerable families, whose parents are alcoholics, are rarely visited. (employee)

They form groups, in case of a child who works and they know that parents always come to bring him things and clothes they assume he had a beautiful birthday. Probably they also brought sweets and what not and he being part of a group probably shared with several children what he got. But in case of those from the lower level, even if parents bring them something, they do not get it. Staff deals with them, there are educators who put their heart into them. (employee)

3.3 Release between a rite and an experience

Separation, initiation, aggregation, key words of the rites of passage, are component parts of the juvenile's release. Aggregation or incorporation in a different world which will take place, i.e. from prison to community, society where there is freedom, family, hope

for good. One of the juveniles said about release that when a person leaves the prison they wish him to never come back here, they drink tea and say words without explaining too much.

Box. Juveniles about departure of colleagues

Sadness if they leave for another prison, Joy – if they are released. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

If we are upstairs we say goodbye: "Never come back. Good luck." (juvenile from Goian Prison)

When my cell mate was released I said "So long and *flag tebe v ruchi* (translator's note: *have it your own way*). Don't come back." (juvenile from Goian Prison)

There are both positive and negative emotions. I am glad that some people leave. We are like brothers with persons we shared the cell with. I called them. They may not call here, there is no one to answer the card phone.

Some juveniles talked about the psychologist and the representative of probation who come to prepare them for release, persons whose term of detention is ending.

Box. Employees about the emotions of juveniles when some colleagues leave

Maybe they are sad deep in their heart when someone leaves and someone stays. Maybe it is different in the cell, maybe they are open, but they do not let themselves talk at classes about the reasons for leave. (employee)

They are sad, they also want to leave. They are 17-18 years old but they are children in their heart. (employee)

What if they have to go to adults?

They want to stay here, they work here 2-3 hours a day to shorten the term, they try, it is a kind of a responsibility that if he behaves himself, obeys, performs everything he is recommended, he will be released sooner. It is somewhere in their conscience that they have to work, to show..., the life here is stricter than at large, many of them want it. (employee)

There was a case that a person was supposed to be released, he was very glad, he did not do what the teachers told him to do, and he imagined himself already at large. We left him alone in a way. Perhaps everyone wants to be in his place, but he is very relaxed, he is already there, no one touched him. (employee)

I do not take part in the moments when they come or leave, but I fill-in the questionnaires with them and I talked to juvenile X who was isolated, but not after the crime, he was just shy. I talked to him and then to another boy who was glad and not very glad that X was leaving, because if something was to be done, X used to do it. (employee)

Release makes possible the return home, the improvement of life according to the norms imposed by the society, accomplishment of the dreams the young men have in prison. Each of them waits impatiently for the moment of release, each of them wants to leave as soon as possible the institution which, even though offers them a lot, is not a place desired by them. They expect a better life, hope they will find a workplace, they will create their own family.



DETERMINATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE RITUAL AND NON-RITUAL BEHAVIOR IN PRISON

4.1 Taboo and permissiveness

Anthropologists define the taboo as an interdiction, it is also the case of Roger Caillois who in his book “Man and the Sacred” writes that “Taboo is as a categorically negative imperative. It always consists of a prohibition and never of a prescription. It is never justified by any considerations of moral character. It should not be violated for the sole and single reason that it is the law and it defines in an absolute manner what is and is not allowed. It is intended to maintain the integrity of the organized world and, at the same time, the physical and moral health of the being that takes care of it”⁶.

Van Gennep differentiates between positive rites, which are volitions translated into acts, and negative rites. The latter are a current manner called taboo. A taboo is an interdiction, an order not to do something, not behave in a certain way. A taboo cannot be viewed in itself as a rite, it is not autonomous, and it exists only if combined with positive rites.⁷

In order to ensure the acceptance and integration of a newcomer in a group of convicted juveniles, it is necessary that certain preset informal rules and norms are observed, alongside with the formal ones imposed by the prison administration. For instance, it is prohibited to disclose certain violations by the group members, in other words to “*stucănești, ca-*

prești” (translator’s note: to rat on somebody). At the same time, the members of the entire group of convicts are divided, according to the respondents into several categories. The categorization takes place at the first meeting of the group. Thus, they acknowledged the group of those called “*pareadișni*” (translator’s note: respectable), who are the most “*blatni*” (translator’s note: tough). This group is distinguished by the fact that its members are not interested in work, but the work or activity performed in prison may contribute to reducing the detention term. Besides, they are acknowledged as the leading group. Persons called “*smatriașii*” (translator’s note: supervisors) are also part of this group. Their role is to control, monitor the order in the group of convicts, and in case of violations the conflict is being solved through communication. Interviewees did not refer to any cases of violence. The other group of convicts is represented by the group of “*neputiovi*” (translator’s note: good-for-nothing). The members of the respective group are acknowledged as being inferior to the former group, they manifest a strong wish to reduce their sentence, and for that purpose they are involved in labor activities in the prison. Labor activities and other aspects related to the behavior of the convicted juvenile may contribute to reducing the sentence.

⁶ Roger Caillois, *The man and the sacred*, Bucharest: NEMIRA, 1997, p.23

⁷ Van Gennep A., *The rites of passage*, Iasi: Polirom, 1996, p.20

4.2 Slang of juvenile detainees

“Slang is an open set of phraseological terms and constructions expressively marked, which have new, unusual meanings, and which, as a rule, are not understood by the speakers outside the limited social and linguistic environment in which they are used.”⁸. Two essential features derive from the definition above:

- it belongs to a certain social category, a relatively closed group of individuals who beside the slang also speak the common language; the common language in case of juveniles is Romanian intermingled with many Russian words.

- it may be used in order to avoid to be understood by persons who are not part of the respective group.

Box. Features of the slang mentioned by juveniles

“It was a different language, but the employees already understand it. The language is used to easier live *po poniatiam* (translator’s note: *by the rules of the underworld*), like adults do. We also speak it. The others understand this language only to the extent they are allowed to understand.” (juvenile from Goian Prison)

It is a language invented for the administration not be able to understand it. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

In case of adults: there are persons who cannot live at large. It is a language invented to avoid that administration understands it. But the administration anyway understands it, why would they need it all? (juvenile from Goian Prison)

The interview guide did not contain questions containing the expression – criminal subculture. The initiative came from a juvenile at one of the interviews. The questions referred to the tattoos he had and their meaning:

Juvenile: It used to be a subculture, but now it is not.

Interviewer: What is a subculture?

Juvenile: The culture of the criminal world. It does not exist in this prison. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

In conclusion we may state that the prison slang is a codified language with a closed area of application, it includes words and expressions not known to the entire linguistic community. The slang elements must be explained because their meaning may not be deducted from the context. This conventional language was available to a small degree, just a few expressions which anyway lost their secret nature. This language offers the possibility to affirm the affiliation to a group, to distinguish between the

in-group and *out-group* and to feel in a more advantageous position versus the intruder. The slang expresses the indignation, irony, need for intimacy in the environment you do not have it.

Different slangs are used in the prison language – for instance, a door is called here *tarmozoc*..., some of them mentioned that this language is transmitted from one generation to another.

Box. Employees about the prison language

Bratan, they do not say brother or colleague, but *bratan*. Most of the words originate from Russian, if they use them I ask them to speak so that I understand. They catch up this language from adults, from the pre-trial detention center, there they have access to adults and they come from there with a clearly created image: what a prison means, what groups mean.

Many of them are against prison, because the environment there complicates their future. (employee)

They call each other animal names and use many Russian words: *babior* (translator’s note: *beaver*), for instance. (employee)

List of words used by juveniles

1. Bespredel (*translator's note: chaos*)– when someone is ill-judged, incorrect, incompliant with informal norms
2. Blatnoi (*translator's note: tough guy*)– highest social class
3. Bratva (*translator's note: lads*) – colleagues from prison, those who in agreement observe the internal informal norms
4. Bugor (*translator's note: hillock*) – person among detainees who intermediated relations between juveniles and administration, foreman in cases when detainees work
5. Cantacit (*translator's note: contaminate*) – contaminated by touching those from inferior class
6. Cifir (*translator's note: strong tea*) – strong tea served on *special* occasions, for instance on everyone's accepting a nickname given to their colleague
7. Draci (*translator's note: devils*) – the lowest social class, similar to intangibles from Indian casts
8. Dvijenii (*translator's note: movements*)– way to manifest oneself, to act
9. Hată (*translator's note: house*)– cell
10. Maleava (*translator's note: piece of news*)– letter
11. Obijenie (*translator's note: offended*) – inferior social class, isolated
12. Obşenie (*translator's note: communication*)– communication in order to settle different problems occurring in the community
13. Paganeală (*translator's note: nickname*)– nickname
14. Parajneac (*translator's note: empty*)– meaningless
15. Pastanove (*translator's note: orders*) – informal rules, norms
16. Poniatia (*translator's note: concept*)– informal norms of conduct
17. Pricol (*translator's note: trick*)– joke, funny situation
18. Progul (*translator's note: absence without leave*)– message transmitted in the entire prison by *smotreaşii* (*translator's note: supervisor*)
19. Propisca (*translator's note: registration*)– moment when the newcomer to the cell speaks about himself, it is recommended to tell everything without hiding anything
20. Smotreaşii (*translator's note: supervisor*) – person who has the highest status in prison
21. Stremiaşiisea (*translator's note: aspiring*) – person who tends to reach the highest social class
22. Şnîri (*translator's note: prowler*) – the person executing the indications of those from the highest social class
23. Zanişeşti (*translator's note: skid*) – feeling dizzy, for instance from *cifir* (*translator's note: strong tea*), deviation from the usual way of behavior of a detainee
24. Zapret (*translator's note: prohibition*) – interdiction.

This list could be completed with other words, but we tried to present the words that were most often used by the juveniles during the interviews.

4.3 Nickname – by-name in prison

A nickname is the by-name given to a person in relation to a specific feature of his body, mind or activity. The nickname is called by detainees *pogoneală* (*translator's note: moniker*).

We can enumerate such examples as: *malii* (*translator's note: short*) (results from the short stature of the respondent), *minus* (the respondent does not see very well), *tadjic* (the respondent resembles the ethnics from Tajikistan), *iaita* (*translator's note: eggs*) (the head has the form of an egg), *suric* (because the

person is a little stupid), *babior* (*translator's note: beaver*), *melkie* (*translator's note: small*), *pankea*, etc. The interviewees say that one cannot give oneself a nickname, of one's own will, initiative. The nickname is given to a person only after members of the group accept, if the opinion of persons differ the opinion of the majority shall be considered. Once the juveniles are transferred from Prison No. 13 or Balti Prison to Goian Prison or other prisons the nickname remains the same.

Box. The manner of giving by-names in the prison environment

I did not have a *paganeală* (*translator's note: nickname*), but in prison they see better from the side, they permanently notice your movements and find a nickname for you. The group gathers and passes the cup with *cifir* (*translator's note: strong tea*) and gives you the nickname. This is the way they baptize you. When a nickname is given the opinion of the group matters. If there are 20 persons in the circle and all say what my nickname will be, while other 10 have a different opinion, the majority will win. It does not matter if you agree or not. (released young man)

Other nicknames are given depending on what you do, the reasons or someone *dostoinii* (*translator's note: decent*) gave you the *paganeala* (*translator's note: nickname*). *Paganeala* (*transaltor's note: nickname*) is given in several ways. For instance, I like to be *jestochii* (*translator's note: cruel*), that's it, I will be called cruel, but I cannot give myself a *paganeală* (*nickname*). One can give oneself a nickname but no one will accept it. You meet someone and greet him and he asks you who you are, what your nickname is and how they call you. You say "Cruel." He asks then the mates if that is true, and they say "that never happened in general." Then they ask you questions, where do you have this *paganeala* (*translator's note: nickname*) from? Maybe there already is a person who has such a *paganeala* (*translator's note: nickname*) and many people know that person, etc. (released young man)

A nickname is given by colleagues. It is more convenient when two boys have the same name. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

A detainee is given a nickname on the first day, usually, by the other detainees and in certain specific situations: someone said something unusual, did something special, etc., one of the conditions for a nickname to stick to a subject is his personal acceptance – "a nickname must not be offending." Why

nicknames are given? – Because, the interviewee replied, it happens that there are persons with the same first name in a cell or prison, and the last name is not very convenient, therefore the nickname has the role to individualize the person.

Box. Employees about nicknames

I know they have nicknames based on how they showed themselves, what attitude they have, the way they talk. I know them by name, I do not know their nickname. He tries to tell me about another colleague, I ask him to tell the names, without any... we try to avoid their slang. (employee)

There is a person in the class who does not read, does not see well without glasses and they always humiliate him. They call him Minus – they always make him clean the blackboard, in other words, if he does not write he is a kind of on duty and he executes what they say to avoid further humiliation. (employee)

4.4 Tattoo and its meaning

One of the types of identification of group members is tattoos. Anthropological studies determined that individuals tattoo themselves as a result of certain automatism. When individuals with a different culture live together, they feel induced, as if by instinct, to draw and imprint on their bodies images which remind of their cohabitation. Tattoo is the most direct and expressive means to demonstrate to oneself and to the others the affiliation to a group by printing on the body a distinctive sign. The purpose is not to reproduce or remember a certain object, but to have evidence that a number of individuals take part in the same moral and social life.

In case of prison environment tattoos indicate a transition from a status to another known by the juvenile detainees during their stay in prison. Respondents talked about some tattoos the meaning of which is known by the entire group. Tattoo in the form of a “star” is representative for those who violate rules, have a great autonomy, freedom in their relations with the administration. Other types of drawings reflect different objects, such as: sword, knife, church or the initial letter of the name, tattoos representing animals. One of the most frequent tattoos among respondents in prison was a central dot surrounded by other four. This drawing means,

according to respondents, a room in prison and four walls, while the central dot is the respondent himself.



Alone in four walls

The keys and locks refer to “closed” values to which access is prohibited. The keys represent the power to open and close, to incarcerate or release, marking the beginning of a new stage in life marked by the transition to another status.

The crown is a symbol of power and authority. It symbolizes, at the same time, the independence of a person who is a master of his life, his acts, thoughts and feelings.

Some tattoo a crown meaning “I am my own king”. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

In the prison subculture, the tattoo representing a knife or a dagger mean a man who committed a crime.

Numbers (dates with certain signification for the criminal, articles from Criminal Code). Tattoos are made in prison, even if some respondents deny it, the others say openly they can be made there.

Box. Confirmation of the fact that tattoos can be made in prison

They may be done with a needle. Many tattoo themselves, the color is from a gel pen. Everyone makes what one likes.” (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Some tattoo ЛОМ – лиублиу отта i mati (*translator’s note: crowbar – love my mom and dad*). (juvenile from Groian Prison)

It is pen color. The skin may get infected. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

One of the juveniles added that those who cannot draw or do not reach the place they want to tattoo appeal to their colleagues who have this ability. The expression used by juveniles is “to hit a tattoo.”

Box. Opinions about the meaning of tattoos

They have a huge significance. When I arrived to prison I had no tattoos. One can tattoo oneself. One can tattoo a meaningless thing, an *uzor* (translator's note: pattern). But it does not mean anything and in such a case it is not a problem. But there are many tattoos which mean something in this life and tattoos one must deserve. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

4 dots may be tattooed meaning that when someone hits you, no matter how many they are, 10 guys or so, you need to hit them back even if they beat you up, you have to hit back. This means something to me, I have to respect it. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

A line missing in a cross means you do not have a father, two lines missing – you do not have your father and mother and the finger with the cross is very important. I have a father but when I got to prison he repudiated the juvenile, repudiated the child, etc. since that day I do not consider him my father. He went abroad. (released young man)

I tattooed a cobra on my leg and it does not mean anything. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Some make their tattoos saying that they mean that, they make it up by themselves. (juvenile from Goian prison)

According to the old law of convicts, I heard from persons who stayed in prison for more than 40 years, if the man cannot account for his tattoo and he does not deserve it, the tattoo used to be cut out and flayed or burnt and they used to tell him that evening: "If I see it tomorrow", I'll tear you into pieces, and he has to erase it by himself, by it is not simple to erase a tattoo, anyway you have to burn or melt it with cigarette or a heater. It is very difficult to remove a tattoo. (released young man)

It was not possible in Lipcani, *bugorii* (translator's note: intermediaries) did not let those who..., did not let everyone. *You had to inform the bugorul* (translator's note: intermediary) and then *smotriaşii* (translator's note: supervisor). *Bugor* (translator's note: intermediary) is the adult who stays with juveniles, for us they were *bugori* (translator's note: intermediaries), they helped the cops. (released young man)





Box. Statements of employees about tattoos

They have them. They make them with a pen, I noticed, on the hand, I saw a juvenile with his name tattooed. I saw a tattoo made with a pen, but later microbes appeared there and the place became a wound. (employee)

A juvenile tattooed a church, or even a bell tower, and wrote his name on his fingers. But he also stayed in the pre-trial detention center and at hospital for detainees and he was in contact with adults. I did not notice any other tattoos.

They prefer crosses, many dots – one of them told me that these are days in prison, sun. I saw even pus. I told them they could get a gangrene, they could have an infection get in their blood. They do not make these dots every day, but in a month... I did not see large tattoos, I think adults make them. (employee)

They have tattoos representing crosses, churches, initials of their names, chains, very many chains. They mean something, I know a child who did not have any tattoo, then I saw a tattoo on his thigh and it was a rather beautiful tattoo. This child wants to look in the society as an ordinary man. They all tattooed their hands. They will come back to the society. “How will you come back to the society if you already printed information about yourself?” Of course they will immediately consider you a criminal. I would advise them not to destroy their lives with it as a tattoo can be made anytime. The person I talked about earlier had very many tattoos, they did not overlap, but were one next to the other, they even were not clear, in any case, they were neither beautiful not attractive. I assume that was their passport, as many of them made tattoos because many of them had to serve their sentence with adults and the first thing the adults do, if you did not manage to talk, is they look at tattoos and then proceed with the testing, then you tell them what you were convicted for and then you are glorified. (employee)



VALUES ▲ AND FUTURE

5.1 Prison – conditions of resocialization

The prison as a coercive organization has the purpose to correct the socialization deficits or recover some individuals with deviant behavior. The activity is conducted in line with the legal provisions and with the support of staff specialized in providing relevant educational assistance, but also in applying the coercive means provided for in the regulations. Prison is a total institution, it is viewed by Erving Goffman as a place where a large number of individuals with similar status live and act, being separated from the rest of society for an estimable period of time and who live a strictly delimited life officially regulated by the institution.

In general, when juveniles speak of GP they use a standard set of words by which they say that GP offers all conditions necessary for their development, courses of hairdresser, cook, mechanic. They speak of the psychologist, trainings, activities they think they need. Many juveniles said that if one wants everything to be ok, one does not need to conflict with

the administration, perhaps the positive perception of GP is explained by the observance of this rule, on the one hand, and by the real conditions for self-development provided by the administration, on the other hand.

They say that in Prison No. 13 they used to spend all the time in the cell and to have only one walk a day. They were not busy with activities that would resocialize them, reorient them from the life in prison with all its negative aspects. This prison offers them a model of relations they perpetuate in Goian Prison.

It is important that the interviewees appreciate the conditions in prison and consider that the activities they do inside prepare them for a better life immediately after the period of detention. All respondents wish to create a family or to financially support their parents, to continue their studies, to display in their relations with others a correct behavior and attitude.

Box. Perception of resocialization possibilities

I go to gym, read psychological books. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I learnt the profession of cook, I registered myself for the course of hairdresser. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

There are good conditions in prison, there are trainings, different activities, and we can learn the profession of cook, hairdresser, and mechanic. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I learnt 2 specialties: cook and mechanic, now I registered myself for the course of hairdresser. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

We study in gymnasium. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Box. Activities which prepare juveniles for life according to employees

Curricular and extra-curricular activities, the social assistant and the psychologist are focused on manual work with them. They try to distract attention from other things and they learn how to make beautiful things by their hands. (employee)

Beside gymnasium studies they learn also professions. It is an advantage for them. There is a child who already cuts the hair of all boys. They take part in contests of cooks. Different activities are organized: even golden autumn, March 8th. (employee)

There are conditions for them. They are provided the possibility to get involved in different activities. (employee)

They are oriented towards the beautiful, the good. Different holidays, traditions, and birthdays – all these make them feel good to a certain extent, even if they are in prison, to remind them of freedom, to make them think: I was stupid when I did it, I have to control myself and become a human. After such conditions some of them, not 100% of course, but 30% will become a human. (employee)

They are taught good manners here in prison. When they are released they will be prepared to integrate in the society. (employee)

One of the interviewed employees mentions that those from high social classes do not go to learn a specialty, it conflicts with their status, but they attend gymnasium, they have good results, they must prove that it is not in vain they got “up” there, but they “indeed

are not stupid, they indeed have knowledge.” They want the teacher to obey them somehow, they do not want the teacher to order and give them indications. This is confirmed by one of the released juveniles.

Would you attend cooking courses?

If I would attend a cooking course, that's it, I am a devil. (in other words *neputiovîi* (translator's note: good-for-nothing))

If you would be proposed to study the profession of mechanic, would you accept it?

I could learn it for myself. But to do things like making a paddle because they want me to, no, are you kidding me? I could go for myself and have fun, for my own interest but not for someone. But if I need that stick I will do it myself. But I cannot accept to be ordered, do this and that. Not even the teacher can order me. He can explain, look guys, you need to it like that. But he may not tell me: take this and do this, that's enough – no. (released young man)

Those from high levels manifest indifference and disguise for useful social activities, such as studies and work, they oppose to moral norms, they reject them, and they adhere to the status of delinquent, and display a false image about individual autonomy and freedom, expressed by aggressiveness and violence.

One of the interviewees described the following case: “we worked according to the schedule, but after a while he, the juvenile, got nervous because he did not understand anything. He even flopped a

chair, slammed the door and he told me to get lost. He went out to the corridor and started to yell, shout rubbish. We were on the second floor and he was on the third floor and God forbid how noisy it was. Until they came to calm him down with a couple of hits on his back and I assume a couple of bats over the head, he would not calm down. But I heard they establish rules among themselves, then he comes and generates these conflicts in prison after which his elder mates quickly tell him to get off. They beat him a couple of times and he becomes as good as gold.”

System of values.

5.2 Representation of future by juveniles

Values are an important part of the integrated system of a personality, they have a crucial role in determining the life horizon of a person. Juveniles come to prison with their own attitudes, with their own system of values. In order to have a behavior required to achieve the objectives of the prison, it needs to motivate them, a task hard to achieve because of resistance, opposition, protest, negativism

specific to the age. Transition from the day-to-day lifestyle to the prison one is also marked by the influence of the system of values, and not by its total change however. The enumerated values included: family, friends, and freedom. There is a taboo with regards to “mother” – in case of a disagreement one may tell many things, but it is prohibited to offend the mother of one’s opponent.

Box. Juveniles and employees about values

My mother gave birth to me, gave me my sister, freedom. I am here but I want to be at large. I want to see my parents’ home. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Freedom, common value. For some it is to become a singer or a sportsman. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Some want to start from the scratch, to continue their studies, to legalize documents, to find a workplace, to create a family. (employee)

The system of values is like a general plan, like a map, like an outline. Only the relevant part of the map or pattern is consulted, the rest being ignored for the moment. Different subsets of the “map” are activated in different social situations. Such a situation is the detention of juveniles in prison and the part of values activated here. The supreme value mentioned by all boys here is the family with its derivative – *kindness, sincerity, equity*, they mean the

quality and type of relations that should ideally be in a family. All boys in unison referred to family and relations between family members, absolutely qualitatively elevated relations. Freedom in this context would have the same value as the family in the view of young men from here. The wish and aspiration to get to the outside world is related to home, this home having a meaning equal to that of family and freedom.

Box. Future imagined by juveniles in prison

Cletca (translator’s note: cage), prison to be a dream. I can go anywhere, with any girl, money, and phone. It’s a dream. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I want to be a driver. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Happy family, my own family, permanent job. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Future for each interviewee gives hope that everything which will follow is a life where there is a chance for their self-realization. Future is the family which should support them. Although there are cases when some of them say: "Where shall I go, where shall I work, maybe I will come back." One of the released juveniles says the life in prison is not for him, he does not want to repeat the experience, and

he likes the life he will live. He sees his future as a long-distance or mini-bus driver. He wants to create his own family in future. The first specific steps he makes are legalization of documents, followed by studies to get the driver's license, etc. The other juvenile wants a future at large, and he wants it to be as good as possible. "Time will show" he says.

Box. The first thing juveniles from Goian Prison should do at large

I will dress up nicely, trainers, I will use a good perfume not to smell from me of prison. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

When I am released I will break the friendship that brought me here. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

To be with my family. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

I will look for a job. (juvenile from Goian Prison)

Studies about motivation of change reveal that when young men speak about or act in a new direction their beliefs and values tend to orient in that direction. For that purpose it is necessary to acknowledge real and potential problems, but also to express the need, wish, availability for change. The involvement of persons important to the person, in our case they are the relatives of juveniles, is also important.

The juveniles from Goian Prison feel and mention all these during the interviews. Potential problems would be the difficulties to adjust after release from prison, that environment which upon return might not be the most appropriate for change: incomplete family, alcoholic and/or indifferent parents, insistent "friends", insufficient finance, etc.

Box. Opinions of employees about future and change

There was a case when a juvenile said he was keeping in touch with his parents but we learnt he was not, he was lying to the administration and on the initiative of the social assistant they wrote a letter home addressed to his mother and the parents reacted. They came to see him, then he went home. There was a problem: where was he going? (employee)

We, prison employees, try to guide him on the right path or to provide the services that might be useful to him, however, the source of information depends also on parents and family, siblings, circle of friends. (employee)

I think pupils who work and get involved in activities will have a future. (employee)

The employees say that their future depends on those who work with juveniles, but also on the juveniles, the manner they perceive and want to change the future. The future is individual, it is not the same

for everyone, and it depends where the young man returns. Nevertheless, there is the wish for a change for good.

5.3 Advices for future from employees

These young men are a part of a good future we all want. Therefore, the effort made to reeducate is huge and positively perceived by the employees of the prison. The recommendations provided by those who take care of these young men are as follows:

responsibility in everything, decisions taken to be well thought, continuing studies in a certain area, management of emotions, professional activity conducted honestly, etc. lack of these will make them undertake actions they might regret later.

Box. Advices from employees

To behave themselves. Not to forget that they have rights, but also responsibilities. To learn from the mistake they made. It is natural to make mistake, but one needs to understand the mistake on time. (employee)

Not to repeat what they did, this to be a bad dream they had in their life. And the others by seeing their example not to get where they got. (employee)

I tell them “It does not matter where you are, you are persons and you need to become someone”. (employee)

Any step you make needs to be very well weighed. Whatever you did, you did not do consciously: either under the influence of drugs or alcohol. (employee)

Not to ever come back. To listen to their parents – parents will never wish them bad. But there are also exceptions – parents who teach their children to steal. If they see that the family is not the environment supporting them – they will further cope by themselves. (employee)

They tattooed all their hands. They will come back to the society. “How are you going to come to society if you already printed information about yourself?” It is obvious they will immediately consider you a criminal. I would advise them not to destroy their life with it, you will always have time for a tattoo. The person I talked about earlier had very many tattoos, they did not overlap, but were one next to the other, they even were not clear, in any case, they were neither beautiful not attractive. I assume that was their passport, as many of them made tattoos because many of them had to serve their sentence with adults and the first thing the adults do, if you did not manage to talk, is they look at tattoos and then proceed with the testing, then you tell them what you were convicted for and then you are glorified. (employee)



CONCLUSIONS

This study is based on the experience of juveniles detained in Goian Prison for juveniles, who serve their sentence in line with the criminal law. The information obtained during the interviews with the juveniles was completed with the information provided by those in contact with these children for the purpose of their resocialization. The obtained data revealed that the rites of passage generate effects at the level of social relations, at the emotional level of each juvenile who got to prison.

The juvenile detainees exist in a world that has a specific culture, in a closed universe that leaves a deep mark on the human behavior; a world marked by rites of passage, passage of the young man from one status to another; a world of existing social classes (*blatnîe* (translator's note: tough guys), *neputiovîe* (translator's note: good-for-nothing), *abijenîe* (translator's note: offended)) with its own system of values. The rites of passage have here a major social function: to maintain cohesion, to keep the feeling of affiliation to a group, they make the activities and the existing groups meaningful in prison, they allow an easier adjustment of the young man. By the *rite of aggregation* which is a phase of the *rite of passage* the juvenile is integrated in the community, he understands the need to observe the already established hierarchy and takes part later in the passage of newcomers.

Institutionalization of juveniles is a process with strong emotional, social and cultural implications which are gradually transformed in a hostile relation between the representatives of the institution and the young men deprived of freedom, which is obvious in the situation when some are supervised and the others supervise, a situation in which communication cannot be but complementary. The environment they are in limits the identity of the young man and makes him take a collective identity, because the institution makes them follow standard procedures of affiliation leading finally to diminishing self-identity.

Prison is an institution which in parallel with the coercive nature has the purpose of educating juveniles in terms of their resocialization and successful integration in the society. The educational objectives are achieved to a certain extent, the failures are caused by subjective reasons: lack of will of some young men to attend gymnasium or refusal to learn a profession because they are from the highest class – *blatnîe* (translator's note: tough guys). The community of detained juveniles created a world in which informal rules are more important than persons, than their future. This is the case of those from the highest category.

Juveniles face difficult emotional states: sadness, feelings of insecurity, aggressiveness, they feel abandoned. All these states are caused by the lack of freedom one needs to get used to; the absence of their near and dear who come to see them rarely or at all; the feeling of guilt related to the committed act; the social class he is part of in prison. The lack of capacity to manage emotions makes the juveniles undertake aggressive methods to express their emotions. The integration of young men in a new environment is tolerated harder when it is the first experience of this kind, in the first penitentiary institution he is brought to: Prison No. 13 or prisons from Balti, Cahul, etc.

Juveniles appreciate special moments, such as different holidays, birthdays, open days, etc. They ensure the increase of the positive socialization degree and permanent relationships with the world outside the walls of the prison, which is important for all those involved in the *relations juvenile – Department of Penitentiary Institutions – society*. The open day is a ritual and essential event which has a very important significance for the majority of juveniles, rejoining parents, family, it allows them to meet, even partially, a basic human need – affective and emotional support of young men by the close relatives. In this regard, the organization of such activities not only once per year may positively influence the behavior of many juveniles.

Rare meetings with family cause a quantitative and qualitative reduction of communication with family members, and an increase of concerns related to what happens in the family. The frequency of visits of parents depends on the distance from the domicile, but also on the parents, their lifestyle, their interest in the future of the child, financial possibilities. Even if the majority of juveniles state that they see their parents, they do not manage to speak about problems related to their emotional condition or difficulties they try to cope with in order to avoid upsetting parents.

School performance of juveniles is different, there are children who have good results because they have both abilities and will, but there are children whose results are low because of the belief that studies are useless, that they have to further serve their sentence in prison for adults where there will be no continuity or there is the case of those who have learning problems because of health or lack of elementary abilities to study. In case of learning a handicraft those from the highest class refuse to do so, the status they have among juvenile detainees does not allow them that. Those from the highest

class are more prone to repeatedly commit crimes because the rules of the respective category do not let them work in prison (in the kitchen, for instance, or perform other activities) and if upon release these juveniles will consider these rules, at a certain moment they will have to look for sources for existence and then it is possible they take the path of criminality.

From the *perspective of the young men*, the relations with those from the administration, the employees, teachers, are good, a lot of effort is being made to make them take part in the activities, to learn professions useful when they are released from prison. This is one of the manifestations of the *rites of intensification* the purpose of which is the promotion of positive image of prison and which is an advantage for the young men in prison. According to the informal norms of detainees it is categorically prohibited to speak about the life in prison, in such a case *or nothing, or only good*. From the *perspective of employees* a lot is being done for these children. The area they live in, the study workshops where the professional training courses in professions like cook, hairdresser take place, various activities aimed at improving the process of reeducating juveniles in custody of the detention institution from Goian are highly appreciated. Effort is made to change the situation related to social classes existing in prison, tattoos are prohibited, it is insisted that the slang learnt in other prisons prior to arriving to Goian Prison to be avoided. In this case the *rite of intensification* promotes the positive image of the institution and motivates others (juveniles, employees) to undertake effort in this regard.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Creation of a mechanism which would allow that juveniles are not detained in Prison No. 13 or Balti Prison, etc., because there is the possibility in these prisons to communicate with adult detainees from whom they learn their specific behavior, those social classes, that slang, that way of giving nicknames, those informal rules, the knowledge related to the symbolism of tattoos. Their transfer to Goian Prison continues, consolidates even more that way of existence and *culture* among other juveniles.

Training is a step towards change, training always accompanied by education which is very important in case of this category of young men. Thus, the motivation of young men to attend gymnasium, professional training is very important, irrespective of whether he will pursue other studies later or of the term to be served.

Training of detained juveniles related to the healthy lifestyle. The recommendations refer to not tattooing body parts, the arguments that should be presented are: the risk to get an infection from the needle, the syringe, the ink used; the tattoos symbolizing their detainee status will not favor them when at large; in prisons for adults, in case of transfer of young men,

the tattoos meaning something but undeserved are not accepted and there is a chance that the young man might be punished. At the same time, they need to be explained the risk they are subjected to by consuming the tea infusion, the so-called *cifir* (*translator's note: strong tea*), which causes headache, insomnia, caffeine accelerates the heart rhythm, affects kidneys, etc.

Development of a strategy by the administration which would start from a differentiated, individualized attitude towards the juveniles in prison, knowing the specifics of each social class may contribute to successful resocialization of juveniles. Detainees who are punished for rape should be monitored to avoid their informal punishment by the other detainees, this punishment may perpetuate or consolidate upon release this behavior of an aggressor, violator in subsequent relations.

Permanent evaluation by the experts of rehabilitation and reintegration programs the subject of which is the institutionalized juvenile, the teenager should not be prone to recidivism as a result of a resocialization superficially correlated with social reality. Inviting psychologists, lawyers from outside

the prison who would work with these juveniles in parallel with those employed in prison will facilitate a better opening, closeness to them, but also a more objective analysis of their personality as persons not involved in daily activity.

Implementation of programs in the community which would include high quality services, a real help both financial and mental and emotional for released young men, so that with their help they see their future in the community. Programs focused on the parents of those children are also necessary, in particular focused on their training in the field of communication and emotional support.

Creation in the community of multifunctional centers for young men from the community, joint activities facilitate social integration, facilitate their interaction and positive relationships. Increase the number of activities aimed at organizing leisure in the community according to their needs and interests.

Creation of psychological and consultancy services for young men focused on respecting the anonymity and confidentiality. Promotion of these services among young men who study in gymnasiums, lyceums, professional schools, colleges.

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TABOOS AND RITES
OF PASSAGE EXISTING
IN GOIAN PRISON FOR JUVENILES

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