

Piotr Chomczyński

University of Łódź

Informal Taxonomies of Charges of Correctional Facilities and Shelters for Juveniles Created by Personnel in the Context of Social Rehabilitation Interactions Sociological Analysis of the Phenomenon

Abstract: The main aim of this paper is to draw attention to the phenomenon of creating informal taxonomies by the personnel of correctional institutions (ZP) and shelters for juveniles (SdN) towards charges in relation to social rehabilitation work. It discusses both the mechanisms of creating such classifications as well as the consequences associated with them. The article defends the thesis that this type of stigmatization is on the one hand a natural phenomenon, because it is based on the mechanism of analogy, to a large extent unconscious, typical for educational institutions, but on the other hand dependent in its form on the adopted style of institution management. It also discusses the problem of multiple consequences of taxonomies. The results presented in this paper are based on seven years qualitative research carried out in social rehabilitation centers of all types throughout Poland. The research applied the principle of triangulation in the scope of methods, the researcher and data. To analyze empirical data an interpretative paradigm was used, which enables to see the interactive nature of the formation of negative emotions and emotional work.

Key words: stigmatization, juvenile delinquents, correctional institutions, total institutions, interaction, social rehabilitation.

Introduction

The phenomenon of social stigma is something neither new nor unusual or reserved for a small group of people. It is not necessary to convince anyone of the fact that we judge and on this basis we engage in particular activities or extinguish them, because scientific literature in psychology, social psychology, pedagogy and sociology (cf. Cialdini 2009; Aronson et al. 2012) is so rich in examples of experiments and observations, that this statement takes on the characteristics of tautology. Based on first impression we judge others in just a few seconds (Gawroński et al. 2010).

The theoretical framework of the description of correctional institutions

In the description of the phenomena occurring in groups of charges of correctional institutions I decided to make use of the broad interpretative mainstream, which – in my opinion – allows to obtain the desired degree of “sensitivity” to the phenomena and processes which are the subject of research. Bearing in mind the aforementioned theoretical perspective, I think of these approaches, which, due to the fact that the theoretical and methodological assumptions contained in them place in the center the indeterministic interaction of social actors endowed with free will – in the course of own actions they direct them towards each other in the process of defining, interpreting and symbolic determination (cf. Denzin 1983; Blumer 1969, p. 66–67). When speaking of the necessary sensitivity, I mean the ontological and epistemological orientation of interpretativism on the actor who takes an active role, having a set of certain beliefs towards it, he creates and modifies it (Turner 1962, p. 21). Thomas Wilson, who first introduced the concept of the interpretative paradigm, emphasizes that the issue of the relationship of a person towards the role is one of his key objectives. Wilson tied the interpretive perspective with finding mechanisms composing the perceptual matrix, which is used by social actors producing a mutual meaning for interactions in which they are involved (Wilson 1970, p. 707). Interpretations and actions of social actors towards each other constitute the main content of this article.

Theories of marking in the studies of group processes

The issues of the research presented in this article justifies to delve into certain theories of labeling, which allow to explain the status passages of members

of a given group in the context of actions based on the practices of self-stigmatization¹.

In the description of intra-group relations in the context of practices of stigmatization, ridiculous rituals that accompany the group members presented by Orin Klapp (1949) may also be useful (cf. also Prus 1999, p. 72). In the article *The Fool as a Social Type*, which fits into the widely understood trend of the labeling theory, Klapp (1949, p. 159–160) analyzed the phenomenon of exclusion and labeling occurring in groups through the fact of granting someone the status of being a fool (*fool-making process*). The person begins to function in the group as a “fool” when the group thus begins to define it. Therefore, one becomes a fool at the level of perception of the environment, which does not have to be based on the actual attributes of the individual whom it regards. Therefore, a person becomes a delinquent due to interpretation processes arising as a result of interaction between him and the environment (cf. Prus 1975, p. 80–81).

The studies conducted by the most famous representative of ethnomethodology, Harold Garfinkel (1956, 1967/2007) were maintained in a similar spirit. In the article *Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies* Garfinkel undertook the analysis of the issues closely related to these considerations, namely degradation practices taking place in small groups. He studied the actions of social actors that aimed at excluding “marked” persons. He defines degradation as “work based on communication, targeted to change the entire identity of an individual of a lower status in the context of the group typology” (Garfinkel 1956, p. 420). For him, degradation has the form of a ritual, as it is done according to a predetermined, well-known and predictable scenario for the group members. The degradation process separates the two identities, creating a gap between them and thereby preventing communication of the new identity with the old, removing any contact points. The “old” identity is treated as false, it is a manifestation of a certain temporary creation, which is not grounded in reality. The new identity is used in the group to explain past, present and future motives of the perpetrator.

In light of the above conclusions, we can say that the group has vast power over the individual, which translates into the ability to change the status of a person at any time and maintain it over time. This is a clear example of what was previously defined as the status forcing process. According to Anselm Strauss it is a “competence” which every group has. “Groups of all sizes and compositions can and do force their members to acquire and get rid of all kinds of temporary identities” (own translation, Strauss 1969, p. 77). The issue I undertake in this

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¹ It should be noted that the so-called labeling theory is not a theory in the strict sense of the word, due to the fact that it does not constitute statements that are logically interrelated, and their common denominator is the interest in the problem of deviance and a similar way of perceiving them (see Pawłowska 1985, p. 35–36; Chomczyński 2012, p. 288).

paper requires to draw attention to yet another problem described by Strauss, namely turning points in the individual's identity. Strauss' considerations emerge from the concept of transformations of identity adopted by him. The researcher understands the development (of identity) as "the relationship between stability and change, between what was before and what is later". While identity itself is recognized by him as "a series of interrelated transformations" (Strauss, 1969, p. 91). This means that people enter and come out of situations that compose their identity in a manner that is generally difficult to predict or arrange in a specific pattern bearing the marks of generality. Interesting, however, is also what Strauss does not specify, namely: how long we are able to defend the old concept of ourselves, not matching the conditions we are currently experiencing and which were initiated by a turning point? In short, I'm interested in everything that leads to obtaining a new concept of oneself in a situation where an individual is experiencing something unpleasant, which permanently changes its group perception, and through the processes of self-reflection, the perception of oneself.

Still with the issue of labeling practices, one cannot forget about Erving Goffman and his dramaturgical perspective used to analyze the situation of people affected by social stigma. His book *Stigma. Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (1963/2005) has set a new direction in the research on stigma (cf. Czykwin 2007, p. 15–20; see also Prussia, Grills 2003) made relative to the form of meanings ascribed by the parties of interaction. Goffman reflects on the public functioning of people who, due to some own attributes (or rather their social interpretation), are pushed to the margins of social life. Stigma itself is characterized in terms of "the situation of individuals deprived of full social acceptance" (Goffman 2005, p. 27). A stigmatic is a person considered as someone who is deficient, due to his disability (Goffman 2005, p. 32), who does not enjoy full rights and his participation in social life is conditional. A stigma in terms of Goffman is interpretative because it is based not so much on the characteristics of the individual as on their interpretation, which the environment makes (Goffman 2005, p. 33). Due to the subject of the paper, the category of stigma carriers is important to us, as it includes for instance those charges whose criminal past predisposes them to negative labeling and bearing the consequences associated with it. These are mainly those wards who committed acts covered by the most serious form of infamy in the criminogenic environment (broadly defined sexual offenses, against the family – especially the mother, etc.).

In addition to changes in the perception of the stigmatic by others, changes in the image of "I" in a person covered by social infamy are also important. The experience of stigma itself, according to Elżbieta Czykwin (2007, p. 224), reduces the sense of control, which certainly translates into the interactions built with others. Supremacy of the stigma, according to Czykwin (2007, p. 211), can lead to self-isolation actions by the stigma carrier, as a result of which his interactions thus far are shallower, weakened or ruptured. Hypertrophy of negative labels can

have serious consequences, as it becomes a permanent element of the image of oneself, which is part of the new identity (cf. Garfinkel 1956).

The mechanism of the formation of deviant identity was described by Howard Becker in the classic work from 1963 *Outsiders. Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. Apart from the definitional layer emerging from the adoption of the interpretative paradigm (Becker 2009, p. 13, 185) and the description of the different stages of a deviant's career, due to the subject of the paper, it is worth looking at "secret management" which includes the fact of smoking marijuana, determining membership in the group of deviants and possible consequences if this fact was disclosed to the public. Using Goffman's language, it can be assumed that a concealed secret assigns the smoker to the group of "discredited" people, and therefore sentenced to efforts to keep the secret concealed in order to protect oneself from the consequences of social control (2009, p. 70–71).

It is also worth mentioning the work of Robert Prus and Scott Grills *Deviant Mystique. Involvements, Realities and Regulation* of 2003. The authors, using the interpretative perspective emphasize that deviation arises at the level of the group defining the situation and particular person as deviant (Prus, Grills, 2003, p. 3). The phenomenon of deviance is therefore at the level of interpreting and defining someone or something (cf. Blumer 1969, p. 66) as "abnormal" who is not "one of us" (Blumer 1969, p. 38–39).

Methodology of studies

Methodological assumptions

The adopted research methodology, according to Blumer (1969, p. 22–23), should respect the complexity of the reality around us and to resist the tendency to hide the content of which it is composed. The research, reflecting the concepts and notions of social actors, are also close to the assumptions of Goffman (2011, p. 8). In the case of studies of a total institution, he advised on participation in the experiences of respondents and drawing resources from their experiences. Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, inscribed in the interpretative paradigm of sociology (Turner 2004, p. 456), allows to look at the daily nature of interaction from the "frog perspective" postulated by Georg Simmel (Simmel 1955, see also Piotrowski 1985). It is based on the adopted optics of perceiving phenomena as if "from below", where they actually occur, in the context of socially constructed reality underlying social order (cf. Czyżewski 2013, p. 14). In this case, the organizational order is created by interactions of charges in correctional institutions aimed at each other, as well as the personnel. In a study of total institutions, it should be assumed that they somewhat "protect" their secrets themselves (Moczyłowski, 2002; Kamiński 2006). These comments tend to a conclusion that the

key problem in describing the phenomena occurring in institutions bearing marks of total institutions, there is a problem of reluctance of respondents in exposing their “real” views, as well as the motives of actions.

Research techniques

Given the assumptions described above and the specificity of the area, the techniques providing the longest contact of a researcher with the respondent seem most relevant, resulting in greater confidence, sometimes posing the ability to “get through” the declared layer of statements, typical for techniques based on short-term contact (Konecki 2000). This observation determined the use of open participant observation and casual interview. Both tools give the researcher the ability to track for a long time interactions in the studied environment, as well as allow to detect at least some circumstances, actually underlying individual and collective actions (Hammersley, Atkinson, 2000, p. 16–17; cf. also Miszewski 2007, p. 36). This study also used the analysis of documents (observation cards, internal regulations, descriptions of extraordinary events, the opinions of the diagnostic department on the degree of demoralization, etc.) and visual analysis based on footage from cameras installed in the surveyed institutions. Analysis of this type of data was performed often with the help of personnel of facilities, who explained to the researcher the nature of interactions and activities undertaken by the charges, and also made it possible to consult on an ongoing basis the conclusions concerning visual manifestations of group sociometry. These actions allowed to read the nature of verbal and non-verbal gestures, disclosed by charges and increased the possibility of obtaining adequate observational sensitivity and interpreting and defining interactions observed in charges.

Research material and characterization of the studied sample

The study presented in this article is based on 52 casual interviews conducted with personnel of male and female correctional institutions and 42 casual interviews² carried out among male and female charges of the studied institutions. The study was conducted in 2008–2015 (a total of 7 months) in the “field” using the technique of open participant observation. During this period I tried to participate in all activities of the charges: at school, during apprenticeship in the course of workshops, during meals in the cafeteria, as well as in the dormitory during free time.

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² After the interview transcripts nearly 1,000 pages of empirical material were obtained, enriched by more than 100 pages of a record of open participant observation. This material was later subject to open, selective and substantive coding in ATLAS TI used for the analysis of qualitative data.

Casual interviews conducted among 12 girls and 30 boys between the ages of 13 to 21 years old, residing in shelters for juveniles and correctional institutions. Given the crucial role of trust in the context of information obtained, the interview was often repeated with the same people, which allowed not only to obtain new data, but also verify that provided earlier. In addition, the files of charges made available by personnel (26 documents) and the 182 opinions written by a diagnostics team, directed to family courts and prosecutor’s offices, were subject to analysis. Statistical analysis of the diagnostic documentation made it possible to aggregate information on families³ from which the charges derived and the symptoms suggestive of signs of pathology (Tab. 1).

Table 1. The type of families of charges in comparison with their dysfunction⁴ in relation to the analyzed opinions drawn up by the diagnostics department

Type of family	Dysfunctional family (%)	Family with no signs of dysfunction (%)	Total (%)
Complete (including reconstructed)	43 (23.6)	43 (23.6)	86 (47.2)
Incomplete	71 (39)	25 (13.7)	96 (52.7)
Total	114 (62.6)	68 (37.4)	182 (100)

Source: own calculations.

Research objective, problems and hypotheses

The article attempts to demonstrate the link between the emotional work of charges at the shallow and deep level, informal taxonomies of charges created by personnel and the effectiveness of social reintegration.

The article assumes the following hypotheses:

- the personnel of facilities create an informal taxonomy of charges based on their anticipated chances for social reintegration;

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³ The opinions of the diagnostics department of correctional institutions made available cover the period 2002-2015. The data contained in them allowed to reconstruct data on the population of some of the charges who were important to the subject of this article. Although due to random selection of received opinion (access to them was an arbitrary decision of the management of some correctional institutions and shelters for juveniles) generalizations cannot be made on this basis, however, we can talk about certain regularities visible among the studied population.

⁴ In the case of statistical analysis of the opinions on charges made available, the ambiguous description, its arbitrariness and vagueness of terms made it difficult sometimes, which impeded the statistical summary of the material. In the case of the assessment “no pathology in the family currently” the earlier educational situation in the family was analyzed and in the case of dysfunction such a family was classified as “dysfunctional”. I also classified reconstructed and foster families to the complete model, when information on emotional bond between the minor and the guardians appeared.

- taxonomies are labile, and the mobility of charges is the consequence of the direction of changes in their behavior perceived by the personnel;
- personnel links aggressive behavior of charges with ineffective emotional work or its failure;
- personnel links emotional work of charges with their chances for social integration;
- in contrast to shallow emotional work only deep emotional work leads to social reintegration.

Creating a taxonomy by educators and emotional work

The personnel of correctional institutions interactively generates taxonomies of charges, depending on the anticipated chances for full social reintegration. They are created *implicitly* by negotiation, during which a position is agreed, thereby generating a collectively shared knowledge of a juvenile. The dominant definitions of chances of a given charge become informally “in effect” after some time in contacts with them, constituting an observational matrix, which sanctions the actions taken against him. Taxonomies are created on the basis of factors which are assigned probabilistically formulated determinants included in the process of social rehabilitation. Such determinants are certain behaviors that are seen as predictors of the charge’s moral career (Goffman, 2011). If, for example, he invariably manifests aggressive behavior, inadequate to the accompanying interactive context, then the prospects for social rehabilitation are anticipated as small – and so it is defined – and consequently included in the group, of which the probability of reintegration is estimated as low⁵. Such a group can be separated in a formal way (also spatially), for example, constituted along with invariable rights entitled to it, which are limited to others (for visits, leaves). Members may also have physical belonging attributes (see Foucault 1993, p. 218–221⁶), for instance clothing provided by the institution (Photo 1), constituting a belonging to it (e.g. institution tracksuit).

Yes, yes, he’s self-confident, but despite this, I’m saying... like I say, I noticed here... it’s really the very strong charges do not play with mental games, or something, because they are simply... those who particularly, as I say, wait to leave the institution, it’s as if they isolate themselves from others, they know their position and power, but I’m telling

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⁵ At this point, one can attempt considerations about the mechanism of stereotyping in relation to the existing literature on the theory of labeling. However, this is not the subject of this article.

⁶ Michel Foucault discusses the example of the Military School, where there was a division into classes based on the ranks and degrees awarded to recruits for their achievements. The classes differed not only by the scope of privileges, but also uniform, which emphasized membership in a particular group.

you, they don't play around with name-calling, games, they simply want to be on the sidelines, last until... [end of the stay] (educator)



Fig. 1. Appeal in one of the correctional institutions

When building a taxonomy, its dynamics and direction is more important than the behavioral layer accompanying the conduct of the charge. For example, if the charge still does not show respect for colleagues, but now takes the form of verbal aggression in place of physical, then it is perceived as progress and pedagogical success recorded in the observation card, opening the way for further improvement, also through the personnel's attention, who invests a chance for reintegration in such action.

Interviewee 1 (R1) (charge): *Here, the educator knows how I once was, because he read my papers.*

Interviewee 2 (R2) (educator): *He did. Piece of paste.*

R1.: *My parents also say they are shocked, that I've changed, right?*

Researcher: *Is there a change?*

R2.: *There's a very big change. There's a very big change, but there's also a lot of hard work. On the part of [name of charge] and on our part. If one understands, then they will be on our side. Although you have to want to...*

R1.: *but honestly educators... Tell me honestly. When I leave, will I be able to cope?*

R2.: *You can do it. Of course, you can do it.*

The dynamics of change in a charge and its direction is a factor that determines the lability of created taxonomies. Their flexibility is generally inversely proportional to the degree of stiffness of relationships between the personnel and the charges. The frequency and intensity of direct contacts is also important, which, the rarer and more indirect they are, the more they cement and formalize the given taxonomies.

Emotional work as an element of security of a facility

Although the concept of emotional work is not included in the vocabulary of the personnel of correctional institutions, longer observations of mutual interactions on the part of personnel and charges allows to reveal its attributes and interaction artifacts. In reference to Edgar Schein's concept of organizational culture (1989, 1990), emotional work is expressed in the basic values that correspond with the inarticulate conviction of personnel that the immediate cause of juvenile offenders' problems is the inability to control negative emotions. This finding is reflected in the operational level of interactions and their prioritization. The emotional layer becomes the immediate objective of educational interactions, leaving behind other aspects of the charge's stay, like for instance school education or learning a profession.

[...] on the other hand, we do it because it is a lesson and we have to do it, but when a problem appears, then this lesson simply does not take place, only we talk about it, because of social rehabilitation (teacher).

The mentioned prioritization of educational interactions stems from the firm conviction of personnel about the organizational identity of correctional institutions. Of course, correctional facilities differ in the degree of openness⁷, which to some extent affects the proportions in terms of restrictiveness and placing emphasis on control or education. It should be noted, however, that in each of these institutions, emotional work has a controlling provenance, serving to regulate behavior on a regular basis and provide the possibility of making predictions in the near future. Emotional work is commonly associated with the safety of the facility (Chomczyński 2013, p. 106–107), as it translates into the state of emotional balance, which is operationalized by personnel to the concept of “educational situation”. It constitutes both an element of collective knowledge transferred in the course of secondary socialization of new employees by those more experienced, as well as a reference point for the diagnosis of the current relations between minors.

[...] as I say, ever since kites have been abolished, there's no such thing, and sometimes there are such periods in the school year when something like that rustled in the whole system, no... in those gears ... But this, as I say, at the right time we try to observe and stave this off, but whether we succeed further; nothing, no one knows, because it is unknown, sir. Now it's good, fine, but we don't know what will be next week, in a month, that's why we have to cooperate with each other (teacher).

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⁷ In Poland the following types of institutions are distinguished: open, semi-open, closed and with increased educational supervision.

Work on emotions initiated by educators is coupled with “mindfulness training”, which is based on mutual control, supporting each other and stressing the importance of observing even small behavioral artifacts, which could indicate that something threatens balance and the satisfactory educational climate thus far is changing for the worse.

[...] here everything is kind of natural [...] only this needs to be analyzed all the time, it needs to be constantly monitored and it won't be so bad, and you have to accept this, but of course you can't let yourself be taken up by this wave. It cannot be that the charges rule, and there are such places, and the rest adapts to us to have peace of mind (educator).

[...] you need to pay attention to the little things, for any such small nuances, blinking eyes [...] things like that, and you have to keep an eye on such things (educator).

Emotional work as the reproduction of cultural patterns

In observing the activities of personnel, who initiates emotional work through charges, it can be considered what patterns educators use when instructing the charges in terms of “correct” behavior and etiquette. Of course, one should agree with Norbert Elias (2011) that behavior regarded as exemplary is conditioned by the development of civilization and some behavioral artifacts are a *signum temporis* of norms and values that we profess today. One can also refer to the theory of reproduction of Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (2006), which would help to explain what kind of content and how they are subjected to reproduction by providing instructions which are part of the scope of actions underlying the emotional work of charges in relation to the habitus of educators. However, I would like to focus on the construction of a common observational matrix and creating a certain taxonomy of the actions of educators, based on the aspirations and designated goals presented by them, which, through emotional work, are to lead to their achievement by the charges.

Emotional work, through the reproduction of the socially dominant ways of coping with difficult emotions, is intended to make charges “invisible” or inconspicuous due to their otherness in behavior known as typical and corresponding to the current interactive context.

The most annoying for me ... the dude weighs sixty kilos and he stiffens so. He is walking heavily through that hall, isn't he? And I'll tell you that it's on purpose, I walk away on purpose, right? Because I don't want him ... to provoke me, right? I walk away, normally ... I walk away, right? I shouldn't ... I should catch him right now and hit him in the head, right? But I don't want to (charge).

At this point, one may ask where educators derive information about what is emotionally appropriate in a given context and what is not? What emotions can

one reveal and which should he hide? What could be the behavioral manifestations of emotions felt at a given time of interaction? How much spontaneity can one allow oneself at the given moment? Garfinkel's concept of the basic context of understanding (1963, p. 380; 2007, p. 67) partly answers these questions; it is based on the belief that "if something is obvious for me (*taken for granted*) it should be obvious also for you". Educators who use their own *expressis verbis* experience refer them to the situation experienced by the charge currently or in the past, or the hypothetical, which is less or more likely an eventuality. On this basis the common observational matrix is reconstructed, about which Alfred Schütz (1953) wrote about. The greater the extent in which it is common for the educator and the charge, the greater are the chances of reproductive attitudes by the latter. "The normative proximity" causes that personnel is confident about the possible pedagogical success of the charge and thus increases his efforts in order to achieve the goal. This interaction has to some extent an autopoietic character, as the observation of the positive effects of social rehabilitation confirms the educator's belief about the correctness of the steps taken, thus legitimizing further ones, which again heighten the final result. The educator is a carrier here, a "transmission belt" of the reproduction of socially desirable behavior. The more "attractive" it is for the charge, the greater the chances that when not all of the messages appear to be accurate and understandable, their internalization will somehow be "credited" by the confidence of a charge who entrusts that this is the right thing to do in a given situation, although he is not assured.

[...] once also when I came to the facility for the first time, I wanted to be very high, because I just didn't care for anything, I simply didn't give a damn about anything. And after that rebellion, the director had a talk with me and told me to think about my family a bit, whether they didn't want me to come home more often and such... (charge).

The reproduction of cultural patterns, upon which emotional work of charges is based, is mediated by the possibilities attributed to them by personnel in relation to chances for integration based on the internalization of social norms and values, often contrary to those recognized in families where they grew up (see Tab. 1). Therefore, contrary to the declarations of educators, we cannot speak of *carte blanche* in relation to all charges, because to some extent they are subject (as a result of observations and past accomplishments) to the already mentioned taxonomization. It allows to distinguish categories, depending on the estimated chances to assimilate and internalize attitudes displayed by the "normals" (using the terminology of Erving Goffman). At this point you can refer to the aforementioned concept of Arlie Hochschild (2009) and the "shallow" and "deep" emotional work proposed by her.

Shallow and deep work and social reintegration

Taxonomies of charges created by educators translate into the type of emotional work undertaken by the former. Charges who, based on the observations⁸ are perceived by personnel as having little chance of returning to society, are subject mainly to the assessment of behavioral artifacts. In terms of the classification of Hochschild (2009, p. 42), one can speak about an applied pressure on them in relation to initiating emotional work, at least shallow, which is expressed in the modification of discernible on the outside signs of negative emotions. In this case, one can talk about the external motivation, involved with secondary adjustment (Goffman 2011, p. 182), the underlying reasons of which are instrumental. The charge bases here on reflected self, which tells him how to adapt to the expectations of personnel, thus avoiding problems that could lead to a deterioration of his situation and the loss of rights.

B.: *Why were you there in solitary confinement?*

R.: *I was naughty.*

B.: *Yes? What did you do?*

R.: *I smashed up windshield.*

B.: *Hmm. Just like that or did something anger you?*

R.: *Yeah. The teachers angered me mostly, right?*

B.: *Hmm. What did they do to anger you?*

R.: *Depends ... I was supposed to go on leave, and I didn't go (charge).*

Neither the charges nor the personnel perceive shallow emotional work in the categories of the social rehabilitation process. For the former, it is a way to achieve immediate benefits, while for the latter, the factor of recognizing their authority and control translates into the “educational climate” and the associated sense of security in the facility. Charges who undertake such actions still feel negative emotions, but they pay more attention to the interactive context in which they can allow to reveal them. Such knowledge is passed on the basis of mutual observations, learning from more experienced colleagues.

B.: *Tell me how the boys cope with negative emotions?*

R.: *OK. The fact that, there is no denying, that ... here the decisive issue is the behavior of those who ... who as if set the standards, or those who are older, more demoralized, higher up in the hierarchy of that second life. The handicapped, younger and so-called newbies, the new ones, look at them and react (educator).*

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⁸ My observations show that personnel is not guided by the opinions of the diagnostic department in developing the taxonomy only analyzes the current behavior of the charge.

A completely different group are the charges who initiated deep emotional work. They typically pass the “shallow” stage earlier and encouraged by the favorable reaction of educators for their behavioral changes, they have decided to continue, by suppressing negative emotional responses to pejorative stimuli.

[...] I rules those nerds. I hammered all the rooms when they piss... me off or something. They were afraid of me and called me Killer. The murderer, the killer and everything, right? Killer, killer, how's it going and they were afraid of me, right? But now I don't react, I don't give a shit (charge).

A factor motivating charges for deep emotional work is to move the focus from the past to the future. Consolidating in them these mental connections between the change in prioritization of values today and the chance to implement plans is usually a “flywheel” of this kind of work.

There used to be problems with me constantly, I got into fights all the time, but then I was over it and I don't care about it now (charge).

I don't care that they call me names, because I don't give a crap about them. I just came here to do my time and maybe I'll get out and maybe not (charge).

Deep action is usually supported by the possibility of almost immediate verification of its effects, which motivates to continue to work. Contacts with the world outside the walls is extended (e.g. more frequent visits of family and friends, passes, going to cultural institutions, excursions, etc.). In dealing with outsiders the charges review the effects they have achieved, which are the subject of educational discussion. Their example serves educators to continually recruit to the group with more opportunities of reintegration those who fill the ranks of those defined as having fewer chances.

Deep emotional work never happens in a vacuum and is carried out with the close involvement of a particular educator, who, as I have mentioned, is the most “attractive” for the charge, who has an observational matrix (Schütz 1953). It is difficult to clearly identify who chooses whom, but you can certainly talk about a kind of fitting that translates into the realization of goals. This kind of “contract” involves the transformation of the role of the social rehabilitation educator to a person who is referred to in business as a mentor. It is a close relationship, direct and based on mutual trust, which in the beginning is somehow “credited” by the educator, “exaggerating” in granting additional rights to the charge (e.g. longer visits, limited control, entrusting tasks without supervision, etc.), thus undertaking a personal risk. These observations, interviews and analysis of source material (observation cards, opinions, case files) allow us to conclude that it is an essential element of effective social rehabilitation reintegration, because it underlies the trust built in this way, which constitutes the attributes of a close

relationship. This in turn determines the initialization of deep work. An inherent feature of this relationship is a mutual display of emotionality which plays the role of an important message for the charge, who is gradually replacing negative emotions for positive ones. The emotionality of the charge is subject to reconstruction conditioning the “jump” from shallow work, assuming a kind of emotional regression in order to adapt to the stage of progression, which is characterized by affective expression. Regression takes the form of suppression of negative emotions, such as anger, sadness to the form of indifference, which determines the limitation of behavioral expression. In the case of deep actions, progress consists in the gradual replacement of negative emotions for those related to the adoption of a forward-looking perspective, e.g. satisfaction in own achievements, joy, pride.

However, a separate group of charges are those who do not undertake emotional work, neither shallow nor deep. These are very demoralized individuals, the vast majority of them come from pathological environments (114 to 182 of charges in the light of opinion analyses – see Tab. 1) and manifest their fascination with prison culture or completely contest the norms and values propagated in the facility. Such persons are defined by personnel as “dangerous” and are subject to special supervision. In the absence of improvement for a long time (from several weeks to several months), i.e. initiating shallow work, they are subject to transfer to a more closed institution (closed facility or one with increased educational supervision, and sometimes a prison).

Conclusion and summary

Several years of participant observation conducted in correctional institutions allowed to see the problem of emotionality of charges in the context of social reintegration. It is not only an important but also necessary element of pedagogical work which is set the goal of social reintegration. In the vast majority (about 62% in the case of data taken from reviews of the diagnostic department – Tab. 1) the population of correctional institutions consists of young people from families that are described as dysfunctional⁹, where the realized ways of coping with negative emotions are not compatible with social recognition. As a result, charges from an early age are subject to exposure to patterns of unfavorable behavior, which they became saturated with during primary socialization in both family and friend circles. Deficits at the level of the ability to express negative emotions is largely

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⁹ These data correspond to the calculations obtained in 1998 (unpublished MA thesis) and 2015 (study repeated using the same tool) by the director of the Shelter for Juveniles, Paweł Radziszewicz. In light of the results obtained on samples of 42 charges (1998) and 22 (2015), 61% and 76% respectively came from highly dysfunctional families.

determined by their subsequent fate, leading to conflicts with the law and, consequently, to be placed in shelters and correctional institutions.

The problem of emotional work discussed in the article conditions the reconstruction of previously assimilated and strongly internalized patterns of behavior arising from the experience of negative emotions. Some charges¹⁰ stop at the initial stage of adjustment (Goffman, 2011) at the behavioral level of requirements and rules prevailing in institutions. In this group, many declare a fascination with prison life and the subculture associated with it. Personnel is seen as an enemy, who are attributed bad intentions, which corresponds to a more or less formal assignment to a group with minimal or fewer opportunities for social reintegration. Shallow work on emotions is a way of life here. In the case of a group carrying out deep actions, greater chances are attributed to it, it is given more confidence and intensifies the impact of social rehabilitation, the effects of which charges have the opportunity to verify through more frequent contacts with the world "behind the wall".

It is worth stressing once again the importance of emotionality of charges and working on it, which never takes place in isolation, but in close relationship with educators. It is an essential element of effective social rehabilitation, requiring emotional stability, internal controls of behavioral expression followed by the mental reconstruction conditioning a greater share of positive emotions among those generally experienced.

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¹⁰ It is very difficult at this point to give marginal distribution for the percentage of charges in each group for several reasons. Firstly, the lack of clear criteria for constructing a taxonomy causes that educators make assessments in an arbitrary manner not necessarily agreeing with each other, because some work better than others with the same charge. Secondly, in the absence of criteria, there are no statistics compiled on this subject. Thirdly, charges in one institution can act reprehensibly and properly in others.

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