

DECENCY, HUMILITY, AND OBEDIENCE: SPATIAL DISCIPLINE IN THE BAPTIST REHAB CENTRE

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ABSTRACT

This paper* scrutinises the role of place and space in the process of Christian rehabilitation. This process is an interconnection of the rehabilitation of the addicted people and conversion to a particular kind of Christianity, working as an inseparable twofold process. The narrative of conversion in the rehabilitation ministry is influenced by the 150-year history of Russian Baptists, the rich sociocultural context of contemporary Russia, the *junkie* and prison context of the people in rehabs, and a very specific Russian Synodal translation of the Bible. I demonstrate the role of space in the implementation of rehab rules and discipline, Christian dogmatics, and construction of the Christian self. The organisation of space in the rehabs very much resembles prison, while also following the common dogmatic principles of the program. At the same time, rehabilitation is enforced by harsh conditions, a strict regime, and the idea of proper Christian family.

KEYWORDS: conversion • rehabilitation • Russian Baptists • space and place • Christian family

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an ethnographic account of a rehab facility, one of more than 30 Russian Baptist Rehabilitation ministry rehabs for addicted people, called Good Samaritan. As a part of my ethnographic fieldwork in the ministry, I stayed in the biggest rehab, near the small town of Luga, 150 kilometres South of St. Petersburg, Russia, participating in the program fulltime for a month and returning on numerous occasions, staying from several hours to a week throughout 2014.

I focus on the Luga rehab because it influenced my understanding of the discipline, regime, and rules of the Good Samaritan the most. It is the most remarkable rehab, not only because it is the largest, but also because it is the strictest. Although all rehabs in

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the ministry use the same rules, at Luga rehab their implementation is the most precise and their understanding the most literal.

Fulltime participation was the only mode of ethnographic study allowed by otherwise welcoming ministers. It significantly limited me methodologically, for the participants are not allowed to have any electronic devices, literature, or connection with the outside world (besides censored paper letters), neither are they allowed to deviate from the daily schedule in any way. However, this did give me the opportunity to deeply immerse myself into the daily routine of the rehabilitation program, and participate in the everyday construction of the narrative of Christian rehabilitation and biblical literalist conversion.

Further shorter visits with missionary teams, guest preachers, delivery of supply, transporting of the rehabilitants to and from the rehab, and even a week-long stay to help out the rehab fix and drive their truck, allowed me to access zones and situations previously inaccessible for me as a rehabilitant. Using this truck and my own car I often participated in supply and organisation at the rehab, under supervision of the head minister, Vasya.¹ Those visits also gave me some limited access to women in the ministry, which is otherwise denied to the male rehabilitants until the end of their program.

Baptist dogmatics and especially a particular kind of the literalist reading of the Bible play paramount role in the rehabilitation program. The rehabilitation of the addicts, most of whom previously never knew what Baptist meant at all, goes along with conversion to the Russian Baptist version of Christianity in one inseparable process. Those rehabilitated become converted, and those who convert become rehabilitated.

Russian Baptist Christianity first appeared roughly 150 years ago, initially spreading in aristocratic circles. Through the history of late Imperial and Soviet Russia, all Evangelical groups faced persecution and marginalisation, especially during the Khrushchev anti-religious campaign. This led to the isolation of Russian Evangelicals, both from Russian society, formally atheist, and their fellow believers abroad.

Consequently, for most of their history, Russian Baptists developed in their own way, retaining, at the same time, the paramount principles of the Baptist faith (Wiens 1924) and Protestant dogmatics. However, Russian Baptists interpret the Protestant tenets under the huge influence of the contemporary Russian sociocultural context, and, most remarkably, as a response to Orthodox practices such as the hierarchical apparatus of the clergy, worshiping saints and icons, and doctrine of Good Works – according to the *Sola Fide* Protestant tenet, men are only justified by faith, and good works are the consequences, and evidence, of salvation.

Another significant peculiarity of Russian Baptism is its adherence to Arminian soteriology (Mitrokhin 1974). Formulated in the 17th century by a Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius as a response to Calvinism, this doctrine claims human responsibility for salvation. Unlike Calvinism, which claims God chooses to save only the elect, Arminianism proclaims free will salvation, and also the human ability to reject or lose it. Arminian theology significantly impacts the ideology of rehabilitation, turning it into a responsible decision.

Conversion to Russian Baptism means learning, adopting, and interiorising the narrative of the Bible as the language of thought, communication, and even reasoning. The literalist interpretation of the Bible is significantly influenced by the 150-year history of Evangelicals in Russia and the Russian political, sociocultural, and linguistic context. In

the rehabs it is also impacted by the street, prison, and *junkie* experience of the interpreters – rehabilitants and their elders (Mikeshin 2015).

Biblical literalism is one of the major principles of the Evangelical faith, accommodated in the *Sola Scriptura* tenet which proclaims the Bible as the only authority for faith and practice. This phenomenon has been scrutinised by anthropologists of Christianity (Crapanzano 2000; Harding 2000; Bielo 2009a; Bielo 2009b), and it is commonly implied that there are multiple *literalisms* characteristic to every particular group interpreting the Bible, rather than literalism as a general principle.

Apart from the political, sociocultural, and linguistic context, literalisms in the Russian Baptist community are shaped by a particular biblical text – the Russian Synodal translation of the Bible, used by the vast majority of Russian-speaking Christians worldwide. This translation was made in the 19th century, by a formally non-denominational Russian Biblical Society. However, it was significantly impacted not only by Orthodox dogmatics, but also by the Church Slavonic Bible, still used by the Orthodox Church in liturgy. Moreover, the Synodal Bible is very poetic and rhythmic, which also adds to the inaccuracy of translation.

In the following chapters I will introduce the main principles of Christian rehabilitation and their implementation in the Luga rehab, specifically the organisation of space. The spatial dimension of Christian dogmatics is generally expressed through notions of humility and obedience, which also inadvertently enforces the idea of the proper Christian family. I will then address the parallels with prison that are very often made explicitly or implicitly. I will further reflect on the interrelation between moral and bodily transformation.

PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN REHABILITATION

Good Samaritan is a ministry within the Russian Baptist Church. Established in 2004 by ex-convict and now Pastor Vladimir Ezhov², today it has more than 30 rehab facilities. Coordinated from St. Petersburg, the rehabs are mainly spread in North-West Russia, although there are also two in St. Petersburg, one in the Moscow region and one in Lappeenranta, Finland. Most of these rehabs are situated in the distant rural areas in order to both pay less rent and isolate addicts from the temptations of the big city, and mitigate the impulse to run away.

Every rehab in the ministry uses the same program, with small differences in minor details. The whole program lasts for eight months and consists of two stages. Social Rehabilitation takes two months and is almost totally devoted to the study of Scripture, which at this stage is represented solely by the New Testament and Book of Psalms. The Old Testament is considered too hard to comprehend by spiritually immature rehabilitants. As for the Book of Psalms, it is included in most of the freely distributed Gideon editions of the New Testament that the rehabs possess, hence it is employed too.

The second stage is called Social Adaptation and takes six months; it is meant as a period of re-socialisation of the addicted people and teaches them to live and interact with others peacefully. Adaptants live in another room or part of the building. They read and study the whole Bible, and they work. This work is mainly focused on keeping them busy and does not really contribute to the support of the rehab, rather to some

basic maintenance, for most of the people are unskilled workers weakened by the consequences of their habits.

The initial idea for the two stages is that addicts revisit their life, break with their past, and preferably repent in the first two months, convinced by the biblical truth. They then learn from scratch how to live a peaceful, meaningful life, communicating and cooperating with others, working and earning their daily bread honestly. It is presumed that these eight months are not enough for most addicts. They are just given a general direction, a purpose in life. They are to conduct further spiritual work themselves, with the help of the local Church and daily study of the Bible. The most dedicated rehabilitants often stay after their programs to serve God and their brothers or sisters as ministers.

7:00 — Rise, bathroom
7:15-8:00 — Free study of the Scripture
8:00-9:00 — Morning gathering (glorification, sharing the Word, common prayer)
9:00-9:15 — Breakfast
9:15-10:00 — Cleaning the premises
10:00-11:30 — Reading, preparation for the class
11:30-13:00 — Class (Bible-study)
13:00-13:20 — Lunch
13:30-15:00 — Reading, preparation for the class/seminar
15:00-15:30 — Break
15:30-16:30 — Reading, preparation for the class/seminar
16:30-18:00 — Mon, Thu - Seminar; Tue, Fri - Class; Wed - Audio (video) sermon
18:00-19:00 — Questions on the Scripture
19:00-19:20 — Dinner
19:30-20:30 — Reading, preparation for the gathering
20:30-22:30 — Evening gathering (glorification, sharing the Word, common prayer)
22:30-23:00 — Bathroom
23:00 — Bed time

Figure 1. Weekday schedule in Luga rehab.

The schedule is the same in every rehab. It is very tight and mandatory for all present on the program. The schedule on Rehabilitation, the first stage, is very detailed and allows almost no free time or time outside the dormitory (see Figure 1). There are exceptions if the rehab is small and Adaptation needs manual help, or when there are unexpected guests or missionary visits. In all other cases the schedule is repeated daily, with some changes only on Saturdays and Sundays, annoying the brothers and boring them almost to death.

Most of the weekday activities on Rehabilitation are devoted to the study of Scripture and learning a Christian life. On Saturdays, half of the day, from breakfast until lunch, is devoted to the general cleaning of the premises. The rehabilitants can then even be sent to otherwise inaccessible places, like the Adaptation zone, storage rooms, the basement, or even out into the fresh air to help out Adaptation. Sometimes they are given senseless assignments to instil obedience and humility (I was once appointed to toothpick the dust out of the holes in a wooden floor together with two other brothers).

Sundays are often 'lazy' days even in the strictest rehabs. The brothers are given free time for half or almost all of the day and are not merely allowed to talk and rest, but also to sleep in their beds, although above the blankets and dressed. Space is still

limited even on Sundays, and the whole group are supposed to remain inside, with the exception of some rare cases when they can spend some time outside, also together.

The rules in the rehabs are very strict. Although one can leave at any time the discipline is very tight. The rehab cannot legally force anyone to stay and the courts cannot appoint addicted criminals to the non-government Good Samaritan program. The implementation of rules may vary from one rehab to another, depending on the personality of the minister and elders. However, the rules are common and mandatory for everyone.

Firstly, a future rehabilitant gives all valuables, money, keys, all documents, electronic devices of any sort, jewellery, and so on, to the minister, who locks it in a cabinet until the end of the program. One is only allowed to have clothes for inside and also outside (eight months in North-West Russia represents a great variety of weather), items for personal hygiene, a couple of clean copybooks, pens and pencils. Some come empty-handed and are given simple utensils that a minister can find.

Possessing any electronic gadgets, cigarettes, or food of any kind is forbidden. Some people, especially at the beginning of the program, try to smuggle cigarettes, mobile phones, or drugs, but disclosing such contraband can lead to expulsion from the rehab. Any discussion of drugs, alcohol, crimes, sexual behaviour, lies, blasphemy, or the use of swear words or anything else considered sinful or just 'worldly', is prohibited. Mutual relations are also regulated: judgement, envy, or anger are not allowed. The rehabilitants are supposed to learn brotherly or sisterly love, obedience (*poslushaniye*) and humility (*smireniye*).

Rehabilitation is supervised by an elder. The elder is commonly one of the adaptants who is most versed in Scripture and with most leadership skills and discipline. The minister is an elder who has already completed the program. The head minister supervises the whole rehab. In smaller rehabs the minister is in constant contact with everyone, while in the larger ones he may be seen once a week or less, dealing with numerous concerns relating to supply and organisation. Although the minister is constantly consulted by his own elder brothers, his personality defines the strictness and overall image of the rehab.

The elders are responsible for both discipline in the centre and the spiritual state of the rehabilitants. According to the rules, rehabilitants should be obedient to their elders. The elders may be wrong or unfair, but these issues should be resolved only when such issue is raised by the elder himself or by the minister. When an elder gives orders, no matter how absurd or humiliating these orders may seem, a brother should obey.

In reality, these rules are far from being followed all the time. A group of adult people, with different harsh backgrounds, crime histories, and harmful habits, living together for just several weeks or several days, is hardly obedient. Naturally, a group of drug addicts, alcoholics, homeless people, and convicted criminals tends to constantly cause disciplinary problems.

Christian rehabilitation can be claimed as more strict when compared to different rehab regimes (as, for instance, analysed in Skoll 1992; Garcia 2010; or Zigon 2011), yet such strictness comes out of dogma transformed into rehab ideology (in the terms of Skoll 1992: 99–118). The strict regime and rules are enforced by harsh conditions, especially in the big rehabs. The extent of physical and moral challenges is never intentional, but always expected and employed as a disciplinary measure (cf. Foucault 1975).

Humility and obedience are trained by means of strict rules, but simple, modest, and often bad conditions also play a substantial role.

The rehabilitation program is absolutely free and survives on donations. The donations are rare and modest, mainly from church gatherings, private citizens (usually church congregants), or foreign missions. Most of the food is expired, very cheap, and of the worst quality. The donating bodies, besides Christian ministries abroad, are often local businesses who thus solve the problem of utilising expired food.

PEOPLE ON THE PROGRAM

The rehabilitants have various and diverse, but at the same time very typical, backgrounds. Different regions, professions, and family stories are represented, but addicted life reduces all stories to a very common one – ruined families, crippled health, problems with the law; ending with total moral, material, and bodily failure. Those who do not admit such failure, despite their physical state and the opinion of others, never stay at the rehab for long, seeing no good reason to do so.

Many of rehabilitants had had families before coming to the rehab. However, most of these families were abandoned or, in the case of women, they were left single mothers. Some of the brothers had more than one ex-wife and children from different marriages. The marriages mainly ended as a consequence of either their addicted behaviour or prison terms (which are, of course, also related). In the rehab most of the brothers either planned to renew their relationships with spouses or to find a new one, and this time to be a good Christian husband.

Drug addiction in Russia is indirectly, but very much explicitly, criminalised (cf. Agar 1973, Bourgois 1996; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009). Hence, most of the people on the program (both men and women) either had some sort of problems with the law – suspended sentences, weeks spent in jail, fines, or children taken away –, or actual prison terms. Some of the people I met served three or four terms, which commonly makes more than ten years behind bars. The crimes were various: from the common drug-related Criminal Code article 228 to murder, aggravated assault, and armed robbery.

There are a number of rehabilitants whose addiction led them much further than prison, making them homeless. Homelessness in Russia is an independent complex field of study (Höjdestrand 2009), yet it is important to note that in Russia it is almost always caused by addiction, as most of the homeless rehabilitants assured me. Another significant feature of being homeless in Russia, especially in the northern and central regions, is how tough it is to survive in winter. Most of the homeless brothers I met in the rehabs had problems with frostbitten limbs or toes, sometimes amputated.

Apart from this, the addicted people commonly have a whole bouquet of chronic diseases. The most evident for injecting drug users are hepatitis and HIV, and for the ex-convicts it can be tuberculosis. Consequently, even the ministers, who completed their program successfully, take their medicine daily for the rest of their lives. However, repentant brothers and sisters are optimistic and pray to God for better health.

There are several common reasons why people quit the rehabs early. Some people just go there to detoxify and have a brief rest outside of the big city and its 'junkie'

context. Some are even close to unconsciousness and oblivion. Others, on the contrary, cannot bear withdrawal and leave for a new dose in order to feel better. Some people are trying to hide from danger, criminal investigation, or debt. A significant number of people quit due to the harsh conditions and strict regime.

Addiction itself is not considered a problem, rather a symptom, a consequence of a larger and deeper problem (cf. Keane 2002). In Good Samaritan, addiction is regarded as “a slavery of sin” (John 8:34). When one lives on his or her own, without caring about God’s will or God’s plan for one’s life, one inevitably falls into the depths of sin and perdition and the only chance is to accept Christ and his atonement sacrifice. The general idea of the rehabilitation program implies conversion and consequent repentance in the first stage, Rehabilitation. In practice, anyone who is non-repentant almost never makes it to Adaptation, for he or she sees no reason to bear the hardships and limitations of the rehab.

The implementation of Russian Baptist dogmatics in the process of Rehabilitation can be regarded from various standpoints: linguistic, psychological, ideological, or sociocultural. I focus on the spatial component, unwrapping the organisation of space in terms of discipline and family values. The following section addresses the principles of the spatial organisation in Luga rehab.

ORGANISATION OF SPACE IN LUGA REHAB

There are three main types of premises occupied by the rehabs. The most common is the rural house, often wooden, heated with firewood and without running water. The toilet, and sauna for bathing, are commonly placed outside. Another form of premise can be an apartment in a small town or urban-type settlement, commonly a very small apartment with the minimum of utilities. Two biggest Good Samaritan rehabs represent a different case. One of them consists of two farms across the street, one for males and one for females. And the rehab I am focusing on is yet different.

The Luga rehab occupies about half of the former administrative building of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz* – see Photo 1). It is a large grey brick building with a complex system of corridors, a big basement with a huge chimney for heating the whole rehab, and lots of various storage rooms with second-hand clothing, food, and just random old goods (see Photo 2). The rehab shares this with the Baptist summer camp, post office, and grocery store. Rehab facilities include residential areas, kitchen, workshops, a basement with a chimney heating the whole building, and various storage rooms. The rehab also owns several vehicles, of which only a four-ton truck was functioning during my stay.

The Luga rehab is not only remarkable for its strictness, but also the way these strict rules and regime are implemented. The large size of the rehab premises allow a spatial hierarchy. As in any other mixed rehab in the Ministry the sexes are strictly segregated. The two stages of the program are segregated as well, which creates six living zones: male Rehabilitation and Adaptation, female Rehabilitation and Adaptation, the minister’s premises (where he also accommodates guests), and a place where children live with their addicted mothers. While the mothers study Scripture, a female minister looks after the children.

These six zones are not only symbolically divided by the respective rooms and floors, but the doors separating them are also kept locked. Hence, access to different zones is limited and regulated. The rehabilitants, for instance, are kept in their dormitories most of the time. They rarely have any working assignments apart from cleaning and fixing



Photo 1. The remnant of the kolkhoz, “planning department”. Photo by Igor Mikeshin.



Photo 2. One of the storage rooms. Photo by Igor Mikeshin.

their own premises; as in each other zone they also have their own bathroom and dining room. Thus, for the whole two-month rehabilitation a brother or sister goes out into the fresh air on very few occasions.

During Adaptation rehabilitants will go outside often to perform work duties. During Adaptation and Rehabilitation addicts spend time together once or twice a week during a common gathering or screening of a Christian film. Men and women only meet at these common weekly gatherings in a big hall, although they are seated separately (see Photo 3).



Photo 3. Common gathering. Photo by Igor Mikeschin.

This zonal division can be seen in the scheme in Figure 2. The common hall is the only place where males and females meet. Yet there is a general rule that they are not allowed to talk and even look at each other, although for both groups³, the program of the common gatherings includes “glorification [of God]” (choir singing) at which addicts come forward and stand next to the preacher, so that everyone observes them.

However, the zonal division is applied in a general principle. Rehabilitation takes the front rows, for these people are much less ‘spiritually mature’, and thus should be better controlled. The elders observe their protégés from behind, taking the back seats. In this particular case both female ministers⁴ sit together, for they are close friends, and in any case, both female groups are small. Moreover, the Adaptation minister combines her functions with those of minister for mothers with children. At the back of the hall the children are supervised by one of the mothers, while the other mothers sit with the rest.

Such zonal division is a clear representation of the division in the building. While in the hall there are six imaginary zones – a male and female half, front and back seats, a

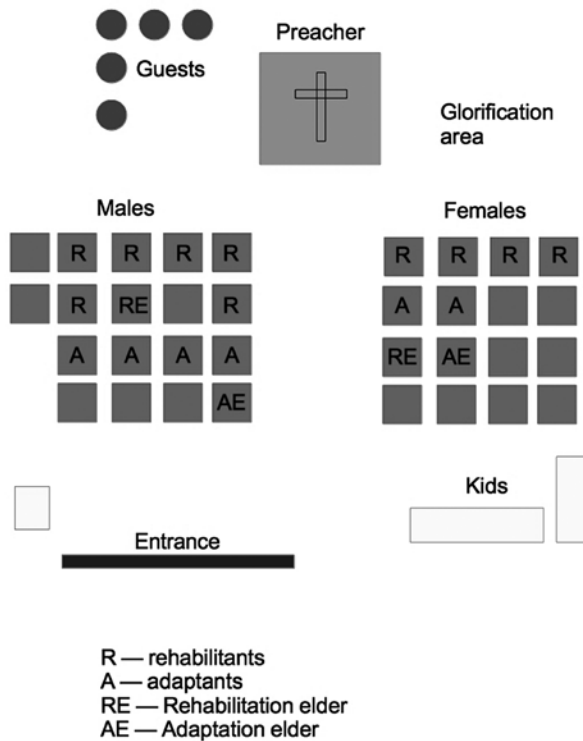


Figure 2. Scheme of common gathering in Photo 3.

pulpit zone and a children’s zone – the zonal segregation in the building is enforced by locked doors and restricted access. Rehabilitation in Luga rehab, unlike most of the others, does not merely have its own premises, with a dining room, bathroom, and toilet, but it is also locked.

Male Adaptation is also a secluded area, although there is open access to non-residential areas such as workshops, storage rooms, basement, and so on. The outside door, however, is commonly locked, and the Adaptants who work outside are let in and out by a minister. Female Adaptation, respectively, has access to the kitchen, food storage rooms, and the same exit to the outside.

The children’s zone is isolated from the rest of the rehab, it is better heated, better supplied, and the premises are better maintained. The ministers do their best to keep the children’s zone as nice and positive as possible. In addition to which there is direct access to the street for the children to go for a walk twice a day, and attend local kindergarten or school, according to their age. Their rooms are filled with games, toys, sports equipment; many of their books and games are focused on biblical topics.

The guest zone, also sometimes used by the minister as an office, contains a separate kitchen and dining room, bathroom and toilet, two bedrooms and a common room with sofas, TV (only used for video screening) and a computer. It is separated from the rest of the rehab and has its own exit to the outside. The visitors, such as guests, preachers, missionaries, or even ministers’ families commonly stay for short periods, rarely more than a week.

Summarising, both male and female Rehabilitation have the most restricted access. They are commonly locked up in their zones, and even there they should stay at the same room or move to another one together. They should even ask for permission to go to the toilet. Both Adaptation groups are much more liberated in their movements, although still intensely controlled. The children's zone operates in its own regime, but most of the time the mothers study together with Rehabilitation or work with Adaptation, depending on the stage of a particular mother.

The elders and ministers have the most access. The rehab's head minister has every key and can enter every zone, although even he has a very limited power over the sisters, and should obviously enter their premises after a warning, and then only contact their elders. The elders, those who are still on their program but supervise Rehabilitation or Adaptation, are given a limited set of keys. Usually, Rehabilitation elders have keys to their premises and some of the storagerooms, but are rarely given an outside key, or they are given it for some specific time period. The guests stay in the sixth guest zone with a separate exit and can be given a key to their premises in order not to feel restricted and not to disturb a minister when he is busy.

The symbolic segregation of people at different stages and different genders in the rehab is enforced by spatial boundaries – walls, different floors, and locked doors. Such segregation does not merely separate people from each other, it is used to train humility, obedience, and to implement the idea of the Christian family – a patriarchal group with strictly allocated roles and practices.

THE IDEOLOGY OF SPATIAL SEGREGATION

The spatial segregation of the Luga rehab is an important element of what Geoffrey Skoll calls the “ideology of the drug abuse treatment facility” (Skoll 1992), meaning that the rehab discipline, rules, hierarchies, and regime are unified by a general concept. In the case of Good Samaritan this ideology does not merely implement the strict isolation and discipline of the addicts, but also applies Russian Baptist dogmatics to the practice. I argue that this application, moreover, concerns the idea of a proper Christian family and the spatial discipline clearly represents certain aspects of this idea.

Clear distinction between the genders, including their spatial segregation, was obviously established on purpose. It is commonly stated that addicted people should not merely abstain from drugs and alcohol in isolation, but also from the numerous cultural precursors, everything that can be considered sinful (cf. Zigon 2011). These precursors are smoking (which is quite reasonably considered an addiction as well), swearing, gambling, crime, and sexual promiscuity. Thus not only is isolation from the vices of outside world needed for spiritually immature rehabilitants, but also from their own brothers and sisters in faith, if they are of the opposite gender because their ‘bygone’ (*vetkhaya*)⁵ sinful nature has not overcome yet.

The segregation of genders in the rehab does not merely correspond to abstinence from improper sexual relations. Most importantly, this segregation is an application of the concept of decency (*blagoprystoinost'*). According to numerous biblical references, for instance, “But because of cases of sexual immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband,” (1 Corinthians 7:2, New Revised Standard

Version) the only sexual relations allowed are in wedlock. The idea of decency enforces this biblical law, advising people not even to approach the opposite sex too closely, apart from close relatives and spouses.

While decency is a conventional and intuitive moral code, the definite distinction of gender and family roles is fixed in Scripture (for instance, Ephesians 6:1–4; Colossians 3:18–21), and thus explicitly expressed in the spatial discipline of the Luga rehab. The premises are not merely separated in terms of different living zones. Labour and gender roles are also separated into male and female parts.

The kitchen and food storage rooms are entitled for women only, for in every mixed rehab only women cook. The children's premises are also for women only, and there is a strict rule that even if an addicted mother and father pass their programs at the same time, they are sent to different rehabs so as not to distract each other, and the children are always with the mothers when they are not at home with someone else. The only chance that any male, apart from a minister, enters a kitchen or any other female zone is to carry heavy weights or fix something broken. The workshops, and the large basement with the chimney and roof, are spaces for manly manual work.

This separation does not simply prescribe certain behaviour for each gender, this prescribed behaviour and gender roles correspond to a particular understanding of the good Christian family. Men and women do not merely do their appropriate work, they do it for the whole rehab as a family. Sisters cook for everybody and brothers prepare the firewood and heat the whole rehab. The ministers and elders are, respectively, elder brothers and sisters, more experienced and spiritually mature. The head minister is always male, as are his elders – deacons, pastors, and presbyters.

The authority of the elders or pastors is not based on supernatural powers or anointment, but simply on greater spiritual experience and better knowledge of the Bible. In the rehab context it is often the case that an elder brother or sister is much younger than his or her protégés, and the latter can “stumble” (Romans 14:13) and express disobedience because of that. Vasya, the above mentioned minister of Luga rehab, was 23 during my stay, and most of the brothers on Rehabilitation were around 30 or older, which caused many arguments and complaints, despite Vasya's unquestionable charisma, tremendous self-control and confidence.

The core principle of discipline in the rehab is not merely adherence to the Bible and to the written rules, both of which give at least some space for interpretation, but obedience to the elders. The elders frequently make references to the Bible or their own elders, but often just demand compliance without providing any explanation. Sometimes their assignments look pointless or even humiliating, like picking the dust out of the holes in a wooden floor, mentioned above. Punishment for disobedience mainly involves reasoned talks with lots of biblical references, but also cutting sweets for the whole group or even expulsion in the worst cases.

In summary, the model of the good Christian family implemented in the rehab's spatial discipline prescribes patriarchy, clearly defined gender roles, and obedience to the elders. Apart from biblical authority and general rules, small details are regulated on the basis of decency – an intuitive moral code, prescribing a certain psychological and physical distance between unrelated people of different genders. Spatial organisation and discipline in the rehab enforces decency with physical barriers and restricted access.

"IT WAS EASIER IN PRISON": THE DISCIPLINE
OF SECLUDED SPACE

Although the rehab settings are intended to contribute to the process of rehabilitation, the extent of physical and moral challenges rehabilitants face had never been planned, as I have mentioned before. The initial plan of the program involved modest housing, simple food, and reliance on the manual labour of Adaptation. However, most of the brothers and sisters are poor manual workers because of their physical condition and lack of proper work experience, the premises are too old to easily maintain, and the resources are too limited to supply the rehab with required materials, firewood, water, electricity, and rehabilitants with enough food and clothing.

The challenges and embodied experience the rehabilitants thus face include cold or heat depending on the season, spine problems because of homemade beds and bad pillows, poor-quality chairs and armchairs used for the reading and study time, weakness and respiratory issues due to a lack of fresh air, and stomach problems caused by out-of-date food. These hardships are widely discussed, complained about, but incorporated into rehab ideology.

Apart from these bodily issues, rehabilitants often experience the consequences of their habits: pain, chronic disease, itching, insomnia, fever. These hardships force many to drop the program and leave. The conditions were initially intended to be modest, but exceeded the ministers' expectations. However, all hardships fit into the rehab ideology, for it is claimed that they train humility, obedience, and decency. Brothers and sisters who complain are reminded that they stay in the rehab voluntarily, for free, and there are things much more important than their weak bodies – their immortal souls are in great danger of eternal damnation.

"It was easier in prison," Tolya, a 30-year-old injecting addict with four prison terms (10 years behind bars) said during my very first day at the Luga rehab. "There was much more freedom: a mobile phone, parcels, drugs. I could drink tea at any time." Slava, another heroin addict, just recently released from prison where he served a long term for aggravated assault causing death, echoed this sentiment: "This is the first time in my life that I wanna go back to prison." My first impression in Luga rehab was also a prison cell, when I saw two-tired beds (see Photo 4) and heard the sound of the doors locking, separating Rehabilitation from the rest of the rehab.

Rehabilitants constantly make parallels with prison. Compared to prison, the Rehabilitation regime is commonly regarded as much tighter, stricter, and more limited. On the other hand, the time in Rehab is much shorter than a normal prison term and there is always the freedom to quit. Some brothers even claimed that the regime is not actually that strict. Andrey, for instance, who started his prison career of four terms in a maximum security camp, once said: "You think this is a regime? You haven't seen the *real* regime!"

The locked-up space frequently calls for parallels with prison, and many of the rehabilitants have such experience. However, there are obvious differences. Firstly, there is the right to free exit, which every prison lacks, and, secondly, there is an institutional hierarchy only: a rehabilitant progresses to an adaptant, then to an elder, then to a minister, if he or she stays with the ministry after the program. There is no hierarchy inside the groups, no newcomers or old lags, no lower and higher strata, as in prisons



Photo 4. Two-tiered beds in male Rehabilitation. Photo by Igor Mikeshin.

(cf. Oleinik 2001). For instance everyone washes the bathroom and toilet in turns, which would be unthinkable for an inmate not part of the lower rank.

The extant hierarchy of elder brothers has very little in common with prison guards. Although elders and ministers have the authority and responsibility to supervise and give orders, it is emphasised that they also passed the same program, have the same problems and challenges, both physical and moral, and are simply at the next level in their repentant lives. Direct supervisors – the elders – commonly share the dormitory, meals, and, basically, most of their time with their protégés.

Andrey, an elder with huge prison experience, was always annoyed when perceived as an overseer: “Why are you making me a guard? We’re here before God, not before people!” Andrey’s reaction was obvious, for commonly inmates have a sort of class hatred of law enforcement and particularly prison guards. Yet, such a position also contradicted the notion of an *elder brother*, who is more experienced and with some authority, but is also “just one of them.”

The parallels with prison are always obvious, even for those brothers who are never locked up. The strict limitation of space and time, segregation of gender, and typical background of the brothers calls for such comparison. However, even those dissatisfied with the rehab and willing to quit admitted the much more egalitarian moral organisation of the rehab and role of the elders. The prison system is sometimes claimed to fulfil the function of rehabilitating criminals, but the inmates rarely believe in such role (Oleinik 2003). Egalitarian rehabs with strict regimes are claimed to be much more efficient, at least for detoxification in isolation.

The rehab may be seen as a monastery, with the asceticism, limitations, and spiritual focus it offers. Protestant dogmatics reject the idea of monasteries because such escapism is seen as selfish. A good Christian is ideally supposed to actively participate in this world, spreading the Word, having a family as a small church, and bearing children. Monks are regarded as only caring about their own salvation and piety, while the Word of God should be spread to the Edge of the World (Vallikivi 2014), to those in need or in danger who can be saved by hearing the Gospel.

However, isolation and asceticism are considered a good temporary practice, especially for the addicted people. The Rehabilitation program is a liminal state of bodily and self-transformation. An addict should detoxify, rethink and revisit his or her bygone past, make some important life decisions, and justify them with Scripture. Breaking with their old habits and way of life and learning from scratch takes time, and the rehabilitation program is at least a good start in such a break.

MORAL AND BODILY TRANSFORMATION

Those who stay on the program have the chance to reflect on their own lives through the prism of Scripture. Apart from the hardship, the program is well structured: bed and food are provided, and almost the only thing required from the rehabilitant is to study Scripture and apply it to his or her own life. This intense program calls for a revision of the interrelations of body and soul. For his or her whole life the addict only cared about the body, now it is time to work on the soul.

When the body is limited in space and time, in locked up premises and with a strict and tight schedule, the soul is expected to experience great transformation as well. When no worldly issues and worries distract a brother or sister from focusing on the soul, when the only activity on the first stage is a thorough study of Scripture, most addicts are left with two options: to leave the rehab or to surrender to Christ and repent (Mikeshin 2014). One may, of course, pretend and stay on the program without genuine repentance. However, the physical and moral challenges are sometimes so tough that even homeless people quit and seek a less demanding shelter. Thus, most people who pass the whole program need tremendous motivation, which is only found in conversion.

But how and why does that work? Secular addiction science can explain the rehabilitation process in terms of the twofold nature of substance use dependence. It is both physical (or [bio]chemical) and psychological (Volkow and Li 2005). Physical addiction is generally manifested by the substances in the bloodstream and brain calling for a new dose, known as a hangover or dope-sickness. Yet in a big city physical addiction is relatively easy to overcome either through detoxification, or through prolonged, though torturous, abstinence.

However, psychoactive substances cause irreversible changes in the brain. The brain's ability to produce dopamine is significantly reduced, and, moreover, it seeks an easy solution to the numerous psychological problems caused by this reduction, i.e. through drugs. (Ibid.) Thus, any efficient program of rehabilitation has to deal with both physical and psychological dependence.

Good Samaritan, as any other efficient program, mainly focuses on psychological dependence, putting it into the context of sin and repentance. Yet, as with any other

non-governmental and non-commercial program in Russia, Good Samaritan has no medical license because they are almost impossible to obtain, and thus the only possible way to address physical addiction is prolonged isolation. This isolation is enforced by strict limitations, a tough regime, an inert infrastructure, and the highly structured and organised spatial discipline of the rehab.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines the phenomenon of spatial discipline using the example of the Russian Baptist ministry's biggest and strictest rehabilitation facility, called Good Samaritan. This rehab is also remarkable because it hosts both genders, and children. All groups of rehabilitants are strictly separated and segregated in different premises, on different floors, and behind locked doors. There are thus six living zones: male rehabilitation and adaptation, female rehabilitation and adaptation, the minister's premises, and children's premises.

There is a hierarchy of access to different zones. While the head minister has access everywhere, with certain limitations in respect of the female zones imposed by *decency*, a moral concept regulating the proper distance in communication of unrelated Christians of different sexes. The elders can only access the zones they are supervising and working areas, and adaptants and rehabilitants are limited to their secluded areas – living zone and workplace or living zone alone, respectively.

The concept of decency as a regulator of gender relations is further included in the complex understanding of the proper Christian family. In the rehab the Christian family is reproduced by assigning gender roles and through division of labour. This division is also manifested by spatial segregation, and by discipline. The 'proper' workplaces for women are the kitchen, food storage rooms, the laundry, the children's area and the like, while manly labour is concentrated in the workshops, roof, and basement.

Labour is not simply segregated. Brothers and sisters serve the whole household with their labour: the brothers heat the rehab with firewood, repair what is broken, carry heavy things and keep the rehab supplied with necessary goods; and the sisters cook, sew, and take care of children. These roles are meant to propagate the proper gender roles of the Christian family.

The living conditions were initially meant to be very simple and modest, but due to very limited support and supply there are many more unexpected physical and moral challenges. Cold or heat, hunger or low quality out-of-date food, the lack of fresh air and bodily movement, not to mention numerous consequences of the drug use and alcoholism, are not merely regarded as hardships, they also serve the purpose of *humility* and *obedience*.

This secluded space, with restricted access and a tough regime, constantly resembles prison, especially to former prison inmates. However, the rehab ideology is egalitarian and the hierarchy, although illiberal, is based on the spiritual growth and moral transformation of the rehabilitant; progress towards eldership and ministry is encouraged. The rehabilitants unwilling to grow in faith do not commonly make it to the end of the program, for they lack motivation to bear the moral and physical challenges of the rehab.

In Christian rehabilitation this moral transformation is followed by a bodily change. Substance use dependence is twofold: physical and psychological. The physical aspect is overcome by prolonged isolation, while psychological addiction is dealt with by the means of a radical moral transformation. The spatial discipline in the rehab enforces isolation, and directs and shapes moral transformation towards obedience, humility, and adherence to Christian family values.

The Luga rehab is a spectacular example of the way the discipline and regime of Christian rehabilitation are shaped. Practical issues, such as working assignments, the zonal segregation of the living space, and rules of proper conduct and the interrelation of the gender, address and interpret Russian Baptist dogmatics. A Church congregation is commonly understood as an extended family, Family, in turn, is regarded as a small church, and a rehab consequently bears the features of both: spiritual ministry and family values. The spatial discipline of the rehabilitation facility is thus a vital mechanism of manifestations of church and family – decency, humility, and obedience.

NOTES

1 All names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

2 Vladimir Ezhov is a public figure and hence, as an exception, I use his real name.

3 Women’s Rehabilitation and Adaptation commonly sing together because there are usually much less women on the program. It is a common and universal situation that women are much more resistant to accepting their addiction, and there are always remarkably fewer women in the rehabs, both in Good Samaritan and any other program.

4 A minister (*sluzhitel’*) is an elder (*starshiy*) who has already passed through the program, so they are often also called elders.

5 *Vetkhiy* in Russian is used for “Old” in “Old Testament”. Although it is generally an archaic word, it has some specific connotations in the modern Russian language. Here, *vetkhaya* combines a reference to fulfilled and thus obsolete Old Testament, the literal meaning of ‘old’, and also *vetkhiy* means ‘worn-out’, which adequately characterises the past life of repentant sinners.

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