

WORKING IN PRISON: SUBJECTIVE AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES
OF PSYCHOLOGISTS FROM A PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

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submitted by **GÜLSEREN SAĞBAŞ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of **Master of Science in Psychology, the Graduate School of Social
Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sibel KAZAK BERUMENT
Head of Department
Department of Psychology

Prof. Dr. Faruk GENÇÖZ
Supervisor
Department of Psychology

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bahar ÖZ (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Psychology

Prof. Dr. Faruk GENÇÖZ (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Psychology

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sinem BALTACI
Yalova University
Department of Psychology

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Gülseren SAĞBAŞ

Signature:

ABSTRACT

WORKING IN PRISON: SUBJECTIVE AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES OF PSYCHOLOGISTS FROM A PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

SAĞBAŞ, Gülseren

M.S., The Department of Psychology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Faruk GENÇÖZ

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The study aims to explore and describe the professional and subjective experiences of psychologists who had worked in prison, as well as to analyze these experiences from a psychoanalytic perspective. For this purpose, qualitative research was chosen. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six psychologists who had previously worked in prison. The semantic and latent level analyzes provided by thematic analysis was used. The themes that emerged as a result of semantic analysis are (1) factors for choosing to work in prison, (2) reactions of the close others to working in prison, (3) both challenging and rewarding experience, (4) different than just being a psychologist, and (5) after-effect of working in prison. The themes that emerged as a result of the latent analysis are (1) identification with the inmate, (2) the need to involve the Other, (3) issues related to the transference of the inmate, and (4) issues related to the countertransference of the psychologist. These results were discussed from the Lacanian psychoanalytic theory based on guilt, identification, and remaining distant position and formed a basis for future studies regarding the Turkish context.

Keywords: Working in Prison, Transference, Countertransference, Identification

ÖZ

CEZAEVİNDE ÇALIŞMAK: PSİKANALİTİK AÇIDAN PSİKOLOGLARIN ÖZNEL VE MESLEKİ DENEYİMLERİ

SAĞBAŞ, Gülseren

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Bu çalışma, cezaevinde çalışmış psikologların mesleki ve öznel deneyimlerini keşfetmeyi, tanımlamayı ve bu deneyimleri psikanalitik bir bakış açısıyla analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu hedef doğrultusunda nitel araştırma seçilmiştir. Daha önce cezaevinde çalışmış altı psikolog ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Tematik analizin sağladığı semantik ve gizil düzey analizleri kullanılmıştır. Semantik analiz sonucunda ortaya çıkan temalar: (1) cezaevinde çalışmayı tercih etme faktörleri, (2) yakınlarının cezaevinde çalışmaya tepkileri, (3) hem zorlayıcı hem de ödüllendirici deneyim, (4) sadece psikolog olmaktan farklı ve (5) cezaevinde çalışmanın artçı etkisi. Gizli analiz sonucunda ortaya çıkan temalar: (1) mahkûmla özdeşleşme, (2) Başka'yı dahil etme ihtiyacı, (3) mahkûmun aktarımına ilişkin hususlar ve (4) psikoloğun karşı aktarımına ilişkin hususlar. Bu sonuçlar suçluluk, özdeşleşme ve mesafelenme temelinde Lacanyen psikanalitik teoriden hareketle tartışılmış ve Türkiye bağlamıyla ilgili gelecekte yapılacak çalışmalara temel oluşturmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cezaevinde Çalışmak, Aktarım, Karşı Aktarım, Özdeşleşme

*To the Little Girl in the White Dress
and My Family*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Therapy in Prison

Prisons have been in social life as places of punishment for a long time, and they have a symbolic role in positioning the individual outside of society (Bell, 2013). In terms of functions of prisons, their existence stems from the notion of crime, and decreasing the crime rate can be indicated as the ultimate function of the prison concept. Apart from that, prisons can be used for purposes like rehabilitation, preventing other members of society from committing crimes, ensuring justice, building trust, and presenting the necessity to punish guilty ones (Scott, 2013). From the perspective of the rehabilitation and psychological treatment of criminals, prisons have been regarded as the greatest treatment centers for people with mental disorders in any particular country (Huffman, 2006). According to Beck and Maruschak (2001), the vast majority of inmates in the state prisons received therapy and counseling. Regarding the psychotherapy provided for inmates, although the procedure and orientation of the therapy might be different according to countries or states, they might be categorized in general as group therapy, one-to-one therapy, art therapy, and preliminary interviews (Mathias & Sindberg, 1985; Reilly, 2017).

Regarding the importance of psychological therapy in prison, the inmates cannot talk to anyone about their problems due to the feeling of insecurity that the prison environment brings and comes from their past experiences. At this point, it has been underlined that having the opportunity to talk to psychologists through the psychosocial service of the prison and having someone to share their feelings and thoughts contribute to the treatment process of inmates (Durcan, 2008). In addition, the therapies in prison have positive contributions to the physical and psychological well-being of the prisoners and facilitate the adaptation to the negativities experienced

(Duyan, 2001; Snow, 2002). Another point is that treatment provides a finding that in addition to regulating the stress levels of inmates, it contributes to a decrease in recidivism (Morgan et al., 2012). On the other hand, it has underlined that the therapies should not be within the scope of only crisis intervention or suicide prevention since the population in prison hosts different pathologies (Gee & Bertrand-Godfrey, 2014; Huffman, 2006). In this respect, according to research, approximately 90 percent of convicts were found to have neurosis, psychosis, or a personality disorder, and pathological comorbidity was severe (Singleton et al., 1998). In prisons, several treatments like cognitive behavioral therapy, individual mentalization-based therapy, psychodynamic approach therapy, and existential therapy have been used to address these pathologies (Mulay et al., 2017).

1.1.1. Therapy Setting

One of the crucial factors to consider in the context of therapy in prison is the therapy setting. The therapy setting can be defined as the basis that helps establish a bond between the therapist and the patient, allows the patient to express himself comfortably, and has certain rules (Huffman, 2006). The prison environment has been argued as an inconvenient place for therapy due to shortcomings in terms of physical settings (Mathias & Sindberg, 1985). In addition, Bryan (2016) argues about difficulties in creating physical conditions for therapy while conveying her experiences as a psychologist in prison. She mentions while clarifying the difficulty of conducting therapeutic work in this environment that there were times when she had to do therapy in a cell even though she heard shouting or joking sounds of the guards and inmates during the therapy. Kupers (2005) also emphasizes that conducting therapeutic work in rooms that are inadequate in terms of therapy might affect the bond between the therapist and the prisoner and cause problems in terms of the framework.

When considering all aspects, it would not be wrong to say that the therapy setting in prison and the therapy environment provided outside differ (Huffman, 2006; Ross et al., 2008). Many things can be factored into this difference. For instance, confidentiality is another concern that may arise as a result of the therapeutic framework. According to Mulay et al. (2017), the notion of confidentiality should be legally violated if an inmate who comes to therapy makes a comment that may

endanger someone else's life or has a discussion about self-harm. He claims that the scenario makes it impossible to instill confidence and for the prisoner to form a bond of trust. Furthermore, emphasizing that the principle of confidentiality is essential when providing psychotherapy outside, Kupers (2005) states that the boundaries of this principle become unclear when the therapy conditions in prison are taken into account. Another issue can be considered as the ambiguity of the therapy rules. Bryan (2016) declares that the prison is a very concrete place surrounded by strict rules, which has an effect on the therapy framework. She states that she often observes that inmates who come to therapy do not distinguish between prison rules and therapy rules. She adds that this situation creates an obstacle to the therapy framework and setting. As another concern, Huffman (2006) articulates that money is not demanded from the inmate during sessions in prison creates a problem in terms of therapy setting since the monetary investment acts as a form of a regulator in the therapy interaction. Another issue is that, while the patient comes to therapy at the patient's request in an outside session, the inmate's coming to treatment, sometimes compulsorily or sometimes at the institution's request, may be presented as another feature that distinguishes the therapeutic context (Ross et al., 2008). In conclusion, based on all of the issues raised in the research, it is possible to conclude that therapy in prison differs in terms of setting, which has a side that complicates the therapeutic interaction.

1.1.2. The Turkish Context

The procedures and research on therapy in prison in Turkey should be considered since the current study targets the Turkish context. According to the Ministry of Justice, the unit dealing with the psychological support and rehabilitation of inmates in penal institutions in Turkey is the psychosocial service. Preliminary interviews with the new detainee or prisoner in the first three working days, taking anamnesis of the inmate, explaining how to ask for support from the psychosocial service, individual psychological interviews, group therapies, and providing training for inmates are the main services offered by this unit (CTE, 2021). Psychosocial services are critical in many ways, including the inmate's understanding of himself, his actions and feelings, his adaptability to prison, and raising awareness of criminal activity (Ravanoğlu, 2018). Within the scope of psychosocial service, there are 772 psychologists working

in penal institutions in Turkey regarding different cities, according to the current data of the Ministry of Justice (CTE, 2021).

When the Turkish context is taken into account, it is possible to express that, although the studies in the literature on prison are limited, they focus on a variety of issues and populations. In general, it is portrayed that the violent tendencies of the prisoners are studied (Erkunt, 2003), the processes of certain criminal groups are examined (Kayatepe, 2014), or the training given to the prisoners about life after they leave the prison is focused (Şen, 2006). In addition, there are also gender-based studies in the literature that only aim to understand the experiences and psychological processes of male prisoners (Cantürk, 2017) or to understand the prison experiences and later processes of female prisoners (Gürtuna, 2009; Saruç, 2013). Furthermore, studies investigating the psychological processes of adolescent prisoners in prison (Öztürk, 2005) and the experiences of children staying with their mothers in prison (Bayrakdar & Öcal, 2015) are also included in the literature. Regarding the psychosocial support provided in prison, how inmates perceived was focused, and it was found that the increase in the support given to the prisoners had positive contributions to their mental well-being, reintegration, and relational processes (Rayanoğlu, 2018). According to a different study, convicts reported that their access to psychosocial assistance was restricted, and they did not find the psychological interviews effective (Gülerce, 2019). Considering all these studies, while inmates, which is one dimension of the psychological service provided in prison, and their perceptions of this psychosocial support have been studied, there is no study in the Turkish literature on the experience of psychologists as another dimension within our knowledge.

1.2. Working in Prison as a Psychologist

Although prisons are very rich places in terms of psychopathology and treatment, it is noteworthy that there are few studies on the experience of psychologists (Gee & Bertrand-Godfrey, 2014). The studies in the literature focus on different topics regarding the aspect of psychologists like the burnout and job satisfaction levels of psychologists about working in prison (Senter et al., 2010), the experiences of therapists working with sex offenders (Dean & Barnett, 2011), their experiences of therapy limits (Fenner & Gussak, 2006), their experiences in the event of the prisoner's

death (Barry, 2019), and ethical concerns that they encountered (Bryan, 2016). The specifics of the studies on this subject are provided below in detail, focusing on the impacts of working with criminals on psychologists, the findings on their professional motivation, and the supervision processes in which the professional impact is discussed.

1.2.1. Effects of Working with Criminals

Mathias and Sindberg (1985) explain that prison, by its very nature, creates a path such as suspicion, distrust, and lack of sympathy and that the psychologist working there would also be affected by this situation. According to Crawley (2004), although the prison atmosphere elicits a wide range of emotions, including fear, rage, empathy, and tension, attempting not to express them has an effect on psychologists. One of the studied effects of working with criminals on psychologists can be defined as the sense of alertness arising from the chaotic environment. The warning of psychologists about the possibility of being kidnapped and attacked before the therapy with inmates has been discussed as a reason to be cautious (Bryan, 2016). In addition, Bertrand-Godfrey and Loewenthal (2011) highlight that working in a prison environment causes psychologists to feel alienated, lonely, and though their support needs are not being satisfied. Likewise, Mathias and Sindberg (1985) explain that psychologists in prison work under a lot of stress compared to psychologists working in other centers. Also, their professional skills lie fallow due to the isolation in the prison system. Therefore, they suggest that psychologists can follow and participate in activities regarding their field and participate in therapy-related studies. Furthermore, according to Gee et al. (2015), a difficulty arising from the fact that psychologists have to prioritize hope and provide it for inmates is discussed against the hopelessness that prisoners feel intensely and brought about by the prison environment. Also, it is part of the experience for the therapist to be pushed to her limits during sessions, to feel tricked by some requests from the convicts, and to occasionally have a dilemma about what to do (Fenner & Gussak, 2006).

The impacts of interviews with sex offenders on psychologists are one topic of studies on working in prison as a prison psychologist. Dean and Barnett (2011) state that therapists who have experience with convicted sex offenders had intrusive thoughts, a

strong sense of responsibility for the therapeutic process, and alteration in the perception of the therapy due to boundary issues with inmates. In addition, regarding the gender difference of the psychologists, Baum and Moyal (2020) stress that male and female psychologists who work with sex offenders experience the same level of burnout in their jobs. On the other hand, Scheela (2001) reported that psychologists working with sex offenders emphasized the positive influences by stating that besides working in a stressful and difficult field, this job also had satisfying aspects and was a kind of challenge. Considering the literature, although the effects of working in prison on psychologists are mostly portrayed as negative, some studies argue that it can also reveal positive effects (Slater & Lambie, 2011). According to the data in the study of Garland and McCarty (2009), they state that mental health workers in prison feel competent and that this situation is related to their job satisfaction. In accordance with the results of the study with professionals working in prison by Volker and Galbraith (2018), although working in prison brings about challenging tasks for psychologists, it enables them to gain professional experiences and personal growth.

1.2.2. Professional Motivation

One of the curious questions that arise when considering the challenging nature of the prison environment is the question of why psychologists work there. Questions of the origin of this motivation and how it has been articulated by therapists have been relatively less commonly examined in the literature. Bertrand-Godfrey and Loewenthal (2011) argue that despite the negative side of this profession, none of the psychologists give up on their jobs according to their findings, which brings about their motivation in question. Furthermore, Rohleder et al. (2006) imply what is the motivation behind working in prison as a professional voluntarily by stating that the difficulties of working with inmates, mental and physical exhaustion that they experienced during their compulsory community service in the penal institution.

Related to the professional motivation, Huffman (2006) argues that even though there are negative effects of working in prison regarding psychologists, it can be highlighted that it is very beneficial for their professional development. From a similar perspective, Bryan (2016), who conducted analytical work with criminals in prison, stated that although she described her experience as challenging and often disturbing, from a

clinical perspective, this experience kept her alive, as she declared. Also, Reilly (2017) carried on a study regarding psychologists working in prison in an Irish context in order to unearth their experiences by having interviews with them. The first question addressed their professional motivation to get into working in prison. Answers included finding an opportunity for a suitable job position, a nonstrategic move about their profession, being interested in the dark side of human nature, wondering about the inmates' stories, and being interested in criminology, which leads to a desire to help others with a professional perspective. In addition, Bertrand-Godfrey and Loewenthal (2011) pointed to the discourses on the professional motivations of psychologists who conducted sessions with inmates in prison based on their experiences. They addressed that working here was not a coincidence, based on the participants' expressions of passion and identity towards working in prison. Another point was that the participants had a strong belief that other people could not work under prison conditions, which kept their professional motivations vigorous. In conclusion, the answer to the question of how psychologists working in prisons sustain and keep their professional motivation alive despite challenging working conditions appears to be dependent on internal resources in some cases and external resources in others, according to studies in the literature.

1.2.3. Supervision Process

Mental health professionals working in correctional settings might seek supervision or consultation when they need it in order to deal with their internal reactions induced by working with inmates (Mulay et al., 2017). It is well recognized that supervision plays a vital role in removing the negative and detrimental effects of working in prison as well as conscious or unconscious sentiments towards the prisoner (Bryan, 2016; Huffman, 2006). With respect to this, Barry (2019) discusses the compelling side of working in prison in terms of the death of the prisoner, which brings about emotional effects on psychologists. He says that witnessing the death of a prisoner leaves an emotional mark on employees and that they have to accept this effect by regulating, controlling, or suppressing their emotions considering working conditions. In order to regulate and balance such emotions, supervision is portrayed as a part of working in prison owing to the fact that the nature of prison evokes a wide range of emotions for the therapists (Aviv & Springmann, 1990; Swales, 2011).

In accord with the specific effect of supervision processes on psychologists, it can be articulated that it is fundamentally beneficial for both the subjective part of the therapist and the therapeutic process (Rohleder et al., 2006). As an example, Fenner and Gussak (2006) highlighted that specific boundary issues, material problems, the way of self-exposure, and emotions of the therapist during art therapy with inmates were revealed by the supervision process. They stated that regular supervision could help handle and regulate both the inmate's and therapist's attitudes and emotions which addresses transference and countertransference. It also can be a constructive step to create boundaries of the therapy. Also, they added that the therapist remains between achieving a valuable bond with the inmate and representing the values of the institution. To recognize this internal process and deal with it, the therapist should narrate this experience via the third agency. Correspondingly, Dean and Barnett (2011) examined therapists' experiences dealing with high-risk sexual offenders in English prisons. They concluded that supervision is a critical component to manage negative impacts and increase favorable ones for the psychologist. Furthermore, they proposed peer assistance to eliminate negative impacts arising from working circumstances. In addition, Volker and Galbraith (2018) noted that psychosocial support professionals working in prison stated that it is essential to have an active and non-judgmental perspective while working with offenders in correctional settings that can be obtained through supervisory processes and via support of co-workers. Therefore, considering the individual or peer supervision process as a part of the job results in beneficial consequences for the psychologist who carries out the sessions regarding the issues arising from countertransference or working conditions in prison (Linn-Walton & Pardasani, 2014).

1.3. Qualitative Studies on Working in Prison

It is worth emphasizing that qualitative studies on the experiences of psychologists working in prison are limited. In this respect, the existing studies in the literature and studies focusing on various issues are briefly explained below via their specific details and results.

A group of qualitative studies about working in prison focuses on the experiences of psychologists who conduct therapeutic work with convicts or detainees who have been

imprisoned for sexual offenses in prison. With respect to this, Dean and Barnett (2011) unearthed the experiences of psychologists who were working with sexual offenders. Aside from the negative experiences, another notable finding of the study was that the participants regarded working in prison as a beneficial contribution to their professional growth and claimed that they were satisfied with their jobs. In addition, Lea et al. (1999), targeting a similar study topic, mentioned that psychologists experience a dilemma while working with sex offenders. Participants articulated that while they were trying to establish a therapeutic relationship with the prisoner, on the other hand, they expressed their disgust toward the crime they committed, which made it difficult to establish a relationship.

The emotions of the psychologists working in prison are another focus of the qualitative studies in the literature. Gee et al. (2015) discussed the feeling of hopelessness as an issue that psychologists working in prison has to manage. They stated that the hopelessness of the prisoners interacted with the psychologists' notions of hopelessness and frustration, which affected them. In addition, it was revealed that the participants also associated their exposure to the prison environment, which fosters despair as it represents isolation from the external environment and punishment with this sense of hopelessness. Another qualitative study conducted by Barry (2019) focused on what kind of emotions psychologists would experience and what they would experience if a prisoner died. She stated that the participants asserted that in case of the death of a prisoner, they should maintain their neutrality and not interfere with their work. Also, although the participants stressed the importance of regulating many of the emotions that arise, they claimed that following the prisoner's death, more human feelings such as empathy and compassion surfaced.

Another focus of the qualitative studies is lived experiences of psychologists working in prison. Reilly (2017) concentrated on the manifest content and latent content of the discourse of the psychologists working in prison by conducting qualitative research on their experiences. After analyzing the data using thematic analysis, she reported the participants' common discourses as results. The participants noted that working in prison is a distinct atmosphere, which impacts them negatively in terms of physical conditions and positively in terms of professional experience at times. Furthermore, participants explained the difficulty they had in forming relationships with convicts in

treatment, stating that they frequently saw them as victims rather than offenders. Likewise, Bertrand-Godfrey and Loewenthal (2011) focused on the lived experiences of the psychologist who were working in a male prison. According to the results of the study, they concluded that the participants had difficulties in terms of therapeutic boundaries, and sometimes they had intense feelings for the institution, sometimes for the prisoners, and sometimes for themselves. Also, they stated that while working in the jail, they had specific and clear aims in mind and that they occasionally worried that what they wanted to achieve might not be permitted. According to the findings of another study, the perception of threat while working in prison was emphasized based on the experiences of psychologists working in the psychosocial service. Participants stated that they felt threatened in matters such as prisoner manipulation and deception, the possibility of physical harm, and psychological exhaustion (Farrant, 2012).

1.4. Psychoanalytic Approach and Working in Prison

The literature presented on psychoanalytic work in prison is remarkably limited. In order to understand the subjective and professional experiences of psychologists working in prison, it is necessary to evaluate both the psychologist from the subject concept and the positions of the inmate with whom they have a therapeutic relationship. In this respect, examining the relationship of psychologists with the relevant concepts of law, crime, and guilt, the transference and countertransference axes of the therapeutic relationship, and the possible structures and symptoms of inmates will shed a light on the findings of the study. First of all, the views of theorists on this subject are introduced from the theoretical framework. Then, from a psychoanalytic standpoint, the details of the studies on this issue are provided below.

Freud (1912-1913) provided one of the most extensive examinations of the presence of the law and its impact on the subject in his work *Totem and Taboo*. In the article, he depicts the murder of the primordial father by his sons who held all the authority of the tribe and had all the women in the ancient clans. The dream of sons who killed the omnipotent father to replace him by themselves in order to be the powerful father of the clans and to have sex with the mother also implies that they can be killed like their father, so this dream is replaced by the law and rules. In other words, sons who pursue the pleasures of their almighty and primordial father become subservient to the law

and enhance it. Later, on this basis, Freud (1930) mentions that since the law should have rules valid for everyone, in this way, the subject is forced to control his impulses with civilization and its regulations. Furthermore, while pleasure is attainable within the framework of the law for the neurotic subject, going beyond the law, that is, seeking pleasure by violating it, points to the position of the perverse subject, which brings us to the concept of crime, owing to the dynamic of the pursuit of pleasure via violation of the law (Swales, 2011).

Although Freud's views on working with criminals are relatively limited, he explains this issue through inmates' relationship with guilt. He explains from an analytical perspective that the sense of guilt can be alleviated by punishment by expressing that the person who commits the crime tends towards the crime rather than the intense guilt he feels and that he is relieved when he receives punishment for this crime. In addition, he states that there are people who do not feel guilty in any way or who do not recognize any moral rules, which should be analyzed further (Freud, 1916). On the issue of working in prison from a psychoanalytic perspective, Morris (2001) claims that prisons could be challenging for psychodynamic-oriented therapists due to their brutal nature. He states that the prison has a function to distance the prisoner from the outside world and the society. Also, he adds that the prisoners create their codes inside the prison, and that psychologists are also in such an environment. He underlines that in therapeutic work with prisoners, the therapist reveals all this, and that prison is a place with difficult conditions for therapy. In a similar manner, Swales (2011) discusses the difficulties of working with perverse criminals in prison. She argues that therapists working with perverse patients who are offenders should be careful about describing the limits of confidentiality between the therapist and the patients. Therefore, it is beneficial to clarify these rules and limitations in order not to be someone who deceives him or someone who lies to him in the eyes of the inmate. On the hand, it is stated that psychoanalytically oriented therapies are of great help in working with criminals and that inmates are model patient profiles for psychodynamic therapy. Due to the complex pathologies of the prisoners, it is declared that they need treatment approaches that include a long-time investment and that provide a comprehensive perspective to the cases, which is what psychodynamic therapy offers (Mulay et al., 2017).

Regarding the psychoanalytically interpreted studies, one of the studies in the literature that focuses on working in prison belongs to Hinshelwood (1993). He argued that prison personnel and convicts have a subculture built on protecting themselves for various reasons, which situation has an impact on the psychologists who work there. One of these outcomes was inmates and employees working in prison perceiving psychologists as weak, impotent, and rejected. He added that officials warned psychologists to be cautious around convicts, especially when it came to fraud. He claimed that the psychologists were frustrated when they tried to perform their own job because of this predicament and that a relationship type such as friendship evolved in their interactions with the prisoner.

Proctor (2004), on the other hand, underlined that when working with inmates, it would be beneficial for therapists to focus on the rehabilitation of the prisoner rather than his potential to harm others or himself. On this subject, her theoretical interpretation was that when psychologists focused on the prisoner's crime, they developed an identification with the victim position, which returns as intense countertransference against the prisoner like controlling and a desire to punish.

1.4.1. The Concepts of Transference and Countertransference

Transference is defined as a person's repeated acts, feelings, and attitudes in his early infancy (Freud, 1916-1917). Transference, according to Freud, is one of the most significant aspects of the analysis, as well as a very powerful feature of resistance of the patient. In other words, the person's emotions, actions, and ideas that they portray to the analyst are both a part of the job and add to the task's difficulties (Freud, 1912). In addition, transference involves not only the conscious notion but also the unconscious part which is excluded from consciousness and represented by repressed impulses. He also views transference as something that may be experienced anywhere, claiming that it is not limited to analysis (Freud, 1912). Transference is related to the repetition of the forgotten past via different objects. These objects do not have to be limited to just doctors. Therefore, the transference could be seen in many aspects of life like romantic relationships, job relations, school relations, and so on, which makes the transference itself valuable and informative about the life of the subject. Furthermore, considering transference could be the key in order to understand the

compulsion to repeat (Freud, 1914). After Freud, the notion of transference has been one of the concepts that Lacan puts in the center of psychoanalysis, and he views transference to be reproduction by stating that its appearance in the analysis will be creative through the language (Lacan, 1960-1961). In addition, Nasio (1998), on the other hand, explains the transference in Lacanian psychoanalysis by reflecting the patient's symptoms to the analyst and including him.

Most of the studies in the literature that had been approached with a psychoanalytic point of view have been analyzed and interpreted based on the concept of transference. In terms of the transference in the correctional settings, Gill (1982) argued that psychologists might be perceived as hazardous and aggressive people by inmates regarding the therapy because they symbolize authority models from their history. Furthermore, because of their archaic authority representation, which was formed by early traumatic experiences in the majority of inmates, this perception influences their transference to professionals. Also, Smallbone and Dadds (1998) illustrated that prisoners with a history of abuse had a negative projection about their communication and therapeutic bond with the psychologist. Correspondingly, Harlow (1999) indicated that 6-14 % of the female and 23-37 % of the male inmates in state prisons had a physical or sexual abuse history in their lives before committing a crime. These early adverse events might shape their way of regarding the psychologist working there and their transference to them. Moreover, Mathisas and Sindberg (1985) argued that the nature of the prison provides a basis for feelings such as suspicion and paranoia both for the staff and for the inmates. In this respect, they stated that the prisoners had a distrustful attitude towards the institution and psychologists working there. Therefore, they could perceive everything they did as contempt, humiliation, and disregard. Furthermore, Rohleder et al. (2006) stated that most inmates in prison were violent, belligerent, and threatened therapists. From the general perspective, they had an aggressive transference towards psychologists because they were in an insecure environment where they felt obliged to protect themselves.

In terms of countertransference, it is a situation that appears when the patient evokes an unconscious thought to the psychoanalyst. Furthermore, the psychoanalyst must be aware of and resolve this countertransference when he realized it through his own analysis. According to Freud, the analyst should focus on his conflicts, resistances,

and unconscious urges in his analysis, meaning that only in this way can he separate his process from the patient's process (Freud, 1910b). Lacan, on the other hand, explains that “The complexity of transference could in no way be limited to what is happening in the subject who is called the patient, namely the analysand.” (Lacan, 1960-1961, p.94). By stating this, Lacan implies the importance of considering the countertransference, that is, the resistance of the analyst, when approaching the transference of the analysand. Regarding countertransference, he adds that some feelings arise in the analyst's relations with the analysand (Lacan, 1960-61). Furthermore, he points to the signifier as the origin of the analyst's emotions, which is discussed as a countertransference phenomenon in analysis, and states that this point is related to the analyst's desire (Lacan, 1962-63).

According to the literature, working as a psychologist in prison brings with the reactions, emotions, and behaviors of psychologists, namely countertransference issues, due to the nature of the environment. Considering the correctional setting, therapists working there can feel confusing internal reactions owing to the individuals they interact with during therapy, which may impact their feelings, behaviors, or even the type of intervention that they will choose (Mulay et al., 2017). Regarding the experience of the psychologists, Rohleder et al. (2006) discussed their experiences working at a correctional facility. They illustrated that one of the most difficult aspects of working there was dealing with emotional issues, which included feelings of anxiety, dread, loneliness, rage, and powerlessness. Furthermore, Springmann (1988) introduced the victimization feelings of the psychologists working in prison due to the profile they had worked with. He explained two types of victimization which were based on stemming from the psychologist and the criminal. He argued that countertransference feelings that were induced by the offenders could be part of the therapeutic process while other emotions that were aroused by the psychologist's own life should be approached by her. He also pointed the feelings of humiliation, seduction, and persuasion, which could be counted as the negative transference of the psychologists. In addition to the negative countertransference to the prisoners, from a similar point, Wood (2014) asserted that working with perverse patients by giving reference to the severe pathology might bring about negative feelings towards them. She demonstrated that the sadomasochistic and narcissistic components were generally at work in the transference of the perverse patient who could induce the

behavior that could harm himself or others. When treating these patients, the countertransference of the psychologist would be influenced as a result of this transference. She concluded that disgust and disrespect sensations might arise in the therapist as countertransference. Furthermore, psychologists might have an apprehension of these patients or sex offenders as scary, repulsive, horrible, and even hideous, which can be seen as the foundation of the negative countertransference.

On the contrary to negative transference, Reilly (2017) argued that psychologists working with criminals approached them with compassion during their profession. They attempted to understand their crime within the context of their lives by considering their previous childhood traumas and early life situations. This type of compassion and attitude could pave the way for positive countertransference apart from the negative one. In addition to this, according to Swales (2011), another complicated aspect of countertransference for psychologists working in prison with sex offenders was to feel unconscious admiration towards the inmates owing to the *jouissance* of the perverse inmates, which is a form of enjoyment that is forbidden and restricted for the neurotic subject like the therapist.

1.4.2. Lacanian Approach

Lacan (1950) has not stated anything explicitly about working in prison to the best of my knowledge, although he has expressed some of his thoughts on criminology and psychoanalysis. He emphasizes two aspects of crime science when talking about its object. One of them is defined as the truth of the crime, which is related to the police, the law, that is, the party that will impose the sanction. The other aspect is characterized as the truth of the criminal, which he ties to the analytical and anthropological perspectives. Furthermore, he argues that neither the crime that is committed nor the perpetrator of the crime can be evaluated in isolation from the societal background. Also, Lacan draws attention to how crime is expressed unconsciously, namely symbolic rather than its concrete reality.

Referring to the fact that crime is a staging of the inner world of the offender, Lacan (1950) states that psychoanalysis eliminates the reality of crime and removes the illusion of dehumanizing the offender, which is one of the dilemmas that criminology deals with. He explains the way to reach the truth of the criminal behind the crime as

follows: “Moreover, by means of transference, psychoanalysis grants us access to the imaginary world of the criminal, which can open the door to reality for him.” (Lacan, 1950, p.110). At this point, he states that, in terms of the psychoanalyst's role, the psychoanalyst working with the criminals will prioritize the discourse that points to pathology, such as slips of the tongue, forgetting, homophones, and double-meaning sentences that refer to the unconscious, rather than the obvious and current error. In addition, Lacan highlights another point that the psychoanalyst should consider while working with the criminal profile, namely the proclivity to commit crimes repeatedly, and claims that this may be connected to repetition automatism (Lacan, 1950).

In order to comprehend the subjective and professional experience of working in prison from the psychoanalytic theory, some of Lacan's concepts should be discussed. First of all, it is necessary to review Lacan's concepts of clinical structure and symptoms. While describing the subject, Lacan mentions three clinical structures: neurosis, perversion, and psychosis. He fundamentally shapes the way these structures emerge from their relations with the big Other, which embodies law, authority, language, and culture. He explains that this structure will not change, that a person will remain in the same structure, but may show symptoms of different structures. In other words, for instance, the subject may show perverse or psychotic symptoms despite being neurotic in nature. Regarding perversion, it can be articulated that the subject knows the law, the rule, and the framework, but denial, which is the most basic defense mechanism, is at the forefront (Fink, 1997). Related to this, Byran (2016) interpreted from such a point of view that although there is a denial of criminals in terms of what their victims want, what they desire, what they do, criminals, especially sex offenders, know inwardly. On the other hand, Lacan (1950) observes a substantial link between numerous perversions and criminals and explains this scenario using an object in a condition of adhesion and a developmental pause. Furthermore, Swales (2011), who has experience in forensic psychology, noted that the perverse structure was less prevalent among criminals in prison than she expected, but it was significantly greater than the general population regarding the sex offenders, which implies that inmates were not necessarily perverted, but there may be a large majority with perverted symptoms.

1.5. Research Statement and Research Questions

In the light of the studies in the literature and the theoretical perspective mentioned above, the study in question has two fundamentals. The first aim is to research, examine and describe the professional and subjective experiences of psychologists who had worked with inmates in prison. The second aim is to make sense of these experiences based on psychoanalytic theory. To achieve these two goals, I set out two research questions. In keeping with the first purpose, my first research question is, "What are the professional and subjective experiences of psychologists who have worked with criminals in prison?". This question serves the first aim so as to reveal a general picture through how psychologists describe this experience. My second question is, "What do the experiences of psychologists who had worked in prison offer when viewed with psychoanalytic theory?". This question, on the other hand, is addressed to the second purpose, and it serves to discover what lies under this experience on the basis of the unconscious and to reveal the theoretical connections.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Qualitative Research and Thematic Analysis

Qualitative research is concerned with delineating and analyzing the social world regarding the cultural and behavioral patterns from the perspective of the individuals via including social reality (Bryman, 1988). One of the main features of qualitative research is that it provides the researcher with the opportunity to explore events, values, a phenomenon, etc. from the participants' perceptions, thoughts, and feelings, in other words, from their reality, which contributes to comprehensive data for the research (Bryman, 1988; Howitt, 2016). Quantitative research generally consists of elements such as an outsider researcher, the purpose of verifying a theory or a certain relationship, a fixed social reality perspective that is outside of participants, and revealing of hard and reliable data, whereas qualitative research includes the researcher in the position of an insider, the aim of the revealing a theory or a particular relationship, an unstable understanding of social reality shaped by the role of the participants, and offering of rich and deep data (Bryman, 1988). Also, qualitative perspective allows self-disclosure with a focus on the role of the researcher and involves revealing and considering the impact on the study, which points to the rigor of the research (Wertz, 2011).

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue the thematic analysis as one of the essential methods with regards to qualitative analysis. Thematic analysis is a particular method that provides themes or patterns regarding rich data sets via describing, analyzing, and documenting these themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The understanding adopted in the thematic analysis is that themes do not emerge by themselves or emerge suddenly from the data. The emergence of themes requires considering the role of the researcher. In other words, thematic analysis emphasizes that the researcher has an active role and

states that rather than adopting an impartial or independent attitude in the formation of themes, the process of the formation of themes will be shaped by various factors such as the researcher's knowledge, worldview, research interest because the themes will be the result of a mental process that passes through her mind (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ely et al., 1997; Taylor & Ussher, 2001). Therefore, Braun and Clarke (2006) state that the theoretical orientation and framework adopted by the researcher should be specified and explained how the method and the frame are related.

Another issue related to thematic analysis which is a method rather than a methodology is that it enables the researcher with the opportunity to constitute her methodology by presenting a group of choices based on the research question and interest. In this way, the researcher can choose whether or not to adhere to her theoretical orientation and must state this transparently (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, methodology acts as a bridge by creating a link between the ontological and epistemological perspective of the researcher regarding the study which forms the philosophical background and the research design suitable for the study (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). For this reason, it becomes more of an issue to clarify the perspective of the researcher on social reality and the construction of knowledge, and from which perspective the subject will be addressed (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). In addition, in line with the determined methodology, before analyzing the data, thematic analysis aims to determine the approach to the subject to be researched by presenting a group of choices (Braun & Clarke, 2006). One of these choices is inductive or deductive analysis. Inductive analysis is an analysis that proceeds with the guidance of data, independent of theory or predetermined patterns, while deductive analysis is a form of analysis that includes certain pre-patterns or themes and progresses on the basis of the theory model (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 2002). Another choice to be made is about at what level the data will be analyzed, namely semantic or latent level. While the semantic approach aims to define the themes given explicitly by the data, the latent one is more concerned with what the participants pointed out underneath what they said and creates a perspective on the underlying motives (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

2.2. Reasons of Choosing Qualitative Research for Studying Experience of Working in Prison

The qualitative research method not only provides comprehensive and rich data on the selected research topic (Bryman, 1988), but it also enables the researcher to reveal her position, stance, predictions, and prejudices via offering a perspective that focuses on the researcher's role as a part of the study (Morrow, 2005). Besides, qualitative research can provide the researcher with an exploratory opportunity on the subject matter (Howitt, 2016). Because qualitative research is more exploratory and less definitive in terms of outcomes than quantitative one, it is portrayed as beneficial regarding developing ideas and intuitions that the quantitative method has trouble verifying (Bryman, 1988). In the light of this information, it seems fitting to choose qualitative research, as there has been no previous study on the experience of psychologists who have worked with inmates in prison with regard to the context of Turkey within my knowledge, and it is a field that can be described as an under-researched area in the literature in terms of their experience (Dean & Barnet, 2011). Therefore, the current study was conducted with an exploratory and descriptive perspective, which qualitative research appears to be consistent with the in-depth grasp of the acquisition approach to their experience. On the other hand, Hays and Singh (2012) emphasize that the research orientation and theoretical perspective adopted by the researcher is one of the characteristics of qualitative research. Also, Vanheule (2002) proposes that qualitative research has many advantages from a psychoanalytic perspective, such as preserving social reality in studies, allowing theory development, and offering techniques that can be used in psychoanalytic sessions during the data collection process, especially compared to quantitative research. In this respect, the study in question seems compatible in terms of qualitative research inquiries and in-depth exploration since it was addressed from a Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective based on my theoretical orientation.

One of the important aspects to be considered while conducting qualitative research is that the researcher should clearly state certain dimensions by considering many elements such as how she established the study, her approach to knowledge, and social reality perspective (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). The ontological and epistemological perspectives of the research constitute the philosophical backbone of the study and

shape the entire design, from the research question to the analysis of the data (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). In other words, first of all, it is necessary to focus on what is known about social reality and how it is known, which forms the basis of the ontological perspective (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Positivism, interpretivism, and critical perspective are the three main ontological approaches in regard to qualitative research (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). The interpretive approach adopts that the social world is constructed from the relation of the subject with others and that this social reality can only be comprehended in line with the discourses and perspectives of the individuals (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). This approach has been adopted in the study in question since in the Lacanian approach, the perception of self and social reality of the subject is based on its relationship with the Other and has a dynamic structure (Lacan, 1949). In addition, the ontological position has an impact on the acquisition of knowledge, which implies the epistemological stance, in other words, it determines the epistemological view via the perspective of the ontological approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Killam, 2013). The question that lies at the heart of epistemology is on the dialectic and knowability between the person who has the knowledge and the person who will know (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Merriam (2009) classifies four main perspectives regarding the epistemological approach which are positivist, critical, interpretive/constructivist, and postmodern. The interpretive/constructivist approach is based on the idea that there are various social realities and experiences regarding the subjective experience rather than an observable single reality perspective (Merriam, 2009). Moreover, this approach defines the position of the researcher and the participants as creating the process of knowledge-building together, which emphasizes that the researcher has an active and affecting role rather than an objective position (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). In this respect, the epistemological perspective of the research was structured as interpretive/constructivist, as it assigns an active role to the researcher and the participants' own realities were taken into account (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005; Merriam, 2009), which coincides with the nature of Lacanian psychoanalytic practice.

In conclusion, this thesis is based on the perspectives of reciprocal structuring by language in bilateral relationships of experience and the multi-reality viewpoint on the basis of experience, all of which are provided through qualitative research approaches (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005). In line with this purpose, thematic analysis, one of the

methods of qualitative research, is considered suitable for the study in terms of addressing the visible content and the motives behind the discourse of the participants on experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Howitt, 2016). Moreover, one of the aspects of the thematic analysis is that it provides the reader with a rich and holistic understanding of the subject with prominent themes. In this respect, it was emphasized that thematic analysis is useful when researching topics relatively under-researched, or when there is no data set on participants' views on the topic (Braun & Clarke, 2006). All in all, thematic analysis was chosen as a method in the current study because it provides analysis with the theoretical orientation, it is beneficial regarding topics comparatively less explored, and it offers the opportunity to get to the bottom of the surface content of the data, in other words, to unconscious motives. Therefore, qualitative research with all the aspects considered was evaluated as the best way to study the experience and unconscious notions of psychologists who have worked with inmates in prison.

2.3. Participants and Sampling Method

Purposive sampling was chosen in accordance with the method and the interest of the study. Purposive sampling, which is based on selecting participants who experience a phenomenon and meets predetermined criteria, is a common technique in terms of being effective in providing data-rich information resources in qualitative research (Howitt, 2016; Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 2002). Furthermore, this sampling focuses on obtaining the data at the most useful and relevant level (Howitt, 2016). Due to the coronavirus COVID-19 outbreak, the group that will be the most representative sample in terms of the prison experience, i.e., psychologists currently working in prison, cannot be accessible in terms of legal permissions by the Ministry of Justice. It was stated that because of the restrictions imposed on the entrance and exit of prisons due to the pandemic, a study related to psychologists working in prisons is not allowed for legal considerations. For this reason, people who worked in prison in the past and now work as psychologists in the General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses were included in the study. Therefore, in order to gain in-depth information, the inclusion criterion was determined as the recruitment of participants who worked in prison in the past and had experience, which was thought as the best representative sample regarding the current conditions.

During the legal permission process of the study, being at the General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses brought together meeting the employees and gathering information about the participants working in different departments. In this way, a verbal invitation was made to psychologists who had experience working in prison. Afterward, an appointment was made with the volunteers. Interviews with seven people were scheduled, but one participant had to withdraw due to an emergency during the interview, and that data was dropped out. In this case, interviews were made with six participants. While conducting thematic analysis, in terms of the minimum sample size, Braun et al. (2016) explained that although the size of the sample may vary according to the research question, the nature, and structure of the research, they stated that sample of consisting of at least 6 participants is needed in order to recognize reiterative patterns. Correspondingly, so as to reach saturated data, it is articulated that the number of participants varying between 2 and 10 would be sufficient while studying a particular phenomenon (Boyd, 2001). Thus, sample size regarding the experience of working in prison was applicable for enriched analysis of the data.

All the participants were women, so it became a sample consisting of only women, although there was no gender criterion. The age range of the participants was between 27 and 50, and they all graduated from the psychology departments of different universities. Some of the participants had a bachelor's degree while others had a master's degree or doctor of philosophy. The years they worked in prison changed within limits from 1.5 years to 26.5 years. Although their theoretical orientations were predominantly eclectic which can be defined as the fusion of many more than one theoretical orientation, there were also other orientations like cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) and psychoanalytic therapy. The length of the interviews was measured by turning on the stopwatch before the interview and turning it off at the end of the interview. Interviews with the participants ranged from 45 minutes to 82 minutes. The detailed demographic information of the participants, the types of prison they worked in (open or closed prison), the group they worked with (woman, man, or child), and durations of the interviews are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Information about the Participants

Nicknames	Age	Education	Years Worked in Prison	Therapy Approach	Prison Type	Interview
Beste	27	Master's Degree	1.5	CBT	Closed Prison (Man)	80m
Duru	31	Bachelor's Degree	8.5	Eclectic	Open Prison (Child)	60m
Narin	31	Doctor of Philosophy	1.5	Psycho- analytic	Closed Prison (Man)	82m
Ceyda	36	Doctor of Philosophy	1.5	CBT	Closed Prison (Man)	80m
Feyza	50	Bachelor's Degree	26.5	Eclectic	Closed Prison (Man- Woman- Child)	73m
Hülya	39	Master's Degree	16	Eclectic	Closed Prison (Man- Woman- Child)	45m

2.4. Procedure

First of all, ethical permission was obtained from the ethics committee of Middle East Technical University in order to collect data. After the ethical approval, an application was made to the Ministry of Justice for legal permission, as the participants to be included in the study were working within the ministry. After this application and permission process lasted about two months, legal permission was obtained. Appropriate meeting rooms were arranged within the General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses, and face-to-face interviews were conducted with volunteers, taking the pandemic conditions into account and taking the necessary precautions. At the beginning of each interview, participants were informed about the subject of the study, and they were asked to sign by giving informed consent form (see APPENDIX C). It was emphasized that their participation in the study should be voluntary, and they could leave the interview whenever they wanted. Moreover, they were encouraged to share whatever came to mind when talking about their experiences of working in prison. At the same time, they were ensured that their identifiable information will be kept confidential. The participants were informed that what they said during the interview will be noted by the researcher. The reason for this is that although legal permission has been obtained for carrying out the study, the Ministry of Justice approved it in line with the condition that there is no audio recording and video recording. For this reason, the interviews were recorded manually by the researcher in detail and one-to-one throughout the interview. Before the interview, each participant filled out the demographic form (see APPENDIX D). The interviews are in semi-structured form and consist of open-ended questions (see APPENDIX E) about what it was like to have worked as a psychologist in prison, their professional motivation, and supervision processes. During the interviews, participants were asked to detail their memories, examples, and experiences of that time with additional questions. At the same time, how they interpret and evaluate themselves in their current situation was also elaborated. Participants' responses were noted on the basis of one-to-one discourse in the blanks in the pre-prepared booklet containing the questions. At the end of the interview, the participants were given an informative form (see APPENDIX F) and thanked for their participation in the study. After each interview, the interview notes and details were digitized and written into a dialogue form to minimize data loss. The interviews lasted around 70 minutes on average and

participants' names were altered to pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. The data collection process took about three weeks.

2.5. Data Analysis

In circumstances when audio recording is not permitted, the interview can be recorded by hand via the researcher as an option (Fox, 2009; Newcomer et al., 2015). If audio recording is not available during the interviews, it is recommended to create booklets as one of the ways to take notes by the researcher. Booklets are described as a collocation factor, leaving enough space for all questions and answers (Newcomer et al., 2015). It is underlined that in order to transcribe the interview notes to the computer in detail, it is necessary to be hasty right after the interview (Newcomer et al., 2015). Moreover, transcripts created from voice recordings and scripts based on notes gathered during the interview are comparable regarding the quality of the data, highlights the importance of note-taking as an option for the researcher in cases where voice recording is not allowed. (Rutakumwa et al., 2019). In the light of this information, all interviews were noted by hand, taking into account the one-to-one statements of the participants, and after the interview, they were digitalized and turned into a dialogue form. In addition to what the participants said, silences, laughter, changes in tone of voice were also noted and added to the interview scripts.

Thematic analysis is described as flexible owing to the fact that it does not depend on any theoretical orientation (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Besides, since thematic analysis hosts both semantic analysis with an exploratory attitude towards under-studied areas and latent analysis, which can be handled with theoretical orientation, it was seen as an appropriate method for data analysis and analysis was conducted in the direction of 6 steps recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006), which can be seen in Table 2. Thematic analysis confronts the researcher with many options in terms of research, such as at what level the themes will be analyzed (semantic or latent approach) and whether the analysis will be carried out from the data (inductive approach) or from the theory to the data (deductive approach) (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun et al., 2016). However, the idea that it is necessary to choose one of them is an illusion, and considering practice, it is emphasized that semantic and latent themes, as well as inductive and deductive approaches, are used together (Braun et al., 2016). In addition,

considering the ideal path, in terms of the analytical process, initially, analyzing the data regarding the semantic content to obtain the description of the data and the more comprehensive interpretations of the patterns or themes obtained in this way in the light of existing literature can be approached (Patton, 1990). In the same way, as Patton (2002) emphasized that qualitative research is basically an inductive analysis at the first stage in terms of being alone with data and starting from data. Furthermore, he states that the inductive material that emerges after determining certain patterns or themes can be analyzed deductively in terms of evaluation as a result of the confirmatory phase of the qualitative research. Therefore, I decided to utilize both inductive analysis which contributes to rich description and deductive analysis that allows comprehensive and deeper analysis of the data from the interpretative and theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Based on all this information, I structured and completed data analysis in two stages. The element that shapes the first stage is the question of the professional and subjective experiences of psychologists who have experience working with inmates in prison, which is my first research question that aims to provide a holistic picture that defines the experience. As the most appropriate approach to this research question, I conducted a semantic thematic analysis of the data from an inductive perspective. Conducting the analysis on a semantic level expresses the investigation of what is visible by focusing on what the participants say while being from an inductive perspective means directing the data without starting from any theory and without predetermined themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun et al., 2016). The second stage includes the interpretation and discussion of themes that emerged as a result of the first stage based on Lacanian psychoanalytic theory. The question that shapes the second stage is unconscious notions in psychologists' experiences of working in prison, which refers to my second research question. For this research question, I conducted the thematic analysis with a deductive approach at a latent level to get to the bottom of the semantic themes on the same data. I thought the latent-level form of analysis was compatible with looking beyond what the participants said, exposing and interpreting unconscious notions. Also, Braun & Clarke (2006) emphasize that the latent approach is in accord with the psychoanalytic perspective in terms of thematic analysis.

In both analysis stages, I followed the 6 stages listed by Braun and Clarke (2006). While doing the analysis, I used Nvivo, which is a software designed for qualitative studies. In the first stage, I repeatedly read the transcripts transformed from notes for semantic analysis with the inductive approach. As a result of this reading, I became acquainted with the data and derived initial codes. First, I reached certain themes apart from the literature and independently of the theory. Checking whether the emerging themes were compatible within themselves, I evaluated the suitability of the research question, so I started naming the themes by creating thematic maps related to the data and finally settled on the reporting. As Braun and Clarke (2006) stated, it was not a one-off process, but a process that was constantly repeating and involving back and forth moves between stages. In the second stage, I conceptualized the themes I obtained in the first stage with the Lacanian psychoanalytic approach by evaluating them from a latent perspective and comparing them with the themes presented in the literature.

Table 2. Phases of Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

2.6. Trustworthiness of the Study

Thompson and Russo (2012) stated that in terms of ethical dilemmas, the relationship between researcher and participant, in other words, the role of the researcher emerges as a point where qualitative and quantitative research differ. It requires close communication between the researcher and the participant due to the nature of the qualitative research (Thompson & Russo, 2012). At this point, the effect of the researcher's life story, perception style, and reactions, in other words, subjectivity, and reflexivity, on the study is a matter of discussion, as in the clinical experience (Berger, 2015). Reflexivity and subjectivity brought along by qualitative research are characterized as one of the ways of determining the trustworthiness of the research by defining the researcher regularly as questioning and addressing her perspective on this study and its possible effects (Morrow, 2005). In accordance, the ontological perspective based on the interpretive approach assumes that the experience of the reality of individuals is shaped within a social context, and the perspective of co-structuring between the participant and the researcher in the transfer of knowledge epistemologically (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005) are adopted in the research. Therefore, the role of the researcher during the process becomes an important question. In other respects, as an analysis method, whether it is inductive or deductive, Braun and Clarke (2006) state that the process of determining the themes cannot be independent of the researcher's subjectivity in both cases. In this respect, the thematic analysis provides a perspective that reveals the role of the researcher presumed by qualitative research, which highlights a point that should be considered as reflexivity.

In the light of all this information, as a researcher, I have benefited from a number of strategies in order to reveal my own subjectivity part transparently and to realize its impact on the process of the study. The first of these is bracketing, a technique frequently used in qualitative research. Bracketing is a method that is rooted in the idea of reducing the effect of reflections on the research due to the evaluations, prejudices, expectations that the researcher is aware of or not, and to ensure that the researcher behaves meticulously and carefully (Tufford & Newman, 2010). One of the ways of the method in question is the bracketing interview, which basically aims to unearth the pre-concepts and judgments that the researcher has by interviewing a person outside the research, including before the interviews, throughout the process

(Rolls & Relf, 2006). In accordance with this method, I interviewed a colleague regularly during the data collection process. In the course of this process, I noted my conceptualizations, prejudices, and expectations regarding work. In addition, I did a role-play exercise with my colleague before I started working, and I audio-recorded my own answers to the interview questions. Another strategy is the reflective commentary of the researcher, which is focused on the researcher's thoughts about the study, the participants, the method, in general, the entire data collection process (Shenton, 2004). On the basis of this method, I was able to realize the points where my thoughts changed, differentiated and my prejudices emerged during whole time from the moment I chose my research question to the data analysis part, by keeping a reflexive journal. Finally, I discussed the emerging themes in stages such as evaluation, interpretation, and thematic mapping, in the meetings we organized with my supervisor and considered the feedback on the themes reflecting the prison experience and being comprehensive. In addition, I took into account the feedback and criticism of my peers via the technique of peer scrutiny which means the involvement of colleagues, friends, or researchers who can offer the researcher new ways and perspectives in the course of the study (Shenton, 2004). Lastly, I completed the interviews by manually taking notes, as I could not get permission to record audio to use during the interviews due to pandemic and legal reasons. In qualitative analysis, when it comes to the note-taking technique applied in case of failure to record audio, the experience and education of the researcher who will take notes are considered as a substantially essential issue in terms of the quality and meticulousness of the data (Rutakumwa et al., 2019). For this reason, I exercised for two months to take quick and one-to-one notes by listening to some audio recordings. At the same time, I would say that I have some expertise and education on this topic because I have one and a half years of experience as a therapist that requires taking notes in all sessions.

When it comes to qualitative research, the role of the researcher is central, and starting from the pre-research stage, the researcher has a reflexive role (Finlay, 2002), which is a part of the study as well as an enriching element (Howitt, 2006). Furthermore, Finlay (2002) accentuates that beginning with the selection of the research topic and research question, the researcher must focus on herself, research curiosity, and motivation. My interest in this subject comes from my previous enthusiasm for working in prison. My desire to work in prison stems from my interest in working with

the criminal profile and the origins of crime in this context. Especially, conducting therapeutic work with perverse criminals has been an area that I have been very curious about and attracted me. Furthermore, I realized that I had two basic thoughts about working in prison. First of all, I realized that I was wondering what the experience of working in a prison was like, what the challenging points might be, and what the working environment was like. Secondly, as my interest in psychoanalytic theory began, I started imagining what it would be like to do psychoanalytic work in prison. For example, I tried to understand how the situations envisaged in the analytical study would manifest in the prison environment and what kind of path should be followed. These two curiosities can be interpreted as two fundamental questions of my research. First of all, I want to describe this experience, and secondly, I wonder how it can be regarded from a psychoanalytic point of view, can be interpreted as approaching a phenomenon from a distance that I cannot experience.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The current study reveals results according to two levels of thematic analysis. First, the explicit or surface analysis was carried out by semantic analysis, which focuses on what participants say (Braun, & Clarke, 2006), and the results are presented. The semantic analysis provides a descriptive picture of the subjective and professional experience of working in prison. In the second part, the results of the latent analysis are included, which provides a chance to interpret the data from a theoretical point of view since it offers a perspective on implicit thoughts, ideas, conceptions, and emotions of the participants (Braun, & Clarke, 2006).

3.1. Results of the Semantic Level Analysis

After the semantic level analysis, five main themes and sub-themes emerged. The main themes are *factors for choosing to work in prison, reactions of the close others to working in prison, challenging but rewarding experience, different than just being a clinical psychologist, and after-effect of working in prison*. All of the main themes also have sub-themes (see Table 3).

Table 3. Themes and Sub-themes of the Semantic Level Analysis

1. Factors for Choosing to Work in Prison
a) Personal Curiosity in Forensic Science
b) An Influencing Person
c) Unintentional-Coincidental Choice
2. Reactions of the Close Others to Working in Prison
a) Family's Anxiety and Fear
b) Friends' Support and Curiosity
3. Both Challenging and Rewarding Experience
a) Challenges of Working in Prison
b) Personal Growth and Satisfaction

Table 3. Themes and Sub-themes of the Semantic Level Analysis (cont'd)

4. Different than just Being a Psychologist
a) Being a Member of Committees
b) Reporting the Loss to Inmates
c) Attendance of the Correction Officer in the Session
d) Different Agents in Therapy Demand of the Inmate
5. After-Effect of Working in Prison
a) Feeling Insecure and Distrusting People
b) Becoming a More Suspicious Person

3.1.1 Factors for Choosing to Work in Prison

The first main theme is factors for choosing to work in prison. This theme reflects the determinants that psychologists choose to work in prison and includes sub-themes which are *personal curiosity in forensic science, an influencing person, and unintentional-coincidental choice.*

3.1.1.1. Personal Curiosity in Forensic Science

While describing the experience of starting to work in prison, the participants expressed interest in forensic sciences as a key element affecting the process of working. They reported that working with criminals was something that caught their attention. Beste described her inclination towards forensic science and her interest in working with criminals as follows:

After graduating from high school, I thought I would study forensic sciences. I was more inclined to forensic science than clinical. I had an internship at the juvenile high criminal court at the university for a short time... I guess my curiosity was a little more personal like that. I did not have such an experience like this, I never had like this, but I guess I wanted to see this face of society a little bit. Because criminals are a different matter. In fact, I had never even met a criminal acquaintance like a close relative of mine and so on, but I guess I wanted to see this side of society.

Original

Liseden mezun olduktan sonra adli bilimlerle ilgili çalışma yapacağımı düşünüyordum. Klinikten çok adli bilimler eğilimli biriydim. Üniversitede çocuk ağır ceza mahkemesinde staj yaptığım oldu kısa bir süre...Sanırım merakım biraz daha böyle kişisel bir şeydi, buna benzer böyle bir deneyimim

yoktu, hiçbir zaman olmadı ama biraz böyle bu yüzünü görmek istedim galiba toplumun. Çünkü farklı bir konu suçlular. Doğrudan daha önce suçlu bir tanıdığım bile olmamıştı birebir benim yakınım akrabam vesaire ama toplumun galiba bu yönünü görmek istemişim.

Similarly, Hülya talked about her interest in working with criminals, associating it with being similar to her field of interest at university:

A new phase was beginning in my life, a new beginning. I have a side that is also interested in criminals, I never worked especially when I was at university, but since I was familiar with social psychology in the years I studied in the field, in the undergraduate, prison did not seem distant for me. That's why it was familiar to me.

Original

Yeni bir süreç başlıyordu hayatımda, yeni bir başlangıç. Suçluyla da ilgilenen bir tarafım var, özellikle hiç üniversiteyken çalışmadım ama sosyal psikolojiye daha yakın olduğum için alanda okuduğum yıllar lisanstayken, cezaevi çok da uzak gelmedi bana. O yüzden yakın gelmişti açıkçası.

Ceyda stated that she became interested in forensic sciences after beginning her doctoral program and that forensic cases attracted her attention. When I asked what exactly caught her attention in these cases, she said:

Most of the lectures included the analysis of such cases, such as suicide incidents, crime scene investigations, murder, or suicide. We were asked to evaluate them. At that time, the criminal profiles and the characteristics of the crimes seriously caught my attention, and I wanted to see and get to know these people in person. People are pushed into crime, they commit crimes, but for what reasons they commit it, what kind of past they have, what they have been through, I wanted to see them through experience.

Original

Daha çok derslerde intihar olayları, olay yeri inceleme, cinayet mi intihar mı şeklinde böyle vakaların analizleri geliyordu. Bizlerin değerlendirme yapması isteniyordu. O zaman suçlu profilleri, suçların özellikleri ciddi manada dikkatimi çekmişti ve bu insanları bizzat yerinde görüp tanımak istedim. İnsanlar suça itiliyorlar, suç işliyorlar ama hangi sebeplerle bunu işliyorlar, nasıl bir geçmişleri var, neler yaşayarak o aşamaya geliyorlar bunları da tecrübe ederek görmek istedim.

3.1.1.2. An Influencing Person

As another factor affecting their motivation to work in prison, the participants talked about a person who influenced them. Beste explained the experiences of a forensic psychologist working in a juvenile court at a conference on forensic sciences as a figure who impressed her. She claimed:

She was a woman who worked in the juvenile high criminal court, she told us about that process and that children went through very traumatic things, that she was very strong, but after a while, she had many difficulties, that she listened to very traumatic things for her. I think it affected me then that the person could stand strong, do useful things, but then realize that she had gone through those traumatic things too, she was sad. I probably regarded these things as a giver.

Original

Çocuk ağır ceza mahkemesinde çalışan bir kadındı bize anlatan o süreci ve çocukların çok travmatik şeyler yaşadığını, kendisinin çok güçlü durduğunu sonrasında ama çok zorluklar yaşadığını, kendisi için çok travmatik şeyler dinlediğini söylüyordu. Sanırım etkilemişti bu beni o zaman kişinin güçlü durabiliyor olması faydalı şeyler yapıyor olması ama sonra da o travmatik şeyleri de yaşadığını fark ediyor olması, üzülüyor olması. Bunları daha çok herhalde verici olarak görüyordum.

Duru, on the other hand, stated that she was impressed by the advice of a teacher who worked in this field while she was at university. She said:

When I was in my last year of university, I had the opportunity to do an internship in the psychiatry department. We had a teacher there; he was doing his military service, actually he was working on probation. He said, 'The Ministry of Justice will hire people, most of them will be the area of probation, I am very satisfied with my work'. He talked about his conditions, I leaned towards this idea.

Original

Üniversite son sınıftayken psikiyatrisi bölümünde bir staj yapma imkanı bulmuştum. Orada bir hocamız vardı; askerliğini yapıyordu aslında denetimli serbestlikte çalışıyormuş. O dedi ki 'Adalet Bakanlığı böyle bir alım yapacak, bunların büyük bir çoğunluğu denetimli serbestlik olacak, ben çalışıyorum çok memnunum'. Şartlarından bahsetti, bu fikir çok da sıcak geldi bana.

Similarly, Ceyda stated that she was affected by the cases brought by her teacher in her doctoral program. After that, she declared that she had dreams of working in this field and expressed her motivation as follows:

Our teacher brought a lot of forensic cases, and it was interesting... After completing my doctorate program, if I become an academician or work at a university one day, my biggest motivation was that I wanted to tell my students something about forensic cases, not only through theory, but also from my life experiences as a person who worked in person.

Original

Hocamız çok fazla adli vaka getiriyordu ve ilgi çekiciydi...Doktorayı bitirdikten sonra da ilerleyen günlerde olur da günün birinde akademisyen olursam, üniversitede çalışırsam, kendi öğrencilerime adli konularla ilgili adli vakalarla ilgili bir şey anlatırken sadece teori üzerinden değil de bizzat çalışmış birisi olarak hayat tecrübelerimden de anlatarak aktarmak istemem en büyük motivasyon kaynağım oldu.

3.1.1.3. Unintentional-Coincidental Choice

Although the participants justified their motivation to work in prison through various elements, the majority of them stressed their unintentional decisions throughout the employment process. They made remarks that they did not apply very deliberately, and they applied with no understanding of what it would be like to work in prison.

Regarding this, Beste said:

The following days were not so much the preferences I chose. Afterwards, we are assigned to prisons with KPSS (public personnel selection examination) anyway, I had 79 points at that time. Penal institutions have opened positions 204 people for psychologists, so I applied.

Original

Sonraki günler çok da benim tercihimle olan seçimler değildi. Sonrasında, cezaevlerine de KPSS ile atanıyoruz zaten kamuya, o zaman 79 puanım vardı. Ceza infaz kurumları kadro açtı 204 kişi psikolog için, ben de başvurum.

Duru stated that she did not apply for this job consciously and stated that she found herself working in prison. She claimed:

I did not apply very consciously... I graduated intending to work in the field, but I had never thought of prison before. Maybe I wouldn't have believed it if they said it... I applied for probation, then my idea of staying in Ankara was also effective to work in the public sector. After that, I found myself in prison.

Original

Çok farkındalıklı bir şekilde başvurmadım...Alanda çalışma hep niyetiyle mezun oldum ama cezaevini daha önce hiç düşünmemiştim. Deseler inanmazdım belki de...Denetimli serbestlik diye başvurmuştum ben, sonra Ankara'da kalma fikrim de etkili olmuştu kamuda çalışmak adına. Ondan sonra kendimi cezaevinde buldum.

Similarly, Narin stated that she knew she would work with the criminal group, but she started to work unknowingly regarding the conditions and the profession. She said:

When I applied to the Ministry, I knew that I would be working with a criminal group, with a criminal profile, but I never knew whether it was a prison or probation. Although I never knew what probation was... I mean, I went willingly, but by the way, I'm going without knowing what it is.

Original

Bakanlığa başvuru yaparken bir suç grubuyla, suç profiliyle çalışacağımı biliyordum ama bunun cezaevi mi denetimli serbestlik mi olduğunu hiç bilmiyordum. Gerçi denetimli serbestliğin ne olduğunu da hiç bilmiyordum...Yani isteyerek gittim ama ne olduğunu bilmeden gidiyorum bu arada.

Feyza, on the other hand, said that it was not a conscious choice when I asked her how she started working as a psychologist in prison. While stating that she enjoyed working, she pointed out that she did not apply in a planned way. She said:

I was not conscious at all, let me tell you frankly. It's a field that I love anyway, and I started my master's degree in social psychology about it. I think my mother told me, someone told me. I took the exam for that ministry at the last minute and passed the written exam.

Original

Hiç bilinçli değildim onu açıkça söyleyeyim. Zaten benim sevdiğim bir alan, ben sosyal psikolojide onunla ilgili yüksek lisansa başlamıştım. Bana annem söyledi galiba, biri söyledi. Ben o bakanlığın sınavına son dakika girdim ve yazılı sınavı geçtim.

Similar to other participants, Hülya declared that she applied to penal institutions and the police headquarters. When I asked about her interest in these two fields, she said that there are similar fields, but she did not make a conscious choice to work in prison.

3.1.2. Reactions of the Close Others to Working in Prison

The participants talked about the various reactions of people in their immediate circles about their decision to work as a psychologist in prison. The mentioned reactions were addressed through two sub-themes centered on family and friends.

3.1.2.1. Family's Anxiety and Fear

In general, the participants talked about their families' reactions to their work in prison on the basis of the fear and anxiety they felt. They mentioned that these feelings stemmed from the fact that the concept of prison was associated with negative events in society. As an example, Duru explained her own family's reactions as follows:

My family was anxious. The family is worried about you because you work in prison. That anxiety reflects on you too, but I think I didn't allow it when I think about it now because I started very positive... I have seen prison in movies in my life, they have also seen it in movies, and today, penal institutions are misrepresented in society with movies and some TV series. As if the possibility of me getting hurt there like that maybe scared them. Maybe the idea of being among the prisoners frightened them as if something would happen to me. That's probably where their concerns came from.

Original

Ailemin kaygısı söz konusu oldu. Aile kaygılı sizinle ilgili cezaevinde çalıştığınız için. O kaygı size de geçiyor ama ben buna izin vermediğimi düşünüyorum şimdi baktığımda çünkü ben çok pozitif başladım...Hayatımda cezaevini filmlerde gördüm ben, onlar da filmlerde gördü ve bugün toplumda ceza infaz kurumları çok yanlış aktarılıyor topluma filmlerle, birtakım dizilerle. Sanki böyle orada zarar görme ihtimalim belki onları korkuttu. Mahkûmların arasında olma fikri belki onları korkuttu, başıma bir şey gelir mi gibi. Muhtemelen buradan kaynaklanıyordu kaygıları.

In the continuation of the interview, when I asked how her family reflected these fears and anxieties to her, she replied as follows:

For example, they were calling me a few times a day to ask how you are when I first started. Also, my advantage was that the phone was allowed in open

prisons. They were calling every day, saying 'why are you working there, isn't there a better place, could you try other things again'. Later, there were anxieties such as 'this could happen to you, we are worried about your life', and so on.

Original

Mesela her gün birkaç kere arıyorlardı beni ilk başladığım dönemlerde nasılsın falan diye. Bir de avantajım telefon girebiliyordu açık cezaevlerinde. Her gün arıyorlardı, 'niye orada çalışıyorsun, başka daha iyi bir yer yok mu, tekrar acaba başka şeyler mi denesen' gibi sözler oluyordu. Daha sonra da 'şunlar başına gelebilir, hayatından endişeleniyoruz' falan gibi kaygılar oluyordu.

In addition, Ceyda talked about her family's fears and anxieties and expressed that they did not lean towards her working in prison. She claimed:

My family was against me working in prison, and they did not lean towards me, even though I wanted to work in prison... My mother was especially against it, my father was not opposed much, frankly, but my mother did not want it because she was afraid. When it comes to prison, we always saw such frightening events, cases, and third-page news on television, and because she was worried about my working in such an environment, she did not support me much.

Original

Ailem cezaevinde çalışmama karşıydı ve çok sıcak bakmadılar ona rağmen ben cezaevinde çalışmayı istedim... Annem özellikle karşıydı, babam çok fazla karşı çıkmadı açıkçası ama annem cezaevinde görev yapmamı istemedi korktuğu için. Cezaevi denilince hep böyle ürkütücü olaylar, vakalar, üçüncü sayfa haberlerini televizyonda gördüğümüz için öyle bir ortamda benim çalışmamdan endişe ettiği için çok fazla desteklemiyordu.

Beste, on the other hand, stated that her family, particularly her father, believes that a prison is a dangerous place. She reported her father's anxieties about working in prison. When I questioned how these issues affected her, she claimed it did not bother her much and that she had to go and see it because it was in an area she did not know.

3.1.2.2. Friends' Support and Curiosity

Other reacting agents were portrayed as close friends. The participants explained the reactions of their close friends based on their curiosity and support, different from the

reactions of their families. Beste described her friends' supportive attitude towards the decision to work in prison as follows:

Around me, my own friends and those who studied psychology were saying, 'yes, you can actually do it; you can work in the forensic field, it's something that requires a little more endurance, and you can do it' etc.

Original

Etrafımda da kendi arkadaşlarım, sonrasında psikoloji okumuş olan arkadaşlarım 'evet ya sen aslında yaparsın; adli alanda da sen çalışırsın, o biraz daha dayanıklılık isteyen bir şey ve bunu yapabilirsin' vesaire diyorlardı.

Likewise, Duru talked about the supportive attitude of her friends towards her own motivation. She said:

Anyway, my friends always say to me, 'you work in prison, what does it depend on to be so motivated, so hopeful'. I used to say that I do not believe that anything done once was wasted.

Original

Zaten arkadaşlarım hep der benim için 'o kadar işte cezaevinde çalışıyorsun, bu kadar motivasyonlu olmak, bu kadar umutvari olmak neye bağlı'. Bir kere yapılan hiçbir şeyin boşa gittiğine inanmıyorum diyordum.

On the other hand, Narin mentioned that her close friends ask curious questions about working in prison. When I asked how these curious questions made her feel, she said that she did not feel negative or positive and that she had an explanatory and narrative attitude towards her friends. She claimed:

My friends said, 'do you really work in prison, what kind of environment'. Prison Break was famous back then. They said, 'is it such an environment, how are the people'. Rather, they were the reactions that everyone was curious about and listened with curiosity, that is, they were not intended to make fun of you or to brush over you, but were asked out of genuine curiosity... I was trying to be descriptive too. There is a group of people who are curious. I used to say about prison environment 'like we see in movies', but in fact, it was like the old times we see in Turkish movies.

Original

Arkadaşlarım dedi ki 'gerçekten cezaevinde mi çalışıyorsun, nasıl bir ortam'. O zaman Prison Break dizisi meşhurdu. 'Öyle bir ortam mı, kişiler nasıl' diyorlardı. Daha çok herkesin merak ettiği ve merakla dinlediği yani dalga geçme ya da sizi geçiştirme amaçlı değil, gerçekten merak edilerek sorulan tepkilerdi... Ben de açıklayıcı olmaya çalışıyordum. Karşınızda merak eden bir grup var. Ben de 'filmlerde gördüğümüz gibi' diyordum ama aslında Türk filmlerinde gördüğümüz çok eski zamanlardaki gibiler.

From a similar point, Ceyda claimed that her friends asked her curious questions about her profession. She stated that when looking from the outside, people experience intense emotions, but she explained that the situation was different, and she was calm while she was practicing her profession. Regarding the reactions of her friends, she said:

I had friends from outside who asked me many questions. My friends working in different places had reactions such as 'how can you talk to someone from that criminal group, how can you be neutral' or 'how can you talk so calmly to someone from such a criminal group'.

Original

Bana çok soru soran arkadaşlarım oluyordu dışarıdan. Farklı yerlerde çalışan arkadaşlarım 'şu suç grubundan gelenle nasıl görüşürsün, nasıl tarafsız olabilirsin' şeklinde ya da 'falanca suç grubundan olan insanla nasıl bu kadar sakin konuşabiliyorsun' şeklinde tepkileri oluyordu.

3.1.3. Both Challenging and Rewarding Experience

The participants described their experiences of working as a psychologist in prison from two aspects. While discussing the difficulties brought by the profession, they also noted that they acquired professional satisfaction and experience throughout their time there. These two aspects were addressed as sub-themes.

3.1.3.1. Challenges of Working in Prison

One of the prevalent themes among participants regarding working in prison is the challenges of the experience. They talked about the difficulties they encountered while explaining working. They described these difficulties in relation to different fields. Beste, for example, noted in her description of her time working in prison that the physical conditions challenged her. She claimed:

I think prison is a bit more challenging working environment. I did not have too many prison prejudices or too high expectations, not too bad thoughts. It is not a place of deprivation, after all, you still have opportunities, but not being able to eat what you want or when you want, not being able to go with what you want, not being able to take your bag with you, thinking about everything from the shoes to wear, even the thoughts like ‘will the shoes I am wearing cause the metal detector to ring, do I need to x-ray my shoes when I go in’ show that you are in a tough working environment.

Original

Cezaevinin biraz daha zorlu bir çalışma ortamı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Çok fazla cezaevine dair bir önyargım yoktu ya da çok büyük beklentilerim, çok kötü düşüncelerim yoktu. Orası bir mahrumiyet alanı değil, sonuçta imkanlarınız yine var ama istediğiniz zaman istediğiniz şeyi yiyememek, istediğiniz şeyle gidemiyor olmak, çantanızı götüremiyor olmak, giyeceğin ayakkabıya kadar her şeyi düşünüyor olmak, ‘acaba bu metal detektöründen öter mi, girerken ayakkabımı X-ray e koyamam gerekir mi’ gibi bu düşünceler bile sizin zorlu bir çalışma ortamında olduğunuzu gösteriyor.

In addition, Beste talked about the difficulties of being in a campus prison and being far from the city. Regarding the physical conditions, Ceyda mentioned being in a barred place while working as a compelling experience. She said:

After all, when we work in prison, we stay in prison within a certain hour and every side is barred. We could feel and experience that psychology a little bit, but as a result, we were able to regain that freedom after our shift was over... Being there all day was really effective- affected me at first. It made me feel different because when you think of prison, those iron bars and high walls come to mind.

Original

Sonuçta bizler de cezaevinde görev yaptığımızda belirli saat içerisinde cezaevinde kalıyoruz ve her taraf demir parmaklıklı. Az biraz o psikolojiyi biz de hissedebiliyorduk, yaşayabiliyorduk ama netice itibariyle biz mesaimiz bittikten sonra tekrar o özgürlüğe kavuşabiliyorduk... Gerçekten tüm gün orada bulunmak ilk zamanlar böyle etkili- etkiliyordu açıkçası. Farklı hissetmeme sebebiyet veriyordu çünkü cezaevi denilince böyle demir parmaklıklar yüksek duvarlar aklınıza geliyordu.

Feyza also reported that the physical conditions were challenging. When I asked about these challenges, she said how to dress might be a problem for a person who likes to be feminine because they had to pass through the x-ray with their choice of clothes without causing a sound from the metal detector. Apart from the physical conditions

of the prison, the participants related the challenging experience with the group they worked with, namely the inmates. For instance, Duru said:

You work with crime groups, after all, and you are a human after all. You may have prejudices and be affected by social events. This did not affect my profession... You do your best to rehabilitate the inmate, but on the one hand, you are a human, and you are exposed to those images every day. I do not know, I have not encountered such a thing, but I think my colleagues are experiencing this dilemma.

Original

Sonuçta suç gruplarıyla çalışıyorsunuz ve siz de sonuçta bir insansınız. Önyargılarınız olabiliyor, toplumsal olaylardan etkilenebiliyorsunuz. Bu benim mesleğimi etkilemedi... Mahkumu rehabilite etmek için elinizden geleni yapıyorsunuz ama bir taraftan insansınız ve her gün o görüntülere maruz kalıyorsunuz. Bilmiyorum ben böyle bir şeyle karşılaşmadım ama bunun ikilemini meslektaşlarımın yaşadığını düşünüyorum.

When I asked Duru what type of dilemma she was experiencing, she said she did not have one and that psychologists might be stuck between their feelings and what needs to be done. In addition, Narin also described the challenging part of her job by referring to the group she worked like Duru.

You are communicating with people who are in the lowest rank in society as a social structure, that is, the inmate. He was punished, he harmed a person or people in some way, and now you are communicating with those people who are at the bottom of that status. Of course, it is a difficult group or a compelling group where you do your job in some way, and you try to get the result.

Original

Sosyal yapı olarak toplumda en alt sıradaki kişilerle iletişime geçiyorsunuz yani mahkûm. Bir ceza almış, birine ya da kişilere bir şekilde zarar vermiş ve artık o statüde, en altta olan kişilerle iletişime geçiyorsunuz. Tabii ki de zor bir kitle ya da mesleğinizi bir şekilde yaptığınız ve sonucunu almaya çalıştığınız zorlayıcı bir kitle.

Hülya, on the other hand, described the challenging part of working in prison by pointing to the difficulties of some inmates' sessions. She stated that she overcame the challenges in the sessions of some of the convicts and detainees she met for the first

time "by entering through his channel (*onun kanalından girerek*)". When I asked about this statement, she said:

For example, some convicts are harsher; they speak rougher. He talks very comfortably and makes you nervous at the beginning of the interview. After a couple of meetings, you realize that his style is not troublesome after understanding his inner world. Actually, these are the features that constitute his personality, but maybe you lose him when you conduct the conversation as you do with others. He does not want to come again; he does not bear his heart. When you approached with his style, when you chatted over something he liked, he could relax a little and continue the interview owing to realizing that he could affiliate with you.

Original

Mesela, bazı hükümlü daha serttir; daha langur lungur konuşur. Çok rahat konuşur ve sizi tedirgin eder görüşmenin başında. Bir iki görüşmeden sonra, onun iç dünyasını kavradıktan sonra bu üslubunun sıkıntılı bir üslup olmadığını fark ediyorsunuz. Aslında onu, o yapan özellikler ama siz belki diğerleriyle yaptığınız görüşme gibi görüşmeyi yürüttüğünüzde onu kaybediyorsunuz. Bir daha gelmek istemiyor, kendini açmak istemiyor. Onun üslubuyla girdiğinizde, onun hoşlandığı bir şeylerin üstünden muhabbet kurduğunuzda biraz ortak yön bulduğunu fark edip biraz rahatlayıp o şekilde görüşmeyi sürdürebiliyordu.

3.1.3.2. Personal Growth and Satisfaction

Participants reported that although the profession was challenging, it provided them with many benefits. Beste stated that she worked with many cases in prison and that she felt equipped. She said about her personal growth and job satisfaction:

I felt so incomplete when I first started, but it quickly became instructive. I have had many experiences; I have seen lots of cases... How to conduct the first meeting with a person, how to continue that process, and what you should not say to that person, I think I learned them well. Working in prison provided satisfaction in this sense... It gave me self-confidence in terms of business life. You learn a job; it was instructive in that sense. I feel more knowledgeable, more equipped.

Original

İlk başladığım zaman çok eksik hissediyordum ama çok hızlı bir şekilde öğretici oldu. Çok fazla deneyimim oldu; çok fazla vaka görmüş oldum... Sonraki süreçte bir kişiyle nasıl ilk görüşme başlatılır, nasıl o süreç sürdürülür ve neyi söylememiz gerekir karşınızdakine, bunları iyi öğrendiğimi

düşünüyorum. Bu anlamda bir tatmin sağladı cezaevinde çalışıyor olmak... İş hayatı anlamında bir özgüven verdi bana. Bir işi öğreniyorsunuz, o anlamda öğreticiydi. Daha bilgili, daha donanımlı hissediyorum kendimi.

Narin stated that her profession provides her with fulfillment. She explained that it was beneficial by referring to the fact that she worked with a compelling profile. She claimed:

I was able to do all of the regular individual sessions in the closed prison, which satisfied me more professionally... I definitely think it was beneficial for me because I practiced my profession... It was a compelling group with whom you do your job in some way and try to get a result. Working with those people made me both happy, and I could do my job.

Original

Düzenli bireysel görüşmelerin hepsini ben kapalı cezaevinde yapabiliyordum ve bu beni daha mesleki olarak doyuruyordu... Mesleğimi uyguladığım için de benim için faydalı faydalı olduğunu kesinlikle düşünüyorum... Mesleğinizi bir şekilde yaptığınız ve sonucunu almaya çalıştığınız zorlayıcı bir kitle. Bu kişilerle çalışmak beni hem mutlu ediyordu hem de işimi yapabildim.

Ceyda, on the other hand, expressed her professional satisfaction by saying that the time she worked for one and a half years was worth four or five years. She stated that she had interviews with many inmates from different pathologies. She added that this experience had matured her. She said:

After I started working in prison, I had the opportunity to see many different criminal groups or patient profiles at the same time. While I had the chance to work with only certain people during the period that I worked outside, when I went to prison, I had the opportunity to see people with very different pathologies. This also helped me to gain professional satisfaction substantially... As I got to know the events, people there and saw those profiles, I can really say that it gave me a 10-year maturity.

Original

Cezaevinde çalışmaya başladıktan sonra birçok farklı suç grubunu ya da hasta profilini aynı anda görme fırsatı buldum. Dışarıda çalıştığım süreçte, sadece belirli kesimdeki insanlarla çalışma imkanı bulmuşken cezaevine gittiğimde çok farklı patolojilere sahip insanları görme imkanı da elde etmiş oldum. Bu da bana mesleki anlamda ciddi manada bir doyum elde etmemi de sağladı... Oradaki olayları, insanları tanıdıkça, o profilleri gördükçe gerçekten bende diyebilirim ki bir 10 yıl olgunlaşmaya sebebiyet verdi.

Similarly, Feyza explained that she gained lots of experiences while working in prison. She claimed that she had the opportunity to see everything at once. She also described it as very intense and satisfying years professionally. In addition, Hülya stated that working in prison gave her professional satisfaction. When I asked her how she felt about this professional satisfaction, she talked about her sessions with inmates. She stated that inmates thanked her for the interviews and observed the effect of the sessions on their lives. She claimed the following about the impact of working in prison on her life:

First of all, it contributed many experiences to my life. I do not think there is any other place where I can see so many criminal groups and that many criminals together... The convicts and the prisoners were also providing feedback. When even a person thanked you and said, 'it was very good for me, you helped me', it was like a sea star; even one of them was enough, and it was satisfying.

Original

Hayatımla ilgili çok fazla tecrübe kattı öncelikle. Bu kadar suç grubunu, bu kadar suçluyu bir arada görebileceğim başka hiçbir yer olduğunu zannetmiyorum... Hükümlü, tutuklu tarafından da geri dönüşü oluyordu. Bir kişi bile size teşekkür ettiğinde, 'bana çok iyi geldi, yardımcı oldunuz' dediğinde, bir deniz yıldız gibi; bir tanesi bile kafi geliyordu ve doyum sağlıyordu.

3.1.4. Different than just Being a Psychologist

A common theme is based on describing their experience of working in prison as being different from working outside as a psychologist. Regarding this situation, Narin stated that being a psychologist in an ordinary institution and being a psychologist in prison were different experiences. Ceyda, on the other hand, reported that being a psychologist in prison was a different experience as she worked with a very different profile compared to working outside. Similarly, Feyza claimed it was different from having sessions with a client in an institution, adding that the prison profile was dissimilar to other clients. In general, the difference from being a psychologist in an ordinary institution appeared in the form of four sub-themes.

3.1.4.1. Being a Member of Committees

The participants declared that while they were working as a psychologist in prison, apart from the individual interviews, they interviewed with the inmates on various issues like discipline problems or future process of the inmate regarding legal matters because they were members of various committees. Beste said the following about this situation:

You do not just have therapy in there like a clinical psychologist; you also have different duties. For instance, you serve on committees as a psychologist in prison. You also have interviews with inmates about another problem, not just individual interviews when serving on committees. When there are some problems during the process, you need to have interviews with them... There can be a difference. For example, if you work as a psychologist outside, you do not have an interview about that person's disciplinary offense at the same time. You will not also have a job, or a duty related to management in inmates' eyes.

Original

Orda sadece bir klinik psikolog gibi terapi yapmıyorsunuz, aynı zamanda farklı görevleriniz de oluyor. Kurullarda görev yapıyorsunuz mesela cezaevinde psikolog olarak. O kurulda görev yapınca aynı zamanda başka bir problemle ilgili mahkûmlarla da görüşme yapıyorsunuz, sadece bireysel görüşmeler değil. Süreç içinde de bazı problemler olduğu zaman görüşme yapabiliyorsunuz... Orda bir farklılık olabiliyor. Dışarda siz psikolog olarak çalışıyorsanız aynı zamanda o kişinin disiplin suçuyla ilgili bir görüşme yapmıyorsunuz mesela. Onların gözünde aynı zamanda yönetimle ilgili bir işiniz, bir göreviniz olmuyor.

Duru, on the other hand, stated that they take part in these committees as a psychologist when there is an issue regarding an inmate. She said:

Some people understand you; they care about your profession, and they ask your opinions. For example, we are members of committees. They respect, consider, and care about your ideas... When a decision regarding an inmate is about to make, there are committees in the penal institutions where you, as a psychologist or social worker, have the signing power, which means you have the right to have a voice.

Original

Sizi anlayan insanlar var; mesleğinizi önemsiyorlar ve fikirlerinizi soruyorlar. Kurulların üyesiyiz mesela. Dediğiniz fikirlere saygı duyuyorlar, dikkate alıyorlar, önemsiyorlar... Bir mahkûmla ilgili bir karar alınacağı zaman ceza

infaz kurumlarında kurullar var, orada psikolog olarak ya da sosyal çalışmacı olarak sizin de imza yetkiniz vardır, yani söz söyleme hakkı demektir.

3.1.4.2. Reporting the Loss to Inmates

The participants talked about informing the inmates about a loss of a relative as another difference of working in prison compared to working outside as a psychologist. Beste stated that the psychologist should be the one who will inform the inmate in case of a loss. She claimed:

The inmate stays there in a closed prison. When there is any negativity, when there is a family loss, when there is a loss from his family, when there is death, they are told in the company of psychologists. Usually, they request it when they work with a psychologist outside, but here, we sometimes want to see them.

Original

Orada yatılı kalıyor mahkûm kapalı cezaevi. Herhangi bir olumsuzluk olduğu zaman, ailesinden bir kayıp yaşadığı zaman, ölüm olduğu zaman psikologlar eşliğinde onlara söylenir. Genellikle kendileri talep eder dışarda bir yerde psikologla çalışıldığı zaman ama burada biz bazen görmek istiyorduk özellikle.

Duru talked about giving the information about a loss of a relative to an inmate while working in juvenile prison. When I asked her how it made her feel, she replied:

The hard part is that there is a loss. What does he live now? What does he think? Does it hurt so much? How does he react? Does he hurt himself, or does he escape from the prison? For example, our institution was an institution that did not prevent escape. Will he run away on this idea? What should we do to prevent them from doing this after we give this news? With thoughts like this, we were actually saying this loss.

Original

Zor kısmı, bir kayıp var ortada. Çocuk ne yaşar? Ne düşünür? Canı çok yanar mı? Ne tepki verir. Kendine zarar verir mi ya da firar eder mi? Mesela firara engel olmayan bir kurumdu bizim kurumumuz. Acaba bu fikir üzerine kaçarmı? Bunları yapmaması için neler yapmalıyız bu haberi verdikten sonra? Bunun gibi düşüncelerle aslında bu kaybı söylüyorduk.

Ceyda, on the other hand, claimed that she had experienced this and explained her feelings on this issue as follows:

When the news was about to be given to the inmate, we were asked to notify the inmate, especially when it was a family-related situation such as birth, death, or illness. I have experienced being in death news, birth news, illness news, all of them... It was very difficult because it made me very sad that he had not seen the deceased person for a long time and that he could not experience that pain with his relatives outside at that moment.

Original

Mahkûma bir haber verileceği zaman özellikle doğum, ölüm, hastalık gibi, ailesiyle ilgili bir durum olduğunda bizlerden haber vermemiz isteniyordu. Ölüm haberlerinde, doğum haberlerinde, hastalık haberlerinde, hepsinde de bulundum... Çok zordu çünkü hem hasret bir şekilde, vefat eden kişiyi çok uzun zaman görmemiş olması, o an o acıyı dışarıda yakınlarıyla yaşayamıyor olması beni ciddi manada hüzünlendiriyordu.

Hülya reported that she informed inmates about the death of a relative while she was working and stated that it was difficult at first. However, she stated that she developed herself by focusing on this subject in the later years. She claimed:

I reported a lot of death news in institutions for 16 years because the institutional psychologist always informs about the deaths of a close relative... There were times when I first sat the man down for hours because I think how to give this news and realized that I could not broach the subject and finally said it... Then, of course, after scanning the literature and with your own experiences, I saw that it was more appropriate to say it at once and approached it with that technique. I realized that it should be like telling at once and supporting the convict and the prisoner in the following process. The first time, of course, was challenging.

Original

Ölüm haberleri de çok fazla verdim 16 yıl boyunca kurumlarda çünkü yakın akrabasının ölümlerini mutlaka kurum psikoloğu haber veriyordu ... İlk zaman bu haberi nasıl vereceğim diye saatlerce adamı oturtup bir türlü giriş yapamadığımı fark edip sonunda söylediğim zamanlar oldu... Sonra tabi literatürde de tarayıp edince ve kendi deneyimlerinle bakınca bir anda söylemenin daha uygun olduğunu görüp o teknikle yaklaştım. Bir anda söyleyip sonraki süreçte hükümlü, tutukluya destek olmak şeklinde olması gerektiğini fark ettim. İlk zaman tabi zorlayıcıydı.

3.1.4.3. Attendance of the Correction Officer in the Session

Another difference was that a correction officer was inside the room for security purposes during the sessions with the inmates. Regarding this situation, Beste said:

As a result, the institution is barred, in other words, it's a closed prison. If you're going to have a session with someone, you know you shouldn't be alone because there can be security problems when you're alone. That's why the correction officer accompanies you.

Original

Sonuçta kurum parmaklıklı oluyor, yani kapalı cezaevi. Biriyle görüşme yapacaksanız tek başına olmamanız gerektiğini biliyorsunuz çünkü güvenlik problemleri olabiliyor tek başına olduğunuz zaman. Bu nedenle infaz koruma memuru eşlik ediyor size.

Narin talked about how she conducted the sessions and that there was a correction officer in the sessions. She claimed:

We were conducting interviews in company with a correction officer, keeping some distance in the room with the inmate, or arranging the seating accordingly.

Original

Bir infaz koruma memuruyla birlikte, biraz odada mesafe bırakarak ya da ona göre oturma düzenini düzenleyerek görüşmeleri gerçekleştiriyorduk.

Hülya, on the other hand, mentioned that there should be a correction officer in the sessions and emphasized the difference from the sessions in which she had outside. She described the attendance of the correction officer as follows:

The correction officer is with you during the sessions. This is challenging in terms of privacy and confidentiality of the conversation, but also from a security point of view, you have to keep him.

Original

Görüşmelerde infaz koruma memuru yanınızda oluyor. Görüşmenin mahremiyeti ve gizliliği açısından bu zorlayıcı bir şey, bir yandan da güvenlik açısından tutmak zorundasınız.

3.1.4.4. Different Agents in Therapy Demand of the Inmate

The participants emphasized that the demand usually belongs to the person while practicing as a psychologist outside and expressed that they scheduled sessions in accordance with the request of different agents while working in prison. Beste mentioned that they could arrange a session for an inmate at the request of his ward friend, apart from his demand. She said:

You cannot have a session with someone unless they want to see you; you do not have the session. For example, someone from the inmate's ward might say, 'there is a problem, so it might be good to talk' because they live together. There were times when we were invited to sessions like that while in prison.

Original

Görüşmek istemediği sürece biriyle görüşemiyorsunuz, görüşmüyorsunuz. Mesela koğuşundan birileri 'bir problem var görüşseniz iyi olabilir' diyebiliyor çünkü bir arada yaşıyorlar. O şekilde görüşmeye çağırdığımız da oluyordu cezaevindeyken.

In addition, Ceyda reported to the correction officers as another agent. She explained this situation as follows:

There are also some inmate profiles who are completely introverted. He has trouble, he has a problem, he is dying of grief, but he is shy of sharing. In such cases, it can attract the attention of the correction officer friends. They say, 'we see such and such inmates in such wards like very sad, we see them very distressed, and it would be good to talk to him' and we invite and have sessions with him.

Original

Bazı mahkûm profilleri de var ki tamamen içe kapanık. Derdi, sıkıntısı var, kahrından ölüyor ama paylaşamaya çekiniyor. Böyle durumlarda da infaz koruma memuru arkadaşlarının dikkatini çekebiliyor. Diyolar ki 'falanca koğuşta işte falanca mahkûm çok üzüntülü görüyoruz, çok sıkıntılı görüyoruz ve onunla bir görüşseniz iyi olur' şeklinde ve bizim çağırarak görüştüğümüz mahkûm profilleri de olabiliyor.

Similarly, Duru mentioned that she sometimes took the initiative and scheduled a session for the inmate for certain reasons while she was working in prison. She claimed:

There were also points where I used my own opinion. Usually, we conducted sessions at the inmate's request. I was inviting the inmate when I needed it... For example, the child committed a disciplinary offense, and you will make a decision. For example, I may need to have an interview with the child.

Original

Kendi kanaatimi kullandığım noktalar da oldu. Genellikle onun talebi üzerine görüşmeleri yapıyorduk. Ben ihtiyaç duyduğumda çağırıyordum... Mesela çocuk bir disiplin suçu işlemiş ve bir karar vereceksiniz. Bununla ilgili bir görüşmem gerekebiliyor mesela çocukla.

Duru also reported that she made an appointment with guidance from other units in the institution. Similarly, Ceyda stated that referrals were given from other units as follows:

It is the unit that realizes that there is a problem with letter correspondence. Friends in the letter reading unit say, 'he has serious family problems, can you talk to him, miss.'. He may have trouble on the phone. Apart from his request, we receive information from other units as well, and we invite based on that.

Original

Mektup yazışmalarında sıkıntılı olduğunu fark eden birim oluyor. Mektup okuma birimindeki arkadaşlar diyor ki 'ciddi ailevi sıkıntıları var hocam, görüşebilir misiniz'. Telefonda sıkıntı yaşayabiliyor. Kendi talebi dışında da bize diğer birimlerden de bilgi geliyor ve biz de ona istinaden çağırıyoruz.

3.1.5. After-Effect of Working in Prison

While the participants were sharing the experience of working as a psychologist in prison, they also talked about some of the personal changes they realized after working. This aforementioned after-effect appeared as two sub-themes as *feeling insecure and distrusting people* and *becoming a more suspicious person*.

3.1.5.1. Feeling Insecure and Distrusting People

Beste stated that she did not trust people after working in prison and that the work had an effect by noting that she did not trust people too much before. She said:

Maybe I have a thing; people have the potential to do many things. I think less of my thoughts like 'He won't do this' because the people there were somebody's parents. I did not work with women, but they were someone's

father or child. I do not know; I do not think I'm a person who trusts everyone so easily. Before or after, I have never been one to say that I will trust everyone very much. Working in prison certainly has an effect.

Original

Belki de daha insana dair şeyim; insanlar pek çok şeyi yapma potansiyeline sahipler. 'Bunu yapmaz' gibi düşüncelerim artık daha az galiba çünkü ordaki insanlar da birilerinin anne ve babasıydı. Kadınlarla çalışmadım ben ama babasıydı, çocuğuydu, böyle kişilerdi. Ben bilmiyorum böyle herkese çok da kolay güvenen biri olduğumu sanmıyorum. Öncesinde de sonrasında da herkese çok güveneceğim diyen biri olmadım. Cezaevinde çalışmanın etkisi de vardır muhakkak.

Narin, on the other hand, described the feeling insecure as something that was resulted from working in prison. She emphasized that people she saw in closed prisons could work in the places where she stopped by in her daily life. She stated that this situation made her more cautious and cold-blooded. She claimed:

I have started to approach people more cautiously and more cold-blooded. For example, after working in prison, I learned about the process of finding a job after probation, where they can work, or what kind of mass they are. For example, in your daily life, most of the people in metropolitan cities that you communicate with or have a relationship with can be ex-inmates like taxi drivers, bus drivers, or something else. For example, while I was working, I learned that everyone could have a forensic file in some way.

Original

Kişilere daha temkinli ve daha soğukkanlı yaklaşımaya başlamışumdır. Mesela cezaevinde çalıştıktan sonra kişilerin denetimli serbestlik sonrasında iş bulma süreçlerini, nerelerde çalışabiliyor olduklarını ya da nasıl bir kitle olduklarını öğrendim. Mesela büyükşehirlerdeki çoğu sizin günlük hayatta iletişim kurduğunuz ya da bir şekilde ilişkide olduğunuz kişilerin taksici, otobüs şoförü ya da başka bir şey olabiliyor. Herkesin bir şekilde bir adli dosyasının olduğunu olabileceğini ben mesela çalışırken öğrenmiş oldum.

Similarly, Ceyda spoke of being more cautious towards people. In addition, she emphasized that working in prison led to this insecurity. When I asked her to elaborate on this situation, she replied as follows:

Knowing that side of the life that I live matured me. It helped me be more cautious and restrained in my relationships and conversations with people because we have seen very closely that people cannot be trusted right away.

Original

Bulduğum hayatın o yüzünü tanımak beni gerçekten olgunlaştırdı. İnsanlarla olan ilişkimde, diyaloglarımda daha temkinli, daha ölçülü davranmama vesile oldu çünkü insanlara hemen güvenilmeyeceğini çok yakinen görmüş olduk.

3.1.5.2. Becoming a More Suspicious Person

Duru mentioned that working in prison made her a more suspicious person, and she said that this situation affected her personality. When I asked about this effect, she said that when she saw a tattooed person on the subway, she had questions about whether he went to prison or not. Besides, she stated that some of her doubts were strengthened in her daily life. For instance, she said:

You might be a little suspicious towards people. For example, imagine that you leave your bag on the beach and go to the sea with your friends, but they do not work in prison. You have covered the towels over the bags, and you are swimming. They are swimming, but my head is constantly turning to the bags. Maybe I had some skepticism before working in prison but working here may have triggered them a little more.

Original

Biraz böyle şüpheli olabiliyorsunuz insanlara karşı. Mesela, sahilde çantanızı bırakıp denize girdiğinizi düşünün arkadaşlarınızla ama onlar cezaevinde çalışmıyor. Havluları örtmüşsünüz çantaların üzerine, yüzüyorsunuz. Onlar yüzüyor ama benim kafam devamlı olarak çantalara dönüyor. Belki daha öncesinden de biraz şüpheli özelliklerim vardı ama burada çalışıyor olmak belki bunları birazcık daha tetiklemiş olabilir.

Similarly, Ceyda talked about becoming a more skeptical person that reflected on her relationships. When I asked how this situation reflected on her relationships, she replied:

It had an influence on my personal relationships. Since you are always involved in such events, you become suspicious of everything as you deal with crime profiles and see the cases. Same with your one-on-one relationships. Even when you are evaluating something or looking at the events around you, there

is always an 'I wonder' in a corner. I can say that it is a little harder to believe unconditionally. In the past, when a person inspires confidence, you could trust more easily, but I can say that experiences have increased the 'what if' a little more. It raised the suspicions a little more.

Original

Kişisel ilişkilerime yansdı. Hep böyle olayların içerisinde olduğunuz için, suç profilleriyle böyle haşır neşir olup dosyaları vakaları gördükçe insan her şeye şüpheli yaklaşır hale geliyor. Birebir ilişkilerinizde de öyle. Çevrenizdeki artık bir şeyi değerlendirirken, olaylara bakarken bile hep bir köşede 'acaba' oluyor. Koşulsuz inanmak birazcık daha zorlaştı diyebilirim. Eskiden bir insan size güven telkin ettiğinde daha kolay güvenebilirken yaşanmışlıklar, biraz daha 'acabaları' arttırdı diyebilirim. Şüpheleri biraz daha arttırdı.

Hülya stated that working in prison changed her perspective on life. She attributed this change to being a more suspicious person. Emphasizing that she was a skeptical person before, she explained that her existing doubts were strengthened. She claimed:

If I didn't work in prison, I would probably be purer in my inner world as a perspective on life, but I cannot be that way towards the outside... After a while, you start to approach with suspicion. You start to approach people at a certain distance, that kind of thing unfortunately gained... Working in prison increased my paranoia more because you try to pay attention to more things.

Original

Hayata bakış açısı olarak, cezaevinde çalışmasam herhalde daha kendi iç dünyamda saf olurdum ama dışarıya karşı o şekilde çok da olamıyorum... Bir süre sonra şüpheli yaklaşmaya başlıyorsunuz. İnsanlarla belirli mesafede yaklaşmaya başlıyorsunuz, o şekilde bir şey maalesef kazandırdı... Cezaevinde çalışmam, benim paranoyamı daha çok yükseltti çünkü daha çok şeye dikkat etmeye çalışlıyorsunuz.

3.2. Results of the Latent Level Analysis

After the semantic level analysis, the latent level analysis was carried out to reach deeper meanings from the surface of the discourses of the participants and interpret them from the psychoanalytic perspective. In accordance with the latent level analysis for the same data, four main themes and sub-themes emerged. The main themes are *identification with the inmate, the need to involve the Other, issues related to the transference of the inmate, and issues related to the countertransference of the psychologist* (see Table 4).

Table 4. Themes and Sub-themes of Latent Level Analysis

1. Identification with the Inmate
a) Enunciation Regarding the Position of the Inmate
b) Phantasy Regarding Jouissance of the Transgression
2. The Need to Involve the Other
a) To Count the Other in Through Calling for Supervision
b) The Demand to be Appreciated by the Other
c) Addressing the Gaze of the Other via Noticeable Effort
3. Issues Related to the Transference of the Inmate
a) Love Transference
b) Two Sides of the Same Coin: Respect and Gratitude vs. Anger
c) Manipulation
4. Issues Related to the Countertransference of the Psychologist
a) Differential References to Inmates
b) Empathy, Rescue Phantasy, and Despair
c) Suspicion

3.2.1. Identification with the Inmate

The first main theme is identification with the inmate. First of all, the meaning of identification in psychoanalytic theory should be considered. Identification, according to Freud (1900/1955), is more than simply an imitation and is a type of assimilation. He adds that this assimilation is caused by an unconscious factor and shared with the object with which he identifies. He also puts the identification in the center of the theory, saying that the first step of object choice is identification with the object (Freud, 1917). Later on, he refers to identification as an emotional bond, referring to its relation to the Oedipus complex in his theory. He states that in the Oedipus complex, the boy identifies with his father by shifting from rival feelings to admiration feelings (Freud, 1921). Lacan, on the other hand, goes into great depth on the concept of identification in his seminar of the same name. According to Lacan, the connection of the subject to the signifier answers the question that should be addressed regarding identification. Referring to the fact that identification is simple to notice, he asks with whom the subject is identified and brings up the little other or the Big Other question. At this point, Lacan determines the agency, which we can trace

identification, as words, although it contains equivocations and ambiguities in meaning (Lacan, 1961-1962). From this point of view, in the study in question, the statements of psychologists pointing to the prisoner's position during the interviews draw attention. This situation made us think that working in prison improved an identification with the prisoner. Based on this identification, the experience of similar physical conditions with the prisoner and the neurotic subject's relationship with the crime may form the basis. These identifications are given in more detail in the sub-themes.

3.2.1.1. Enunciation Regarding the Position of the Inmate

By stating that an existing meaning can become ambiguous, and the term might regain its meaning, Lacan has related this with the unconscious. In other words, the ambiguity created by the meaning that the subject means can lead to another meaning that he does not mean but has an unconscious notion. Lacan explains this issue with the concept of enunciation (Lacan, 1961-1962). Enunciation is a place of self-questioning because the subject said it without knowing what he was saying. Moreover, enunciation unwittingly finds a way out of language and creates an activity in the unconscious chain (Nasio, 1998). Lacan, in his approach to the subject, distinguishes the speaking subject, namely the enunciation-based 'I', and the grammatical subject, the statement-based 'I'. As a result, he distinguishes between two subject positions: the subject of the statement and the subject of enunciation. While the subject of the statement determines the subject as he speaks, the subject of enunciation addresses a signifier and must be closely linked to the unconscious (Lacan, 1977).

While describing the experience of working in prison, participants explained their work as a psychologist in prison with the phrase 'going to prison', which they used directly for inmates as well. For instance, Beste said, "It's my first time going to prison, and of course I do not go inside as a prisoner or a captive, but it was difficult as an idea. (İlk defa cezaevine giriyorum ve tabi içerde mahkûm ya da mahpus olarak girmiyorum ama zordu düşünce olarak.)". After this statement, Beste realized that she sounded like a prisoner and corrected her as not being a prisoner, but the expression that first came out of the language, which can be taken as enunciation, seems to be related to the inmate's position. Similarly, Narin stated, "For example, when I went to closed prison, the corridor length of the prison was 5 10 cm more than my height, and

it was even close to my head. (Mesela, kapalı cezaevine girdiğimde neredeyse cezaevinin koridor boyu benim boyumdan 5 10 cm fazladır ve benim kafama bile çok yakındı.)". Feyza also used a term meaning 'going to prison' while referring to working in prison. She reported, "I wanted to complete my thesis and become an academician. Apart from that, after going to prison and staying there, which I stayed for a long time, I developed myself. (Ben tezimi bitip akademisyen olmayı istiyordum. Bunun dışında cezaevine girip de artık orada kaldıktan sonra ki hep kalmış oldum, kendi kendimi geliştirdim.)". In addition, the participants who had worked in prison for many years made a statement about the way they spent their lives there. According to the participants, working in prison is not the same as working in an institution, but the phrase "spending their lives there" indicates a similar discourse used by inmates. For example, Feyza said, "I will now turn 50 in June. More than half of my life has been spent in prison. (Şu an 50 yaşını dolduracağım Haziranda. Hayatımın yarıdan çoğu cezaevinde geçti.)". Likewise, Hülya stated, "Since I spent 16 years in prison, I miss it most of the time. I'd be lying if I said I do not miss it. (16 senem cezaevinde geçince çoğu zaman özleyorum. Özlemiyorum desem yalan olur.)".

On the other hand, experiencing similar things with inmates in terms of physical conditions can be a reason for participants to identify with them. In this regard, while defining identification, Freud (1917) refers to a common experience based on the unconscious. The fact that psychologists are within the four walls and within the context of prison circumstances, even during professional hours, indicates this identification at this point. Regarding this issue, Narin and Ceyda stated that the prisoners could not do anything within the four walls and that these conditions were not easy. When asked about the part about this experience from their perspective, Ceyda said:

I could understand the anxiety of the inmates because it's really not easy to live within four walls for many years. It is not easy to be in the same environment with people from different cultures for a long time, and it is not easy to adapt... After all, when we work in prison, we stay in prison within certain hours. There were bars on every side, and we could feel and experience that psychology a little bit.

Original

Mahkûmların kaygı duymalarını anlayabiliyordum çünkü uzun yıllar dört duvar arasında yaşıyor olmak gerçekten kolay değil. Farklı kültürden insanlarla aynı ortamda uzun süre bulunmak ve uyum sağlayabilmek kolay değil...Sonuçta bizler de cezaevinde görev yaptığımızda belirli saat içerisinde cezaevinde kalıyoruz. Her taraf demir parmaklıklı ve az biraz o psikolojiyi biz de hissedebiliyorduk, yaşayabiliyorduk.

Another point as an enunciation of being identified with the inmate's position can be considered as a slip of the tongue. Based on the slips of the tongue analyzed, Freud (1901) argues that the unsettling element in speech is based on an unconscious thought and reveals itself through the tongue slip. Some participants had slips of the tongue while talking about their experience there, which might be an indicator of identification with the inmate. For instance, Beste made a slip of the tongue while she was talking about inmates who experienced a loss in the family as follows:

The inmate stays there in a closed prison. When there is any negativity, when there is a family loss, when there is a loss from his family, when there is death, they are told in the company of psychologists. Usually, they request it when they work with a psychologist outside, but here we sometimes wanted to see them. Of course, they need a psychologist because they work- they live in a closed environment.

Original

Orada yatılı kalıyor mahkûm kapalı cezaevinde. Herhangi bir olumsuzluk olduğu zaman, ailevi bir kayıp olduğu zaman, ailesinden bir kayıp yaşadığı zaman, ölüm olduğu zaman psikologlar eşliğinde onlara söylenir. Genellikle kendileri talep eder dışarda bir yerde psikologla çalışıldığı zaman ama burada biz bazen görmek istiyorduk özellikle. Zaten kapalı bir ortamda çalıştıkları iç-yaşadıkları için psikoloğa tabi ki ihtiyaçları vardır.

Beste made a slip of the tongue by saying that the inmates were 'working' while trying to say that they lived in a confined space. This point made me think of a positional confusion since she was the employee there, and she was the one who works and also lives there even within certain hours. There may be confusion about whether they are living or working in prison, which can be taken as a point to identify with the prisoner's position. In this way, Duru made a similar slip while describing the job interview for working in prison. She claimed:

I was very used to Ankara. I did not want to go back and change this order. I applied for such a job. Later, in the interview, I came across such a question, 'why penal- here'. When they said, 'Well, there is a possibility of working in prison, will you work here?' I said, 'Of course, I will.'

Original

Ankara'ya çok alışmıştım. Tekrar dönmek, bu düzeni değiştirmek çok işime gelmedi. Böyle bir alım olunca başvurduğum. Daha sonra mülakatta da böyle bir soruyla karşılaştım, 'neden ceza- burası' diye. 'Peki cezaevi boyutu da var, burada çalışır mısınız' dediklerinde 'tabi ki de çalışırım' dedim.

Duru, on the other hand, made a slip of the tongue by saying 'why punishment' instead of 'why prison'. The issue of 'why punishment' is particularly significant here because 'going to prison' rather than working in prison has a link with punishment, pointing to a condition and position associated with inmates.

3.2.1.2. Phantasy Regarding Jouissance of the Transgression

Freud (1900/1955) gives an example in which one of the patients with the same background has an attack that causes others to consider the possibility of having an attack. He mentions identification as the main issue here and states that other patients conclude that it can happen to them, even if it is not at the conscious level. Similarly, it is applicable in the current case because psychologists developed a similar thought to this situation when they worked in prison. They learned that the inmates did not only go to prison for serious and judicial crimes but for crimes that they did not know were defined as crimes. Therefore, a common discourse has been observed that they might commit a crime and go to prison in their daily lives. For instance, Narin mentioned that she learned that driving fast is a crime related to risking others' lives. Right after that, she said, "We can say that your level of awareness is increasing, such as I shouldn't drive the car fast, I shouldn't interact with anyone during driving. (Aman arabayı hızlı kullanmayım, aman işte arabada girerken kimseyle muhatap olmayım gibi bir bilinçlenme seviyeniz de artıyor diyebiliriz.)". Likewise, Duru talked about realizing that she was a lucky child while working with juvenile delinquents. She stated, "I was lucky because I was questioning if I had faced the same living conditions, familial conditions, environmental conditions, and traumatic experiences that most juvenile delinquents had, I could have been in a women's prison today. (Ben çok şanslıymışım çünkü çoğu çocuk mahkûmun geldiği yaşam koşulları, aile şartları,

çevre şartları, maruz kaldığı travmatik deneyimleri bunların hepsini sen yaşamış olsan belki sen de bugün kadın cezaevinde olabilirdin diye kendimi mesela sorgularken buluyordum.)”.

From a Lacanian psychoanalytic point of view, the identification with the inmate via the idea of committing a crime can be interpreted as the phantasy of jouissance associated with transgression. According to Lacan's definition, transgression means going beyond the existing limit. Noting that there is access to jouissance to the extent of transgression, he adds that it is precisely at this point that Law functions. In other words, he emphasizes that it is possible for the subject to experience jouissance, which includes pleasure and pain, to the extent that there is a law that sets the limit (Lacan, 1959-1960). Access to jouissance for the neurotic subject proceeds within the law. However, the way how perverse subject gets the jouissance which is a combination of pleasure and pain is followed by transgression, in other words, by violating the ethical boundary between self and the other (Swales, 2011). In relation to this point, Lacan (1974-1975) emphasizes perverse acts as an important point when distinguishing neurosis and perversion. He states that the neurotic has a tendency to the phantasy of being a perverse subject instead of perverse acts while the perverse subject is disposed to acts that bring about jouissance. From this perspective, the reason why inmates are in prison can be formulated as exceeding a limit by breaking the law at some point concerning the crime. Therefore, it can be regarded as having experienced the jouissance that the neurotic can only dream of through fantasy. Psychologists who work with criminals and who can be considered neurotic may lock into this jouissance. The detailed narratives of some participants about committing a crime and going to prison can be considered as a phantasy for this jouissance. For example, Feyza reported in detail that since everyone is likely to go to prison, even if she is a good honest person, she can go to prison for many reasons, even for a simple reason. She said, “Let me tell you the most extreme. We can even go to prison for murder. You are a person who may be afraid of hurting even an ant, but you can even commit murder, so you never know. (En uçtakini söyleyeyim. Cinayetten bile düşebiliriz cezaevine. Karıncayı bile incitmekten korkabilecek bir insansındır ama cinayet bile işleyebilirsin, hiç belli olmaz.)”. In a similar manner, Hülya reported, “You have a car accident, and you go to prison, or you might experience a burst of anger. You might be slandered and go to prison. I have never forgotten this. (Bir trafik kazası yaparsınız ve içerdesiniz ya da

bir öfke patlaması yaşarsınız. Bir iftira atılır ve cezaevinin içerisine girersiniz. Bunu hiçbir zaman unutmadım.)”.

3.2.2. The Need to Involve the Other

The second main theme is the need to involve the Other. I considered the need for the Other and the gaze of the Other as a common point regarding the experiences of the participants. In this case, common patterns such as the idea that there should be a supervision system, the demand to be respected for their work, and conspicuously hard work can be interpreted as a reference to the relationship with the Other.

The Other is a crucial concept in Lacanian theory. The Other exists unconsciously in the sense that it is created for the subject. The Other's relationship to the subject's desire is connected to his lack. In other words, the Other's lack, and desiring position open up a space for the subject to desire, and therefore the Other is positioned at the center of the signifiers (Lacan, 1962-1963). At this point, Lacan refers to the Mirror Stage, the installation of the first Other for the subject. At this stage, the person who approves the image that the child sees in the mirror pronounces his/her name and builds the value of the image is the mother, that is, the first Other (Lacan, 1962-1963). As a result, the relationship with the Other is a key relationship that underpins the relationships with language and law, which leads to the subject finding a way to bring the Other into existence. (Evans, 1996; Lacan 1962-1963).

3.2.2.1. To Count the Other in Through Calling for Supervision

While describing the experience of working in prison, the participants noted that there should be a supervisory system in prison due to different reasons. Psychologists' demands for such a system, whether they need it or not, might be related to their wish to be castrated from the jouissance related to their profession. In relation to this, the subject's withdrawal, or renunciation of the jouissance he receives from the sense of wholeness he experiences in his relationship with his object is realized by the Law or the Other that castrates him (Fink, 1997).

Lacan emphasizes the existence of the Other as being while highlighting the importance of the analysis. He adds that the presence of the Other is what causes it to be called analysis. As a result, there can be no such thing as self-analysis because, even

in this instance, he adds that the subject's imaginary plane contains the Other (Lacan, 1962-1963). Regarding supervision, it has been characterized in the Lacanian sense that a supervisor avoids being didactic or directing but rather opens the space for the analyst to focus on his desire (Dulsster et al., 2021). In other words, the existence of the supervisor seems similar but not the same to the analyst who represents the Other. Therefore, calling for supervision can be interpreted as counting the Other in via this request. For instance, Narin said that while she was working in prison, there was no effect on her, and even if it did, she was not aware of it because she kept herself busy all the time in order not to be affected. She explained her thoughts on the supervision system, “It is definitely a field of work that requires mentorship, in fact, professional supervision beyond even mentoring. (Kesinlikle bir mentorluk, hatta bence mentorluğun bile ötesinde profesyonel bir süpervizörlük alınması gereken bir çalışma alanı.)”. Similarly, Ceyda stated that she had not been supervised before while conducting therapy with inmates in prison. She reported, “In fact, it would be nice to have supervision because it is a special area, working with a different group. There are times when we need it or when we are stuck. (Aslında süpervizyon olsa güzel olur çünkü özel bir alan, farklı bir grupta çalışılıyor. İhtiyaç duyduğumuz ya da tıkanıyoruz zamanlar olabiliyor.)”. Feyza, on the other hand, associated the need for supervision on the grounds that the physical conditions were challenging, and this had an effect on them. She reported, “In fact, there should be supervision, it would be nice... Physical conditions are very difficult for us, and you need to have extra skills because once you are outside the province, you are in a closed prison. (Süpervizyon olması lazım aslında, olsa güzel olur... Fiziki koşullar bizlere çok zor ve ekstra becerin olması lazım çünkü bir kere il dışındasın, kapalı cezaevindesin.)”. Hülya, on the other hand, stated that she does not need supervision, but she thinks that such a system should exist. She said, “There needs to be supervision, so they need to get this support, especially for new friends because you do not feel very confident when you first start your profession. (Süpervizyon olması lazım yani özellikle yeni başlayan arkadaşlar için bu desteği almaları lazım çünkü mesleğe ilk başladığında kendine çok güven hissetmiyorsun.)”.

3.2.2.2. The Demand to be Appreciated by the Other

Another sub-theme that the participants shared in common was to be appreciated, respected, and valued by others in the work environment. This demand to be appreciated might be interpreted as the approval of the Other, as represented by the agency, warden of the prison, or prosecutor. From the theoretical perspective, Freud explains the need for approval via his terms that are id, ego, and superego. He explains that the superego is the internalized state of the mother, father, and educators in one's early life. He describes its relationship with the ego as constantly suppressing and controlling it. He mentions that the ego perceives the approval of the superego as a kind of freedom and is afraid of losing its love (Freud, 1939). In this respect, the superego that is created by these internalized figures may be closely related to the participants' demand for approval.

Lacan, on the other hand, refers to the Mirror Stage, one of the first scenes, talking about the approval of the Other, and says that it is the mother, the first Other, who approves the image that the child sees in the mirror (Lacan, 1949; Lacan, 1962-1963). Apart from the first approval, Lacan elaborates on the need for approval in terms of clinical structures. The neurotic subject renounces the jouissance he receives from his unity with the mother, which means he becomes castrated. The basis of this renunciation is the reputation, recognition, and approval that he believes he will gain in return for jouissance. In other words, the neurotic subject exchanges this jouissance by giving up being the imaginary object of the mother in the hope of gaining social approval. Approval, recognition, and reputation referred to as equivalent herein are related to and subject to the Other's plane (Fink, 1997). In this respect, the participants' demand to be recognized and respected can be associated with this theoretical basis. For instance, Beste said, “When I first started working, I had things like whether they would trust me or respect me... Will they respect my knowledge or respect me? (İlk çalışmaya başladığımda bana güvenecekler mi bana saygı duyacaklar mı gibi şeylerim olmuştu...Bilgilerime saygı duyacaklar mı beni sayacaklar mı?)”. She continued the interview by expressing that there were occasions when she felt she was being tested by the staff. She reported that she deserved to be appreciated and that she should be more respectable. Similarly, Duru also mentioned that she believes it is crucial to introduce her profession to the institution. She considered being a respected member

of the profession as having her ideas valued by the authorized persons working in the institution, namely the institution director, the second director of the institution, the prosecutor, and other personnel. She stated, “There are people who understand you; they care about your profession, they ask your opinions... They appreciate, take into account and care about the ideas you say, and you enjoy them when you see them. (Sizi anlayan insanlar var; mesleğinizi önemsiyorlar, fikirlerinizi soruyorlar... Dediğiniz fikirlere saygı duyuyorlar, dikkate alıyorlar, önemsiyorlar, bunları gördükçe siz de keyif alıyorsunuz.)”. As a related example, Narin said, “In a place I went without knowing it, after a while, it turned into a way of making myself accepted, showing my work or being able to do my job, introducing it. (Hiç bilmeden gittiğim bir yerde, biraz daha böyle kendimi kabul ettirme, işimi gösterme ya da işimi yapabilme, tanıtma şeyine dönüşmüştü bir süre sonra.)”.

3.2.2.3. Addressing the Gaze of the Other via Noticeable Effort

Another sub-theme that can be interpreted as an appeal to the relationship with the Other can be pointed as an extreme work tempo for the Other's gaze. Lacan evaluates the gaze as the object of desire, that is, object a, and states that the gaze points to the lack (Lacan, 1963-1964). Moreover, in the anxiety seminar, by associating the gaze with the Other, he raises the subject's questioning about what the Other wants from him. In other words, the subject seeks an answer for himself in the Other's gaze about how he appears, and when he cannot find it, he experiences anxiety (Lacan, 1962-1963). This gaze is internalized, that is, it is somehow unseen to the subject, vague but deeply experienced (Swales, 2011).

At this point, there is a situation that overlaps with the theory, which is that the participants do not know how they appear in the eyes of the Other. A common discourse in the demand to be appreciated by the Other, mentioned in the previous sub-theme, was to be respected and valued. Here, on the other hand, because they do not know what their position is in the eyes of the Other, it is a matter of appealing to the gaze with a remarkable effort. For instance, Duru said, “For example, I used to go to the institution on Sundays to meet with families, and to reach families. In some periods, I did this without taking my vacation, so it would be like working for six days. (Ben ailelerle görüşebilmek için, ailelere ulaşabilmek için pazarları kuruma giderdim mesela. Bazı dönemler bunu izin kullanmadan yaptım, altı gün çalışma gibi olurdu.)”.

In addition, she mentioned that she preferred staying for the after-hours activities all the time and that she was always ready to work there if needed. Another participant, Ceyda, mentioned that she was staying in the public housing of prison, and that this was an advantage for her to work more. She stated, “Being close was even more advantageous for me. It would be more advantageous to go when called immediately; it would be nighttime, it would be on the weekend, frankly, it was more advantageous to go and have sessions. (Yakın olmak benim için daha da avantajdı. Hemen çağırıldığında gitmek, işte gece vakti olur, hafta sonu olur, gidip görüşmek daha avantajlıydı açıkçası.)”. Similarly, Feyza mentioned that she always goes to work during her holidays or festivals. She claimed that she never handed over responsibility to another friend. She reported, “I do not remember ever taking a back seat, even on those half-day holidays, I was coming. (Hiç kenara çekildiğimi hatırlamıyorum, o yarım günlük bayram arifelerinde bile ben geliyordum.)”. Hülya, on the other hand, described her hard work as 'prominently' and mentioned that she has always been such a person. She said, “I also worked prominently in prison...When you work hard, you seem to reveal how little your co-workers work, and you lose the balance. (Cezaevinde de göze batar şekilde çalışırdım...Çok çalıştığımızda birlikte çalıştığımız arkadaşların ne kadar az çalıştığını ortaya çıkartmış gibi oluyorsunuz, dengeyi kaçıyorsunuz.)”.

3.2.3. Issues Related to the Transference of the Inmate

The third main theme is issues related to the transference of the inmate. Another common issue from the discourses of the participants is common transferences encountered while having sessions with inmates. Transference is a significant and central concept in psychoanalysis. Transference is characterized as a person's early childhood repetition of actions, feelings, and attitudes (Freud, 1916-1917). According to Freud, transference is one of the most important things to deal with in analysis, and it is also a very powerful aspect of resistance. In other words, the emotions, behaviors, and thoughts that the person projects to the analyst are both a part of the work and contribute to the difficulty of the task (Freud, 1912). From a similar point, Lacan, by describing the transference relation as the sine qua non of analysis, stated that the transference of the subject will come through speech, that is, it will emerge in the language (Lacan, 1953). Lacan considers transference as reproduction and adds that its emergence in the analysis will find a creative way (Lacan, 1960-1961). In this

regard, because the data I gathered is based only on the discourses of the participants who conduct the therapy, inmates' transference was addressed through their discourses. In other words, the transference was interpreted based on the participants' observations and experiences with the inmates' similar attitudes, feelings, and behaviors.

3.2.3.1. Love Transference

In analysis, Freud (1915a) considers the patient falling in love and having an erotic feeling as transference and underlines that the analyst should not attribute this to himself. According to him, this transference of love is a form of resistance, acting as a mask to avoid existing symptoms and their recurrence (Freud, 1915a). Freud emphasizes that this type of love transference and erotic transference can also be observed in practices other than analysis (Freud, 1912).

Nasio (1998) explains that in the transference that emerges in the analysis, the analyst's position is initially in the place of the symptom's addressee, and in the following process, the analyst's place is in the cause of the symptom. From this perspective, it is reasonable to anticipate that inmates convicted of sexual offenses or imprisoned can mention sexuality as the addressee of the symptom in their sessions. The transference of love may be noticeable in the transference of these persons. Concerning this, the researchers discovered that female therapists dealing with sex offenders reported that inmates discussed sex and sexual fantasy content, which blurred the bounds of treatment (Dean & Barnett, 2011). Wood (2014), on the other hand, stated that while working with perverse groups, sexual content is used as a kind of defense to cover the pain experienced by individuals. Therefore, instead of getting closer to the therapist in the therapeutic relationship, they eroticize this relationship. Similarly, participants made statements about the sexual transference of inmates in this way. For instance, Beste talked about the conditions of working with male prisoners as a young female psychologist in prison. While talking about this situation, she mentioned that sometimes there can be thought like 'we saw a woman today' among the prisoners. In this case, it is noteworthy that the prisoner who comes to therapy comes with the transference of seeing a woman. Therefore, it can be inferred that he positions the therapist as an object instead of the Other in the position of subject-supposed-to-know. Similarly, Ceyda mentioned that she felt the need to draw the line in her meetings with

some inmates. When I asked her to elaborate on these points, she explained that some prisoners experienced psychological ups and downs. She said, “Some made you look like their spouse or wanted to ask questions about your privacy. Some wanted to push your limits with questions such as are you married or do you have children. (Sizi eşine benzetenler ya da özelemlerle ilgili soru sormak isteyenler oluyordu. Evli misiniz, çocuğunuz var mı gibi sorularla sınırlarınızı zorlamak isteyenler oluyordu.)”. Here, it can be observed that the psychologist was positioned by the inmate as his direct object of love transference, that is, his wife. Feyza, another participant, stated that when she asked why some inmates came to the session, she got the answer that they came for chit-chat. She reported, “It is very likely that they will see you as a sexual object. You do not have to be very beautiful because the man does not see the woman there, and there are people who come just for the chit-chat. (Seni cinsel obje olarak görme olasılığı çok yüksek. Çok güzel olmana gerek yok çünkü kadın görmüyor orada ve sırf geyik muhabbeti için gelenler olabiliyor.)”.

3.2.3.2. Two Sides of the Same Coin: Respect and Gratitude vs. Anger

Another sub-theme prominent in inmates' attitudes and feelings, which might be read as transference, can be thought of as the two ends of the transference. On the one hand, they portrayed the inmates' views toward treatment as respectful and thankful; on the other hand, they claimed that many of them projected their rage onto the therapists. From the theoretical perspective, Freud (1915b) mentions that in psychoanalytic practice, patients project their unconscious emotions to the psychoanalyst, and he cites anger as an example to one of them. On the contrary, in terms of respect and gratitude, Freud again mentions that such feelings and attitudes are related to the past story of the person, and sometimes, if a man is mentioned, they originate from identification with the father (Freud, 1910a). Moreover, Freud (1912) explains that the patient's transference to the analyst can be positive or negative. In positive transference, the patient's affectionate feelings such as love and respect are at the forefront, while in negative transference, the patient's anger, critical, and hostile attitude are the focus. Both transferences, according to Freud, are ultimately tied to the person's historical pattern and should be viewed as a powerful sort of resistance (Freud, 1912; Freud, 1916-1917). From this theoretical standpoint, it would not be incorrect to state that transference in prison may be classified as both positive and negative transference.

This circumstance brings to mind two sides of a coin, but it is important to remember that both are sides of the same coin, whether positive or negative, so transference is an element of resistance that should be hashed over in the sessions.

The most important discourse pointing to positive transference is that inmates have very respectful and grateful attitudes according to psychologists. For instance, Beste said, “In general, they were very respectful, which was perhaps surprising to me. They respected, respected that you were there to listen. (Genel olarak çok saygılılardı, bu da şaşırtıcıydı belki de benim için. Saygı duyuyorlardı, dinlemek için orda olduğunuz için saygı duyuyorlardı.)”. Similarly, Duru reported, “Mostly, they had such a loving and warm approach, they were listening. I did not encounter anything disrespectful... There is such a sense of gratitude because there are people who listen to them and try to help. (Çoğunlukla böyle sevecen, sıcak yaklaşımları vardı, dinliyorlardı. Saygısızca herhangi bir şeyle karşılaşmadım... Böyle bir minnet duygusu var zaten çünkü karşılarında onları dinleyen, yardımcı olmaya çalışan birileri var.)”. Ceyda also stated that the inmates were highly respectful during the interviews. Furthermore, she mentioned that inmates write petitions, thanking psychologists for their help. Other participants also spoke out about the occasion of thanking by petition, which can be interpreted as a part of positive transference, that is, gratitude. Regarding the respectful and grateful attitude of the inmates, Hülya stated, “Since he knows that you are the only person in the institution who can help him, he approaches the psychosocial service accordingly, even very politely, in an unusually polite manner. (Sizin ona yardımcı olabilecek kurumdaki tek insan olduğunu bildiği için ona göre yaklaşır, hatta çok kibar yaklaşır, olağanın dışında kibarlıkta yaklaşır psikososyal servise.)”.

Apart from the positive transference, the participants talked about the angry attitudes of the inmates, which could be interpreted as negative transference. Some participants reported angry reactions of the juvenile delinquents, especially when working with adolescents. Correspondingly, Marohn (1981) highlights the emergence of negative transference when conducting therapeutic work with juvenile delinquents. Regarding this anger reaction, Duru said, “Since I was working with adolescents, I was also exposed to those adolescent attitudes, sometimes they could get angry. Those feelings projected to the mother, father, and friend have reflected you because there is no one in the environment. (Ergenlerle çalıştığım için o ergen

tavrılarla da maruz kalıyordum, bazen öfkelenabiliyorlardı. Anneye, babaya, arkadaşaya yansıtılan o duygular ortamda kimse olmadığı için size yansıtılıyor.)”.

Similarly, Feyza also mentioned that she had faced the angry attitudes of the prisoners. She reported, “I also allow him to reflect his anger... It's not at me; it's a general state of anger because he couldn't inform his family, he came in a rush, he did not know the prison rules. (Onun öfkelerini yansıtmasına da izin veriyorum... Bana değil zaten öfke, genel bir öfke hali çünkü ailesine haber verememiş, pat diye gelmiş, cezaevinin kurallarını bilmiyor.)”. Psychologists' opinions indicate that they do not consider this emotion as being tied to oneself but are aware that they reflect it on themselves since they may feel furious for a variety of reasons.

3.2.3.3. Manipulation

According to Seto and Barbaree (1999), an important aspect that makes therapeutic work challenging with criminal groups is offenders' denial and refusal to accept responsibility. They mention that while working with these groups, therapists may have thoughts such as the possibility of inmates deceiving themselves, the possibility of being fooled, or that these people are incurable (Seto & Barbaree, 1999). Wilson (2004), on the other hand, underlines that many criminals have personality disorders, which can include many forms of behavior such as lying, deception, or blackmail, which will complicate the therapeutic bond. From Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective, Swales (2011) articulates that the therapist should be careful about the game by saying that the perverse prisoners make up a game to arouse anxiety to the therapist, not to put him in the position of subject-supposed-to-know, and to plug up her lack. For instance, Beste stated that the reason why some inmates come to therapy is to test whether they prescribe medication and to insist on this. She said, “Some inmates' demands weren't to solve things, but rather, they were people who had used drugs before and wanted to abuse sleeping pills. (Mahkûmların gerçekten talepleri bir şeyleri çözelim olmuyordu, daha ziyade daha önceden madde kullanmış ve uyku ilaçlarını kötüye kullanmak isteyen kişiler olabiliyordu.)”. Narin, on the other hand, similarly mentioned that some inmates are manipulative and come in for secondary gains through therapy. She reported, “The petition of the inmates to meet with the psychologist evolved into a process about which they wanted to get information about in their files rather than any mental distress or depression. (Psikologla görüşme

dilekçesi herhangi bir ruhsal sıkıntı, bunalımdan ziyade dosyalarıyla ilgili bilgi almak istedikleri bir sürece dönüştü.)”. Furthermore, Ceyda explained that this manipulative attitude could be an effort by the prisoner to make his voice heard. She stated, “There may be secondary gains in the form of getting his wishes or making his family heard, but as you get to know these reactions over time, you can notice them. (Kendi isteklerini elde etme ya da ailesine sesini duyurma şeklinde ikincil kazançlar olabiliyor ama zamanla bu tepkilerini de tanıdıkça onları fark edebiliyorsunuz.)”. She also added, “He might even lie through your teeth, and confess it in subsequent interviews. (Hatta bazen gözünüzün içine baka baka yalan da söyleyebiliyor, sonraki görüşmelerde itiraf edebiliyor.)”. While these discourses point out that there is something that the inmates want to achieve as a secondary gain through therapy, the fact that they do this through the therapist and make up a game in this way makes us think about the concept of transference.

Pushing or testing the boundaries of the psychologist can be considered as another type of manipulation. For example, Duru said, “Sometimes, adolescents tried too hard, that is, they tried very hard to manipulate the other person with their behaviors to see how much they could push her. (Bazen çok deniyordu ergenler, yani karşıdakini hangi noktaya getirebilirim diye davranışlarıyla manipüle etmeye çok çalışıyorlardı.)”. Trying to manipulate the psychologist with behavior is something Narin talked about when working with inmates with an anti-social personality disorder or in the anti-social group. She claimed:

It was difficult to communicate with people in the anti-social group or sub-categories of that group, or I think I had less influence on them because it was a resistant group, and they were trying to impress me, or they were trying to deceive me during the interview. I was also aware of this during the interview. When we were supposed to be in the opposite role, the efforts to convince me would begin.

Original

Anti-sosyal grupta ya da o grubun alt kategorilerinde olan kişilerle iletişim kurmak zordu ya da benim onlar üzerindeki etkim bence daha azdı çünkü dirençli gruptu ve görüşme esnasında daha çok onlar beni etkilemeye, onlar beni kandırmaya çalışıyordu. Bunun da farkına bir şekilde görüşme sırasında ben de varırdım. Tam tersi rolde olmamız gerekirken beni ikna etme çalışmaları başlardı.

3.2.4. Issues Related to the Countertransference of the Psychologist

The last main theme is issues related to the countertransference of the psychologist. Freud (1910b) defines countertransference as a state that occurs when the patient triggers an unconscious notion to the psychoanalyst. Moreover, he adds, the psychoanalyst must be aware of and overcome this countertransference in the process. According to him, it is appropriate for the analyst to work on his conflicts, resistances, and unconscious impulses in his analysis, implying that only in this way can he separate his process from the patient's process (Freud, 1910b). Regarding countertransference, Freud sometimes mentions that the patient's transference evokes countertransference in the analyst. He underlines that the analyst must be aware that the transference is not to the analyst himself but related to the early life patterns of the patient (Freud, 1915a). Lacan (1960-1961), on the other hand, regards the term of countertransference as an inevitable result of the transference, as long as the analyst handles it appropriately. Nevertheless, Lacan cautions analysts to be careful when using this concept and mentions that otherwise, everything they are affected by will be gathered under this heading. He emphasizes that in this case, the analyst will become a part of the transference phenomenon and will encounter an obstacle in analyzing the transference (Lacan, 1960-1961). Starting from this theoretical point, I interpreted the emotions, thoughts, and behaviors of psychologists who work therapeutically with inmates as countertransference elements.

3.2.4.1. Differential References to Inmates

A common point that emerged from the discourses of the participants was that they used differential language in their references to the prisoners. Moraitis (1995) mentions that although the analyst realizes and overcomes the phenomenon of countertransference, which can be interpreted as the analyst's resistance, he is still in his ignorance, that is, in the unconscious process. This situation is analogous to the fact that, although psychologists are aware of their discourse, they are unaware that the terms they use unconsciously while talking about inmates imply a divide between 'them and us'. For example, when explaining that Beste wants to work in this field, she said, "I guess I wanted to see this face of society a little bit because criminals are a different matter. (Biraz böyle bu yüzünü görmek istedim galiba toplumun çünkü farklı bir konu suçlular.)" The references of 'this face of the society' and 'different

matter' seem to overlap the idea that the world of criminals and their own are separate. Another statement of the same participant who addressed this thought came while she was talking about her feelings concerning learning about inmates in prison. She stated, "It was pleasant to be learning; I seemed to be learning about another life, namely theirs. (Keyifliydi öğreniyor olmak; başka bir yaşamı öğreniyor gibiydim, yani onların yaşamlarını.)". Similarly, while Duru talked about working with many different convicts throughout her career, she reported, "I learned a lot. Firstly, there were different lives, there were different worlds, there were different stories. (Çok şey öğrendim. Bir kere bambaşka hayatlar varmış, bambaşka dünyalar varmış, bambaşka hikayeler varmış.)". Likewise, Similarly, Ceyda stated that after working with the inmates, she thought that her family raised her in a lantern, away from evil. Regarding this issue, she said, "I also complained that we had never experienced this side of life. Knowing that side of life has really matured me. (Hayatın bu yüzünü biz hiç yaşamamışız diye de serzenişte bulundum. Hayatın o yüzünü tanımak beni gerçekten olgunlaştırdı.)". Like the other participants, she used references to a different life while describing the lives of the inmates. She stated, "Discovering that there are very different lives behind those thick walls and closed doors also aroused very different excitement in me. (O kalın duvarların, kapalı kapıların ardında da çok farklı hayatlar olduğunu görmek bende çok farklı heyecanlar da uyandırdı.)". Narin also mentioned that they are a different group while talking about her therapeutic work with inmates. At the same time, she spoke of realizing that the inmates' life, which she assumed to be very far from her circle, were very close to her. She reported, "Working with that group brought an awareness when we were saying that it is far from us, what could it have to do with us. (Bizden çok uzak, bizimle bir ilgisi ne olabilir ki derken o grupla çalışmak bir farkındalık kazandırdı.)".

Another differential reference is that participants consider being an inmate as the last point or the bottom of life. For instance, Duru said, "For one thing, you witness the lowest a human can go. (Bir kere, bir insanın gelebileceği en dip noktayı görüyorsunuz.)". In a similar way, Narin used an akin expression when talking about communicating with criminals and doing therapy. She reported, "You are communicating with people who are in the lowest rank in the society as a social structure, that is, the inmate. He has been punished in some way, or he has harmed someone. (Sosyal yapı olarak toplumda en alt sırada olan kişilerle iletişime

geçiyorsunuz, yani mahkûm. Bir ceza almış ya da birine bir şekilde zarar vermiş.)”. Feyza, on the other hand, talked about doing something for the children who are in prison, and she used a similar language about the prison being the lowest point. She stated, “Prison is the last point that this person who has already committed a crime or is accused comes to prison. (Cezaevi son nokta ki zaten bir suç işlemiş bu kişi ya da suçlanıyor da cezaevine geliyor.)”. In addition, Ceyda expressed her opinions on the situation of inmates from the standpoint of society, rather than directly via her discourse. She said, “Working with a group that appears to be disadvantaged or excluded by society does not seem easy from the outside. (Dezavantajlı görünen ya da toplum tarafından dışlanan bir grupta çalışmak kolay gibi görünmüyor dışarıdan.)”.

3.2.4.2. Empathy, Rescue Phantasy, and Despair

I have gathered another countertransference issue under the theme of empathy with the inmate, the phantasy of rescue, and despair. I grouped it in this way because the participants' narrative made me think of a sequence or an order of occurrence. In other words, the first thing is for the psychologist to identify and empathize with the inmate, which seems likely to be what triggers the unconscious rescue phantasy. Since this phantasy can never be fully satisfied for the object in question like all phantasies, it may be a situation that can lead the psychologist to a feeling of intense despair.

From a theoretical perspective, when Freud talks about group formation, he explains what creates a bond between this group with identification between individuals and considers empathy as a dimension of identification (Compton, 1985; Freud, 1921). In terms of the empathetic reaction to the inmates, Peterson and Silver (2017) argue that knowing the attacker's past, biography, and background facts will improve empathy for the aggressor. From this point of view, it would not be wrong to claim that psychologists' increased awareness of inmates' lives and their backgrounds may have strengthened this feeling of empathy. As an example of the empathy in question, Duru told how she felt when she gave the news of the death of someone while working with juvenile inmates in prison. She said, “The hard part is there is a loss. What does he live now? What does he think? Does it hurt so much? How does he react? Does he hurt himself, or does he escape from the prison? (Zor kısmı bir kayıp var ortada. Ne yaşar şimdi o? Acaba ne düşünür? Canı çok yanar mı? Ne tepki verir? Kendine zarar verir mi ya da firar eder mi?)”. In addition, Ceyda stated that she could understand the

inmates' reactions due to the conditions of prison. She reported, "I could understand their anxiety because it is really not easy to live for many years within four walls... After all, when we work in prison, we stay in prison within certain hours. (Kaygı duymalarını anlayabiliyordum çünkü uzun yıllar dört duvar arasında yaşıyor olmak gerçekten kolay değil... Sonuçta bizler de cezaevinde görev yaptığımızda belirli saat içerisinde cezaevinde kalıyoruz.)". At this stage, we can clearly see the identification I described before. Similar physical circumstances appear to enhance psychologists' identification and empathy with inmates. Ceyda said later in the interview that it was difficult for her to notify the inmates that a member of him had died. She reported, "There were times when I was really affected. Frankly, there were times when I went into a room like this and felt sad afterward. (Cidden çok etkilendiğim zamanlar olmuştu. Daha sonrasında böyle odaya geçip hüzünlendiğim durumlar oldu açıkçası.)". Feyza, on the other hand, explained that she felt a wide range of emotions while discussing her sessions with young detainees and their families. She stated, "I used to go home and cry. Empathy is okay, but when you are alone with yourself, it turns into sympathy because my children were at that age too. (Eve gidip ağladığım da oluyordu. Empati tamam da kendinle baş başa kalınca artık sempatiye gidiyor olay çünkü hani benim de çocuklarım o yaşlarda olmuştu.)".

Regarding the rescue phantasy, Freud (1910a) states that it is a derivative of the family complex. He explains that the child regards his birth as a gift from his parents, and he creates an unconscious phantasy of payback. This implies that the person produces a phantasy about his parent, such as protecting them from some kind of danger or saving their lives. With this rescue phantasy, the child tries to find a substitute payment due to their gift (Freud, 1910a). In terms of analyst's rescue fantasy, Greenacre (1966) mentions that as a result of the over idealization of the patient, the analyst may have an unconscious rescue phantasy based on narcissistic needs. In this case, he mentions that the analyst establishes a very easy identification with the patient and does not realize his aggressive drives towards the patient. The patient's suffering or need for help triggers this rescue fantasy in the analyst. Based on this theoretical perspective, Ceyda said, "You make their families come. It also made me happy to see them reunited and meeting... It made me feel really good to reach many people in the same way and touch their lives. (Onların ailelerinin gelmesini sağlıyorsunuz. Onların kavuştuğunu, görüştüğünü görmek de mutlu ediyordu... Birçok kişiye aynı şekilde

ulaşmak ve onların hayatına dokunabilmek ciddi manada bana iyi hissettiriyordu.)”. In a similar way, Feyza mentioned, “You really feel that you touch someone's life. I think that this process has contributed a lot to me in twenty-six years. The probability of touching someone's life is much higher in prisons. (Dokunduğunu hissediyorsun gerçekten birinin hayatına. Yirmialtı yılda şu sürecin bana çok şey kattığını düşünüyorum. Birilerinin hayatına dokunabilme olasılığı cezaevlerinde çok daha yüksek.)”. Another crucial point is that when conducting therapeutic work with children, it is a matter of debate that therapists experience this rescue phantasy more compared to adult patients as an element of resistance (Beiser, 1973; Esman, 1987; Malawista, 2004). In this respect, the discourses of psychologists working with juvenile prisoners in prison seem to coincide with the theory. Many of them have unconscious rescue fantasies towards children. For instance, Beste mentioned that working with children would be different from working with adults when she first started the profession. She said, “At that time, I guess I thought it would cause a more effective, longer-term, more radical change. That's why I thought it was necessary to work with children. (Daha etkili, daha uzun vadede, daha kökten bir değişime sebebiyet vereceğini düşünüyordum galiba o zamanlar. O yüzden çocuklarla çalışılması gerektiğini düşünüyordum.)”. In a similar way, Duru also stated, “You also have authority, which is very valuable. You are a member of disciplinary boards, administrative monitoring boards. You have a say in issues regarding inmates, and that is very motivating. So, you can influence their fate. (Ayrıyeten yetkiniz var, bu da çok kıymetli. Disiplin kurullarının, idari gözlem kurullarının bir üyesisiniz. Mahkûmlarla ilgili söz söyleme hakkınız var ve bu da çok motive eden bir şey. Yani kaderini etkileyebilirsiniz.)”.

In a study by Dean and Barnett (2011), they mention that therapists who conduct therapeutic work with criminals feel too much responsibility for the therapy processes of inmates and that self-blame is prevalent in a negative situation. In addition, it is possible to argue that the therapist's high degree of identification in her work with inmates diminishes the hope of being effective with the therapy tool (Farrenkopf, 1992). In parallel, the participants talked about the despair they felt from time to time while conducting therapeutic work with inmates. For instance, Duru said, “The inmate will go to the same place, return to the same environment. How will you intervene there? From time to time, I had experienced this thing a lot with children; we can say

the despair. (Mahkûm aynı yere gidecek, aynı çevreye dönecek. Oraya nasıl müdahale edeceksiniz? Zaman zaman bu şeyi çok yaşıyordum çocuklarla, onun çaresizliğini diyebiliriz.)". Like Duru, Feyza also explained that she fell into despair while conducting therapy with inmates because some inmates would return to the same environment after being released from prison. She reported, "He will go there again; he will go to that neighborhood. How do we fix it, then how do we improve the situation? There were times when I felt so helpless about such things. (Yine oraya gidecek; o mahalleye gidecek. Nasıl düzeltereğiz, o zaman bunu nasıl iyileştireceğiz durumu? O tür şeylerde kendimi çok çaresiz hissettiğim oldu.)".

3.2.4.3. Suspicion

I have gathered the last sub-theme about countertransference issues under the name of doubt expressed by psychologists. The literature on the subject states that therapists who work with inmates with psychopathy are more likely to be suspicious, and they try not to be deceived by the inmate or not to allow him to make a fool of herself (Malamuth & Brown, 1994). In addition, Springmann (1988) states that in dynamically oriented therapies with prisoners, therapists often noted being tricked, blackmailed, and seduced by inmates as countertransference. In this context, the participants verbalized their suspicions in their interviews with the inmates from various perspectives. For example, Beste mentioned that in the days after self-harming incident of an inmate in prison, she was hesitant to see if such a situation would happen again. While explaining this, she said, "I was wondering if I would experience something negative. Not that I'm going to live, but you do not want him to hurt himself. (Acaba olumsuz bir şey yaşar mıyım diye düşündüğüm oluyordu. Benim yaşayacağımdan değil ama kendine zarar versin istemiyorsunuz.)". Although what Beste means semantically is about suspecting that the inmate will harm himself, there is also a secondary meaning from the structure of her sentence about the inmate harming herself. As another form of suspicion, Ceyda's concerns about the inmates' misinterpretation of her gestures and facial expressions during the sessions can be cited as an example. She reported, "He can see the slightest attitude, gesture or facial expressions as something he can use for or against himself; he can make an inference. That's why you have to be very careful. (En ufak bir hareketi, jesti, mimiği kendisi açısından lehinde ya da aleyhinde kullanabileceği bir şey olarak görebiliyor; ondan

yorum çıkartabiliyor. O yüzden çok dikkatli olmak gerekiyor.)”. Later in this speech, she added, “This can lead to different discourses among themselves and in the circle of friends. It can cause you to be misunderstood, so every step you take, every word you say needs to be very careful. (Kendi arasında, arkadaş ortamında farklı söylemlere sebebiyet verebiliyor bu da. Yanlış anlaşılmanıza sebebiyet verebilir, o yüzden attığınız her adımın, söylediğiniz her sözün çok dikkatli olması gerekiyor.)”. Moreover, as another form of suspicion, Hülya stated that the only thing she fears about inmates is being slandered. She reported, “I was never afraid that the inmate would hurt me. I was just afraid that he would slander me by saying, 'She gave me this, she brought me this from outside, she gave it in the meeting'. (Mahkûm bana zarar verir diye hiçbir zaman korkmadım. Sadece mahkûm 'Bana şunu verdi, dışardan bana şunu getirdi, görüşmede verdi' şeklinde iftira atar diye çok korktum.)”. At this point, there is an insecurity about what the prisoner will say and do, which points that distrust and suspicion becoming salient on the therapist's part as countertransference.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

In this section, themes that emerged as a result of semantic and latent analyzes were examined from a psychoanalytic perspective. Results were interpreted by linking them to the related conceptions in theory.

Considering the results, different factors play a role in the choice of working in prison for participants. They described one as a personal interest in forensic science. It is possible to say that the participants have a representation regarding the prison concept and working here. Most of them described the mental representation of prison like 'as much as I saw in movies on TV'. They mentioned that they only comprehended concepts such as prison, crime, prisoner through television or the media. In this context, one participant mentioned that she wanted to see and know the prison environment in person. Later, when they started working in this field, they reported that they understood that the prison was different from the one represented in the media and on television. Others stated that working in a prison has similar characteristics to working in a different institution and that it is a workplace where they fulfill the requirements of the profession. From a Lacanian psychoanalytic point of view, it can be argued that psychologists' conceptualization of prison is shaped from the imaginary to the symbolic order. Lacan's imaginary plane can be defined as an axis in which the image of the subject gains value with the mirror phase, identifies with objects, and contains various ideas and concepts. The symbolic plane, on the other hand, is portrayed as the domain of language, unconscious, law, and the Other, and it alludes to an order within which there is a specific framework (Bowie, 1943). From this perspective, the fact that the participants have a representation of the prison through the media and television, imagine it as a place full of negativities, and have a curiosity about what is behind high walls, even though they have never been to a prison before,

or even passed by, indicate an imaginary occupation. On the other hand, once the concept of prison becomes concrete, they see that it has certain rules, a framework, and an area where the Other is. This is reflected in their discourse through identifying with the rules of the institution, knowing their own limits, and recognizing the Other regarding this environment, which may represent their place in the symbolic order. Concerning this situation, one of the participants said that when the inmate brought an argument about his crime, she stated that she was not in a position to make this decision, and it was related to the legal process, but she discussed the therapeutic part. Another participant stated that they could help the inmates within the legal limits. One of them reported that although the prison also had some restrictions including psychologists, it is not deprivation and that they are within the rules of the prison. All these statements can be given as examples of involving the symbolic system in terms of the prison environment.

As another factor in working in prison, the participants mentioned that there was a person who influenced them. This person was often described as someone more experienced, an inspiration for them, or a teacher. From the theoretical standpoint, this finding can be interpreted as Lacan's concepts of the Other and the desire of the Other. According to the Lacanian theory, the subject is built on a fundamental lack and thus becomes a divided subject. The construction of the subject with an essentially irreplaceable emptiness brings along the desire to emerge from this void. Since being a desiring subject is related to the lack, the subject strives to complete this throughout his life (Fink, 1997; Lacan, 1958). One of the things that will fulfill this can be described as the recognition of his identity by the Other. Owing to the social relationships, the subject captures something about his own identity that he hopes to present to the Other and to fill the gap he feels inside, and the professional occupation can be defined from this point of view (Vanheule & Verhaeghe, 2004).

In this respect, the people who influenced the participants in choosing this profession can be interpreted from a deeper point of view to the Other, as they are people they value and from whom they can receive this social recognition. In addition, Lacan says, "Man's desire is the desire of the Other." (Lacan, 1962-1963, p:22). It refers to the lack of the Other and the subject's subordination to the Other's gaze to unconsciously fill this lack. The subject constantly questions what the Other wants and fills the void that

arises from this with his imaginary plane (Lacan, 1962-1963). But the point is that it is necessary to mention an unconscious process instead of deliberate choice of profession. The unconscious is destined to the discourse of the Other and is in the symbolic order (Başer, 2012). In the light of this information, it is possible to observe not directly, but indirectly, traces of the Other and the desire of the Other in the professional choices of the participants. In relation to this, the theme of unintentional-coincidental choice, which is one of the factors related to working in prison, can be brought up. Although the participants mentioned other factors affecting their decisions, they also referred to factors that were not their own choices. In addition, they stated that they somehow unconsciously tended to work in this field. One of the participants said, "The following days were not so much the preferences I chose". In this respect, it would be appropriate to claim that there are unconscious factors in their' orientation to this field, which gives a reference to the Other. But a clear description of exactly what kind of unconscious process works and the gap they are trying to fill in the desire of the Other will become apparent when the subjective stories of individuals are considered in more detail. Nevertheless, their discourse about making an unconscious choice might suggest that this discourse originates with the Other.

In addition, the reactions of the close others and the relational dimension working in prison can also be discussed from a point related to Other. The participants reported that their parents were worried and anxious about their jobs and that they made a phone call almost every day in the early because they were curious. At this point, it may be useful to remember that the first Other in Lacanian theory is the mother (Lacan, 1949). Evoking anxiety and arousing curiosity can be addressed from a point of view that appeals to the Other. Lacan mentions that in addition to anal and oral drives, voice and gaze drives are associated with desire (Başer, 2012). While talking about the function of the gaze, Lacan emphasizes that we are beings who are watched and questions whether there is a satisfactory side to this. By saying that this view is related to object a, which is the object of desire, he states that the subject tends to symbolize the fundamental lack. Moreover, Lacan adds that when the subject is under the gaze or when he demands this gaze from the Other and obtains it as a result, he will not see it as a gaze (Lacan, 1963-1964). From this point of departure, it is possible for the participants to appeal to the family's gaze and to obtain it somehow, which may indicate a point related to the symbolization of the lack.

Another aspect that can be interpreted based on the discourses of the participants is the occurrence of the dialectic of being guilty versus acquitted. While working with criminals, psychologists mentioned that they often thought about criminal behavior, became more conscious about it, and were afraid of committing a crime in any situation. In other words, a dichotomy develops over being guilty on the one hand and being justified on the other. From theoretical point of view, Freud (1912-1913) clarifies primitive tribes in his work about the origins of civilization. He speaks of the omnipotent and powerful primitive father, who could have all the women of the tribe. Explaining that this father was later killed by his sons, he states that this crime committed by the sons gives rise to a sense of guilt and that it brought the prohibition of incest, which is the foundation of civilization. In other words, it was forbidden to kill the totem animal representing the father and to have sexual relations with women from the same tribe, which contributes to relationships with different tribes. But although incest is forbidden, it continues to exist unconsciously as a repressed material. He claims that this initial crime was denied, which points to the origin of society and the sense of guilt. Furthermore, the two essential prohibitions of totemism that cause the disobedient to be guilty in the primitive tribe lead to the two repressed desires of the Oedipus complex. Regarding Oedipus complex, Freud (1905) illustrates that the child's first object of sexual desire is incest, and then, with the sexual maturation, this sexuality is restricted, and his desire is repressed by remaining unconscious. In other words, the impulses of incestuous desire persist in the unconscious. Also, the feeling of guilt arising from this desire continues in the unconscious (Freud, 1900/1955). Feeling guilty, according to Lacanian theory, is related to surrendering to desire. The subject's guilt appears at the time where the base of the desire becomes manifested (Lacan, 1959-1960).

Based on the theoretical basis, it seems logical for the participants to identify with the inmate, that is, the guilty. The fact that the inmate has committed a crime and has achieved the jouissance by violating the boundary might trigger participants' notions of feeling guilty and the crime. In this case, having a forbidden but repressed incest desire and thus feeling guilty brings along with the identification with the inmate. In this respect, statements of the participants as 'when I go to prison' which points to the inmate's position are intelligible. In addition, there may be an unconscious part that the participants' fantasies about committing a crime and going to prison may result

from witnessing others caught. Therefore, they need to be more careful in order not to be punished for their guilty part.

At the same time, feelings of insecurity and suspicion, which is one of the results of the first-level analysis, can also be explained in the context of being guilty. Freud (1896) considers the concept of projection as a kind of defense mechanism and defines it as the projection of something that one feels inside out. Moreover, while addressing paranoia, he argues that this projection is needed to suppress the state of self-blame and that it is transformed into distrust of others. From this point of view, the distrust of the participants in others after working in prison and the thought that 'people are unreliable' can be considered as a kind of projection. It seems that the guilt-inducing desire underlying this insecurity and the fundamental feeling of guilt push them to question themselves. However, due to the tension created by this situation, they have turned into a thought that people are unreliable by projecting it to others. A participant's statement summarizing this situation is as follows: "People have the potential to do many things." The mentioned 'people' here actually include the participant too, and it is a valuable point to illustrate the mechanism of projection. From another aspect, feelings of insecurity and suspicion might result in difficulty in forming a trust relationship between the psychologists and the inmate. On the one hand, there are points where psychologists do not trust the inmates, on the other hand, there are points where distrust arises on the inmates due to considering psychologists as a part of the administrative unit. Similarly, a study in which a Lacanian discourse analysis of a person who comes to therapy with legal obligations was conducted reveals that such an obligation relationship prevents the formation of a trust relationship between the therapist and the patient (Baltacı & Gençöz, 2019). It would be appropriate to state that the fact that some of the interviews held in prison are based on the request of different agents or compulsorily instead of the request of the inmate makes it difficult to establish a relationship of trust. Another point is that psychologists' desire to be trusted by inmates seems remarkable. A participant's question 'Will they trust me or respect me' is a good example of this. This questioning might be related to a fundamental sense of fear stemming from the imaginary position of the inmate for the psychologists. In other words, although the psychologist does not trust the inmate, she demands to be trusted by him and seems to identify with him because of her unconscious guilty side.

Being acquitted part of the dialectic comes into play at this point. Freud (1906) mentions that although the neurotic is innocent, he can sometimes act like a criminal because of his hidden guilt. Regarding this, he talks about the terrible denial of the children who are accused of a certain crime and explains the fact that they actually have another crime even though they are innocent in that case. It reminds us that neurotics, like children, may have a sense of guilt and reactive responses due to other points that the feeling of guilt indicates, even if they have not committed the crime in question. In this respect, a need for justification might arise due to the guilt of the participants, which is triggered by working with inmates. The fact that the experience of working in prison, which is one of the themes that emerged as a result of semantic analysis, is both challenging and rewarding can be considered from this point of view. The prison's many rules that restrain the prisoners and the restrictions on the clothes, food, telephone, entry and exit issues for the employees, and being inside the four walls all day are the compelling parts of the experience for the participants, and they identify with the prisoner. On the other hand, the rewarding side of this experience can be interpreted as being acquitted, which brings about satisfaction. A participant's statement, 'We were able to regain that freedom after our shift was over', seems to coincide with this situation. This sentence means that she is not guilty and is free. In a way, the 'iron bars' that almost all psychologists perceive and take place in their discourses have a symbolic function. Iron bars serve as a reminder to separate them from inmates, those who had been caught and found guilty. Regarding this situation, Hülya said, "I did my duty without forgetting for a day, a minute, a second that if he (the inmate) was in the penitentiary today, it would mean that I wouldn't be there tomorrow. (Ceza infaz kurumunda bugün onun (mahkûmun) olması, yarın benim olmayacağım anlamına geleceğini bir gün, bir dakika, bir saniye bile aklımdan çıkarmadan görevimi yaptım.)". In fact, she made a slip of the tongue while trying to say the opposite, that if he was in prison, she could get in too. However, she accidentally meant that if he is inside, she will not be. Thus, the thought behind this symbolic function of 'being behind bars' can be formulated as 'If there is someone inside, then I am outside', which highlights a point related to being acquitted.

When it comes to acquittal, it would be appropriate to declare Other as the agency to be taken as the basis here. The function of the Other can be described as being the unit that will recognize and approve the person as innocent rather than guilty. According

to Lacan, the Other has critical importance in the mirror stage in terms of recognizing and approving the image that the child sees in the mirror (Lacan, 1956-1957). Moreover, when viewed on the basis of neurosis, the approval, and love of the Other, which the subject replaces as compensation for the primary loss, is always on the scene (Fink, 1997). Thus, participants' appeal to the Other for supervision, their demand for appreciation by the Other, and their conspicuous work in order to appeal to the Other's gaze might be evaluated from the aspect of their need for the Other to affirm their innocence. For instance, a question such as "Will they trust me" declared by one of the participants can be regarded as questioning whether they are going to believe her or not. Another participant expressed it as making herself accepted by the prison environment and presenting her work. On the other hand, working 'conspicuously' such as going to the institution on Sundays, working even on holidays, and working without taking leave, as mentioned by the participants, may serve to be on the outside by compensating for the guilt felt by them.

Another function of involving the Other can be pictured as castration for the jouissance of the participants. Working conspicuously, such as going to the institution on Sundays, working without leave, working during holidays, and being there when called at night, might be related to jouissance they get from manner. Lacan (1972-1973) explains the notion of usufruct when describing the concept of jouissance by emphasizing its link with the law. While he regards this idea as a benefit or use criteria in everything, he adds that jouissance is the side that goes beyond this. He contends that the usufruct underlies the law by identifying jouissance as a surplus, moreover, an excess beyond an established limit. However, when considering the basis of the subject's relationship with jouissance, its primitive form resulting from being whole with the mother, who is the first object of love, should come to mind. At this point, the paternal function comes into play and forbids this jouissance for the child, which means that he cannot take pleasure from his mother. However, since this jouissance is forbidden, it turns into something that the subject tries to reach for life in different ways (Lacan, 1960). Although jouissance is something one wants to achieve, it also includes pain as it is at a point that goes beyond pleasure. In this case, the subject needs an agency to hinder him or castrate him from this jouissance, at which point the existence of the Other comes into question (Fink, 1997). From this theoretical perspective, it seems that psychologists' performance beyond the existing limit is

related to the concept of *jouissance* but, this *jouissance* also includes the pain part as it brings with fatigue and burn-out by working hard. In this respect, the need to include the Other can be considered as limiting the *jouissance*. As an example, one participant mentioned that her hard work was noticed by her colleagues and managers and that she was sometimes warned not to work so hard. This expression can also be interpreted in terms of restricting the received *jouissance* via warnings coming from the managers.

From a broader perspective, it can be argued that working in prison complicates distancing in the therapeutic relationship for psychologists. One dimension of this difficulty comes from the job description. The participants' definition of working in prison as 'different than just being a psychologist' can be considered on the basis that they have different roles in their relations with the inmate. Psychologists do not only interact with the inmate in the context of the therapeutic relationship. At the same time, they have a position involved in administrative decisions, criminal proceedings, and some sanctions regarding the inmate. For this reason, distancing, which can basically be defined as a certain distance and awareness against the transference of the inmate and their countertransference emerges as a compelling situation. For example, one of the participants stated that she learned about why an inmate was in prison and about his crime from his criminal file. This situation is similar to the distinction between the truth of crime and the criminal that Lacan argues. Lacan describes the truth of the criminal as the dimension with which the analyst will be concerned when working with criminals. On the other hand, he defines the truth of the crime as the way the police or the legal system should deal (Lacan, 1950). Here, it can be argued that there is confusion about the position of the psychologist. When the inmate's discourse is taken as a basis and his reality is the subject, the truth of the crime should remain in the background. Concerning this confusion, the presence of the supervisor presenting a perspective on her position, making her aware of established concepts or her assumed knowledge (Dulsster et al., 2021) can be one of the factors that could provide the distance for the psychologist.

Another factor that makes distancing difficult in the relationship with the inmate can be portrayed as the nature of transference and countertransference issues. First of all, the eroticized transference of inmates' can be considered. According to Verhaeghe (2008), being positioned in the place of the other's object of *jouissance* is a formidable

and worrying circumstance for the neurotic subject, and it brings about avoidance. But it is the pervert that makes this situation, which the neurotic avoids, a reality, and he makes her feel it quite deliberately by arousing anxiety in her. From this theoretical perspective, the fact that psychologists set boundaries for their encounters with erotic transference, want to terminate the interview, or avoid this situation can be associated with the fear of being the object of pervert's jouissance. However, although this avoidance results from eroticized transference, it may cause ignoring the transference that will pave the way for the truth of the subject.

One of the themes regarding transference that emerged is that inmates, especially those in an antisocial group or one of its sub-categories, are manipulative, which has a place in the transference relationship. However, this theme seems to be closely related to the theme of doubt in countertransference. In other words, a dynamic such as a psychologist who becomes suspicious and distrustful of the manipulative inmate emerges. Related to this issue, Ogden (1996) stated that when specifically working with perverse patients, attention should be paid to the part that occurs in the analyst, namely countertransference, in order to understand their transference. In a similar vein, psychologists need to understand their emotions and their attitudes towards inmates who try to manipulate them so as to approach their transference appropriately and to separate their part from the inmate's part. In other words, to understand transference, it is necessary to take countertransference into account. At this point, Lacan supports a similar mark with the idea that countertransference is a kind of outcome of transference rather than something that should never occur in the process. Lacan (1960-1961) said the following on this subject:

Approaching therefore on these last two occasions the question of transference, I did it from the side of the analyst. This is not to say that I am giving to the term countertransference the sense in which it is currently received of a sort of imperfection of the purification of the analyst in relation to the analysand. Quite the contrary, I intend to say that the countertransference, namely the necessary implication of the analyst in the transference situation means that in short, we should beware of this incorrect term. The existence of countertransference is a necessary consequence purely and simply of the phenomenon of transference itself if one analyses it correctly (p.192).

Based on the concept of countertransference pointed out by Lacan, it is possible to declare that psychologists feel different emotions towards inmates while working in this environment. Identifying with the prisoner, empathizing, having a rescue fantasy about him, and feeling helpless can be considered as the most intense and powerful of the mentioned countertransference. However, what is striking here is that not much has come of negative countertransference on the part of psychologists. The countertransference that is revealed in a more empathetic and positive way appears to be questionable. First of all, the answer to the question of why psychologists have so blatantly identified with inmates may be related to the absence of negative countertransference. Returning to theory again, Freud (1921) explains that identifying with an object essentially limits and erodes destructive impulses and aggression towards that object. In this case, identification with the inmate can perhaps be interpreted as a kind of defense in order not to experience aggression against him. If the object turns into something that she understands and feels empathetic about, then there is no more destructive impulse towards it. Similarly, Baumeister and Vohs (2004) mentions that as a way of dealing with the blazingly bad ones, people develop the belief that these evil ones are the victims of their own stories, and they are not criminals. However, this is not entirely possible. As a consequence, participants still express the 'they vs. we' distinction in their discourse. Thus, aggression that may arise naturally when working with a person who has committed a crime may be replaced by identification with the prisoner by understanding him and making inferences that he is the victim, not the criminal. Perhaps the identification that is replaced with aggression can be scrutinized as a defense mechanism that emerges in order to be able to perform this job and to provide professional benefits. However, this aggression still needs to be addressed and worked on it. Only in this way can the contribution to transference and therapeutic work be increased and differentiated from the emotions of the psychologist. Beyond the aggression towards the inmate, the fear might be an unconscious issue for the psychologists. Even though they're there for a clinical interview with a prisoner, there can be something frightening about the situation, and therefore, fear could be repressed in some way. In a sense, the relationship may be reversed by gaining the respect of the object they fear and making them trust themselves. A notion of dominating the criminal may be at work here for the psychologist.

The supervision system can be expressed as a vital unit to deal with all these transference and countertransference issues (Linn-Walton & Pardasani, 2014), which are the elements that make it difficult to distance herself from the inmate and his transference. The supervisor has importance to resist the deceptiveness of the imaginary plane, to ensure that the supervisee concentrates on unconscious representations through language, and to illustrate points relating to established concepts or his assumed knowledge regarding the analysand (Dulsster et al., 2021). Regarding the prison psychologists, including the Other as a supervisor also has a place in the therapeutic relationship between the psychologist and the inmate. The positive thoughts of the participants about the supervision system can be interpreted as a demand for a third party to regulate this relationship. On the one hand, this inclusion can be taken as a comforting element, as it will alleviate many of the tasks and phantasies undertaken by the psychologist. It can also be considered as a system to help establish a distant relationship with the inmate.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The current study is a qualitative study using thematic analysis in order to examine, explore and describe the subjective and professional experiences of psychologists who had worked in prison, as well as to present a psychoanalytic evaluation of these experiences. To our knowledge, it is the first study that focuses on psychologists working with criminals regarding Turkish context and Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective. In terms of the results presented by the study, it is possible to mention both theoretical and practical contributions. This research might increase awareness of what it is like to work in a prison environment. It can offer insights to improve the negative aspects of working in prison. Also, it can provide a perspective for young and inexperienced psychologists who have not yet worked in this field but who aim to work, to evaluate themselves, their motivation, and working conditions. Furthermore, sharing professional and subjective experiences can help build a bridge between experienced psychologists and newcomers. In this situation, young psychologists who train in this subject will be more equipped and more confident. Regarding experienced psychologists, it might contribute to questioning themselves, remembering their professional motivations, and making sense of remain distant position when working in such a chaotic context. Also, this study points to transference and countertransference issues that arise in the prison context, which might be regarded as marks needed to be enhanced. The feelings of psychologists that can be named as their countertransference can be eliminated. As the literature suggests, supervisory processes, mentorship or consultation can be very helpful to detect these feelings and to manage with them. Apart from these processes, when they do not have these options, how do they manage these feelings also becomes an important question to ask and to elaborate. From a theoretical perspective, it can be considered as a contribution that

working with criminals triggers the unconscious concepts such as crime, guilt, and acquitment in the neurotic subject.

It should be noted that the study in question has many limitations. First of all, to the extent of legal permission from the Ministry of Justice, the interviews were recorded manually by the researcher instead of sound recording. This situation inevitably causes the loss of some of the data. Although the participants chose a speaking speed according to the researcher taking notes, some of their expressions were eliminated during note-taking. Using a voice recording during the interviews could both provide access to richer data and remove the filter of the researcher. Therefore, this situation constitutes one of the most important limitations of the study.

Another limitation is that due to the COVID-19 outbreak, interviews were conducted with people who had worked in penal institutions in the past. Although the planned interview was with psychologists currently working in prison, the Ministry of Justice did not allow to have an interview with this sample due to the epidemic. Accordingly, another limitation is that working in prison is an experience for the participants and that they have somehow moved away from this experience, which in turn, might bring about a dampening of emotions or a decrease in the effect of events. Therefore, interviewing participants working in prison currently could offer much deeper knowledge based on comprehending their subjective and professional experiences and could provide insight into the nature of prison.

For future studies, first of all, this study provides a basis in the context of Turkey. However, it can be replicated with the psychologists who currently work in prison. In this way, it might be reached deeper and rich content since they still experience the same conditions compared to the psychologists who had experiences in correctional settings. Furthermore, future research can focus on the quality of work given by the psychologists in prison. Also, the inmates' perceptions about psychosocial service and the support given by psychologists and social workers in order to understand their comprehension and to elaborate their experiences, which can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the importance of psychosocial service in prisons. Another point that can be focused on might be pictured as the experiences of psychologists working with specific crime groups like anti-social inmates. According

to the results, some of the psychologists argued that having sessions with inmates who belonged to anti-social categories or sub-categories of this group was more challenging than the others. In a similar manner, from the psychoanalytic approach, the experiences of psychologists working with perverse criminals regarding specific crimes like rape, pedophilia, zoophilia, and so on might be thrown light on since these crimes and criminals are more likely to evoke emotions in psychologists in the long term. Lastly, as a recommendation for future studies, apart from the context of the prison, present research might be adapted to other settings where intense emotions of clinicians can occur due to the nature of the situation. For instance, the experiences of psychologists working with cancer patients like children and adults in oncology services or psychologists working in women's shelters might be enlightened. Finally, another strength of the current study is that all of the participants were female psychologists. Although gender was not chosen as a criterion at this point, such a result appeared, raising the question of why women are more prominent than men in the discipline of psychology. Future research might also focus on the similarities and differences in the experiences of male psychologists in prison.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study was conducted to describe the subjective and professional experiences of psychologists who had worked in prison and to analyze how these experiences can be interpreted via the lens of psychoanalytic theory. In the light of the findings of the study, a few points that can be underlined will be presented. First of all, when the factors related to the participants' choice of working in prison are examined, it is remarkable that it is an imaginary notion. The participants stated that they were curious about the prison by expressing that they knew as much as they had seen it on television and in the movies. In this respect, it can be said that this imaginary concept turned into a symbolic experience when they started working, that is, when entered the framework of the law. In other words, it can be noted that for psychologists, the prison has a conceptualization from the imaginary to the symbolic. Another factor for choosing to work in prison is the fact that there is a valuable figure that causes them to incline to this field, which can be evaluated in terms of the Other and desire of the Other. At the same time, their emphasis is that this choice is unintentional and coincidental, which can be interpreted from a point related to the Other. With all this in mind, points emerged that could help psychologists gain insight into their motivation to work in prison. It may be beneficial in terms of evaluating the professional motivations of inexperienced psychologists who aim to work in this field, especially in this context.

Another remarkable point is that the dialectic of being guilty and being acquitted due to working with criminals. The participants stated they became more aware of the consequences of committing crimes. On the other side, they discussed the risk of being found guilty and being imprisoned. This previously mentioned guilt can be linked to unconscious guilt, which consists of incestuous desire related with the Oedipus

complex. At this point, there may be an identification with the inmates since there is an unconscious feeling of guilt. On the other hand, there may be a need to prove that they are not guilty, that is, they have been acquitted. It can be argued that the point that participants refer to as the satisfying part of working in prison is a reminder of being acquitted. In other words, the 'iron bars' separating them and criminals, something almost all participants talked about, serve as a symbolic object, and may yield a formula for the psychologist, 'If someone is inside, then I am outside'. Furthermore, the Other must be included as the agency to confirm and witness this acquittal. At this point, it can be said that the participants included the Other in the system by working hard, demanding supervision, and wanting to be appreciated. For this reason, the unconscious guilt and need to prove innocence notion that every neurotic subject is prone to are especially crucial for psychologists who work in this field and whose notions are triggered by encountering criminals. Thus, it seems useful to work on the effects on them in their professional processes.

How the psychologist experiences the remain distant position in the therapeutic relationship is another noteworthy topic. It is possible to claim that the psychologist will be able to distance herself in the therapeutic relationship with the inmate, if she is aware of the inmate's transference and can handle it, on the other hand, if she understands and takes into account her emotions and attitudes that occur in her part during the therapeutic work. However, considering the prison context, it seems difficult to maintain this distant position. A point that can be considered as a source of this can be shown as having administrative duties in prison, as expressed by the participants. In this respect, they stated that they have relations with the inmates as a unit of the prison administration, apart from their therapeutic relationship. Therefore, this can be considered as a situation that makes distancing difficult in this relationship. Another source is the intense transference of the inmates and the countertransference of the psychologists. In order to address this situation, there is a need for a regular supervision system, both as stated by the participants and as suggested by the literature. One of the points that can be illuminated by the supervision process might be the strong identification of psychologists with the inmate. From the psychoanalytic perspective, this identification can be evaluated as eradicating the aggressive impulses towards the object with being identified to believe that he is not dangerous. Moreover, when working with criminals that may cause aggression, fear, or being jeopardized, an

identification that emerges to repress this part can be interpreted as a kind of defense mechanism. In any case, both the underlying aggression and the identification can be considered as points that they need to work on in order to differentiate the inmates' processes from themselves, which illustrates the necessity of supervision.

To our knowledge, this is the first study that targets psychologists who had past experiences with inmates regarding Turkish context. Therefore, it can be beneficial to pave the way for enhancing research and practice about mental health professionals working in correctional settings.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816 /

13 KASIM 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Faruk GENÇÖZ

Danışmanlığımı yaptığımız Gülseren SAĞBAŞ'ın "*Cezaevinde Çalışmak: Psikanalitik Açıdan Psikologların Öznel ve Mesleki Deneyimleri*" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **332-ODTU-2020** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.


Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

B. APPROVAL OF THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

T.C.
ADALET BAKANLIđI
Ceza ve Tevkifevleri Genel Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 57292265-204.06.03-E.85/10056
Konu : Arařtırma İzin Talebi

04.02.2021

ORTA DOĐU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĐÜNE
(Öğrenci İşleri Daire Başkanlığı)

İlgi : Bila tarihli 54850036-605.01-E.261 sayılı yazı.

Üniversiteniz Psikoloji Anabilim Dalı yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi Gülseren Sağbař'ın, Prof. Dr. Faruk Gençöz danışmanlığında yürütmekte olduđu "Cezaevlerinde Çalışmak: Psikanalitik Açından Psikologların Öznel ve Mesleki Deneyimleri" başlıklı çalışması kapsamında; Ceza ve Tevkifevleri Genel Müdürlüğünde 10 Ocak 2021 - 1 Nisan 2021 tarihleri arasında geçmişte ceza infaz kurumunda görev yapan ve halen Ceza ve Tevkifevleri Genel Müdürlüğünde görev yapmakta olup, çalışmayı kabul eden gönüllü psikologlar ile görüşme yaparak veri toplama talebine ilişkin ilgi yazınız ve ekleri incelendi.

Söz konusu talep; 04 Şubat 2021 - 01 Nisan 2021 tarihleri arasında, çalışmaya katılacak kişilerin rızaları alınarak, izin verilen amaç ve kapsam ile sınırlı kalınması, yapılan çalışmalarda kurumsal hassasiyetler ile kişisel bilgilerin gizliliğine uygun davranılması, çalışma kapsamında edinilen bilgilerin yazılı veya görsel medya kuruluşları ile sosyal medyada paylaşılmaması, ses kaydı ve görüntü alınmaması, **COVID-19 salgını** nedeniyle alınan tedbirlere uyulması ve çalışma sonucunun iki örneđi ile CD'sinin Ceza ve Tevkifevleri Genel Müdürlüğüne gönderilmesi ile izin alınmaksızın yayınlanmaması koşullarıyla gerçekleştirilmesi uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerinize rica ederim.

Namık Kemal VAROL
Hâkim
Bakan a.
Genel Müdür Yardımcısı

Kazım Karabekir Cd. Agah Efendi Sk.No:70/1 Altındağ/ANKARA Bilgi için irtibat Tel: (312) 507 05 32 - 652
E-posta: cte.pss@adalet.gov.tr Yetişkin İyileştirme Bürosu Şb. Md. Hâbil Kanođlu Elektronik Ağ:www.cte.adalet.gov.tr

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C. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Klinik Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Gülseren Sağbaş tarafından Prof. Dr. Faruk Gençöz danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Araştırmanın amacı, cezaevinde çalışmış psikologların öznel deneyimlerini araştırmak, keşfetmek ve tanımlamaktır. Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizden bir-bir buçuk saat sürmesi planlanan sözlü mülakata katılmanız beklenmektedir. Bu mülakatta sizlere, deneyimleriniz ve bunlara dair anlamlandırmalarınız ile ilgili açık uçlu sorular yöneltilecektir. Görüşme esnasında daha sonra araştırmacı tarafından analiz edilmek üzere verilen yanıtlar not alınacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Herhangi bir yaptırıma veya cezaya maruz kalmadan çalışmaya katılmayı reddedebilir veya çalışmayı bırakabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılanlardan toplanan veriler tamamen gizli tutulacak, veriler ve kimlik bilgileri herhangi bir şekilde eşleştirilmeyecektir. Ayrıca toplanan verilere sadece araştırmacı ulaşabilecektir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları bilimsel ve profesyonel yayınlarda veya eğitim amaçlı kullanılabilir, fakat katılımcıların kimliği gizli tutulacaktır.

Görüşme, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz görüşmeyi yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda çalışmayı uygulayan kişiye görüşmeden çıkmak istediğinizi söylemek yeterli olacaktır.

Görüşme sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Faruk Gençöz (E-posta: fgencoz@metu.edu.tr) ya da yüksek lisans öğrencisi Gülseren Sağbaş (E-posta: gulseren.sagbas@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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D. DEMOGRAPHIC FORM

DEMOGRAFİK FORM

Katılımcı No:

Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları cevaplayınız.

Cinsiyetiniz:

- Erkek Kadın Diğer

Yaşınız:

Mezuniyet Durumunuz:

- Üniversite (Lisans)
 Yüksek Lisans (Alan belirtiniz:)
 Doktora (Alan belirtiniz:)
 Diğer (Belirtiniz:)

Benimsediğiniz Terapötik Yaklaşımınız:

- Psikanalitik Yaklaşım
 Psikodinamik Yaklaşım
 Hümanistik Yaklaşım
 Bilişsel Davranışçı Yaklaşım
 Varoluşçu Yaklaşım
 Gestalt Yaklaşımı
 Diğer (.....)
 Hiçbiri

Ceza İnfaz Kurumu'nda Çalıştığınız Süre:

Özellikle çalıştığınız suç grubu var mıydı? Varsa belirtiniz.

- Hayır Evet (.....)

E. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

YARI-YAPILANDIRILMIŐ MÜLAKAT FORMU

MÜLAKAT SORULARI

1. Kendinizden bahseder misiniz?
2. Cezaevinde çalışmaya nasıl başlamıştınız?
3. Cezaevinde psikolog olarak görev yapmak nasıl bir deneyimdi?
4. O zamanki mesleki motivasyonunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?
5. Mesleğinize dair nasıl beklentileriniz vardı?
6. Cezaevinde çalışmaya başladığınız zamandan bu yana kendinizi nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
7. Bulduğunuz ortamı nasıl tarif edersiniz?
8. Görüştüğünüz kişilere nasıl hitap ediyordunuz? (Hasta, danışan, tutuklu, tutuklu hasta vs.)
9. Görüşmeler esnasında görüştüğünüz kişilerin size karşı tutumlarını nasıl tarif edersiniz?
10. Bu tutumları nasıl ele alıyordunuz?
11. Çalışmayı daha kolay ya da daha zor bulduğunuz kişiler oluyor muydu?
12. Süpervizyon, konsültasyon ya da mentorluk alıyor muydunuz?
Aldıysanız deneyimlerinizi anlatır mısınız?
Almadıysanız ihtiyacınız oluyor muydu?
13. Cezaevinde çalışma süreciniz nasıl sona erdi?

F. INFORMATIVE FORM

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu araştırma, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Gülseren Sağbaşı tarafından Prof. Dr. Faruk Gençöz danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı, cezaevinde çalışmış psikologların yaşadıkları öznel deneyimi, bu deneyime attıkları anlamları, mesleki motivasyonlarını ve mesleğin getirdiği etkileri araştırmayı, keşfetmeyi ve tanımlamayı hedeflemektedir.

Literatürdeki çalışmalara göre cezaevinde çalışan psikologların mesleki tükenmişlik, yoğun stres, kaygı, destek eksikliği hissettikleri vurgulanmaktadır. Öte yandan, bazı çalışmalar ise bu mesleki deneyimin psikologlara hem kişisel hem de mesleki gelişim imkânı sunduğunu belirterek olumlu etkilere değinmektedir. Türkçe literatüre bakıldığında ise Türkiye'deki psikologların bu deneyimi nasıl anlattıklarına, anlamlandırdıklarına ve tecrübe ettiklerine dair çalışmaların eksikliği dikkat çekmektedir. Bu nedenle de katıldığınız araştırma, bu deneyimi geçmişte tecrübe etmiş psikologların nasıl ifade ettiğine ve öznel gerçekliklerine nasıl yansıdığına odaklanan keşfedici bir araştırma olarak yürütülmüştür.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Nisan 2021 sonunda elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sağlıklı ilerleyebilmesi ve bulguların güvenilir olması için çalışmaya katılacağınızı bildiğiniz diğer kişilerle çalışma ile ilgili detaylı bilgi paylaşımında bulunmamanızı dileriz. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Araştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki isimlere başvurabilirsiniz.

Prof. Dr. Faruk Gençöz (fgencoz@metu.edu.tr)

Gülseren Sağbaşı (gulseren.sagbas@metu.edu.tr)

Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ilgili veya etik ilkelerle ilgili soru veya görüşlerinizi ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'ne iletebilirsiniz.

e-posta: ueam@metu.edu.tr

G. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. GİRİŞ

1.1. Cezaevinde Terapi

Cezaevleri uzun zamandan beri ceza mekânları olarak toplumsal hayatın içinde yer almakta ve bireyin toplum dışında konumlandırılmasında sembolik bir role sahiptir (Bell, 2013). Cezaevlerinin işlevleri açısından suç oranını azaltma, rehabilitasyon, toplumun diğer üyelerinin suç işlemesini önleme, adaleti sağlama, güven inşa etme, suçluları cezalandırma zorunluluğunu sunma gibi amaçlarla da kullanılabilir (Scott, 2013). Suçluların rehabilitasyonu ve psikolojik tedavisi açısından cezaevleri, herhangi bir ülkede ruhsal bozukluğu olan insanlar için en büyük tedavi merkezleri olarak kabul edilmiştir (Huffman, 2006). Beck ve Maruschak'a (2001) göre, devlet cezaevlerindeki mahkûmların büyük çoğunluğu terapi ve danışmanlık almıştır. Ayrıca cezaevinde uygulanan terapiler, mahpusların fiziksel ve psikolojik iyilik hallerine olumlu katkılar sağlamakta ve yaşanan olumsuzluklara uyum sağlamayı kolaylaştırmaktadır (Duyan, 2001; Snow, 2002).

1.1.1. Terapi Ortamı

Cezaevinde terapi bağlamında dikkate alınması gereken en önemli faktörlerden biri terapi ortamıdır. Terapi ortamı, terapist ile hasta arasında bağ kurulmasına yardımcı olan, hastanın kendini rahatça ifade etmesini sağlayan ve belirli kuralları olan temel olarak tanımlanabilir (Huffman, 2006). Cezaevi ortamı, fiziksel ortamdaki eksiklikler nedeniyle terapi için uygun olmayan bir yer olarak tartışılmaktadır (Mathias & Sindberg, 1985). Ayrıca, Bryan (2016) cezaevinde psikolog olarak deneyimlerini aktarırken terapi için fiziki koşulların oluşturulmasındaki zorlukları tartışmaktadır. Bu ortamda terapötik çalışma yapmanın zorluğunu anlatırken, terapi sırasında gardiyanların ve tutukluların bağırışlarını veya şakalarını duymasına rağmen hücrede

terapi yapmak zorunda kaldığı zamanlar olduğunu belirtir. Kupers (2005) da terapi açısından yetersiz odalarda terapötik çalışma yürütmenin terapist ile mahkûm arasındaki bağı etkileyerek çerçeve açısından sorunlara yol açabileceğini vurgulamaktadır.

1.1.2. Türkiye Bağlamı

Mevcut çalışma Türkiye bağlamını hedeflediğinden, Türkiye'de cezaevinde terapiye ilişkin prosedürler ve araştırmalar dikkate alınmalıdır. Adalet Bakanlığı'na göre, Türkiye'de ceza infaz kurumlarındaki mahkûmların psikolojik destek ve rehabilitasyonu ile ilgilenen birim psikososyal servistir. Yeni tutuklu veya hükümlü ile ilk üç iş günü içinde ön görüşme yapma, öyküsünün alınması, psikososyal servisten nasıl destek alınacağını anlatılması, bireysel psikolojik görüşmeler, grup terapileri, mahkûmlara eğitim verilmesi başlıca hizmetleridir (CTE, 2021). Psikososyal servisler, mahkûmun kendisini, davranış ve duyguları anlaması, cezaevine uyum sağlaması ve suç faaliyeti konusunda farkındalık kazanması gibi pek çok açıdan kritik öneme sahiptir (Ravanoğlu, 2018). Bu hizmet kapsamında Adalet Bakanlığı'nın güncel verilerine göre Türkiye'de ceza infaz kurumlarında çalışan 772 psikolog bulunmaktadır (CTE, 2021).

1.2. Cezaevinde Psikolog Olarak Çalışmak

Cezaevleri psikopatoloji ve tedavi açısından oldukça zengin yerler olmasına rağmen psikologların deneyimlerine ilişkin az sayıda çalışmanın olması dikkat çekicidir (Gee & Bertrand-Godfrey, 2014). Literatürdeki çalışmalar, psikologların cezaevinde çalışmaya ilişkin tükenmişlik ve iş doyum düzeyleri (Senter ve diğerleri, 2010), cinsel suçlularla çalışan terapistlerin deneyimleri, mahkûmun ölümü durumunda yaşadıkları (Barry, 2019) ve karşılaştıkları etik kaygılar (Bryan, 2016) gibi konulara odaklanmaktadır.

1.2.1. Suçlularla Çalışmanın Etkileri

Mathias ve Sindberg (1985), cezaevinin doğası gereği şüphe, güvensizlik ve sempati eksikliği gibi bir yol oluşturduğunu ve orada çalışan psikoloğun da bu durumdan etkileneceğini açıklamaktadır. Crawley'e (2004) göre, cezaevi atmosferi korku, öfke, empati ve gerginlik gibi çok çeşitli duyguları ortaya çıkarsa da bunları ifade etmemeye

çalışmak psikologlar üzerinde bir etkiye sahiptir. Ayrıca Bertrand-Godfrey ve Loewenthal (2011) cezaevi ortamında çalışmanın psikologların kendilerini yabancılaşmış, yalnız hissetmelerine ve destek ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmamasına neden olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

1.2.2. Profesyonel Motivasyon

Bertrand-Godfrey ve Loewenthal (2011), bu mesleğin olumsuz yönlerine rağmen psikologların hiçbirinin işlerinden vazgeçemediklerini ve bunun da motivasyonlarının sorgulanmasına neden olduğunu savunmaktadır. Mesleki motivasyonla ilgili olarak Huffman (2006), cezaevinde çalışmanın psikologlar açısından olumsuz etkileri olsa da mesleki gelişimleri için çok faydalı olduğunu altı çizilebileceğini savunmaktadır. Benzer bir bakış açısıyla, cezaevinde suçlularla analitik çalışmalar yürüten Bryan (2016), deneyimlerini klinik açıdan zorlayıcı ve çoğu zaman rahatsız edici olarak tanımlamasına rağmen, bu deneyimin kendisinin de belirttiği gibi onu hayatta tuttuğunu ifade etmiştir.

1.2.3. Süpervizyon Süreci

Süpervizyon, cezaevinde çalışmanın olumsuz ve zararlı etkilerinin yanı sıra mahkûma yönelik bilinçli veya bilinçdışı duyguların ortadan kaldırılmasında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (Bryan, 2016; Huffman, 2006). Süpervizyon süreçlerinin psikologlar üzerindeki özel etkisine ilişkin olarak, temelde hem terapistin öznel kısmı için hem de terapötik süreç için faydalı olduğu ifade edilebilir (Rohleder ve diğerleri, 2006). Örnek olarak Fenner ve Gussak (2006), mahkûmlarla sanat terapisi sırasında terapistin belirli sınır sorunlarının, materyal sorunlarının, kendini açığa vurma biçiminin ve duygularının süpervizyon süreciyle ortaya çıktığını vurgulamıştır.

1.3. Cezaevinde Çalışmaya Dair Nitel Araştırmalar

Cezaevinde çalışan psikologların deneyimine ilişkin literatürdeki çalışmalar oldukça kısıtlıdır. Var olan çalışmalardan birini yürüten Dean ve Barnett (2011) cinsel suçlularla çalışan psikologların deneyimlerini araştırmıştır. Olumsuz deneyimlerin yanı sıra, araştırmanın dikkat çeken bir diğer bulgusu da katılımcıların cezaevinde çalışmayı mesleki gelişimlerine faydalı bir katkı olarak görmeleri ve işlerinden memnun olduklarını iddia etmeleridir.

Bir başka çalışmada Gee ve diğerleri (2015) umutsuzluk duygusunu cezaevinde çalışan psikologların yönetmesi gereken bir sorun olarak tartışmışlardır. Mahkûmların umutsuzluğunun, psikologların umutsuzluk ve hüsran kavramlarıyla etkileşime girerek onları etkilediğini belirtmişlerdir.

1.4. Psikanalitik Yaklaşım ve Cezaevinde Çalışmak

Freud'un suçlularla çalışma konusundaki görüşleri nispeten sınırlı olsa da bu konuyu mahkûmların suçlulukla olan ilişkisi üzerinden açıklar. Analitik bir bakış açısıyla, suçu işleyen kişinin hissettiği yoğun suçluluk duygusundan ziyade suça yöneldiğinde ve bu suçtan ceza aldığında rahatladığını ifade ederek suçluluk duygusunun cezayla hafifletilebileceğini açıklar. Ayrıca hiçbir şekilde kendini suçlu hissetmeyen veya herhangi bir ahlaki kural tanımayan insanlar olduğunu ve daha ayrıntılı incelenmesi gerektiğini belirtir (Freud, 1916). Swales (2011) ise cezaevinde pervert suçlularla çalışmanın zorluklarını tartışır. Suçlu olan pervert hastalarla çalışan terapistlerin, terapist ve hastalar arasındaki mahremiyetin sınırlarını tanımlama konusunda dikkatli olmaları gerektiğini savunur.

1.4.1. Aktarım ve Karşı Aktarım Kavramları

Aktarım, bir kişinin erken bebeklik döneminde tekrarlanan eylemleri, duyguları ve tutumları olarak tanımlanır (Freud, 1916-1917). Freud'a göre aktarım, analizin en önemli yönlerinden biri ve aynı zamanda hastanın direncinin çok güçlü bir özelliğidir (Freud, 1912). Gill (1982), cezaevi ortamlarındaki aktarım açısından psikologların, geçmişteki otorite figürlerini simgeledikleri için mahkûmlar tarafından tehlikeli ve saldırgan kişiler olarak algılanabileceklerini ileri sürmüştür.

Karşı aktarım, hastanın psikanaliste bilinçdışı bir düşüncüyü uyandırması ile ortaya çıkan bir durumdur. Ayrıca psikanalist bu karşı aktarımın farkında olmalı ve bunu kendi analiziyle çözmelidir (Freud, 1910b). Psikologların deneyimleriyle ilgili olarak, Rohleder ve diğerleri (2006), bir ıslah tesisinde çalışma deneyimlerini tartışmışlardır. Orada çalışmanın en zor yönlerinden birinin kaygı, korku, yalnızlık, öfke ve güçsüzlük duygularını içeren duygusal sorunlarla uğraşmak olduğunu gösterdiler. Ayrıca Springmann (1988) cezaevinde çalışan psikologların çalıştıkları profilden dolayı mağduriyet duygularını ortaya koymuştur.

1.4.2. Lacanyen Yaklaşım

Lacan (1950), suçun failin iç dünyasının bir sahnelenmesi olduğuna değinerek, psikanalizin suç gerçekliğini ortadan kaldırdığını ve kriminolojinin uğraştığı ikilemlerden biri olan suçluyu insanlıktan çıkarma yanılsamasını ortadan kaldırdığını belirtir. Suçun ardındaki hakikate ulaşmanın yolunun suçlunun aktarımının incelenmesinden geçtiğini ifade eder. Ayrıca Lacan, psikanalistin suçlu profiliyle çalışırken dikkate alması gereken bir başka noktayı, yani tekrar tekrar suç işleme eğilimini vurgular ve bunun tekrar otomatizmiyle bağlantılı olabileceğini iddia eder (Lacan, 1950). Öte yandan, Lacan pervert ve suçlu arasında önemli bir bağlantı olduğunu gözlemler ve bu durumu, bir fiksasyon ve gelişimsel duraklama durumundaki bir nesneyi işaret ederek açıklar.

1.5. Araştırma Sorusu

Literatürdeki çalışmalar ve yukarıda bahsedilen teorik bakış açısı ışığında, söz konusu çalışmanın iki temel dayanağı bulunmaktadır. Birinci amaç, cezaevinde mahpuslarla çalışmış psikologların mesleki ve öznel deneyimlerini araştırmak, incelemek ve betimlemektir. İkinci amaç ise bu deneyimleri psikanalitik kurama dayalı olarak anlamlandırmaktır. İlk araştırma sorum "Cezaevinde suçlularla çalışmış psikologların mesleki ve öznel deneyimleri nelerdir?" ve ikinci araştırma sorum ise "Hapishanede çalışmış psikologların deneyimleri, psikanalitik kuramla bakıldığında neler sunuyor?" şeklinde ifade edilebilir.

2. METODOLOJİ

2.1. Nitel Araştırma ve Tema Analizi

Nitel araştırma, sosyal gerçekliği dahil ederek, bireylerin bakış açısıyla kültürel ve davranışsal kalıplarla ilgili sosyal dünyayı betimlemek ve analiz etmekle ilgilenir (Bryman, 1988). Nitel araştırmanın temel özelliklerinden biri, araştırmacıya, katılımcıların algılarından, düşüncelerinden ve duygularından, diğer bir deyişle gerçekliklerinden olayları, değerleri, bir olguyu vb. keşfetme fırsatı sunmasıdır

(Bryman, 1988; Howitt, 2016). Öte yandan, Braun ve Clarke (2006) tematik analizin nitel analiz açısından temel yöntemlerden biri olduğunu savunmaktadır. Tematik analiz, betimleme, analiz etme ve belgeleme yoluyla zengin veri kümelerine ilişkin temalar veya örüntüler sağlayan belirli bir yöntemdir. Bu metoda ilişkin, araştırmacı teorik yönelimine bağlı kalıp kalmamayı seçebilir ve bunu şeffaf bir şekilde belirtmelidir (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

2.2. Cezaevinde Çalışma Deneyimini Nitel Araştırmayla Çalışma Nedenleri

Nitel araştırma, nicel araştırmadan daha açıklayıcı ve sonuçlar açısından daha az kesin olduğundan, nicel yöntemin doğrulamakta güçlük çektiği fikir ve sezgilerin geliştirilmesi açısından faydalı olarak gösterilmektedir (Bryman, 1988). Aynı zamanda, literatürde az çalışmış bir alan olarak tarif edilebilecek olan cezaevinde mahkûmlarla çalışmış psikologların deneyimleri (Dean & Barnet, 2011), nitel araştırmayla çalışmaya bu bakımdan da elverişli görünmektedir. Ek olarak, Vanheule (2002), nitel araştırmanın psikanalitik perspektiften bakıldığında nicel araştırmalara kıyasla pek çok avantajı olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Söz konusu çalışma da Lacanyen psikanalitik açıdan ele alınacağı için bu çalışma yöntemi uygun görünmektedir.

2.3. Katılımcılar ve Örneklem Yöntemi

Amaçlı örneklem, araştırmanın yöntemine ve ilgi alanına uygun olarak seçilmiştir. Bir olguyu deneyimleyen ve önceden belirlenmiş ölçütleri karşılayan katılımcıların seçilmesine dayanan amaçlı örneklem, nitel araştırmalarda veri açısından zengin bilgi kaynakları sağlamada etkili olması açısından yaygın bir tekniktir (Howitt, 2016; Palinkas ve diğerleri, 2015; Patton, 2002). COVID-19 salgını nedeniyle en temsili örneklem olacak gruba, yani halihazırda cezaevinde çalışan psikologlara Adalet Bakanlığı tarafından yasal izinler açısından ulaşılamamaktadır. Bu nedenle geçmişte cezaevinde çalışmış psikologlar örneklem olarak alınmıştır. Geçmişte cezaevinde çalışmış olmaları tek kriter olarak belirlenmiştir. Görüşmeler altı katılımcıyla, yüz yüze olacak şekilde yapılmıştır. Katılımcıların tamamı kadındır ve yaş aralığı 27 ile 50 arasındadır. Cezaevinde çalıştıkları süre 1,5 yıl ile 26,5 yıl arasında değişmektedir.

2.4. Prosedür

Verilerin toplanması için öncelikle Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi etik kurulundan etik izin ardından ise araştırmaya dahil edilecek katılımcıların bakanlık bünyesinde görev yapmaları nedeniyle Adalet Bakanlığı'ndan adli izin alınmıştır. Psikologlara sözlü davet yapılmış ve gönüllü olanlarla pandemi koşulları dikkate alınarak görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bilgilendirilmiş onam formu ve demografik form doldurtularak deneyimleri hakkında yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat soruları sorulmuştur. Görüşme sonunda bilgilendirilme formu verilmiştir. Görüşme esnasında ses kaydına izin verilmediği için cevaplar araştırmacı tarafından manuel şekilde not edilmiştir. Veri toplama süreci yaklaşık üç hafta sürmüştür.

2.5. Veri Analizi

Ses kaydına izin verilmeyen durumlarda isteğe bağlı olarak görüşme araştırmacı tarafından elle kaydedilebilir (Fox, 2009; Newcomer, Hatry & Wholey, 2015). Tüm görüşmeler, katılımcıların birebir ifadeleri dikkate alınarak elle not edilmiş ve görüşme sonrasında dijital ortama aktarılarak diyalog formuna dönüştürülmüştür. Tematik analiz, hem az çalışılan alanlara yönelik keşfedici bir tavırla anlam analize hem de teorik yönelimle ele alınabilecek gizil analize ev sahipliği yaptığı için veri analizi için uygun bir yöntem olarak görülmüş ve analiz altı adımı doğrultusunda gerçekleştirilmiştir (Braun & Clarke, 2006). İlk olarak tümevarım yaklaşımıyla anlam analizi yapılmış, sonrasında ise tümdengelim yaklaşımıyla gizil analiz yürütülmüştür. Veri analizi sürecinde ve özellikle temaların belirlenmesi ve daraltılması aşamasında önce danışmanım ve akran grubumla görüşmeler yaparak geri bildirim aldım.

2.6. Çalışmanın Güvenirliği

Klinik deneyimde olduğu gibi araştırmacının yaşam öyküsünün, algılama biçiminin ve tepkilerinin yani öznellik ve düşünümselliğin çalışmaya etkisi tartışma konusudur (Berger, 2015). Tüm bu bilgi ışığında bir araştırmacı olarak kendi öznellik yanımı şeffaf bir şekilde ortaya koymak ve çalışma sürecine etkisini fark edebilmek adına, meslektaşarımla düzenli olarak süreçle ilgili görüşme, karşılıklı rol oynayarak önyargılarımla, düşünce ve beklentilerimi not etme, günlük tutma, akran toplantıları düzenleme gibi birtakım stratejilerden faydalandım.

Finlay (2002), araştırma konusu ve araştırma sorusunun seçiminden başlayarak araştırmacının kendine, araştırma merakına ve motivasyonuna odaklanması gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu noktada benim bu konuya olan merakım ise cezaevinde çalışma hevesimden kaynaklanmaktadır. Öncelikle cezaevinde çalışma deneyiminin nasıl olduğunu, zorlu noktaların neler olabileceğini ve çalışma ortamının nasıl olduğunu merak ettiğimi fark ettim. İkincisi, psikanalitik teoriye olan ilgim başladıkça hapisanede psikanalitik çalışma yapmanın nasıl bir şey olduğunu hayal etmeye başladım. Bu noktalar da söz konusu çalışmamda beni iki temel araştırma soruma yönlendirmiş olabilir.

3. BULGULAR

3.1. Semantik Düzey Analiz Sonuçları

Semantik düzey analizinden sonra beş ana tema ve alt tema ortaya çıkmıştır.

3.1.1. Cezaevinde Çalışmayı Tercih Etme Faktörleri

İlk ana tema cezaevinde çalışmayı tercih etmedeki faktörlerdir. Bu tema, psikologların cezaevinde çalışmayı tercih ettikleri belirleyicileri yansıtmaktadır.

3.1.1.1. Adli Bilimlerde Kişisel Merak

Katılımcıların çoğu cezaevinde çalışmaya dair onları etkileyen faktörlerden bahsederken suçlularla çalışmaya, adli bilimlere ve suç kavramına dair kişisel merakları olduğundan söz ettiler. Derslerde gördükleri olay yeri inceleme, cinayet vakalarının dikkatini çektiğini söyleyen Ceyda bu alana ilgisinin o zamandan geldiğini ifade etmiştir.

3.1.1.2. Etkileyen Bir Kişi

Katılımcılar, cezaevinde çalışmaya karar verme süreçlerinde onları etkileyen bir kişiden söz ettiler. Bu kişiyi bazıları daha deneyimli bir adli psikolog, bazıları alanında uzman bir hoca olarak tarif etmişlerdir.

3.1.1.3.Kasıtsız-Tesadüfi Seçim

Her ne kadar katılımcılar çalışma motivasyonlarını bir nedene bağlasa da genel olarak bu seçimin kendileri dışındaki faktörler tarafından da etkilendiğini açıkladılar. Bu konuyla ilgili olarak Duru ve Narin benzer şekilde çok farkındalıklı bir şekilde başvurmadıklarını anlatmışlardır.

3.1.2. Yakınlarının Cezaevinde Çalışmaya Tepkileri

Bir diğer tema ise psikologların yakınlarının cezaevinde çalışmaya dair verdiği tepkiler olarak ortaya çıkmış ve iki alt tema şeklinde özetlenmiştir.

3.1.2.1.Ailenin Kaygı ve Korkusu

Katılımcıların çoğu ailesinin tepkisini anlatırken kaygı ve korku temelli duygular hissettiklerinden söz etmiştir. Örneğin, Ceyda ailesinin, çalışmaya başlaması konusunda kaygılı olduğunu söyleyerek mahkûmların arasında bulunmasından ötürü korktuklarını söylemiştir.

3.1.2.2.Arkadaşların Destek ve Merakı

Bir diğer ortak reaksiyon ise arkadaşlardan gelen destek ve merak olarak belirmiştir. Narin arkadaşlarının cezaevi ortamına dair meraklı soruları olduğundan söz ederek filmlerdeki gibi olup olmadığını sorduklarını ifade etmiştir.

3.1.3. Hem Zorlayıcı Hem de Ödüllendirici Deneyim

Katılımcılar bu deneyimi anlatırken hem zorlu bir deneyim olduğuna hem de onlar için ödüllendirici kısımları olduğuna dikkat çekmişlerdir.

3.1.3.1.Cezaevinde Çalışmanın Zorlukları

Cezaevi demir parmaklıkla çevrili olduğu için katılımcılar zaman zaman mahkûmların psikolojisini anladıklarını ve bu kitleyle çalışma gibi özellikleri nedeniyle zorlayıcı yönlerinin olabileceğini ifade etmişlerdir.

3.1.3.2.Kişisel Gelişim ve Tatmin

Zorlukların yanı sıra tüm katılımcılar bu işi, kendilerini olgunlaştıran, mesleki anlamda donanım kazandıran ve doyurucu olan bir deneyim olarak aktarmışlardır.

3.1.4. Sadece Psikolog Olmaktan Farklı

Ortak bir tema, cezaevinde çalışma deneyiminin dışarıda psikolog olarak çalışmaktan farklı olarak tanımlamaya dayanmaktadır. Narin bu durumla ilgili olarak bir kurumda psikolog olmakla cezaevinde psikolog olmanın farklı deneyimler olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir.

3.1.4.1.Kurulların Üyesi Olmak

Katılımcılar, sadece psikolog olarak görevleri olmadığından ve oradaki kurullarda görev aldıklarından, mahkûmlara dair disiplin suçları ve cezai kararlarda da rol oynadıklarından söz etmişlerdir.

3.1.4.2.Mahkûma Kayıp Haberini Vermek

Bir diğer ortaklık ise mahkûma bir yakının öldüğünün haberini vermek olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Katılımcılar bu tür durumlarda bu haberi kurum psikoloğunun verdiğini ve kendileri için de kolay olmadığını söylemişlerdir.

3.1.4.3.İnfaz Koruma Memurunun Seanslarda Bulunması

Dışardaki seanslardan bir diğer fark olarak, katılımcılar orada yaptıkları seanslarda güvenlik açısından infaz koruma memurunun seans boyunca odada bulunduğunu anlatmışlardır.

3.1.4.4.Mahkûmun Terapi Talebindeki Farklı Temsilciler

Dışarda talep kişiye bırakılırken, cezaevinde kimi zaman infaz koruma memurlarının, koğu arkadaşlarının ya da mektup okuma birimindeki kişilerin mahkûm adına görüşme talep ettiklerini söylemişlerdir.

3.1.5. Cezaevinde Çalışmanın Artçı Etkisi

Katılımcılar cezaevinde psikolog olarak çalışma deneyimlerini paylaşırken, çalıştıktan sonra kendilerinde fark ettikleri bazı değişikliklerden de bahsetmişlerdir.

3.1.5.1.Güvensiz Hissetmek ve İnsanlara Güvenmemek

Katılımcılar çalışma sonrasında insanlara karşı güvensiz hissettiklerinden söz etmişlerdir. Beste, insanların her şeyi yapma potansiyelleri olduğunu belirtmiştir.

3.1.5.2.Daha Şüpheli Bir Kişi Olmak

Katılımcılar, çalışma sonrası daha şüpheli biri haline geldiklerinden, olaylara karşı şüpheli baktıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Ceyda, sürekli suç olaylarının içinde olduğu için her şeyi şüpheli değerlendirdiğini ifade etmiştir.

3.2. Gizil Düzey Analiz Sonuçları

Gizli düzey analizinden sonra dört ana tema ve alt tema ortaya çıkmıştır.

3.2.1. Mahkûmla Özdeşleşme

Cezaevinde çalışmanın, benzer fiziki koşulların yaşanması ve nevrotik öznenin suçla ilişkisi sebebiyle mahkûmla özdeşleşmeyi geliştirdiğini düşündürmüştür.

3.2.1.1.Mahkûmun Konumuna İlişkin Sözceme

Katılımcıların, mahkûmla benzer pozisyonu düşündüren ‘cezaevine girdiğimde’ söylemleri, onlarla ilgili olarak sürçmeleri bir özdeşleşme olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

3.2.1.2.İhlalin Jouissance’ına İlişkin Fantezi

Katılımcıların, kendini mahkûmun yerine koyarak cezaevine düşme ihtimallerine dair ortak söylemleri, nevrotik öznenin, pervertin sınır ihlalden gelen jouissance dair bir fanteziyi düşündürmektedir.

3.2.2. Başka’yı Dahil Etme İhtiyacı

Bir diğer ana tema büyük Başka’yı dahil etme ihtiyacı olarak gösterilmektedir.

3.2.2.1.Süpervizyon Çağrısıyla Başka’yı Dahil Etmek

Katılımcıların tamamının ortak fikri olan süpervizyon sisteminin gerekliliği, Başka’ya ve onun bakışına yapılan bir çağrı olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

3.2.2.2.Başka Tarafından Takdir Edilme Talebi

Katılımcıların bir diğer ortak söylemi ise yaptıkları işin görülmesi, tanınması ve değer görmesi olarak tarif edilmektedir. Bu konumda takdir edecek kişi, bu eforu görecektir olan kişi Başka olarak yorumlanmıştır.

3.2.2.3.Fark Edilebilir Bir Çaba ile Başka'nın Bakışına Hitap Etmek

Katılımcıların, pazar günleri, bayramlarda işe gitmeleri, her vakit çalışmaya hazır olmaları, mesai dışı vakitlerde etkinliklere gönüllü olmaları ve dikkat çeker şekilde çalışmalarını Başka'nın bakışına hitap etmesi şeklinde değerlendirilmiştir.

3.2.3. Mahkûmun Aktarımına İlişkin Hususlar

Katılımcıların, mahkûmların benzer tutum, duygu ve davranışlarıyla ilgili gözlemlerine ve deneyimlerine dayalı olarak aktarım yorumlanmıştır.

3.2.3.1.Sevgi Aktarımı

Mahkûmların psikologlara karşı eş, sevgili, sevdikleri birilerine dair bir aktarımları olduğu ve bu durumun bazen sınır aşan şekilde ortaya çıktığı ve psikolog tarafından sınır çizildiği ifade edilmiştir.

3.2.3.2.Aynı Madalyonun İki Yüzü: Saygı ve Minnete Karşı Öfke

Mahkûmların bir taraftan psikologlara karşı pozitif aktarım olarak yorumlanabilecek saygı ve minnet duygularını aktarmaları, diğer taraftan da öfkelerini yansıtma olarak ikircikli bir aktarım olarak yorumlanmıştır.

3.2.3.3.Manipülasyon

Katılımcılar, bazı mahkûmların gözlerinin içine baka baka yalan söyleyebildiklerinden, anti-sosyal gruptaki mahkûmların onları manipüle etmeye çalıştıklarından ve kimi zamanlar görüşmelere ikincil kazanç elde etmek için geldiklerinden söz etmişlerdir.

3.2.4. Psikoloğun Karşı Aktarımına İlişkin Hususlar

Cezaevinde çalışmanın getirdiği bir durum olarak psikologların duygu, düşünce ve tutumları ise karşı aktarım olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

3.2.4.1.Mahkûmlara Farklı Referanslar

Katılımcıların, 'toplumun bu yüzü', 'onlar ve biz', 'başka hayatlar' şeklindeki söylemleri, onlara karşı farklı referanslar kullanmaları şeklinde yorumlanmıştır.

3.2.4.2. Empati, Kurtarma Fantezisi ve Çaresizlik

Katılımcıların mahkûmlarla empati kurmaları, onları anlamlarıyla beraber gelen süreçte bilinçdışı kurtarma fantezilerinin oluştuğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bunun mümkün olmaması ile psikologların hissettikleri çaresizlik hisleri ön plana çıkmıştır.

3.2.4.3. Şüphe

Bir diğer karşı aktarım hususu ise katılımcıların mahkûmlara karşı mimiklerine, söylemlerine yanlış anlaşılmamak adına dikkat etmeleri, iftara atmalarından korkmaları gibi sebeplerle şüphe etrafında ele alınmıştır.

4. TARTIŞMA

Çalışmanın bulguları ışığında altı çizilebilecek birkaç nokta sunulabilir. Lacan'ın imgesel düzlemi, öznenin imajının ayna evresi ile değer kazandığı, nesnelere özdeşleştiği, çeşitli fikir ve kavramları içerdiği bir eksen olarak tanımlanabilir. Simgesel düzlem ise dil, bilinçdışı, yasa ve Başka'nın alanı olarak tasvir edilir ve içinde belirli bir çerçevenin bulunduğu bir düzeni ima eder (Bowie, 1943). Bu bağlamda, katılımcıların cezaevinde çalışmayı tercih etmelerine ilişkin faktörler incelendiğinde bunun imgesel bir kavram olduğu dikkat çekmektedir. Katılımcılar cezaevini televizyonda ve filmlerde gördükleri kadar bildiklerini ifade ederek merak ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu bakımdan, bu imgesel kavramın, çalışmaya başladıklarında yani yasa çerçevesine girdiklerinde simgesel bir deneyime dönüştüğü söylenebilir. Başka bir deyişle, psikologlar için cezaevinin imgeselden simgesele doğru bir kavramsallaştırmaya sahip olduğu vurgulanabilir. Öte yandan, Lacanyen teoriye göre özne temel bir eksiklik üzerine kuruludur ve böylece bölünmüş bir özne haline gelir. Öznenin özünde yeri doldurulamaz bir boşlukla kurgulanması, bu boşluktan çıkma arzuyu da beraberinde getirir. Arzulayan özne olmak eksiklikle ilgili olduğundan özne yaşamı boyunca bunu tamamlamaya çalışır ve en temelde arzu Başka ile ilişkilidir (Fink, 1997; Lacan, 1958). Bu açıdan, cezaevinde çalışmayı tercih etmelerindeki bir diğer etken de bu alana yönelmelerine neden olan, Başka ve Başka'nın arzusu açısından değerlendirilebilecek değerli bir figürün olmasıdır. Aynı

zamanda, bu seçimin kasıtsız ve tesadüfi olduğunu, Başka ile ilgili bir noktadan yorumlanabileceğini vurgulamaktadırlar.

Katılımcıların söylemlerinden hareketle yorumlanabilecek bir diğer husus da suçluluk ve aklanma diyalektiğinin ortaya çıkmasıdır. Psikologlar suçlularla çalışırken sıklıkla suç davranışını düşündüklerini, bu konuda daha bilinçli olduklarını ve her durumda suç işlemekten çekindiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Başka bir deyişle, bir yandan suçlu olmak, diğer yandan aklanmış olmak üzerine bir denklem gelişir. Teorik açıdan bakıldığında, Freud (1912-1913) uygarlığın kökenleri konusundaki çalışmasında ilksel suça yani tiranın tüm güçlü babasının öldürülmesiyle gelen totem hayvanını öldürmenin yasaklanması ve kabile dışı evlilik yapılmasına referans verir. Bu durumun Oedipus karmaşasının temelini yani babayı öldürmenin ve anneye birlikte olmanın yasak olmasına giden bir yol olduğunu gösterir. Her ne kadar Oedipus karmaşası bastırılrsa da özne için bu şekilde bir ensest arzuya sahip olmak bilinçdışı suçluluğu sürdüren bir noktadır. Bu bakımdan, katılımcıların mahkûmlarla özdeşim kurması, bilinçdışı varlığını sürdüren bu suçluluktan temel alıyor olabilir. Diyalektiğin diğer yanında ise aklanmış olduğunu gösterme kısmı yer almaktadır. Freud (1906), nevrotik kişinin masum olmasına rağmen, gizli suçluluğu nedeniyle bazen bir suçlu gibi davranabildiğinden bahseder. Bununla ilgili olarak, belirli bir suçla itham edilen çocukların korkunç inkarından bahseder ve bu durumda masum olmalarına rağmen aslında başka bir suçları olduğunu açıklar. Çocuklar gibi nevrotiklerin de söz konusu suçu işlememiş olsalar bile suçluluk duygusunun işaret ettiği diğer noktalar nedeniyle suçlu hissettiklerini ve tepkisel davranışlar gösterebileceklerini hatırlatır. Bu bağlamda, mahkûmlarla çalışmanın tetiklediği katılımcıların suçluluk duygusundan dolayı bir gerekçelendirme ihtiyacı ortaya çıkabilir. Katılımcıların cezaevinde çalışmanın ödüllendirici deneyimi bu teorik temelle okunabilir. Özellikle suçluların orada kaldıkları, benzer şekilde hissettikleri fakat mesailer bitince kendilerinin çıkabildiğini hissetmeleri onların aklanmış tarafta ve suçsuz olduklarını kanıtlayan bir deneyim olması sebebiyle ödüllendirici geliyor olabilir. Öte yandan, birçok katılımcının dikkatini çeken ve değindiğini 'demir parmaklıklar' bu noktada simgesel bir işleve sahip olmaktadır. Demir parmaklıklar, onları yakalanan ve suçlu bulunan mahkûmlardan ayırmak için bir hatırlatma görevi görmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu sembolik işlevin ardındaki düşünce, aklanma ilgili bir noktayı vurgulayan 'İçeride biri varsa ben de dışarıdayım' şeklinde formüle edilebilir.

Daha geniş bir perspektiften, hapisnede çalışmanın psikologlar için terapötik ilişkide mesafe koymayı zorlaştırdığı iddia edilebilir. Bu zorluğun bir boyutu iş tanımından gelmektedir. Katılımcıların cezaevinde çalışmayı 'sadece psikolog olmaktan farklı' olarak tanımlamaları, mahkûmla ilişkilerinde farklı rollere sahip olmaları temelinde değerlendirilebilir. Mahkûmla ilişkide mesafe koymayı zorlaştıran bir diğer faktör de aktarım ve karşı aktarım sorunlarının doğası olarak gösterilebilir. Her şeyden önce, mahkûmların erotize edilmiş aktarımı düşünülebilir. Verhaeghe'ye (2008) göre, başkanın jouissance nesnesi yerine konumlanmak nevrotik özne için ürkütücü ve endişe verici bir durumdur ve kaçınmayı beraberinde getirir. Ama nevrotik kişinin kaçındığı bu durumu gerçeğe dönüştüren pervert öznedir ve onda kaygı uyandırarak bunu bilinçli olarak ona hissettirir. Bu kuramsal açıdan, psikologların erotik aktarımla karşılaşmalarına sınır koymaları, görüşmeyi sonlandırmak istemeleri veya bu durumdan kaçınmaları pervertin jouissance'ının nesnesi olma korkusuyla ilişkilendirilebilir. Ancak bu kaçınma, erotize edilmiş aktarımdan kaynaklansa da öznenin hakikatinin önünü açacak aktarımın gözden kaçmasına neden olabilir. Öte yandan, Lacan (1960-1961) karşı aktarımın, aktarım ve analiz sonucu ortaya çıkan olağan bir sonucu olduğundan söz eder. Bu noktada, Mahkûmla özdeşleşme, empati kurma, onunla ilgili bir kurtarma fantezisi kurma ve çaresiz hissetme söz konusu karşı aktarımın en yoğun ve en güçlüsü olarak kabul edilebilir. Bununla birlikte, burada çarpıcı olan, psikologlar açısından olumsuz karşı aktarıma dair pek bir şey çıkmamış olmasıdır. Bunun sebebi Freud'un (1921) nesne ile özdeşim kurma yoluyla ona olan agresyonun bastırıldığını dile getirmesi perspektifinde açıklanabilir. Diğer bir deyişle, bu durum, cezaevinde suçlu öznelerle çalışırken ortaya çıkabilecek agresyon temelli duyguların özdeşim yoluyla bastırıldığı bir savunma mekanizması olarak yorumlanabilir.

5. SONUÇ

Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, cezaevinde görev yapmış psikologların öznel ve mesleki deneyimlerini betimlemek ve bu deneyimlerin psikanalitik kuram merceğinden nasıl yorumlanabileceğini analiz etmek amacıyla yapılmıştır. Söz konusu çalışmanın, ses

kaydı yerine elle not edilerek data toplanması, COVID-19 sebebiyle halihazırda cezaevinde çalışan psikologlara ulaşamaması sebebiyle geçmişte cezaevinde çalışmış kişilerle yürütülmüş olması ve bütün katılımcıların rastgele şekilde kadın olarak örnekleme oluşturmuş olması gibi kısıtlılıkları olduğu belirtilmelidir. Öte yandan gelecekteki çalışmalar için bu çalışma, Türkiye bağlamında bir temel oluşturmaktadır. Şu anda halihazırda cezaevinde çalışan psikologlar ile tekrarlanabilir. Bu şekilde, ıslah ortamlarında deneyimi olan psikologlarla karşılaştırıldığında aynı koşulları yaşadıkları için daha derin ve zengin içeriğe ulaşılabilir. Odaklanabilecek bir diğer nokta, anti-sosyal mahkûmlar gibi belirli suç gruplarıyla çalışan psikologların deneyimleri olarak gösterilebilir. Benzer bir şekilde, psikanalitik yaklaşımdan, pervert suçlularla çalışan psikologların tecavüz, pedofili, zoofili vb. gibi belirli suçlarla ilgili deneyimleri aydınlatılabilir.

Çalışmanın bulguları ışığında, öncelikle katılımcıların cezaevinde çalışmayı tercih etmelerine ilişkin faktörler incelendiğinde bunun imgesel bir kavramdan simgesele doğru şekillendiği dikkat çekmektedir. Bu noktada bu alanda çalışan ya da çalışacak olan genç psikologlara motivasyonlarına dair iç görü sağlayabilir ve bu motivasyonu gözden geçirmeleri faydalı görünmektedir. Dikkat çeken bir diğer nokta da suçlularla çalışma nedeniyle suçlu olma ve aklanmış olma diyalektikidir. Katılımcılar suç işlemenin sonuçlarının daha çok farkına vardıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan, suçlu bulunma ve cezaevine girmeye yönelik senaryoların imgesellerinde yer ettiği görülmüştür. Bu noktada bilinçdışı bir suçluluk duygusu olduğu için mahkûmlarla bir özdeşleşme olabilir. Öte yandan suçsuz olduklarını, yani aklanmış olduklarını ispatlama ihtiyacı da doğabilir. Bununla ilişkili olarak, cezaevinde çalışan psikologların, çalışmanın doğasıyla tetiklenen bu duyguların ve özdeşimin üstesinden gelebilmeleri için kendi süreçlerinin olması ve bunun üzerine eğilmeleri faydalı olabilir. Son olarak, psikoloğun terapötik ilişkide mesafeli duruşu nasıl deneyimlediği de dikkat çeken bir diğer konudur. Psikolog, mahkûmun aktarımının farkındaysa ve üstesinden gelebiliyorsa, diğer yandan kendi duygularını ve davranışlarını anlayıp dikkate alırsa, mahkûmla terapi ilişkisinde mesafe alabileceğini söylemek mümkündür. Bu noktada en göze çarpan karşı aktarım olarak özdeşim kurma, empati ve çaresizlik duygularından bahsedilebilir. Söz konusu durum da olumsuz duygulara yer bırakmaması açısından dikkat çekicidir. Bu durum çalışılan profile karşı ortaya çıkabilecek negatif duyguların bastırılması sonucu özdeşleşmenin güçlenmesi

şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Dolayısıyla, bu alanda çalışacak psikologların, kendi duygu ve düşüncelerini anlamlandırmaları, dikkate almaları oldukça önem kazanmaktadır. Bu duyguların sadece olumlu tarafları değil, olumsuz tarafları da ele alınabildiği ölçüde terapötik ilişkide mesafeli duruş sağlanabilir ve sağaltıma uygun bir çalışma çıkarılabilir. Bu noktada da süpervizyon sürecinin ehemmiyeti ortaya çıkmaktadır. Psikologların hem vaka ile ilgili durumları tartışabileceği hem de kendi duygu, düşünce ve davranışlarını üçüncü bir kişiye aktarıp gözlemleyebilecekleri bir birimin olması hem teori temelinde hem de çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre oldukça önemli bir role sahiptir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : SAĞBAŞ
Adı / Name : Gülseren
Bölümü / Department : Psikoloji / Psychology

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