

POLITICAL PRISON CULTURE IN TURKISH PRISONS:
FROM THE WARD TO THE F TYPE SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT

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FROM THE WARD TO THE F TYPE SYSTEM

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In this study, the reciprocal relationship between prison architecture and prison culture is analyzed within the context of the transition from the ward system to the high security F type prison system. The analysis is fed by the prison culture discussions; the internal deprivation of Gresham Sykes and Erving Goffman; and the external impact of James B. Jacobs, Donald Cressey and John Irwin. During the research process, the in-depth interviews were conducted with the former political prisoners. By assuming that there are variances in the practices and ideas of different political organizations, the existing common values and behavior patterns in the prisons were emphasized in the study. At the end of the research, it was observed that the pre-prison political culture found an opportunity to continue and to strengthen in the conditions of the ward system. The political power also referred to the prisons as a source of public opposition. Within this context, the transformation in the prison system can be interpreted as a better administration of the hostility against the State. The prisoners tried to maintain the political culture within the conditions of the F type prisons. The state of equilibrium of the ward system is to be re-established according to the new conditions by the political prisoners.

Keywords: political prison culture, internal deficiencies, external impacts

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE HAPİSHANELERİNDE SİYASİ HAPİSHANE KÜLTÜRÜ: KOĞUŞTAN F TİPİ SİSTEMİNE

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Bu çalışmada, hapishane mimarisi ve hapishane kültürü arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki, koğuş sisteminden yüksek güvenli F tipi hapishane sistemine geçiş bağlamında analiz edilmiştir. Yapılan analiz hapishane kültürü tartışmalarından beslenmektedir; Gresham Sykes ve Erving Goffman'ın içeriye ait eksiklikler; ve James B. Jacobs, Donald Cressey ve John Irwin'in dış etkiler tartışmaları. Saha araştırması sürecinde, eski mahkumlarla derinlemesine mülakat gerçekleştirilmiştir. Farklı siyasi örgütlerin, pratik ve düşüncelerinde ayrılıklar olduğu varsayılarak, hapishanede var olan ortak değer ve davranış biçimlerine odaklanılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonunda, hapishane sürecinden önceki siyasi kültürün koğuş sistemi koşullarında devam etme olanağı bulunduğu ve güçlendiği gözlenmiştir. Siyasi iktidar da toplumsal muhalefetin kaynağı olarak hapishaneleri işaret etmiştir. Bu bağlamda, hapishane sistemindeki dönüşüm, devlete karşı olan düşmanlığın daha iyi yönetilmesi olarak yorumlanabilir. Mahkumlar, siyasi kültürü F tipi hapishanelerin koşullarında devam ettirmeye çalışmışlardır. Koğuş sistemindeki denge durumu, yeni koşullarına göre mahkumlar tarafından yeniden kurulmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: hapishane siyasi kültürü, iç eksiklikler, dış etkiler

To my mother
To all butterflies
who struggle for and achieve to go out from the pit bottom

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Diego: You thought that everything could be expressed in terms of figures, formulas. But when you were compiling your precious registers, you quite forgot...the moments when man rises in his wrath and scatters all before him.

Albert Camus, State of Siege

“Prisons are a potent symbol of the state’s power to punish and its failure to integrate all its citizens into its system of norms” (Crewe, 2007: 123). This statement of Crewe can be claimed for almost all forms of punishment. Not only prisons, but also death penalty, transportation, or fines are the reflections of the division between the existing laws and the practices of people. Today, the imprisonment is accepted as the common form of systematic punishment. The number of prison population is increasing day by day and the states take the revenge through prison architecture and design. In due course, the high walls were seen as insufficient for an isolation; then prisons were carried from cities to rural areas. Although the states aim to isolate prisoners from society and to make them invisible; prisons could not be excluded from the minds of people; because it includes huge population that cannot be disregarded.

In Turkey, by the year 2016, the total number of male sentenced is 123.987; female sentenced is 4.659; and child sentenced is 645. The total number of male detainee is 62.976; female detainee is 3.235; and child is detainee 1.795. The sum of all prisoners is 197.297¹. In 2000, Turkey confronted with the transformation of the prison system which was resulted with the intense resistance; because, the political

¹General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses; <http://www.cte.adalet.gov.tr/>

prisoners were aware that this transition would lead to an isolation and rigor consequences. At that period, there were protests both inside and outside of the prisons. In December 19/2000, the State interfered simultaneously to the 20 prisons with heavy weapons. At the end of the operation period, which lasted three days, 30 political prisoners and 2 soldiers lost their life.

In this study, the reciprocal relation between the prison architecture and the prison political culture will be analyzed within the context of the physical design, the external impacts on the prisons, and finally the internal regulations and deficiencies of the prison environment. The relationship will be examined on the basis of the transition from the ward to the high security F type prison system. Both the punishment theories and the deprivation/importation theories of prison culture contributed to the analysis of the data. Otherwise, our understanding would be inadequate. In order to understand imprisonment as significant part of punishment methods, it is essential to know the transformation in the practices of punishment in due time. In the thesis, it is assumed that the conditions of the prisons which were built in the Republican period ensured the maintenance of political culture. However, in due course, this culture weakened the control of the State in prisons and this situation perceived as a threat against the State's authority; so, the new prison design was formed. Therefore, it cannot be supposed that there is a unidirectional impact between the prison design and the prison culture. Depending upon the main research question, there are three questions in the study; 1) *Why the State needed transformation of the prison system;* 2) *How the prison culture in the ward system and in the high-security F-type prisons were;* 3) *Do the experiences of female and male former political prisoners differ.*

For the study, the open-ended semi-structured interview was realized. The first networks were established through TAYAD (Solidarity Association for the Families and Relatives of the Arrested) and İHD (Human Rights Association); then, snowball sampling was realized. In this study, only the leftist former prisoners were interviewed; because, if other prisoners- the ordinaries or the rightists- were included to the field research, it would cause to defuse the focal point of the research in terms

of analysis. In addition, although the construction of the prisons was not completed yet; the leftist political prisoners were the ones who were imprisoned in the high-security F-type prisons during the first two years. This information may show that the new type of prison was designed initially for the leftist ones. In order to make an efficient analysis, it is significant to make an interview with the former prisoners who experienced both types of the prison system. In addition, in order to understand the general picture of the experiences, it is important to interview with the prisoners who lived through the “Return to Life Operation” in December 19/2000. Therefore, in this study, 17 male and female former political prisoners were interviewed who experienced the ward system, the Operation, and the high security cell system.

During the field research, it was tried to equate the number of female and male interviewees; however, it was not possible for two reasons. The first one is related with difference among the numbers. The information was given as a total sum and there is no data about the number of female and male separately until the year 2000; however the huge difference between the numbers can be seen after this year. When the total sum of female and male detainees and sentenced is examined, it can be understood that the number of male is at least 25 times of the number of female prisoners in 2000². In relation with the first reason, the second was about the conditions of security. Although they are former prisoners; some of these women are still active politically and they do not use any technological device in order to ensure their security. Therefore, although it was tried to arrange time for an interview; we could not determine a specific time.

My reasons to choose this subject matter can be explained on three bases. The first reason is based on the idea of being the voice of the “oppressed” within the power relation. It is seen that there is an unequal relationship between prisoners and prison administration due to structure of the institution. It is the preference of the researcher from which side she wanted to make an analysis. The second basis is about the interconnection between the basic concerns of sociology and prison. Ben Crewe

² General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses; <http://www.cte.adalet.gov.tr/>

(2007: 123) is right when he says that “both as an institution within society and one with its own social world, the prison illustrates many of the discipline’s primary concerns: power, inequality, order, conflict and socialization”. Even though the main focus of the thesis is not related with all of the concepts which Crewe mentions in his statement, the concept of prison culture is going to be associated with these concepts inevitably. In addition, although prisons are tried to be physically isolated from the outside society by being constructed as a campus remote from cities, it can be claimed that there is still interaction between inside and outside. It can be asserted that this interaction is enhancing the social relations in both of these environments. As Sykes (1965: xii) argues that “to understand the meaning of imprisonment, we must see prison life as something more than a matter of walls and bars, of cells and locks. We must see the prison as a society within a society”. In order to understand the prison as a society, it should be known that there is huge population behind of these walls and also this population try to survive by producing social life materially and ideologically. The third reason is related with deficiency in sociological studies in Turkey although the prison cannot be thought as separated from the society; that is, there is need for the sociological analysis of the prisons and transition period from the ward system to the high security cell system in Turkey.

The significance of the thesis can be discussed in relation with two literatures; one is the prison literature in Turkey and the other is the literature of the prison culture. For the former, there are two contribution points of the thesis. Firstly, I aimed to see the difference between the culture in the ward system and in the high security F type system; so I did not focus on the one prison system. The point is significant for showing the effect of the prison architecture and regulations on the prison culture. Secondly, the two prison systems had not been analyzed on the basis of the prison culture. There is only one study which is directly on the subculture in the prison from the Department of Anthropology at Hacettepe University (Erdem, 1991). The difference of my thesis stems from the inclusion of the new prison system and also the prison culture theories. For the second literature, the first contribution of the thesis stems from the connection between two discussion points; the deprivation and

the importation theories. I tried to show that there is an influence of both the external context and the internal characteristics on the political prison culture. The second contribution is related with the unit of analysis; the political prisoners. While the general discussions on the prison culture was related with the ordinary prisoners; the thesis subject is the political prisoners.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, a brief history of punishment and incarceration as a systematic form of punishment is given. This historical information includes the penal philosophies of the centuries and the first models of the prison systems from America, Europe, especially England, and Turkey. By this information, the similarities between prison systems can be seen. Also, how the prison system of Turkey was affected from the modern prisons of America and Europe can be understood. For the Turkey part, the closed prison types, the prison operations, and the change in the number of ward-based and cell-based systems are mentioned.

In chapter two, the key terms and the literature review on prison culture and prison architecture/design are mentioned. The concepts of prison culture and political prisoner and their meanings for the scope of the thesis are explained. The literature review part is composed of the punishment theories, and also the internal deprivation and external impact discussions on prison culture.

In the third chapter, the reasons of selection the thesis subject, data collection technique, the process of formation of the network with the interviewees, and the information on the field research can be seen. When the questions are reviewed, the relationship with the prison culture theories can be clarified.

In chapter four, the discussion part, is divided into two main titles; one is the design and architecture of prison and other one is the prison culture. In the first title, the description of architectural features of the ward and cell systems, the interviewees' and the civil society organizations' definition and criticism are given. Besides, the impacts of the architecture and design on prisoners and coping strategies of prisoners with the impacts are explained. In the second title, prison culture is analyzed on the

two basis; the first is on the economic and political context of the country, which refers to external impact discussions, and the second is on the prison regulations and prisoners' practices, which refers to internal deprivation arguments.

CHAPTER 2

BRIEF HISTORY OF PUNISHMENT AND IMPRISONMENT

The Officer: We, his friends, already knew at the time of his death that the administration of the colony was so self-contained that even if his successor had a thousand new plans in mind, he would not be able to alter anything of the old plan, at least not for several years.

Franz Kafka, In the Penal Colony

Prisons were started to be used as a direct punishment with decrease in use of transportation, which refers to exile from the community, to overseas for through long ages. Countries influence each other in terms of architecture and design of prison. It can be said that the famous models came from America to Europe and finally to Turkey. Therefore, it is necessary to mention briefly on these models and the penal philosophies behind them.

2.1 Penal Philosophy and Prisons of America

In 17th and 18th centuries, fines, whippings, banishment, and gallows were used as punishment mechanisms. Therefore, the statement Rothman (1995: 113) is meaningful, “Magistrates in colonial America never considered the possibility of rehabilitation through punishment. Their aim was not to reform the offender but to frighten him into lawful behavior”. After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Americans refused the British methods of punishment. The death penalty for burglary and robbery was removed in Pennsylvania in 1786; the list of capital crimes was diminished in New Jersey, New York, and Virginia in 1796; and also the death penalty, except for serious crimes or first-degree murder, was abolished in all other provinces by 1820 (Rothman, 1995: 114). The imprisonment started to be seen as a

solution, as a way for deterrence, for crime. However, in the beginnings of 1820s, it is revealed that riots, escapes, and disorder were common cases in prisons; so, the need for organization of institution was argued. In addition, the aim of reform the prisoner gained significance.

To this respect, in the 1820s, two prison systems, Pennsylvania and Auburn, or called also as the separate and the congregate/the silent system, emerged and drew attention in the whole country. By transition to the penitentiary system, it was intended to reform characters of prisoners through isolation, silence, obedience, worship, and labor. In Pennsylvania system, prisoners had to live in their cells alone for the entire time of the imprisonment. If they had to leave their cells, then they had to wear masks or hoods. They could not read anything except the Bible. These conditions indicate that an absolute isolation, change of morality, and silence were the characteristics of this system. The Walnut Street Jail is the first American penitentiary which carried out the Pennsylvania model. This system was abrogated in 1913.

The second system, the congregate/the silent, began with the Auburn State Prison. A communication was forbidden among prisoners; therefore it was also called as silent system. The only entities which had voices were tools and machines. Tocqueville and Beaumont (1833) visited the Auburn and they stated that “Everything passes in the most profound silence, and nothing is heard in the whole prison but the steps of those who march, or sounds proceeding from the workshops”. In Auburn, prisoners lived alone in their cells and they came together only in the times of eating and working. The dominant notion in this system was to work, which was eight to ten hours in a day. Prisoners were working together in day time and, in night time; they were alone in the cells. In both systems, the significant feature is the architecture of the prisons for reformers. According to the Boston Prison Discipline Society, “Other things being equal, the prospect of improvement in morals, depends, in some degree, upon the construction of buildings” (Rothman, 1996: 117).

In the 1860s, it was revealed that the prisons became the place of disorder, brutality, and overcrowding; so the need to improve the prisons came to light. This need can be seen in the statement of the National Congress of Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline; “Our aims and our methods need to be changed... the prisoner’s self-respect should be cultivated to the utmost, and every effort made to give back to him his manhood” (as cited in Rotman, 1995: 173). Although the reformatory efforts continued during the 1870s, there was little change in the situation of prisons.

In the beginning of 20th century, the penal philosophy gained another concern. “Psychiatric interpretations of social deviance began to assume a central role in criminology and policy making” (Rotman, 1995: 178). Crime was seen as illness and the new concern was to rehabilitate prisoners. Psychiatrists and psychologists were employed in prisons and medical concepts were started to be used. However, the programs which aimed to rehabilitate could not be realized effectively due to uneducated and unskilled officers, long hours of work, ineffective education programs, physical force upon prisoners (Rotman, 1995: 183-184). On the other hand, the effects of the allowance of communication, exercise, music, and movies in the prisons were argued. After these reforms, a new type of prison, the Big House, was constructed in America. “The Big Houses were large prisons that held, on average, 2500 men, prisons such as San Quentin in California...Stateville in Illinois...” (Rotman, 1995: 185). These prisons also accepted as maximum-security prisons. The prominent characteristics of this type were overrepresentation of minorities and maintaining disciplined labor, routine, and isolation. In the beginning of 1950s, there was a stream of riots, including escape, sit down strikes, and self-mutilation, against the American prison system. The reasons were stated as “ the deficiency of prison facilities, lack of hygiene or medical care, poor food quality, lack of treatment, and guard brutality” (Rotman, 1995: 188). After World War II, based on Big Houses, the correctional institutions emerged in America. With the difference of disciplined labor and order, these institutions gave place to therapeutic and educational programs, more flexible visiting and mail policies. For instance; The Soledad Prison, also called as California Treatment Facility, was seen pleasant in

physical sense by allowing communal life, using pastel colors, having library, gym etc. (Rotman, 1995: 190). Moreover, in 1955, United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners was accepted in order to realize treatment-oriented attitude. Although these facilities made prison life easy, there was lack of official's knowledge on conducting a correctional institution (Johnson et al., 2006: 34). In addition, it is claimed that the rehabilitative programs brought about abuses for prisoners. According to the survey of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, which was done in 1966, "Life in many institutions is at best barren and futile, at worst unspeakably brutal and degrading" (as cited in Rotman, 1995: 193). Therefore, at the end of 1960s, American penal system's focus started to be on security, control, and discipline, rather than on living conditions, training, or education. In 1970s, prisoners protested against the psychological and physical deprivations of prison. In return to these protests, prison officers engaged in violence to these prisoners (Fitzgerald, 1977). It is known that prison systems of America, especially Pennsylvania and Auburn Prisons, inspired to other countries' systems. The English prison system was influenced by these models.

2.2 Penal Philosophy and Prisons of England-Europe

In the 18th century, in English justice system, there were whipping, pillory, gallows, fines, transportation to American colonies, and military service as punishment methods. The significant aim is to revenge of the king and punishment was seen as reflection of the king or the majesty. Although people were waiting in the jails for their trial, there were also people who confined for punishment. McGowen mentions that there were two institutions; the jail and the correction house or, in other term, bridewell. While debtors and felons were incarcerated in the jail; in the latter, "petty offenders sentenced for short terms" and the target was both to reform and to punish (McGowen, 1995: 80). In bridewells, prisoners were employed in order to learn industrial skills. Besides bridewell, the Transportation Act was declared in 1718 and transportation was accepted as punishment method for the ones who were not hanged. McGowen argues that both bridewell and transportation "signaled a shift away from penalties that employed the body in a public spectacle to sentences

defined in terms of labor and time” (McGowen, 1995: 84). However, 1776 American Declaration of Independence put an end to transportation, but transportation to Australia was continued until 1857. As McGowen indicates, the characteristics of 18th century prisons, in England, were neglect, disorder, noise, and smell. He states that there was almost no authority; so, prisoners spent their time with gambling, games, and drink habit (McGowen, 1995: 79). In due course, alcoholic drink was forbidden, the jails repaired, and prisoners started to be kept in separate cells. By the 1770s, the number of prisoners increased and the prisons were overcrowding places. Offenders were imprisoned in informal places which were smelly and abandoned called as hulks. In those years, American Revolution had an impact on English institutions and the need for reform was started to be argued. The idea of solitary confinement was the prominent characteristic of these arguments. Reformers claimed that “solitude cut the offender off from his false community” (McGowen, 1995: 86). The necessary thing is to control punishment process and “to regulate its operation and effect” (McGowen, 1995: 93). Jeremy Bentham was one of the active people studied on prison reform. He was consulted in order to construct his model, the Panopticon which is never established. In his prison model, there are two parts; the periphery and the center. In the periphery, there is circular structure and this structure is divided into cells. In the center part, there is a tower which has wide windows in order to see inmates easily. Each inmate is visible; however, they cannot see the one in the tower. There are two important characteristics of the Panopticon; being visible and unverifiable. Although the inmate cannot be sure whether there is anyone or who is in the tower, he is obliged to perceive as under surveillance at any time. The 18th century reformers thought that both transgression and rebellion bring forth the other; therefore, they claimed that criminal justice should punish rather than take revenge (Foucault, 1991: 74). According to Foucault, this shift, occurred in punishment technique, was interrelated with improvement in production, moral and juridical value of property relations, the increase in wealth, intensive surveillance methods, and also efficiency in obtaining information. The reform is not related with being against despotism but rather it is about “a new political economy of the power to punish”. The new penal system did not aim to eliminate illegalities, but it targeted

to administration of them. He claims that the significant thing is to reduce economic and political cost of punishment and to increase its effectiveness.

In the 19th century, the design of the prison began to change and repressive practices became prominent. In 1810, the government appointed the Committee in order to investigate penal reform. In 1816, Millbank, which was the biggest prison in Europe, was opened and solitary confinement was started in London. In this new type, there were opportunities to communicate and “the solid cell doors had to be left open to allow instruction” (McConville, 1981). However, prisoners did not want to accept hard labor and poor foods and the reactions were occurred towards these conditions. In 1823, dysentery, scurvy, and typhus spread among prisoners in Millbank. This situation brought about to close down the prison temporarily (Ignatieff, 1978: 176). In 1840s, it is revealed that there was a growth in crime rate. The reason of the situation is told as “the inadequately reformed prisons” (McGowen, 1995: 99). It was thought that there was need to cut the communication among prisoners and to dispose of prisoner culture. In those years, the two systems of imprisonment of America fascinated English reformers. The one is solitary confinement of Philadelphia and the other one is silent system of Auburn. At the end of discussions, the separate system was adopted and the reformers thought that this system “promised a true conversion, not the temporary obedience produced under the silent system” (McGowen, 1995: 100). Chaplains defended this system by claiming that the solution hinged on the revitalization of religion; because, they thought that social problems in English society were the result of immorality and irreligion. Therefore, Pentonville prison was designed with separate cells in 1842, because; the system in Millbank was started to seen as unsafe and it is thought that discipline should be enforced. Pentonville was based upon the Philadelphia system “where the cell blocks radiated from a central inspection point, offering clear lines of observation throughout the building” (Shoothill, 2007: 37). In due course, it was seen as the model for local prisons. Between the years 1865 and 1914, the Pentonville model prison was constructed in many European countries such as Holland, Spain, and Belgium. In “Four wings radiated out from a central point, from which one could

observe each cell door. The construction of the walls hindered communication between prisoners...The guards were as strictly controlled as the prisoners, forbidden to talk to the convicts...” (McGowen, 1995: 101). In the 1850s, the separate system was modified and prisoners were started to be sent to public works prisons. During the 19th century, labor was the main task of the daily life in prison, but; beside this, there were also discussions on how punishment can be made more effective. There were skeptic arguments on ability to reform of prisons and the ideas of deterrence became prominent. Between the years 1922 and 1947, many prison reforms were realized such as training and teaching of young prisoners or permission of wireless and pictures into the cells (Shoothill, 2007: 43). In 1932, there was significant example of Dartmoor Prison, which is worth to mention. Thomas states the importance of this prison as it “was a very different place from what it had been thirty years before. The reforms which had been introduced had created an inmate community, able to communicate, and thus able to organize” (Thomas, 1972: 159). The aims of rehabilitation gave way to prisoners coming together and organize. Between the years 1945 and 1978, the number of prisoners increased twice as much and also prison riots became regular (McConville, 1995: 155).

As it can be seen in the previous paragraph, in the late 19th and beginning of 20th centuries, Pentonville model prisons were established in European countries like Belgium, Holland, Spain, Scandinavia, Hungary, Austria, Portugal, and Switzerland. However, it is also necessary to mention briefly how the penal system evolved in those countries. In the early modern Europe, two types of punishment were widely accepted; one is execution on the scaffold which was realized in the eyes of the community in order to ensure social control and the other one is captivity and labor. In due course, scaffold evolved towards incarceration and transportation. There was also a distinction between jail and prison. While the former referred to a place where people incarcerated until their trial and did not have to work; the latter referred to house of correction or bridewell. After the second half of the 16th century, the prison workhouses, where prisoners had to work and to realize religious activities, were constructed in Europe. The emergence of them rooted in moral concerns and aims to

transform bad habits to good ones. In Spierenburg (1995: 67) words, “the first towns to establish prisons included London (1555) and other English towns (from 1562), Amsterdam (1596) and other Dutch towns (from 1598), Copenhagen (1605), Bremen (1608) and other North German towns (from 1613), Antwerp (1613) and other towns in southern Netherlands (from 1625), Lyon (1622), Madrid (1622), and Stockholm (1624)”. Emergence of the prison, apart from the workhouses, generated from wealthy families who wanted to send away their relatives in order to protect family reputation. “Both in Amsterdam rasphouse and the Hamburg Zuchthaus, for example, the authorities established separate wards for these privileged few at the beginning of the seventeenth century” (Spierenburg, 1995: 72). These separate wards are thought as basis of solitary confinement.

Like the reformers in America and England, European prison specialists and governments were always thinking about making reforms in the penal system. As part of these discussions, Pentonville model was seen as a solution. However, in due course, it was understood that total isolation brought about madness and suicide of prisoners. In addition, due to economic reasons, prisons had to be constructed with common work areas and dormitories. The prominent concept was labor in prison daily life. In response to this condition, in France, “community worker associations periodically objected to the unfair competition presented by the vastly reduced wages of the prison work force...In Prussia, businessmen and manufacturers...resented what they considered the state’s unfair advantage of a captive work force whose minimal cost could undercut prices and destroy their businesses” (O’Brien, 1995: 204). Towards the end of 19th century, punishment policy changed from imprisonment to noncustodial punishment methods; because, it was thought that prisons failed in rehabilitating to prisoners. European states started to use the new methods which were probation, suspended sentence, and parole. It was Belgium in 1888 and France in 1891 led in using the suspended sentence as punishment in which “...allowing the first-time offender to enjoy freedom as long as the conditions of the suspension were honored” (O’Brien, 1995: 210). These new methods resulted in decrease in prison population and also carried with widespread surveillance, control,

and discipline in society out of prisons. Beside these techniques, for political prisoners and prisoners who had more than one sentence, deportation and transportation, which were abolished respectively in 1885 and in 1938, were other punishment methods in 19th century France (O'Brien, 1995: 212). In 20th century, fine became widely used punishment method in Europe; however, countries like Italy, Poland, and Bulgaria could not use this method due to economic difficulties of the community. Moreover, Italy and Germany extended their imprisonment systems. After World War II, concentration camps and mass imprisonment gave way to discussions on brutality of prison institutions and on prisoners' rights. Therefore, the prominent concept, in the 1950s and 1960s, was the treatment of prisoners. Reformers indicated that "society would be protected best through the treatment of the offender, not through the insistence on his or her moral responsibility under the law" (O'Brien, 1995: 219).

As it can be seen, there is an "improvement" in punishment techniques from aim of torment to treatment through isolation. The Turkish prison system cannot be thought as independent from this process. However, it is clear that it comes from behind the European States. Kaptanoğlu (2000) indicates that the 11 F type prisons are the modern panopticons in terms of architecture like examples in the United States (Marion, Lexington), England (H Block), Germany (Stammheim), and Italy (Tirani). The distinctive point is that the prisoners of these institutions are able to come together in the common areas.

2.3 Penal Philosophy and Prisons of Turkey

According to Ömer Şen, exile, execution, display, fines, chain gangs, and corporal punishment were common types of punishment in classical Ottoman law (Şen, 2007: 4). Until the Tanzimat period, using prisons as a type of punishment was limited and only for waiting for trial. The Tanzimat reforms are significant for transition from dungeons to prisons. The first prison, based on ward system, was Hapishane-i Umumi which was established in 1871. According to Hasan Şen, the emergence of prisons in the Ottoman period was based on the aim of rehabilitation and

“...transform criminal groups into the norms of social life” (Şen, 2005: 99). From the Ottoman archives, he sees the reformation in the Ottoman prisons; for this purpose, teaching of writing, reading, and employment skills to the prisoners was realized especially after 1876. In those years, the politics of foreign countries were followed by the Ottoman administrators in order to know existing prisons systems. In 1916, the architecture and administration of European prisons were officially taken as a model. Therefore, prison reforms aimed to be realized in order to remove poor conditions. Şen (2005: 110) says that “the Ottoman policy of reform on prisons was achieved in a general sense in the 1900s”.

After transition to the Republican era, in 1926, new penal code was accepted and four types of imprisonment were identified; exile, light imprisonment, imprisonment, and heavy imprisonment (İbikoğlu, 2012: 33). However, reforms could not be implemented due to unsuitable conditions of prisons. Taner states that “Except for few prisons, all other prisons work according to the old system and they are all at a primitive state...if we add the lack of hygiene, lack of security, and other problems, we realize how acute the situation is” (as cited in İbikoğlu, 2012). From the Ottoman period to the Republican era, the idea of labor-based prisons continued and foreign countries’ prisons, like Soviet Union, Switzerland, France and many other European countries, were seen as a model (Sipahi, 2006: 21). In early Republican period, the idea was to make a connection between responsibility and rehabilitation through labor. The first labor-based prison was Imralı Agricultural Island Prison which was constructed in 1936 (Sipahi, 2006: 41). Throughout mid-1930s and 1940s, labor-based prisons had continued to be constructed. The reason of this type can be seen in Sipahi’s argument, “the involvement of the state in the economic sphere and the labor problem which continued in 1930s and 1940s were determinant factors in the establishment of the labor-based prisons...” (Sipahi, 2006: 30) Agriculture, mining, carpentry, publishing, and weaving were the works in those prisons (İbikoğlu, 2012: 39). In 1938, General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses was established. By the vice-director of the institution, the aim of prison work was stated as correction, training, and making the prisoner conforming individual (Sipahi, 2006:

31). Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Minister of Justice, mentioned the punishment system of Turkey which has four stages. The first stage was based on Pennsylvanian system which refers to solitude and isolation. The second stage was same as Auburn system which means the connection of work and silence. In the third one, there was no solitary confinement. Finally, in the last stage, there was possibility of probation. Passing to one stage to the other is depended on the time spent in the prison. However, this stage system project and cell system could not be actualized due to economic deficiency of 1940s' Turkey. In addition, in 1950, the attitude towards labor-based prisons changed; because, it was thought that these prisons were ineffective in reducing crime rates. More importantly, Sipahi claims that labor force became stabilize. The Democrat Party government constructed 149 prisons between the years 1950 and 1954 (Sipahi, 2006: 167). In those years, workshops, which were different from labor-based one, were established in prisons. In these types, the aim was not to make profit, but to discipline. With the coup of 1960, the new criminal law was accepted which included division of penalties into four as death, long and short term imprisonment, and fines. In addition, in the 1960s, prisons classified into three as open, semi-open, and closed prisons. There were also prisons for children, women, and for rehabilitation.

In the late 1970s, as İbikoğlu mentions, structure of the prisons and punishment techniques changed with the increasing number of socialist political prisoners. With the coup of 1980, new implementations were put into practice under the aim of "treatment". All inmates were accepted as a soldier; so, military orders, violence, and strict control became widespread in prisons. In order to cope with these cases, prisoners developed and maintained solidarity, collective behavior, protests, and hunger strikes. Diyarbakır and Metris Prisons were the ones where political prisoners confronted with severe brutality and where the first resistances started (Sevimli, 2010: 7). However, in 1990s, political prisoners gained control over in their wards by force of both prisoners themselves and rising opposition outside of the prisons. Although the conditions of 1980s' prisons recovered through resistances, this does not mean that conflict between political prisoners and the State ended up. It can be

claimed that there was continuous state of conflict. In 1996, one of the significant and widespread resistances was realized through the death fast struggle against rendering Eskişehir Special Type Prison as cell system for only political prisoners. At the end of this struggle, the demands of the prisoners were accepted; however, 12 political prisoners lost their life. Closing down Eskişehir cell-type prison, which was called as coffin (tabutluk), sanitation of prisoners, recognition of the prisoners' representatives were some of the demands.

After 1996, the operations in prisons had continued in order to actualize the transition from ward system to the cell type. Before "Return to Life Operation" in December 19/2000, the operations of Ulucanlar Prison (1999), Metris Prison (2000), Burdur Prison (2000), Bergama Prison (2000) were realized by the State. Güçlü Sevimli claims that, by these operations, it was intended to collective dispatch of prisoners and got ready to put F-type prisons into practice. That is; Sevimli sees Ulucanlar, Bergama, Burdur, Metris Prison operations and "Return to Life Operation" as mutually complementary operations (Sevimli, 2010: 14-15). The State tried to complete this transformation period with simultaneous intervention to 20 prisons on 19th of December in 2000. During the intervention, prison buildings were demolished by heavy construction equipment. 28 inmates and also two soldiers were died. 237 inmates were sent to hospitals. 348 inmates were sent to Edirne F type Prison, 340 inmates to Kocaeli F type Prison, 341 inmates to Sincan F type Prison, 67 inmates to Kartal Special Type Prison, and 45 inmates to Bakırköy Woman and Child Prison (Sevimli, 2010: 210).

Since it is assumed that the ward system does not have the prison personnel to govern the prisoners, the State aimed to reduce the power of mafia and political groups in prisons and also outside of the prison by these operation and by transition to cell system (CPT, 2001). For this reason, as mentioned in the previous parts, existing forms of penal institution in the West served as a model for Turkey. In his article, Ulus Baker (2001) argues that 'the ward system had not been carried out for many years in the West' is used as an evidence for putting the F-type prisons into practice in Turkey. At that period, the Ministry of Justice showed journalists round

F-type prisons and officials tried to mold public opinion intended to persuade this type of prison is appropriate to the Europe standards. However, at the same time, these prisons are intensively criticized by national and international human rights organizations. They insisted that these prisons bring about social and sensorial isolation; therefore, they are inhuman and degrading and also against the penal code. In addition, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) has been regularly criticized execution regime in F-type prisons by its reports since 2001.

At this point, in order to make these criticisms meaningful, it necessary to mention the existing prison types and also the change in their numbers as part of the State policy of prison system. In Turkey, types of closed prisons were designated alphabetically and there are also closed woman prisons, education house for children, open and unspecific type of prisons. Prisons which were constructed between the 1950s and 1970s are A, A1, A2, A3, B, and C types. The difference among A types originated from the number of ward units and discipline cells. In A, there are four wards for 24/30 person and there is no discipline cell. In A1, ward capacity and number of person are same with the former. However, there are also two discipline cells in the latter. In A2, there are five wards for 40 person and two discipline cells. Finally, in A3, there are six wards for 60 person and it does not include a discipline cell. These types are single layer buildings and every ward has its own yards. B type prison has seven wards and two discipline cells; however, there is no information about the capacity of the type. C type prison has eight units of ward for 164/300 person, four discipline cells, and cells for women and children.

Prisons which were established during the 1970s are E, H, K1, K2, and M type prisons. E type is constructed as two-layered ward system; however, after transformation to cell system, it was changed to 2/4/6/8/10-person cells. Moreover, this type includes sections for women and children. H type prison is constructed as appropriate for cell system. It is composed of two blocks and they consist of 200 unit of single inmate and 100 units of three inmate cells. While K1 type has four wards for 42/60 person, K2 has six wards for 60/150 person. Also, these types have two

discipline cells. M type prison was constructed with two layers as appropriate for the ward system; however, it was transformed to the cell system which composed of 4/6/8/10 person in each cell. Upstairs is used for accommodation and ground floor is utilized for dining hall. Every cell has its own yards. This type also has 6 discipline cells.

Since 2000s, D, F, L, and T type prisons have been establishing. D type prison, called as high security prison, is composed of 11 blocks and 230 units of one and three inmate cells. F type prisons were constructed as a campus in extensive areas remote from cities. In these campuses, there are houses for prison personnel which mean these people are also isolated from outside society. It is said that this type has appropriate spaces for carrying out the treatment programs and factors that threaten security were minimized. It has three main corridors, which called as malta, and five blocks. There are 57 units of one and two inmate and 103 units of three inmate cells. It is said that this type has the capacity of 24-hour continuous heating, lighting, and water due to its speciality and security. It is also added that the ground strengthened with sufficient matting reinforced concrete in order to prevent excavating a tunnel. These types are based on social isolation model. In F-type prisons, prisoners cannot see or feel anything other than too small part of the sky. In this type of prison, there are people who accused for organized crimes and crimes against the state. L type has 61 units for seven, 4 units for three, and 40 units for one inmate. Inmates can league together in seven inmate units in daytime and, in night time; they sleep in their one and three inmate cells. T type includes 72 unit of eight, 8 units of three, and 16 units of one inmate cells. Beside alphabetically named closed prisons, there are woman closed prisons (WCP) such as Istanbul Bakırköy Prison and Ankara Sincan Prison. In this type, there are one, three, and twelve person cells. In order to understand transition from ward system to cell system, it is necessary to see the decrease in the number of ward type and the increase in the number of cell type prisons. The change in the number of prisons by years can be found in Figure 1.

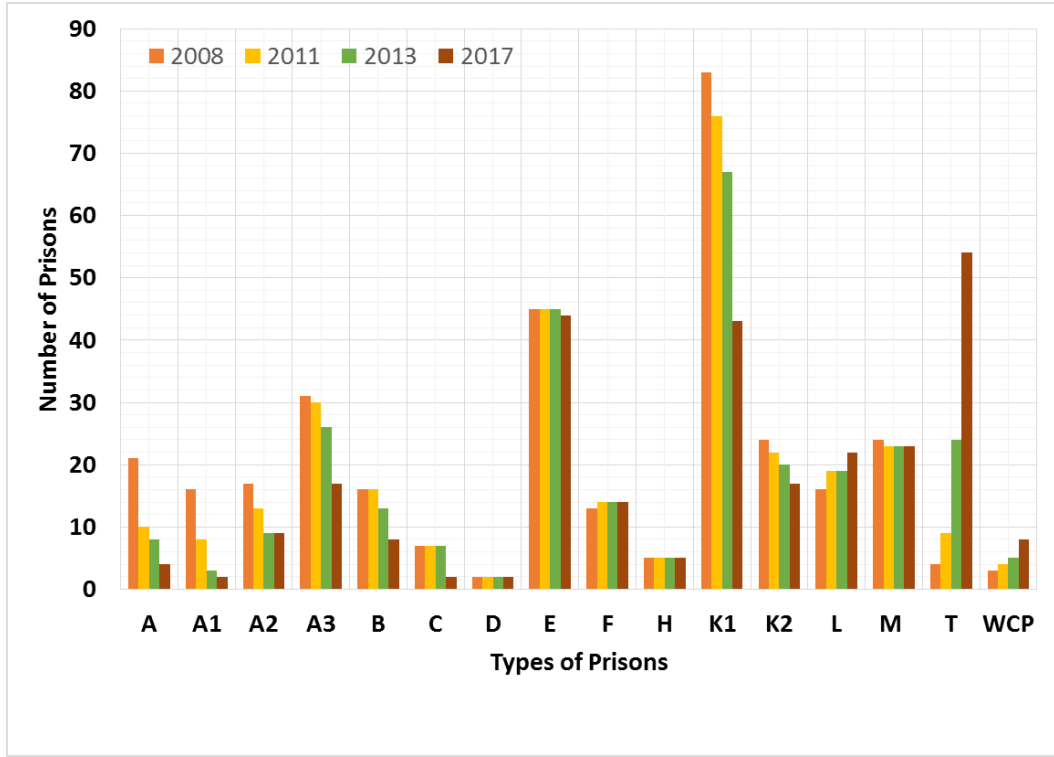


Figure 1. The change in the number of prisons by years.³

After mentioning of the development process of prison system, it is necessary to define significant concepts which are the factors bring about the transition of punishment techniques.

³ The data of 2008 was obtained from Duygu Şenbel's master thesis. The data of the years 2011 and 2013 was got from Mustafa Eren's studies. The data of the year 2017 was attained from the website of the General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses.

CHAPTER 3

KEY CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Definition of Key Concepts

3.1.1 Definition of Prison Culture

Chad Trulson (2006: 84) mentions that, in America, first prisons were designed with intend of suppressing the creation of prison culture via total isolation from other prisoners and free society. The Eastern State Penitentiary was one of these institutions and there was physical separation and silence. However, in due course, it was disclosed by the administration that prisoners overcame the control mechanism in prison and it is accepted that prison design could not prevent the formation of prison culture. Because “Inmates at Eastern State, for example, developed elaborate tapping methods on sewage pipes- a sort of prison Morse code called the rapping alphabet” (Trulson, 2006: 85). Also, communication was realized through notes which were thrown over the walls of separated yards. In addition, in Auburn and Sing and Sing prisons, “prisoners developed elaborate hand gestures as an early form of prison sign language” (Trulson, 2006: 86). By reforms in prison system and the construction of Big House in America and correctional institution in many countries, the prison culture and communication techniques among prisoners developed and became varied. Prison community is the subject who transforms the environment and resists against the sanctions of prison architecture and design. Although prison administrations try to transform prisoners into homogenous obedient individuals, they can create and spread their cultural identifications and values. Special vocabularies, idioms, and communication techniques were developed in history and are still being developed by the prisoners.

Prisoner culture mainly refers to “a *sub rosa* system of power and exchange that includes the special rules, norms, values, and behavior patterns of prisoners” (Trulson, 2006: 86). This concept is nourished from two main discussion; internal deprivation and importation. While the advocates of internal deprivation argument describes the term as a culture determined by intrinsic deficiencies of prison environment, the supporters of importation claim assert that it is the culture determined by broad social, legal, and political conditions and also it depends on mainly pre-prison experiences and socialization process.

In this study, prison culture refers to the ever-growing behavior patterns, attitudes, values, and rules which are created by prisoners as a response to both internal deficiencies of prison environment and the social, economic, and political context of the country. In the definition, there is an emphasis on the political prisoner. It is essential to explain how this concept is used throughout the thesis.

3.1.2 Definition of Political Prisoner

According to Ümit Hassan (1971), with the emergence of the state as an institution, political crime came out of objectively. He says that as the state is top and main institution of specific political system, so behaviors which directed to it are political in the nature of things. When these behaviors break the rules of this political system, then they are accepted as political crimes. Although the definition of political crime is not given in the Turkish Criminal Law, there are various definitions of the concept in crime literature. Cesaro Lombroso (1968: 227) defines this concept as a type of “crime of passion...frequent amongst the young and in the most intelligent and cultivated of nations”. Schafer (1974: 145) argues that political criminals perform ordinary crimes in order to reach ideological and political aims. Similar to the statement of Schafer, Hagan (1997: 2) states that political crime is “criminal activity committed for ideological purposes. There is also different point of view which accepts crimes by the state as political crime. That is; they argue that political crimes are “not only crimes against the state (violations of law for the purpose of modifying

and changing social conditions) but also crimes by the state...” (Beirne and Messerschmidt, 2014: 286) Crimes by the state are discussed into two types; state corruption and political repression. While state corruption refers to “unethical use of state authority for personal or political gain”; political repression means “unethical conduct by state officials or agencies for purposes of repressing domestic political dissent” (Beirne and Messerschmidt, 2014: 292). Ross supports this idea and indicates that “whether the event is committed against the state or by the government against a citizen, if it results in harm, we can say a political crime has occurred” (Ross, 2012: 5). Although the focus of the thesis is not crime by the state, the imprisonment of people for their political thoughts and behaviors cannot be thought as separated from this part of the issue. Also, in the thesis, the emphasis will be given the prisoner, rather than the crime part.

Neir expresses that political prisoners are the ones imprisoned for her/his beliefs, expressions, or associations without using violence (Neir, 1995: 393). In addition, McEvoy, McConnachie, and Jamieson (2007) argue about how political prisoners defined, how they are managed, and also how these prisoners resist. They mention that imprisonment of political prisoners is a part of larger social and political conflicts. Rodriguez (2006) supports this idea by indicating that prison contributes to maintain dominant descriptions of right and wrong, and also race and class relations. The significant thing is the definition of ‘criminal’ and how particular behavior is criminalized by the State. Therefore, some criminologists claim that all prisoners could be accepted as *political* prisoners in some sense in this *politicized* situation (McEvoy et al., 2007: 294). However, the authors add that this understanding seems limited for an analysis. Therefore, they define five categories of political prisoners. The first one of them is prisoners of war who are fighters captured as a result of war. The second of them is the category of ‘prisoners of conscience’ which was first used by Amnesty International in 1961. In the original definition, it was said that these are people “imprisoned solely for the peaceful expression of their beliefs”. Then, the organization developed the definition; but the emphasis on non-violence still exists. They stated that prisoners of conscience is the “people who have been jailed because

of their political, religious or other conscientiously-held beliefs, ethnic origin, sex, color, language, national or social origin, economic status, birth, sexual orientation or other status, provided that they have neither used nor advocated violence”. The third category is conscientious objectors. Military service is obligatory in many countries. However, there are people who do not want to perform this service or they may be against use of violence; so, they declare their objection which is ended with imprisonment. The fourth of these categories is radicalized ‘ordinary’ prisoners. These people imprisoned for theft, bodily harm, or other non-political acts. In the process of incarceration, they were politicized. In Turkey, this category of prisoners was seen frequently in the ward system. When ordinary prisoners were exposed to maltreating by prison officials or by other ordinary prisoners, political prisoners were defending and protecting them against insult. These protectionist attitudes of political prisoners towards ordinary ones impressed the latter and they developed sympathy for the former. The last category is politically motivated prisoners which is the relevant category for this study. In this case, the act which results in incarceration is based on political motivations whether violence is included or not. Indeed, due to using violence against the state, these prisoners are generally seen as terrorists. Prisoners from Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA) and Irish Republican Army (IRA) out of Turkey; PKK, DHKP-C, and MLKP in Turkey could be given as an example of this category of prisoners. In this study, the concept of political prisoner has the same meaning with the concept of politically motivated prisoners.

Throughout the history, there is tension between political prisoners and political powers. The Turkish State does not accept the status of political prisoner; it evaluates them as a terror criminal. It is a political manner which does not see them as a subject. Within this context, the function of the State, the role of the society, the punishment techniques, and the culture which prisoners created against these techniques will be mentioned.

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 On Prison Culture and Imprisonment

As a starting point, it should be indicated that the two definitions of the concept of state, which focus on different aspects, are significant for the scope of the thesis. Firstly, “The state is an institutional enterprise of a political character, when and insofar as its executive staff successfully claims a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in order to impose its regulations” (Weber, 1978: 39). Secondly, the state is the protector of common sentiments and function of the state is “to create respect for the beliefs, traditions, and collective practice: that is; to defend the common conscience against all enemies within and without” (Durkheim, 1984: 84). While Weber focuses power and domination parts of the concept which is strictly related with power to punish; Durkheim emphasizes on the common sentiments. While in the former definition state is seen as offensive in terms of using physical force; in the latter, it is accepted as protective that is strictly related with coping with deviancy.

The difference of Durkheim is that he removes the negative connotations of the concept of deviance, which is accepted in his theory as a source of change as long as not reaching to pathological situation. At this point, it should be questioned on what grounds pathological situation can be identified. Durkheim (2002: 35) gives the answer with the definition of collective conscience which refers to “the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average members of the same society which forms a determinate system which has its own life”. The definition common conscience itself and also the concept of “average member”, who is necessary for social integration and regulation, are significant in order to understand how Durkheim defines crime. He expresses that if an act violates the common sentiment, then it can be defined as a criminal act. It means that crime is the result of social norms which change from time to time and place to place; so it is not a natural category.

In order to understand the change in perception of crime, his discussion on transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity can be reviewed. According to Durkheim (1984), in primitive societies, differences between individuals are minimized and they devote themselves to the common weal. Social morality was rigid depending on religion and there were sacred social rules. Therefore collective conscience was intense. This brings about mechanical solidarity where the common conscience completely covers the consciousness of the individual. He says the penal law has main function in the cohesion of primitive societies. As a result of increase in population and division of labor, mechanical solidarity turns into organic solidarity, because; functions of the members, their actions and beliefs are differentiated in society. There is moral diversity and social roles became dissimilar. Being aware of the fact that “the succession of societies does not take a unilinear form”, he argues that through transition from simple to advanced societies, penal severity was decreased and imprisonment was preferred as a form of punishment. Durkheim explains this difference by the distinction between religious criminality and human criminality. He claims that this situation reflects change in quality of common thoughts. He makes a relation between passion and punishment. He claims that the attitude was to “punish for the sake of punishing” until passion come to an end in the former, especially until death is realized (Durkheim, 1984: 85). By contrasts, in modern societies, passion is denied officially and forms of punishment changed; however the functions which refer to solidarity-producing and morality-affirming character of punishment still exist. He relates this attitude change with transformation in conscience collective which is more concern about the rights of individuals.

In addition, he asserts that the degree of criminality may arise from other causes. He draws attention to the capability of governmental authority to create offences or increase the severity of certain crimes. He claims that if an act disturbs the governmental authority, it is seen as criminal despite not to disturb the collective feelings equally. He argues that a crime is perceived as an offence which endangers the transcendent authority (Durkheim, 2002: 42-43). He argues that “there is a

collective psychic life, but this life is not diffused throughout the entire social body; although collective, it is localized in a specific organ. When the State takes thought and makes a decision, we must not say that it is the society that thinks and decides through the State, but that the State thinks and decides for it” (Durkheim, 1957: 150). Punishment is not only related with penology and not only for the offender. That is; practices of punishment are intended to affect audiences and it has social and moral significance. When the public execution is thought, this statement becomes meaningful. Depending on the economic, political, and social structures of the societies and also based on historical, technological improvements, the practices of punishment transformed from public execution and torture to imprisonment in due course, as it is mentioned in the preceding part of the thesis. As it is understood, the development of penal system and change in punishment methods did not proceed in a unilinear way in all countries. That is; although implementations are similar, they differ from each other depending on social and economic structures. It is the state who determines the ones who are out of the specified norms and rules and who should be punished throughout the centuries in order to maintain its sovereignty. Although Durkheim makes distinction between religious and human criminality, he emphasizes that the change was occurred in understanding of punishment, not in reality of it. He states that “the need for vengeance is better directed today than heretofore” (Durkheim, 1984: 90). Durkheim sees the aims of punishment which are told as correction, rehabilitation, and prevention as a delusion and says that these aims do not reflect the actualities of these institutions. David Garland (1991: 32) interprets Durkheim’s argument as, “the essence of punishment is not rationality... the essence of punishment is irrational, unthinking emotion fixed by a sense of the sacred and its violation”.

In relation with this discussion, although he did not directly write on change in punishment techniques, the discussion of Elias on civilizing process is significant. From medieval times to modern, he tries to see the transformation of Western sensibilities and long term changes in many social habits. The transformation cannot be thought as independent from the formation of nation-states which have monopoly

of legitimate use of violence and also from the rise in differentiation in social roles and interdependence. When Elias (2000: 151) uses the term civilization, he refers to “a specific transformation of human behavior”. As Garland (1990: 223) explains the term, it is not about moral improvement, but rather it is “an analysis of how certain social and psychic changes have transformed the configurations and character of cultural life”. According to Elias, civilizing process, which has different pace depending on “local centrifugal forces” such as population levels and geographical boundaries, is varied from society to society. That is; social formation includes dynamic and interchanging civilizing processes. He uses the concept of “civilized sensibilities” in order to express specific psychic and cultural values. He indicates that the significant thing is to decide on whether behavior is emotionally and culturally acceptable or not, which resembles the idea of collective conscience. At this point, the significant thing is to see that the civilizing process do not guarantee civilized outcomes for Elias. Indeed, it can bring about barbarous results as in the holocaust case (Elias, 2000). The term *privatization* is used by Elias in order to explain this situation. He means that specific disturbing cases become hidden from public sphere. He argues that the difference between execution in front of public and modern penal practices originated from the realization of these practices “behind the scenes”. Suffering or death in public sphere is one of these cases and the punishment in front of the public started to be seen as a source of shame. However, this does not mean that the disturbing aspects were disappeared; that is, these “uncivilized” aspects of life were displaced to nonvisible areas; behind walls of prisons. Garland (1991: 125) also agrees this idea and says that “it points to a crucial division in modern penal systems between the *declaration* of punishment, which continues to take the form of a public ritual and which is continually the focus of public and media attention, and the *delivery* of punishment that now characteristically occurs behind closed doors and has a much lower level of visibility”. At this point, Elias added a phenomenon, which is missing in Durkheim’s arguments, and argues that this dynamic process reflects the struggle for power. Garland (1991: 151) states the significance of Elias discussion as “it trains our attention on the formal characteristics of modern punishment, identifies the kinds of sensibilities that create

such forms, and helps us to trace their connection with the wider cultural and societal patterns that have brought them about”.

Besides culturally based perception of punishment methods, the Marxist approach adds economic dimension to the issue. Rusche and Kirkheimer (2003) start their analysis with the Middle Ages' Europe. They attract notice in the reasons of specific historical penal methods and they inquired to what extent the mode of production determines penal development. They see punishment as a mechanism which controls the struggle between social classes. Rusche (1982: 13) interprets the history of penal system as “the history of the relations between the rich and the poor”. They ponder in the question that “why are certain methods of punishment adopted or rejected in a given social situation?” (2003: 3). As an answer, they claimed that “every system of production tends to discover punishments which correspond to its productive relationships” (2003: 5). When the historical transformation in punishment methods is reconsidered (workhouses and forced labor in prisons etc), the arguments of Kirchheimer and Rusche can be sound meaningful. Another class based explanation belongs to Pashukanis (1978) who claims that penal institutions, in capitalist societies, are regulated with respect to bourgeois values; so, there is intensive relation between capitalist economic relations and punishment. He saw imprisonment as an ideological apparatus which ensures cultural and mental practices of capitalism. Melossi, interested in European prisons, and Pavarini, emphasized on American prisons, also studied on the historical origins of prisons and the relationship between social change and penal policy. Melossi argues about developments in the Europe prison system in connection with the needs of capital in the struggle with working class. On the other hand, Pavarini focused on ideological and formal relationships. He argues that “the central contradiction of the bourgeois universe is reflected in the microcosm of prison” (Melossi and Pavarini, 1981: 186). This is the discrepancy between “the sphere of production” and “the sphere of the circulation”, that is; this relation reflects the conflict between subordination of the worker in the factory and the legal equality and autonomy of him/her in the market. Melossi and Pavarini claim that the main aim in the penitentiary system is to create and to recreate the proletariat

in social sense. In Melossi's (1981: 28-29) words, "the whole secret of the workhouse and the Rasp-huis lay, right from the very start, in the way they applied bourgeois ideals of life and society to the preparation of people, particularly poor people, proletarians, so that they would accept an order and discipline which would render them docile instruments of exploitation".

Similar to this claim of rendering people to "docile instrument", Foucault claims that the aim of modern prison is to produce conforming and "normal" individuals. Foucault mentions Bentham's prison model which was created in accordance for this aim. He argues that the situation of invisibility assures the prison order and claims that this situation means "automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1991: 201). In addition, in this model, prisoners were to be employed in their cells and profits would belong to private contractor (Ignatieff, 1978: 110). By analyzing Bentham's prison, Foucault implies that the target of the prison is not only body, but also the soul. He asserts that the prison is older than the new codes that concerned the prison system. That is; it was formed outside of legal apparatus by distributing and fixating individuals in a space, registration and recording etc. (Foucault, 1991: 231). He is interested in relations of penal technologies with the areas of governance and discipline by reference to discussions about how "society" is structured. They are the systems of domination and production which bring about subjugation of the body. He mentions the micro-physics of power and draws attention to "the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies, and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes, and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980: 39). Knowledge provides control of an object and by this way it can be learned how the object reacts and what its forces, weaknesses and strengths are. The aim is to make the body docile and obedient. In addition, he sees punishment as a "political tactic" within power relations and interprets the failure of prison system as "unspoken political success" (Garland: 1991); because, he thinks that this situation brings about enhancing the fear of prison and assuring the power and authority of the police.

While Foucault uses the concept “body of the condemned”, it was Banu Bargu (2014: 42) who uses the concept of “insurgent’s body” in order to emphasize on the resistance part of the issue. She also criticizes Foucault’s distinction between sovereignty and governmentality and indicates that “Sovereignty and biopolitics come together in the form of a biosovereign assemblage” (Bargu, 2014: 26). She argues that biosovereignty continues to produce new forms of resistance, which are the weaponization of life and so the human weapon. She explains the former concept as “the tactic of resorting to corporeal and existential practices of struggle, based on the technique of self-destruction, in order to make a political statement or advance political goals”; and the latter one as “the actors who forge their lives into weapons of political struggle by a resort to self-destructive techniques”. She does not see the weaponization of life as “weapons of the weak”, unlike James Scott. Rather, she interpretes the concept as “encompassing actions that are overt and frontal confrontations, indeed collisions, with power”. She adds that the process “involves open, visible, and spectacular challenges to dominant symbols, with clearly articulated political goals, a collective agency, and organized will” (Bargu, 2014: 353). In this context, she expresses that she distinguishes this type of struggle from suicide and terrorism discussions. She interprets the death fast struggle as defensive form of weaponization of life and necroresistance which she interprets as “a form of refusal against simultaneously individualizing and totalizing domination that acts by wrenching the power of life and death from the apparatuses of the modern state in which this power is conventionally vested” (Bargu, 2014: 27).

In relation with the resistance issue, Buntman, in her study on Robben Island, mentions on how prisoners transformed the prison and on how they resisted against poor conditions. She focuses on the relationship among prisoners and their strategies towards the prison administration. The significance of her study stems from examining of political prisoners, who are South African, and their resistance between the years 1962 and 1991. She asserts that Robben Island was transformed from a place of repression to a place of resistance. She explains this change as “where material conditions permit, resistance, when fully articulated and elaborated, is a

constructive political act that attempts fundamentally to alter existing relationships of power...” (Buntman, 2004: 5) In addition, the study of McEvoy is significant to understand the strength of political views. In one part of his study, he focuses on the resistance of paramilitary prisoners in Northern Ireland. As a coping strategy with imprisonment, he emphasizes on the collective character of resistance with four key elements; escape, dirty protest and hunger strikes, violence, and the use of law (McEvoy: 2001: 44). He mentions on the loyalty to political ends shared by political prisoners. He argues that this loyalty ensures solidarity and will; as a result of these aspects, long term hunger strikes and dirty protests maintained. James Jacobs (1977) also draws attention to significance of collective power. He says that values imported from outside organizations and networks could be seen as source of collective power. Besides, Gresham Sykes (1965: 107) says that solidarity provides less isolation among prisoners and less repression of staff. He expresses that the pains of imprisonment can be alleviated by collectivist strategies and solidarity among prisoners.

Within the scope of the thesis, the last two names occupy an important place; because they are the ones who directly argue on prison culture from different perspectives. Beside the dominance part of the issue, they focus on the emergence of communication methods, values, rules, and norms among prisoners. Before mentioning their discussions in detail, it is necessary to express that, in Crewe (2007: 131) words, “At the structural level, few scholars now seek to explain the role or function of the prison through a single theoretical lens. Rather, it is generally accepted that the values and sensibilities that shape the broad purposes and practices of imprisonment derive from multiple sources...”. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the discussion is divided into mainly two theories; internal deprivation theories (Sykes, 1965; Goffman, 1961) and importation theories (Jacobs, 1977; Cressey and Irwin, 1962).

Sykes’s study, *The Society of Captives*, is generated from the Trenton State Prison in New Jersey. During the date of his survey, the percentage of Prison population in terms of crime type was; 24 percent of felonious homicide, 24 percent of burglary,

20 percent of robbery, and 12 percent of larceny (Sykes, 1965: xvii). The prisoners of Trenton Prison are able to come together in the mess hall for breakfast, lunch and dinner, for watching television, for religious activities, and working. He adds that, today, solitary confinement is also used in the Prison for the ones who are being punished for nonconformity to prison rules. However, other prisoners can be in social interaction with guards and prisoners. Sykes (1965: 6) expresses that “in this interaction we can begin to see the realities of the prison social system emerge”. One of the realities was that prisoners interpret the life within Trenton Prison as depriving and frustrating. Sykes explores the reasons of this interpretation and how prisoners cope with the “pains of imprisonment”. He clarifies these pains as deprivation of liberty, of goods and services, of heterosexual relationships, of autonomy and finally deprivation of security. According to Sykes (1965: 65), loss of liberty is doubled by restrictions within the institution; that is, “within this restricted area his freedom of movement is further confined by a strict system of passes...and the demand that he remain in his cell until given permission to do otherwise”. He argues that although prisoners can meet basic needs, they may want individual clothing and furnishing which were not permitted in the prison. Due to confronting with routine commands and rules “...such as the language used in a letter, the hours of sleeping and eating...”, prisoners feel themselves as being deprived from autonomy. Sykes gives specific example that, in New Jersey State Prison, taking food from dining hall to cells was not permitted and most of the prisoners saw this prohibition as “pointless gesture of authoritarianism” (Sykes, 1965: 74). Requests of prisoners were denied by prison officials, but reasons of denial were not explained. This process should be understood; because, Sykes says that it “...reduces the prisoner to the weak, helpless, dependent status of childhood” (1965: 75). He asserts that, for this reason, prisoners developed the inmate code as a cultural mechanism to reduce the pains of incarceration.

By informing that the inmate code is an ideal type and “as a guide to behavior”, he describes five principles of the code as; “don’t interfere with other inmates’ interests”; “plait it cool and do your own time”; “don’t exploit or steal from other prisoners”; “be tough, be a man”; “don’t ever side with or show respect for prison

officers and representatives” (Sykes, 1965). For the first principle, the significant thing is to be unified against officials and not to betray a fellow to officials. The second principle is about keeping calm and the third one is not gaining advantage over other prisoners via fraud, force or cheat. There are also rules related with the self. Prisoners should have the ability to cope with, without complaining, bad situations. For the final principle, prisoners think that there should be no trust towards prison officials. For the violators of these principles, there are pseudonyms which are rat/squealer, toughs, gorilla, merchant/peddler, weakling/weak sister, and square John. When the prisoner adapts these rules, then he is accepted as “the hero of the inmate social system” (Sykes and Messinger, 1960: 10). In discussions of Sykes, the remarkable point is about the source of prison culture and inmate code. He conceptualized prison culture as determined by the intrinsic deficiency of imprisonment and also as specific to penal institution (Crewe, 2007: 127).

Similar to Sykes, Erving Goffman (1961: xiii) focuses on internal characteristics of total institutions which refer to “a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life”. In his work, *Asylums*, he argues that total institutions limit inhabitants’ physical and psychological autonomy by regulating of spending money or washing etc. First of all, he divides total institutions into five groups. The first one is the homes for the aged, the blind, the indigent, and the orphaned. In this institution, people who are both harmless and incapable are being cared. The second one is mental hospitals and the places which are established for caring of both incapable and unintended people. The third one is penitentiaries, jails, and concentration camps which are established in order to protect the community from the people inside. The fourth of total institutions is established for better organization of worklike tasks. These places are work camps, army barracks, ships etc. The final institution is the ones established for religious activities like monasteries, abbeys, cloisters (Goffman, 1961: 5). Then, Goffman describes the common characteristics of these institutions. The first one is about place and authority. That is; although “individual tends to sleep, play, and

work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an over-all rational plan”; in these institutions, there is single place and authority (Goffman, 1961: 6). Secondly, people in these places are treated alike and have to do the same thing. The third common characteristic is that there are daily scheduled activities which are imposed by the officials. The final one is that these institutions have rational plan in order to fulfill the institution’s official aims. In one part of the study, Goffman mentions the inmate world. He states that, although inmates bring their way of life and activities with themselves to the total institution; after admission to the institution, there is possibility of disculturation of inmates in due course “with the removal of certain behavior opportunities and with failure to keep pace with recent social changes on the outside” (Goffman, 1961: 13). One of the process which bring about disculturation is the admission procedure of the institution which include photographing, assigning numbers, undressing, institutional clothing, taking life history, and fingerprinting. He says that an inmate’s dignity and self-respect are destroyed by these routinized and dehumanizing admission procedures (Goffman, 1961). Goffman argues that solidarity among inmates of total institutions is limited. He accepts that there are constraints which provide inmate to communicate each others. However, he claims that, even in the case of interaction, it is not possible to mention solidarity and high group morale.

Similar to Sykes, he mentions a new behavior pattern and a value system within these institutions in order to meet the mortifying processes. While Goffman (1961: 61) divides these adaptation lines into four, he adds that “The same inmate may employ different personal lines of adaptation at different phases...”. The first one is *situational withdrawal* which refers to break away of inmates from everything except the cases related with his body directly. The second one is *intransigent line*. In this case, there is purposeful challenge against the institution and inmate rejects to cooperate with officials. Goffman states that this adaptation line sometimes results in high individual morale. The third adaptation type is *colonization* which means creating a world with maximum joy provided by the institution. The last one is *conversion* which refers to accept the institutional roles and rules and to try to act in

the perfect inmate role. He concludes that each lines “represents a way of managing the tension between the home world and the institutional world” (1961: 65). He also mentions the two themes of inmate culture. Firstly, he sees the emergence of self-concern which also may lead to self-pity of inmate. Secondly, inmates interpret the time in the institution as “wasted or destroyed or taken from one’s life”.

In conjunction with these discussions on the impacts of prison and coping strategies of prisoners, Donald Clemmer (1940: 299) uses the term *prisonization* as “taking on the greater or less degree of the folk ways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary”. He claims that as the prisoner spends time in prison, attitudes and behaviors of him transform in line with existing cultures in prison. Even though the prisoner does not use argot words, he learns their meaning and also ranks and titles. However, in his definition, he associates the concept prisonization with negative aspects, “which breed or deepen criminality and anti-sociality...” He defines the factors which determine the prisonization process. According to Clemmer, this process is strictly interrelated with prisoner’s personality, relationships with outside society, connection with groups in prison, living place in prison, and finally acceptance of the codes. He also adds the factors like nationality and age. For the study, which describes American prison between the years 1931 and 1934, he worked in Menard/Illinois for nine years. The interest of the study is on the issues like leadership, informal group life, class stratification, social controls, and folkways. He describes a hierarchy of prisoners as elite, middle-class, and lower-status prisoners. While lower-status prisoners did not tend to be close or cooperate with others; higher status prisoners were sharing information and resources and also they thought collectively. However, he adds that there is limited loyalty in groups. Therefore, the conclusion is that “the prisoner community is ‘atomized world’, characterized more by ‘trickery and dishonesty’ than by ‘sympathy and co-operation’” (as cited in Crewe, 2007: 135). He describes this world as the world of “me” and “mine” rather than “ours”. He emphasizes the complexity of prison community and the difficulty in making generalization. In Clemmer’s discussion,

beside internal deprivation, the influence of culture and social relation outside of the prison can be seen.

The one who focuses directly on influence of the outside society is Jacobs. He asserts that there is deficiency in terms of external factors on prison culture in the internal deprivation theories. He discusses the relationship between administration and social life of the prison and also the effects of broad social, legal, and political conditions on prison culture. He describes prison as “an organization in action, in dynamic relationship with its political, moral and institutional environments” (Jacobs, 1977: 11). Jacobs realized a case study in the Illinois State Penitentiary, which was opened in 1925. He describes the Prison with respect to four different periods of time. Between the years 1936 and 1961, there was authoritarian regime in the prison. After 1961, with the rise of civil rights movements, black population in the prison politicized. In 1970, in Chicago, there was rise of organized gangs based upon ethnic identity and it was the date new inmate social system emerged in the Stateville. Jacobs describes the situation of Prison as the place of conflict within and between ethnic groups and says that the prisoner world was dominated by the street gangs which came from the streets of Chicago. He claims that the leadership structure and values of these gangs transferred into the Prison. He says violence, brutality and escape became widespread in the prison in ten years. He states “Authority passed from the hands of the state officials into the hands of powerful inmate gang leaders” (Jacobs, 1977: 201). “The gangs posed to challenge of intact organizational structures, highly charismatic leaders, support from the streets...” (Jacobs, 1977: 146) Jacobs states that the increase in the significance of notions citizenship and human rights had also influenced prisoners. In those dates, the courts also took a step to secure the entitlements of prisoners. The ethnic minorities in prisons became politicized and their political culture impressed the outside society. According to Jacobs, these changes reflected “the movement of the prison’s place in society from the periphery towards the center” (Jacobs, 1983: 6). Also, he adds that this understanding provides clues about “society’s values, its distribution of power, and its system of legal rights and obligations” (Jacobs, 1983: 17). He sees that the pains

of incarceration were being diminished by collective identity, economic and social support of the gang system. But he also mentions the exploitation of the ones who are not group member. He adds that it is difficult to think about an existence of single normative inmate code; because, his claims are that the prisoner community is fragmented; there are antagonistic relations in this community and also codes of loyalty for group members are significant.

Likewise Jacobs, Cressey and Irwin question the lack of emphasis on external experiences in the prison culture discussions. Their aim, in the article, is “to suggest that much of the inmate behavior classified as part of the prison culture is not peculiar to the prison at all” (Cressey and Irwin, 142). In order to express the relation between inside and outside, they divide prisoners into three categories; the ones in a criminal subculture, ones in a convict/prison subculture, and the ones in conventional/ legitimate subcultures. In criminal subculture, which is also called as thief subculture, the significant thing is to have right guy role; that is, not betraying each other, being reliable, cool headed, and trustworthy. This man also should be solid and have theft skills. They mention the convict subculture as it flourishes from environment of imprisonment. They state that prisons have limitations and deprivations on freedom and, in these places, “all status is to be achieved by the means made available in the prison, through the displayed ability to manipulate the environment, win special privileges in a certain manner, and assert influence over others” (Cressey and Irwin, 147). That is; they claim that the main value of this subculture is being utilitarian and manipulative in order to win the available wealth. They finally relate these values with the characteristics of the United States’ lower class culture. In the last one, the prisoner rejects both thief and convict subcultures. There are few problems between these prisoners and the administration. Cressey and Irwin describe Clemmer’s ‘ungrouped prisoners’ as the prisoners belong to legitimate subculture. The significant feature of these prisoners is that they use both legitimate goals and means. They conclude that all people in three subcultures “bring certain values and behavior patterns to prison with them, and that total ‘inmate culture’ represents an adjustment or accommodation of these three systems within

the official administrative system of deprivation and control” (Cressey and Irwin, 1962: 153).

3.2.2 On Prison Architecture and Design

In the literature related with design and architecture of prison, there are mainly edited books which include studies and articles of many authors (Jewkes, 2007; Fairweather and McConville, 2000; Jewkes, 2013; Johnston, 2013; Switek, 2013; Spens, 1994). These studies are mainly composed of chapters on historical development of English and American prison systems.

Jewkes and Johnston mention the penal philosophies of eras broadly; aim of reform at the end of 18th century, repressive regime in the mid 19th century, aim of rehabilitation in the 20th century. In line with these philosophies, the architecture and design of prisons transformed. Authors argue on how these penal ideas affected the design and location of prisons in England. 18th century is significant because it was for the first time “prison architecture was explicitly used to convey meaning” (Jewkes, 2007: 178). There were innovations in terms of airness and health in prisons; however, in the 19th century, other problems, such as classification of prisoners and solitary confinement, were started to be discussed by reformers.

In 1816, by the construction of Millbank, the aim of solitary confinement was realized. But the establishment of Millbank did not mean the end of discussions and problems. Arguments changed from solitary imprisonment to control, staff, and other policies. With the construction of Pentonville in 1842, the aim of repression became prominent characteristic of the prison regime. It was designed similar to Bentham’s panopticon with the aim of “sense of loss and deprivation via its stark and austere design” (Jewkes, 2007: 184). “Consisting of a central hall, with four radiating wings each containing three floors of separate cells with networks of iron galleries and catwalks, it was possible for a single officer standing in the centre to observe every cell” (Jewkes, 2007: 185).

When the date came to 20th century, prisons were constructed remote from the society and became invisible. The authors also mention an exception that in 1930s open prisons were constructed. These prisons did not have high walls and there was a connection between these prison and the society. In the beginning of 1960s, the aim became training and rehabilitation. However, in 1990s, there were riots against prison conditions and overcrowding. In this chapter, the authors' aim is to show the connection between prison design and its function by giving the summary of English prisons. They think that design has an impact on the lives of both prisoners and officials.

There is another chapter specifically on historical development of prison and prison cells. Helen Johnston (2013) argues about architecture in the development of modern prison. She mentions on different penal philosophies of different eras. She starts with the end of 18th and beginning of 19th centuries which refers to reform period. She mentions two phases in development of the system in those dates. One is related with the concern of pyhsical health of prisoners and the Panopticon model. "Prison architecture and design focused on the prevention of the spread of disease by the use of ventilation, 'salubrity and airiness' determined prison construction..." (Johnston, 2013: 26). The other related with transformation of prisoners by religious and moral activities as in the separate and silent models of prison. Then she mentions separate system of 1830s and 1840s and the reactions against this system due to long periods of isolation. Finally she argues about the period between mid 19th and 1895 when the aim was both rehabilitation and deterrence. She claims that cellular confinement accepted widely and design of prisons is organized accordingly today.

McConville also gives reference to English prisons in his chapter on prison architecture and argues on ethical and aesthetic components. He says that "Tasteless (or intentionally repulsive) foods, coarse and ugly garments, exhausting and intentionally unproductive work, utterly featurless and comfortless cells,...have all in the past been carefully blended into the regimen of punishment" (McConville, 2000: 10). He adds that these aspects of prison regime were rejected by reformers because it was understood that they did not result in reducing crime rates. In the conclusion

part, he draws attention on significant point and says that “If design and technology almost completely separate prisoners from staff, one must wonder to what extent either group can treat the other as human beings” (McConville, 2000: 15).

Like McConville, Jewkes mentions behavioral and psychological effects of prisons. She starts with considering the idea “prison spaces are layered with meaning and that prison design has a profound psychological and behavioral influence on prisoners, prison staff, and the communities in which prisons are located” (Jewkes, 2013: 9). In the first part of the article, by giving reference to Bentham’s and Daniel Nihill’s statements, she mentions broadly how this influence is targeted via architectural design.

Moreover, Switek mentions on the underlying principles of prison projects. In one part of her article, she mentions Foucault and Bentham and their different points of view on the panopticon model. She states that while Bentham’s principle of construction is strictly related with the birth of modern legislation and the effectiveness of industrial production; Foucault interprets this model as a symbol of visibility and total control (Switek, 2013: 47). The significant point is that she reminds the idea “this is a model legitimising architecture as an effective machine for habitation, for work and also for acting out a punishment” (Switek, 2013: 46).

There are also studies which focus on pains of imprisonment and theoretical discussions on space and place (Hancock and Jewkes, 2012; Fiddler, 2010; Hillier and Hanson, 1984). In their article, Hancock and Jewkes make a relation between penal architecture and design and the critical organization studies which focus on physical environment of workplace. With this relation, they contribute to the literature in terms of examining architectural forms which show resemblance between workplace and prison and describing how these designs limit the subjects who live in those forms. The common theme in these two field of study is how environment affect patterns of thinking, behavior and identity. Therefore, they state that both fields emphasize the relationship between power, meaning and space. When they argue on the similarities between workplaces and modern prisons, they claim

that both types of building emerged as a result of industrialization and urbanization. The significant point, which they discuss, is that not only old models but also the new designs of prisons promote the pains of imprisonment.

There is another significant study on social meaning of space from the field of architecture. In their study, Hillier and Hanson (1984: ix) start by saying that “By giving shape and form to our material world, architecture structures the system of space in which we live and move”. They say that there is deficiency in the understanding of the relation between social life and space and also social consequences of space. They state that “The ordering of space in buildings is really about the ordering of relations between people” (Hillier and Hanson, 1984: 2). The main argument of the book is on the ways societies determine space. The issue which they do not examine is the idea that space also determines society.

Similar to Hillier and Hanson, Fiddler argues that movements and interactions are determined by design of the building. He asks significant question “How can the inhabitants break beyond these pre-ordained barriers to behaviour and impose their own meaning on a given place?” (Fiddler, 2010: 3). He says that it is necessary to understand the reality of lived experiences in order to grasp the opportunities for improvisation. He indicates that “Staff innovate and transcend the material conditions of older establishments within the prison estate when imposing contemporary styles of regime. Likewise, those faced with newly constructed wings may find themselves operating in new and unexpected ways...” (Fiddler, 2010: 8). When the literature is examined, it can be seen that there is deficiency in studies in terms of the relation between prisons design and social relations in this specific building. This study aims to fill this gap to some extent. In the methodology chapter, the reasons and method of the study can be seen in detail.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Social researchers could not think themselves as separated from anything that is going around. They are affected by social, political, or economic problems as a member of society. One specific reflection of this situation could be seen in times of 1968 struggles. As Mills and Birks (2014: 7) argue that the political and social ruptures of 1968 affected qualitative researchers and they started to question “their role, their place in the world and the relationship they sustain with participants throughout the research process”. As a result of this questioning, selection of subject, process of field research and data collection underwent a significant change. Alison Liebling (1999: 151) is right when she claims that “the particular topic chosen resonates with some conscious or unconscious value or interest whose origins pre-date to research project”.

Based on these arguments, it is necessary to mention briefly the decision process of this specific subject. Being a member of the generation which have chance to reach various technological opportunities and communication ways, and which have ability to respect to differences and have sense of justice, conceivably influenced the process. However, I should also add that the social environment which I grew up did not give a chance to know the leftist political thought and struggle. Indeed, it may be positioned to the opposite side of the struggle. Therefore, the socialization process proceeded with the prejudices against “the other”. The three circumstances ensured to overcome the biases. The first one was related with the last year before getting accepted into METU. Thanks to the efforts of my mother and a family acquaintance, I met with Marx, Engels, Foucault, and Eric Fromm. I did not forget the moment when he showed me “Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison” on the bookshelves and added that “it is too early to read this book”, which increased my interest to read

the book. The second circumstance was the prison experiences of the friends. As a candidate of a social researcher, these were the times influenced me deeply in terms of seeing the criminalization of university students. In the relatively democratic environment of METU, I had the chance to learn a lot about the subject which I did not know before. I developed empathy to the friends. The last and the most influential one started with the sociology education which enhanced my questioning skills and broke down the prejudices. Then, this specific subject was selected. The aim of the inquiry was to understand the prison culture and to criticize the prison system of Turkey through the memories of the former prisoners.

Howard Becker (1967), in his article, claims that it is impossible to do a research apart from political and personal sympathies. According to him, there is no value-free research and the significant thing is to decide whose side we will be on. Related with Becker's claim, it is necessary to clarify the position of this research ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically which are strictly associated. While ontology focuses on the concept of being and reality, epistemology studies "the ways in which it is possible to gain knowledge of this reality" (Petty et al., 2012: 270). The significant thing, in this research, is the rejection of single reality and being aware of multiple realities. Before starting to research, it was known that there is no single prison culture. The interest was on why and how questions, rather than on what. Epistemologically, when it was thought that how prison culture could be understood and criticized, it was assumed that is necessary to interview with people who formed this culture collectively. Birks (2014: 24) was right when he stated that "your philosophical beliefs about reality guide your thoughts about how legitimate knowledge can be acquired".

It was assumed that it would be legitimate when research was done with the former political prisoners who spent almost 10 years of life stages in the prisons. In relation to matter of reaching legitimate knowledge, before starting to research, it was investigated whether making interview in prisons is possible or not. However, it was seen that in Turkey, it is almost impossible to make a research in the prison environment without being on the side of the State. In order to make a research

inside of prisons, a researcher must receive a permission from the Ministry of Justice. If the subject is accepted as proper to search; a governmental official approve, and then the research is made with a supervision of the officers.

In this case, there are many problems related with a field research and a data collection process. First of all, an interviewee may not feel himself/herself as comfortable and may conceal bad experiences that s/he is exposed to. There is a possibility of a tendency to mention about more positive experiences, rather than suffering ones. Prison is a place that causes a person to feel as under continuous surveillance. In such a place, it is impossible to think that a person feels secure himself/herself. As Andrea Fontana and James Frey (2000: 647) state, “interviews are interactional encounters and the nature of the social dynamic of the interview can shape the nature of the knowledge generated”. Therefore, the former prisoners were interviewed in order to conduct the interviews in a relatively freer environment and in places without a visible oppression tool such as cameras. Secondly; the relation between a researcher and an interviewee is problematical in this process. In such a situation, there is a hierarchical relation between a researcher and a respondent, who are in the subordinate position. This is the relation which I do not want to adopt. Instead of a hierarchical relation, it is necessary to establish a rapport for this study. That is; “the researcher must be able to take the role of the respondents and attempt to see the situation from their viewpoint, rather than superimpose his or her world of academia and preconceptions upon them” (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 655).

During the research process, it was assumed that “interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results” (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 645). Liebling (1999: 164) questions the possibility of the art of research to have a moral task. By giving reference to George Eliot, she says that the art of research has a moral task that promotes understanding. The significant thing is to enlarge sympathies that we have. She adds that human feeling is a chief agent of realist research. She also mentions David Garland’s statement that “imprisonment has an expressive or emotional function”. By giving place to this statement, Liebling (1999: 165)

criticizes the conventional methodological approaches and asks that “why is this emotional function of prison so invisible in most empirical research?”. In the qualitative research, there is another significant thing that is reflexivity, which is defined as “an active process of systematically developing insight into your work as a researcher to guide your future actions” (Birks and Mills, 2014: 25).

In the thesis, the qualitative research; the semi-structured interview was realized with seventeen political former prisoners who experienced the ward system, the Operation of December 19/2000, and the cell system. The experience of the three conditions is significant; because each of them corresponds to the different practices, and so the different cultures, depending upon the change in the architecture and design of the prisons. These conditions are tightly coupled; because the reasons of the transition to the high-security cell type prison system grounded in the existing culture in the ward system.

As a qualitative research technique, the open-ended semi-structured interview was chosen; because there is the framework of some themes; and also this method allows an emergence of the new ideas during the interview. The first question was on their definition of the ward and cell system. The significance of this question is based on meaning making process of former prisoners and how they define reality of the environment. Their interpretation of prison architecture shows the meaning which these buildings convey, as Hillier and Hanson (1990) discuss. The second question was on how long they were incarcerated. It was asked; because as Clemmer (1940) argues, it is assumed that as time of imprisonment extends, adaption of prison culture deepens. The time which is spent in the ward and in the cell is important to give meaning to the situations and to observe the changing experiences. The questions from three to seven were about daily life, relationship with the administration, relationship with other prisoners, the visiting days, and communication with the outside society. By these questions, it was intended to understand how this “total institution” (Goffman, 1961) works and how the prisoners experienced this institution in their daily life. The answers of these questions gave information about the prison culture in terms of both the internal deprivation and the importation

arguments; because, it was assumed that, prison culture is created by prisoners with the impacts of internal deprivations and external circumstances including the struggles and campaigns outside of the prison. Moreover, the methods and the ways in the formation of solidarity and cooperation can be seen with reference to the concept of collective power. It was accepted that although its form changed; there is collective power among the political prisoners before, during, and after the transition period. The question eight was about the physical structure which was directly related with the discussions on the prison architecture and design. This one is significant to understand how these aspects affect the prisoners and the prison culture with reference to the prison architecture literature. The next two questions were on the effects of social, economic, and political context of Turkey on the prisoners' lives; and the transition period through the Operation. By these questions, the impact of the external dynamics was analyzed with reference to Jacobs, Cressey and Irwin discussions. It was intended to make a relation between the experiences of former prisoners and the context of Turkey. It is seen that the Operation, which cannot be thought as separated from this context, had a big impact on the meaning which the prisoners created until and after this time.

As the literature review shows, there are different practices, values, and norms in prisons; so, it was assumed that there is no single prison culture. Before December 19/2000, even the possibility of the State's operation transformed the relations among the political prisoners. While some of them insisted to start the death fast; some did not support this idea. The reason of this discrepancy generated from the difference in the interpretation of the State's politics and in the manner of the political organizations towards the death fast. In this regard, it could be claimed that the collective power, the relations with the administration, with other prisoners, with the outside society were affected by this process. Therefore, the theme on this date was necessary to understand how the transformation occurred.

During the research process, the semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 5 female and 12 male former political prisoners. For the thesis, it was important to include both the female and the male former prisoners; because, it is supposed that

the practices; the forms of struggle of the female prisoners; the attitudes of the prison administration towards them etc. are different from the male prisoners. The doubt may occur because of relatively small unit of analysis. Related with this concern, it is necessary to give place to Liebling's (1999: 163) question; "how representative is any prison or any individual prisoner...of the world we seek to understand?". As an answer, she emphasizes the significance of the particular. That is; it was seen that the number of interviewees was enough to understand the political prison culture and to criticize the prison environment.

The interviewees were reached through TAYAD and İHD. It is necessary to mention about these two organizations briefly. TAYAD is a non-governmental organization where families of prisoners come together and try to find a solution to problems of prisons in general and of their children specifically. It was founded in September 3/1986 in order to struggle against violation of human rights in prisons. İHD is also a non-governmental organization. It was established in July 17/1986 by close relatives of prisoners, writers, journalists, doctors, lawyers, engineers, architectures, and academicians who are human rights activists. With the help of TAYAD and İHD, the first three networks were established; then, the snowball sampling was used; otherwise, it would be difficult to access the interviewees.

The field research was realized in three cities; Istanbul, Kocaeli, and Ankara. The reason for the selection of these cities is that they are the places where the former prisoners live mostly. Seven respondents are living in Istanbul, one in Kocaeli, and nine in Ankara. While the first interview was carried out in February 2/2015; the last one was conducted in April 25/2015. Before starting the interviews, the respondents read the informed consent. The aims of preparing this information document were to provide knowledge to the respondents about the research and the researcher; to ensure their feeling of trust; and to invite them to end the interview if they feel themselves uncomfortable. In this study, it was essential to use pseudonyms in order to protect the interviewees from any kind of harm and to ensure their privacy. In addition, I got a permission to take a tape-record of the interview and all participants allowed me to make record. After the field research completed, all records were

turned into texts. Besides the field notes, these tape-records were significant for this study; because they were helpful in terms of re-listening, and also it would not be reliable source of data if it depends only recollection of the conversations. The information on interviews can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The information on interviews.

Number	Person	City	Place	Duration
1	Ahmet	Ankara	Cafe	1 hour 11 min
2	Zeki	Kocaeli	Cafe	51 min
3	Bahar	Ankara	Cafe	1 hour 37 min
4	Burcu	Ankara	Cafe	1 hour 10 min
5	Hüseyin	Ankara	Workplace	1 hour 48 min
6	Mahir	Ankara	Cafe	1 hour 11 min
7	Veli	İstanbul	Cafe	21 min
8	Onur	Ankara	Cafe	57 min
9	Diyar	İstanbul	Workplace	30 min
10	Elif	Ankara	NGOs' office	33 min
11	Hasan	Ankara	Cafe	30 min
12	Murat	Ankara	Cafe	1 hour 3 min
3	Pınar	Ankara	NGOs' office	53 min
14	Ozan	Ankara	Cafe	1 hour 30 min
	Ali	İstanbul	Cafe	57 min
16	Umut	İstanbul	NGOs' office	52 min
17	Suna	İstanbul	in her apartment	55 min

During the field research process, there was a good cooperation and trust between me and the former political prisoners. In fact; two of them wrote their names and surnames in the informed consent although I said that it is not required. They thought that if a person wants to listen and to write their experiences; it is a valuable thing in itself. They said that this study is significant; because they still want their voice to be

heard. They are aware that the problems of prisons and the Operation of 19/2000 are not sufficiently known in Turkey. They stated that there are still violence and torture in the prisons. The former prisoners wanted to tell these problems and they want removal of these rigor conditions. During the research process, I went to protests with them, set in the cafés and had a talk on daily issues; then, both they and I felt myself as an insider. After they trust me, they arranged meetings with their friends who are the former prisoners also. That is; in this study, the significant attitude, “working with prisoners directly, rather than writing about them” was tried to be realized (Bosworth et al., 2005: 261). The first interview was one of the most difficult interviews in terms of emotional feeling; because, not only the experiences were inherently sad and impressive but also the expression of person was so real and sincere. Although some of the interviewees were sensitive about the subject; some were strict and wrathful. It was seen that this difference rooted in the political organization that a person belongs. If it is said clearly, there was a difference between the emotions and manners of the prisoners depending on their political parties. That is; while the members of the one group had sharp statements, whether being an active or a former member, the advocates of the other had softer attitudes. In the next chapter, the political prisoners’ values, behaviors, and rules and the factors on these aspects can be seen in detail.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Stepan: *I don't love life; I love justice, and that's higher than life.*

Kaliayev (with a visible effort): *Each person serves justice however he can. We must accept that we are different. We must love each other, if we can.*

Albert Camus, *The Just*

5.1 The Prison Architecture and Design

In the linear architectural model of the prison system, which refers to the ward system, the number of prisoners in each cell was different due to size of the ward, as it was mentioned in the Turkey part of the Chapter I. The main feature of the system is to live together with many other prisoners in the same ward through the imprisonment period. The conditions of the wards were poor in terms of hygiene and having a special life space. Besides, the epidemic illnesses were widespread. In fact; there were the times when the prison population exceeded the capacity of the ward. For instance; in Ulucanlar Prison, although one of the ward was for 40 prisoners at most; the prisoners sometimes had to live with 100 or 120 people in this place. In addition, Tanıl Bora (2000) states that the political organizations exercised power over their members; but he adds that this does not legitimize the F type prison system.

While the prisoners mentioned the problems of hygiene and private sphere in the ward system; the State had different problems about these areas. The most significant one is that the communication and relation among prisoners could not be controlled

by prison officials in this prison system, for the officials were not able to exercise a consistent control over the life space of the prisoners. It is asserted that, because of this reason, prisoners find ways to assert dominance over each other and they may act in a particular manner which poses a threat to the security of prison and its administration (Türker, 2003: 43). In the handbook of the prison administration, it is stated that “the terrorist should not communicate with each other; because, in such a case, s/he becomes like a fish out of water”. The State thought that if the sources, which spiritually and ideologically feed the terrorist, removed; then the revolutionist/ destructive part of him/her dies (as cited in İşlegen, 2000). Kaptanoğlu (2000) says that the State might want to be alone with the ones who fit the enemy concept.

In contrast to the ward system, the modular architectural model provides an opportunity to control prisoners on a regular basis. The former architecture and design of the prison completely transformed by the transition to high security F type prison system. First of all, these prisons are constructed as remote from city centers and residential areas. The area around the prison is expropriated and there is no permission to build any construction. It is watched continuously by the cameras. The prison building is surrounded with 8 meter walls. In this context, Elias’ (2000) concept of *privatization* is important to understand the meaning of the walls. The State aimed to hide and punish political prisoners “behind the scenes”. While the State officials interpreted the ward system as outdated in terms of human rights; they continued to violate the rights behind the high walls of F type prisons through isolation. Besides, Sykes (1965: 3) interprets the high walls as “a symbol of society’s rejection” of prison population and as an aim to “keep the enemy within”. Within the scope of the thesis, the political prisoners do not see their imprisonment as a rejection of the society; however, the State aims to make political prisoners feel themselves as a rejection; because these walls are specially designed for these prisoners.

There are two cell types; one is for one-person and the other is for three. The cell for three-prisoner is equal to 25m². On the first floor, there are a bathroom, one table and three chairs, which are white and are also made by a plastic. On the second floor, there are three beds and three wardrobes which are fixed to the ground. The

interviewee said that the main reason of the immobilization of objects was to prevent of using them for constructing a barricade, as in the ward system. The other interviewee told that this situation inhibited both the socialization process among the prisoners and the creation an environment to one's name. The yard, which is surrounded with 8m high walls, is equal to 50m².

Besides, the cell for one prisoner is composed of 10m² with single floor, which includes a bathroom, a table, a chair, a wardrobe and a bed. Its yard is equal to 42-50m². The walls and every material were only white or grey. The colors such as red, dark blue, and olive drab were forbidden. The administration assumes that the red symbolizes socialism and communism, and also the other two are the colors of military and guardians' uniforms; so they may be used for running away from the prison. The interviewee added that the ban of some colors was a matter also in the ward system; however, it remained on the general instruction of the prison. One of the former prisoners interpreted the intense use of white color as "white torture". The political prisoners were aware that all of these physical features were carefully selected in order to cause to disidentification and to depression of the prisoners.

The State interprets the high security F type prison as the "room system" and describes it by the facilities and the number of cells. However, these are not the only characteristics of these institutions. It is necessary to examine how the civil society organizations and the political prisoners themselves define the prisons. In the first place, the civil society organizations use the concepts of *small group isolation* or *cell-based system* for the new system of imprisonment. In their report, the Human Right Watch Committee (2000) divides the prisons into three categories; the solitary confinement, small-group isolation, and cell-based system;

"Solitary confinement" refers to a regime in which an inmate is housed alone, with severely limited contact with others and little or no access to outside stimulation. "Small-group isolation" refers to a regime in which detainees are confined to their cells together with up to five other inmates, most if not all of the day, without opportunities for proper exercise, work, or other productive activities, or interaction with detainees other than those confined to the cell. A "cell-based" detention system consists of rooms or cells occupied by up to six inmates, which for the purposes of this

memorandum does not include an isolation regime, and is therefore not objectionable per se.

From their examination on Kartal Special Type Prison, they note that most prisoners are alone or with two to five other prisoners through twenty-four hours a day. Then, they express that the regime may cause to damage on the prisoners' physical and mental health. They mention the general perception that small group isolation regime in Kartal Special Type Prison is a prototype for the high security F type prisons. The Amnesty International (2000) also mentions on the same perception. The delegation visited the Sincan F Type Prison and they observed that the conditions of the Prison "may not comply with international standards for access to natural air and light in cells and appropriate access by prisoners to exercise in the open air". They emphasize the necessity of a sufficient period of time which prisoners can exercise facilities and connect with others outside their cells.

Besides, TBB (2000) discusses the difference between a room and a cell system. In the former, a person has a living space specific to her/himself and this place does not have the aim of isolation under any circumstances. A person able to read, write, think, sleep, and stand alone at any time s/he likes. That is; the significant point is to prevent continuous living alone or in a group. However, the concept of cell has different meanings. They define it as a closed place where a person has to live alone continuously; therefore it is not possible to mention about sociality of a person. These places do not include shared spaces, and also interior/exterior designs are projected for isolation. Therefore, they state that these prisons are equal to definition of cell.

According to the statement of İHD (2001), the aim of the transition is to cut the interconnection among prisoners, which could be realized via isolation and physical alteration. They state that the isolation, which exists in the F type prisons, is a torture method in terms of the 1987 European Prison Rules. İMOP (2001) indicates that all life space of the prisoners is cramped in a specific cell. They state he social facilities can be used only depending on "good conduct" of a prisoner; so, in this sense, the concept of cell is more valid for these places. TTB (2000) also states that in the new

prison project, the total isolation was aimed by perceiving only the security problem and by ignoring the human factor. They evaluate the design of these institutions in terms of health; and mention that a toilet, a bath, and garbages are in the same place which is objectionable situation in terms of personal and cell hygiene. The cell is also insufficient for fresh air. They claim that the principle of protecting and improving personal health was disregarded in the new project.

At this point, the statement of Fairweather and McConville (2000) should be mentioned. They said that the total separation of prisoners and officials by a technology and a design of prison may result in treating each other as nonhuman. In addition, the criticisms on the F type prison system overlap with the Sykes's (1965: 5) statement that if the prisoners are cut off from all interaction and if they live only in their cells throughout the imprisonment process; then "the inmate population would be an aggregate rather than a social group, a mass of isolates rather than a society". However, it is necessary to note that, even if the characteristics of the new system aim to create an aggregate; the political prisoners are able to find ways to create and live as a society.

In the second place, the former political prisoners defined the two prison systems with reference to the meanings, feelings, and experiences which are created by the regimes. For the ward system, they mentioned both the advantages and the disadvantages. For the first part, they stated that a being crowded means to feel secure and to develop conceptual skills better. Moreover, they expressed that the ward system was a social space where many communication channels existed. There was a cultural and an ideological diversity among people within the same ward. They said that it was a place where different life experiences lived together and where the political prisoners were able to have knowledge about different political parties. The most telling aspects were a solidarity, a friendship, and an act of helping each other. For the disadvantages part, they think that the life with a large number of people was difficult in terms of hygiene, eating, reading etc. While they mentioned advantageous beside the disadvantageous of the previous system; they did not remember any good features of the F type prisons. In respect to the new system, they described a place

which corresponds to the cell concept and they emphasized on the isolation and disidentification effects;

Concepts bring meanings with themselves. Ward means togetherness in one sense. It is a place which has specific life style, where you are able to being together with other people, and able to share...When the word F type is considered, the first strong word which evokes is loneliness. For example; being passive, being pushed from life into the absence, breaking off people, and becoming introverted. (Onur)*⁴

F type is different. It is a place where it is difficult to sustain even human values. A person is robust if the setting is favorable for these values like friendship, cooperation, conscience, morals etc. F type is not related with these. (Ahmet)⁵

The difference between to define the institutions by their number of wards and the cells and to describe them with reference to the experiences and feelings which these institutions bring about can be seen from these statements. The significance of the feelings should be added to the discussion of Hillier and Hanson (1990). They express that an architecture shapes the relation among people. However, a design of a building also shapes the feelings of people, as it can be seen in the responses. Not only the interactions and movements are defined by the architecture, but also the feelings.

Within this context, the effects of the architecture and the design of the high security F type prison system should be mentioned. The İHD (2001) claims that the understanding behind the F type prisons is to deny both human and humanistic values. TTB (2000) declared that these places cause to physical, mental, and social destruction of a person. In the report, they drew attention to the health problems such as narrowing of visual field, a decrease in sense of hearing, and a perceptual and a

*All the translations of the quotes from the interviews belong to me.

⁴ “Kavramlar anlamları da getiriyor. Koşuş demek birliktelik demek bir anlamda. Kendine göre bi yaşam biçimi olan, diğer insanlarla beraber olabildiğin, paylaşımda bulunabildiğin bir alan... F tipi dendiğinde ilk çağrışım yapan en güçlü kelime yalnızlık. Edilgin olmak mesela; yaşam içerisinde yokluğa itilme insanlardan kopma kendi içine gömülme...”

⁵ “F tipi farklı. İnsani değerlerin bile yaşatılmakta zorlanacağı bi yer. İçinde dostluk, arkadaşlık, yardımlaşma, vicdan, ahlak gibi bi sürü insani kavramı yaşatacağınız ortam olursa insan dirençlidir. F tipinin bununla ilgisi yok.”

sense disorder. The similar expression can also be seen in the responses of the former political prisoners.

It was seen that living in the small cell has both psychological and physical negative effects on the prisoners. Mahir expressed that the most striking part for him was the yard with its walls exceeded to 6 meters. He claimed that the walls of the yard so long that if a butterfly falls into, it cannot go out;

There is no prison which was constructed as proper to humanistic values. The architect thought dedicatedly on how s/he could cause the prisoners pain... The saying that 'Yusuf in the pit bottom' is belong to me. (Mahir)⁶

In due course, the prisoners started to be noise-sensitive; because it was the stimulus-poor environment and there was monotony in terms of light and voice. The only noises were the noises of door, locking, and footstep. Kaptanoğlu (2000) mentions that when a person is bereft from the stimulus; s/he is not able to make a distinction between the imagination and the reality. The prisoners had problems with their eyes, like an amblyopia, due to seeing continuously close-range. The interviewees told that they were hallucinating after a while; the walls seem as if they were coming for the prisoner because of the small life space;

When you go outside, people seem strange. I was staring vacantly when I went to hospital. Presumably, it was because of becoming of the notions slowly indistinct. (Burcu)⁷

Being fixed of everything, not being under your control of anything, and not being able to decide anything...All of these caused to run out of social and human senses in your brain. (Ahmet)⁸

Besides the determined and small space, the absence of "the other" also results in hallucination and thought disorders. Kaptanoğlu (2000) argues that the lose of "the

⁶ "Yapısal olarak hiçbir cezaevi insani yapılmamış. Mimarı, 'nasıl eziyet veririm, mekanın işkencesini nasıl sağlarım' diye özel düşünmüş... Kuyunun dibindeki Yusuf tabiri bana aittir orası için."

⁷ "Dışarı çıktığında tuhaf geliyor sana insanlar tuhaf geliyor. Boş bakıyordum mesela hastaneye gittiğimde falan. Herelde kavramların yavaş yavaş silikleşmesinden kaynaklı."

⁸ "Herşeyin sabitlenmiş olması, hiçbir şeyin sizin kontrolünüzde olmaması, hiçbir şeye sizin karar veremeyecek halde olmanız... Tüm bunlar sizin beyninizdeki sosyal algıyı, insan algısını tüketiyor."

other” is a troublesome situation for the ego. The “I” starts to disperse and the limits become blurred; because the ego knows itself in “the other”. The all emotional states are yours as long as they reflect on “the other” and turn to you. One of the interviewees mentioned that these effects continued after the releasing;

For a long time, I could not go out in public. I was confused. You cannot concentrate. You are outside, but you do not believe...I have a friend who imprisoned for 32 years. This friend told that when walking on the straight road, he was going round in circles. The idea is conditioned to the pacing up and down. (Burcu)⁹

In order to overcome the architectural and the physical constraints of the high security F type prison system, the political prisoners were developing some methods. The basis of these methods was to organize a revolutionist life style. It is the main issue in rendering the environment to the prisoner’s favour. The interviewees told that the sustenance of the political prisoners is their ideological-political stance and their relationship with people, and so solidarity;

In the political imprisonment, the place does not matter. You may not decide on where they incarcerate you, whether in one-person cell or in a ward. The essence of the issue does not change as long as you decide on how you live. It does not matter at the point which you act consciously. (Zeki)¹⁰

They thought as if the walls do not exist. The other way is to continue intellectual production and draw colorful caricatures/pictures. Another way was to sing a song and anthem in front of a cell window. Some prisoners were making a request of some songs and the others were singing like a radio program, owing to resonate. Sykes (1965: 107) is right when he says that “A cohesive inmate society provides the prisoner with a meaningful social group with which he can identify himself and which will support him in his battles against his condemners-and thus the prisoner can at least in part escape the fearful isolation of the convicted offender”.

⁹ “Uzun süre mesela insanların içine çıkamadım. Bir yere kadar tek çıkamadım. Kafa çok karışık, konsantre olamıyorsun. Dışardasın ama inanmıyorsun... Mesela benim bi tanıdığım vardı, 32 yıl içerde kalmış. O da anlatıyordu; düz yoldan gidiyorum diyordu. Bi binanın etrafından dönüp aynı yere geliyorum diyordu. Volta şeyi varya, kafa şartlanmış artık.”

¹⁰ “Siyasi tutuklulukta mekanın çok önemi yok. Seni nerde yaşatacaklarına sen karar veremeyebilirsin. Tek kişilikte mi koğuşta mı. Nasıl yaşayacağına sen karar verdikten sonra işin özü değişmiyor. Sen bilinçli ve iradi davrandığın noktada çok önemi yok.”

In this regard, the discussions on common space and commons should be made reference to. Hardt and Negri (2009: 139) direct attention to common as dynamic. They express that the common is not only related with sharing the earth; but also it consists “the languages we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships, and so fourth”. In Rancière’s discussion, there is the notion of power. He describes common world as “a polemical distribution of modes of being and ‘occupations’ in a space of possibilities” (Rancière, 2006: 42). He makes a distinction between politics and police with regard to the notion of “space of possibilities”. “There are two major ways of symbolizing the community: one represents it as the sum of its parts, the other defines it as the division of its whole. One conceives it as the accomplishment of a common way of being, the other as a polemic over the common. I call the first police, the second politics” (Rancière, 2010: 100). While he uses the concept *consensus* in relation with the former, he interrelates the latter with *dissensus*.

Rancière argues consensus as a tool for management of the case of insecurity. He thinks that by the perception of insecurity, the states have opportunity to manage collective life. “Consensus, as a mode of government, says; it is perfectly fine for people to have different interests, values and aspirations, nevertheless there is one unique reality to which everything must be related.” (Rancière, 2010: 144). For the case of dissensus, which refers to politics, he argues that it questions the ‘natural’ order. Rancière claims that politics can invent new subjects who break with the police order. “Politics invents new forms of collective enunciation; it re-frames the given by inventing new ways of making sense of the sensible... new bodily capacities” (Ranciere, 2010: 139). He thinks that the community, as a politics, includes questioning and transformation of the meaning and the styles of living together.

Stavros Stavrides (2016) starts his discussion with the question whether people struggle against exploitation and unjust policies both by claiming their needs and by establishing a common life. He expresses that people share and perform values, habits and identities within the common world. Then, he defines commoning

practices as a creation of a new type of life-in-common. One of the characteristics of them is their possibility to establish social relations which go beyond the hegemonic patterns of sociality. The essential actions are to participate in a common world and to secure and reproduce the division between this world and the hostile one. “Homogenizing structures of beliefs and habits” are significant part of these actions (Stavrides, 2016: 32). Stavrides makes a distinction between a common world and a world of commoning. He states that the former may transform into the latter within the process of creation and reproduction of the homogenizing structures. The worlds of commoning is more than shared habits and beliefs. It is strictly about belonging and participating actively in designing of the rules. Harvey (2012: 73) also defines the common “as an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood”. The essential thing for commoning practice is a formation of collectivity and being non-commodified.

Then, Stavrides (2016: 7) describes the common space as “both a concrete product of collectively developed institutions of sharing and one of the crucial means through which these institutions take shape and shape those who shape them”. He divides the space into two; closed and open systems of common space. While there is specific perimeter and specific commoners’ community in the former; there is an opportunity of communication and interchange of ideas and goods through an open networks of commoners in the latter. Stavrides’ discussion is related with the prison community and culture in terms of both being active in a definite perimeter and aim of reaching to open networks. That is; the ward space resembles a closed common space. However, it should be added that the political prisoners carried out the commoning practices for the specific ideal; socialism and communism, as part of their ideological position.

Within this context, in the ward system, the political prisoners had an opportunity to participate and design the rules. Then, the ward became the common space and the society of the commoning. It was a place which gives a possibility to maintain the

collectivity and the commoning practices. The distinctive feature of political prisoners is the formation of ward communes, which will be discussed in the detail.

As Bargu (2014: 169-70) expresses;

it was collective life of political prisoners, their subjective experiences of deprivation, arbitrary violence, intrusion, on the one hand, and autonomy, solidarity, and equality through communism, on the other hand, that allowed the *production* of the prison wards into spaces of freedom within captivity.

In contrast with this situation, the transition from the wards to the cells brought about turning back to the condition of the “society of captives” (Sykes, 1965). Foucault (2007: 57) is right when he argues discipline divides places, individuals, and movements; classifies them; designs sequences between actions; regulates the processes of control; and “divides the normal from the abnormal”. For the last characteristic of discipline, the separation of the former from the latter, he expresses that the main point of disciplinary normalization is the norm. “I would rather say that what is involved in disciplinary techniques is a *normation* (*normation*) rather than normalization. Forgive the barbaric word, I use it to underline the primary and fundamental character of the norm” (2007: 57). Stavrides (2016: 15) also mentions about normalization process as a domination project; “a project that seeks to mould society’s subjects”; but he adds that “a complete and total normality cannot be imposed. Normalization will always have to deal with deviations and exceptions”.

When the architecture and the design of the high security F type prisons are thought, it is seen how discipline and *normation* work in reality. However, it is not mean that there is no exception or deviation in the new regime. When Steve Pile (1997) argues about the *geographies of resistance*, he says that space is produced by authority through breaking it into pieces, making differentiation between them, using of boundaries, and control. However, he also adds that this does not mean that “resistance is forever confined to the authorised spaces of domination” (1997: 3). He expresses that “resistance seeks to occupy, deploy and create alternative spatialities from those defined through oppression and exploitation” (1997: 3). He mentions that not only political struggles generate political subjectivities; but also people become

political by means of struggle spaces. Pile (1997: 27) states that “power seems to be everywhere, but wherever we look, power is open to gaps, tears, inconsistencies, ambivalences, possibilities for inversion, mimicry, parody and so on”.

This part was about on the one side of the reciprocal relationship expressed in the research question. The other side of the relationship will be mentioned by focusing on the external and internal factors on the prison culture. In the next section, how the political prisoners formed and maintained the common space and practices within the conditions of the ward system; and then how the space and practices changed after the transition period will be analyzed.

5.2 The External Impacts on the Prison Culture

5.2.1 The Economic and Political Context

Kadioğlu (2001: 7) interprets the “democratization” process of Turkey as based on; 1) the market logic; 2) the State which legitimizes itself through force. Su (2001) supports this argument by claiming that while the political power postpones the democratic reforms and the international signed documents; it puts into action the economic reforms which are suitable for the free market norms. The claims of Kadioğlu and Su can be clearly seen in the period after the 1980 coup d’etat. Turkey entered the effect of liberal economic policies with the January 24 Decisions, which were expressed as a prerequisite for democracy.

Tülin Öngen (2004) describes the aims of the Decisions as to render the local capital strength against labor and to being adapted of the politics to economic requirements. She adds that these aims were strictly related with the solution of the political leadership problem and on the permanent suppression of class movement in Turkey. In accordance with these purposes, the authoritative and oppressive regime was required. She expresses that the military seized the power in September 12/1980 by becoming *de facto* political representative of bourgeoisie. Yalman (2004) also argues

that the military regime gave priority to reassure foreign financial communities and local bourgeoisie of the structural adjustment program. He interprets the significant political and institutional changes of 1980s as “the restructuring of the State”. He defines the basis of new hegemony strategy, which accompanying with the restructuring process, as putting an end to classed-based politics. The discourse that people are interest-oriented individuals was developed and the significance of individual freedom was put forward.

In relation with this, Savran (2004: 30-31) argues about four components of a neoliberal program; 1) to decrease state intervention into market by deregulation, 2) privatization in order to minimize state activity in production, 3) privatization of social services, and 4) deunionization. He expresses the three obstacles which had an impact on putting the neoliberal program into practice in Turkey. The first one is the revitalization of class-based struggle at the end of 1980s and at the beginning of 1990s (‘89 Spring Actions, Mine Strike in Zonguldak, the foundation of KESK), which was supported by the leftist parties and professional associations like TMMOB and TTB. However, he adds that although large worker mass started to query all the system as a result of the cases of 1996 Susurluk, 1999 Gölcük Earthquake, and 2001 economic crisis; the revitalization could not transform into being an organized force in the political field. The second obstacle is the Kurdish movement, which means the consumption of the State’s sources in the economical level. He indicates that the Kurdish problem shortened life of the governments and brought about the bourgeoisie parties being shattered. The coalition governments were not successful to carry out the neoliberal program due to their unstable program and internal contradictions. Savran claims that the process of February 28/1997 was realized in order to solve the conflict between the two wings of bourgeoisie (Secular-Westernist and Islamist) for the benefit of Secular-Westernist part. By this process, the neoliberal measures were tried to put into practice. Savran (2004: 35) adds that the 2000 IMF program and prohibition of all large workers’ strike were the products of this effort.

The transformation of the prison system of Turkey coincides with this economic and political context. Paker (2001) mentions that the period of death fast struggle fall into the middle of the “regime” crisis; the Reminder (Andıç) case, the European Union Accession Partnership Document, the Armenian genocide law drafts in US and France, the side letters to IMF, starting of mass actions of workers against IMF policies, the repentance law, coming into light of the corruption in the banking system, the interference of the Turkish Army to North Iraq in order to destruct PKK. He expresses that many of these processes turned upside-down the endurance limits of the owner of traditional authoritative mentality and of the State.

Besides, May 1/1996 was one of the significant dates in terms of; 1) the perception of the community towards the leftist movement, and 2) the division among the leftist movement. For the former case, Laçiner (1996) argues that the “strike it rich” understanding of the 1980s caused some sections of the community to position as “extra societal”. With the ‘90s, these sections started to be in interaction with “radical” groups which composed of some tendencies in the Islamist movement and also the leftist organizations which defend armed struggle. He says that, in May 1/1996, we witnessed to mass spring of the latter. It was seen that the “rising power” of suburbs tend towards the outlawed leftist groups. For the latter case, Kara (1996) argues that, in that day, the leftist movement confronted with deep division in terms of political, ideological, social, and cultural dimensions. On the one hand, there was revolutionist left of the “suburbs”; and on the other hand, there was metropolitan “libertarian” left. This was the situation which the leftist political organizations in. Within this context, it is necessary to view the conditions of the organizations in the prisons.

Meryem Erdal (2000) claims that there are three features which gave way to the prison policy of the State. The first one is the creation of “the law of circular letter”. Although there are the criminal execution law and the prison charter; the circular letters direct the prison implementations. She asserts that they set ground for the practices which vary according to the period/individual/place. Also, Kaptanoğlu (2000) sees them as an effort in order to consolidate the State’s authority. He claims

that the circular letters were not effectual as it was expected; so this directed the State to regenerate of Bentham's panopticon within the frame of technological developments and "cultural characteristics". The second one is the cooperation of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of National Security. Erdal (2000) expresses that this cooperation caused to hide poor implementations. The third one is the method of "devote one, imprison two". In the years 1991 and 2000, both the Law was announced and the conditional release was carried out for some prisoners. At this point, the statement of Canetti (1973: 298) corresponds with the situation; "An act of mercy is a very high and concentrated expression of power, for it presupposes condemnation. There can be no mercy unless there has first been condemnation".

The high security F type prison system became legal with 3173 Numbered Anti-Terror Law which was entered into force in April 12/1991. It was stated that the prisoners who imprisoned within the context of Anti-Terror Law would imprison in the prisons which are designed as one and three-person cell. Beside these prisoners, people who are accused of within the scope 4422 Numbered Prevention of Benefit-Oriented Criminal Organization Law would also imprison in the new type of prisons. It is seen that the laws brought about an imprisonment based on the accusation type, which was never practiced before.

Within this context, the reason of the change should be questioned in relation with Durkheim's concept of common conscience. When Durkheim (1984) defines the function of state, he emphasizes on protection of conscience collective against enemies within country. It can be said that, by these laws, people who sentenced for political thoughts and actions and who imprisoned for an organized crime are accepted as out of "average member" status and are announced as an enemy of the society. Kaptanoğlu (2000) expresses that the Turkish State sees the political prisoners within the context of "the enemy concept". There is no place for objectivity, neutrality and legal relation towards the ones who commit an offence against it. However, Sykes (1965: 14) is right when he expresses that "we must not view the prison as a machine which simply and automatically translates the dictates

of society into action”. He draws attention that the prison officials make choice among various means; so he says that the basis of their choice must be examined. The similar statement can be claimed for choices of the State that it does not directly carry out society’s demands into action. Therefore, the significance of these laws lies in their date of introduction and practice. As Durkheim mentions, it can be asserted that the State enhanced the severity of the two specific crimes depending on the economic and political context of the country.

Jacobs (1983) is right in his argument that political and social movements outside have an impact on an internal structure of prisons. Its reflection can be seen in the case of the political prisoners of Turkey. These prisoners follow the country agenda and make an analysis of the crises which the State faced with. During the field research, the cases which had influence on the prison life were asked. They mentioned about mainly five incidents; the worker’s strikes, 1995 Gazi Neighborhood case, 1996 Susurluk case, 1999 Gölcük Earthquake, and 2000 IMF program. It is seen that the points which were mentioned by Savran got reaction also from the prisons.

Related with the worker’s strikes, political prisoners mentioned that they prevented a roll-call and staged a short-term hunger strike. In the ward system, they could follow the cases from TV channels and newspapers; however, they were also worrying for not being able to interpose to the situation. For the case of Gazi Neighborhood, political prisoners organized protests and resisted in the prisons;

There, we watched the Gazi resistance with tearing heart out. We wrote articles about the issue, organized protests, prevented a roll-call... We wanted to bore the State also from the prisons. (Mahir)¹¹

For Susurluk case, the political prisoners thought about what they could do against this incident. One of the groups decided to adjust the propaganda which was realized outside to the inside;

¹¹ “Orada, içimiz yana yana Gazi direnişini izledik. Ona dönük yazılar yazdık, eylemler yaptık, sayım vermedik... Devleti bir de oradan bunaltmak istedik.”

Propaganda is realized outside by going to houses, workplaces, and coffehouses. Leaflets are distributed. We said that we adjust the same actions to the inside. There were street protests; for instance. They (the prisoners) created marks reaching up to the administration as ‘goes to Susurluk’; because Susurluk equals to the administration there. (Hüseyin)¹²

The interviewees asserted that, during the days after the earthquake, they felt themselves as desperate; because they wanted to donate blood for people who experienced the earthquake; but, as they told, the Ministry of Justice did not allow for the donation. For this reason, prisoners decided to support the community financially; so they tried to collect money among themselves;

We wanted to donate blood; but the State did not accept on the grounds that it is blood of a terrorist. We organized a smoking cessation campaign for a month in order to collect more money. We were shattered. (Mahir)¹³

The final case was the IMF program which can be accepted as the most influential case for the political prisoners. The 17.Stand-by Agreement between the State and IMF was realized in January/2000. It was argued that it was a sign that the society would get in an economical bind. In those days, the state officials made statements on the prison system by giving reference to the agreement. The clearest one was the statement of Bülent Ecevit. He expressed that “In order to carry out the IMF policies, it is needed to dominate the outside; and in order to dominate the outside, we should dominate the prisons”¹⁴. The Minister of Internal Affairs, Sadettin Tantan claimed that if the hegemony cannot being realized in prisons, the hegemony of law cannot be ensured in the country. In January, the symposium was organized that was titled as *The Symposium of Execution of Punishment towards 21th Century*. In the meeting, Hikmet Sami Türk (2001: 3) stated that, in the ward;

¹² “Dışarda insanların evlerine, işyerlerine, kahvelere gidilip propoganda yapılıyor. Bildiri veriliyor. Biz onun aynısını içerde uyarlayalım dedik. Sokak eylemleri var mesela. “Susurluk’a gider” diye ok yapmışlar, idareye kadar gidiyor bu; çünkü orda Susurluk eşittir idare.”

¹³ “Kan vermek istedik; Devlet kabul etmedi terörist kanı diye. 1 ay sigara bırakma kampanyası düzenledik daha fazla para toplayabilmek için. Canımız çıktı.”

¹⁴ “IMF politikalarını hayata geçirebilmek için sokağa, sokağa hakim olabilmek için ise cezaevlerine hakim olmalıyız.”

...the terrorist or organized crime groups can find opportunity to maintain their dominance... The imprisoned criminal goes out by learning further styles of crime... Therefore, as is, it is clear that the reformatory function of prison is over by the ward system.¹⁵

It was asserted that the State wants to reintegrate prisoners into society and prisoners should live in a way which complies with human dignity. In the final point, the state officials saw the solution in the transformation of the prison system. Two of the asserted ideas are that prisons are the source of terror and there is a pressure of political group leaders on prisoners (Ertosun, 2001).

It can be claimed that the State needs a bureaucratic administration in order to suppress opposition groups and to manage the prison culture, which was not really possible in the ward system. Therefore, Weber (1964: 337) seems right when he expresses that “for the need of mass administration today, it is completely indispensable. The choice is only that between bureaucracy and dilletantism in the field of administration”. Goffman (1961: 6) also agrees this idea by saying that the key fact of total institutions is “the handling of many human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people”. Related with the dilemma of the State, Foucault (1991) claims that if the function of prison is described as reducing crime rate or removing of illegalities; then it should be accepted that this function failed. He expresses that “Penalty would then appear to be a way of handling illegalities, of laying down the limits of tolerance, of giving free rein to some, of putting pressure on others, of excluding a particular section, of making another useful, of neutralizing certain individuals, and of profiting from others” (1991: 272). Therefore, Foucault is right when he interprets the failure of prison system as a tactic. In this regard, it should be claimed that the State could not handle with illegalities by the ward system which refers to also failure of the tactic. In order to restore its tactic and so to handle with opposition groups, the State tried to increase its authority and a fear of the prison by altering the architectural design and

¹⁵ “...terör örgütleri ya da mafya tipi suç örgütleri, kendi egemenliklerini sürdürmek olanağını bulabilmektedir... Cezaevine giren bir suçlu, oradan işlediği suçun daha ileri biçimlerini öğrenerek çıkıyor... Dolayısıyla bu haliyle koğuş sistemiyle cezaevlerinin ıslah edici fonksiyonunun kalmadığı açıktır.”

bureaucratic administration; by transition to high security F type prison system; by separating prisoners into isolated small groups.

5.2.2 The Period of Intense Contradiction

As from January, the Ministry of Justice organized meetings with the institutions and journalists in order to introduce the F type prisons. In the media, the new prisons were shown like a five-star hotel and a duplex apartment. Ali told that six months before the December 19 Operation, men in suits started to go up to the towers of Bayrampaşa and they took photos. Thereupon, the political prisoners understood that the State would carry out the operation; but they were not sure when it would realize. In addition, he told that, at that period, toy guns, which were used in a theater play, were exhibited by the State as a real long barreled weapon. The State was saying consistently that political organizations were administered from the prisons. These claims were used to legitimize the transformation in the eyes of the public. However, in those days, both the manner of the State and the design of F types were criticized by the TMMOB, the TTB, and the TBB. They expressed that the State did not consult them in the transition process, which should be legal and clear. According to these organizations, the academic opinion and relieving public conscience should be essential parts of the transformation period.

Beside these organizations, when the deputy of the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi) Mehmet Bekaroğlu visited these prisons, he interpreted the dominant understanding of the cell system as the understanding of a jailer who does not have any rule. In July and August, the opposition against the new prison system extended and there were protest almost everywhere in the country. The Intellectual Initiative was formed in order to ensure the negotiations between the State and the political prisoners. In October, the Initiative made a public statement and expressed that, by the new system; it was intended to dehumanize and to force political prisoners to a submission, on the pretext of treatment.

The interviewees mentioned that, in the last one year, all discussions were on what the attitude of political prisoners should be in the case of transition. All prisoners agreed that the response should be resistance; however, how, when and where the resistance should start was a matter of debate among the political prisoners;

In our educational studies, we gave priority to discussions on how the process of F type would be met. Forms of action were discussed. The persistence of the State was seen. We understood that we cannot bring anything against the State, except for revolutionist persistence. At this point, the tradition should be created; so as when it mentions on F types, the State cannot narrate this history by skipping over the heroism of revolutionists. (Mahir)¹⁶

In the final stage, there was fragmented stance among the organizations; on the one side there were three political groups (DHKP-C, TKP (ML), and TKİP); and on the other side there were eight (MLKP, TKP-ML, TDP, MLSPB, Direniş Hareketi, Devrimci Yol, TİKB, TKP/Kıvılcım). The former decided to start death fast struggle before the transition. Zeki expressed their decision as that there is no chance to make public statement or to announce prisoners' voice. There was no field that can be used for them. Therefore, prisoners thought that they had to risk their body and to start hunger strike and death fast struggle. The other eight fractions thought that they would start the death fast if the transition realizes; "We said that if we go to the F type, then we would start, in the case of having no alternative". (Hasan)¹⁷

In October, the first group declared that they started to indefinite hunger strike. They added that this action may transform to death fast struggle in due course. By this declaration, 816 political prisoners started to hunger strike in country-wide prisons in October 20/2000 (Sevimli, 2010: 51). Three of the demands of the prisoners were; 1) F type prisons, which are under construction, should be closed down; 2) 3713 Numbered Anti-Terror Law should be repealed with all of its consequences; 3) "The

¹⁶ "Eğitim çalışmalarında buna ağırlık verdik; F tipi süreci nasıl karşılanacak. Eylem biçimleri tartışıldı. Devletin kararlılığı görüldü. Karşısına devrimci kararlılıktan başka bir şey çıkaramayacağımızı anladık. Burada bir gelenek yaratılmalıydı; ki Devlet birgün F tipleri tarihini anlatmaya kalktığında devrimcilerin kahramanlıklarının üzerinden atlayarak o tarihi anlatmaz."

¹⁷ "Eğer F tipine gidersek orda ölüm orucuna başlayalım dedik. Başka bi alternatifimiz kalmazsa o zaman başlayalım."

Triad Protocol”, which was signed by the Ministry of Justice, of Internal Affairs, and of Health, should be rescinded (Sevimli, 2010: 50).

Related with the decision of hunger strike and death fast struggle, McEvoy (2001) claims that these actions seem a strategic and rational tactic in the condition that alternatives narrowed. He states that “In the reduced environment of captivity where the weapons of the weak (Mathiesen, 1965) are few, the residual control over one’s own body becomes a crucial locus of resistance” (2001: 83). The hunger strike means the possibility of reversal and redirection of power. He expresses that, by hunger strike, prisoners offer to critique the taken-for-granted legitimacy of the authorities and they “fractured the apparent dominance of a ‘total institution’” (2001: 105). Banu Bargu (2014: 27) interpreted these actions not as “weapons of the weak”, but rather as “a negative form of biopolitical struggles, based not on the affirmation of life but its willful destruction”.

After the political prisoners declared their demands, Hikmet Sami Türk addressed a speech and said that this action would not work and the construction of F types is by the operation of law; so the Government has to enforce this law. However, the hunger strike was transformed into death fast struggle in November 19. In addition, beside the prisoners, some of the families started to indefinite hunger strike. Apart from that, the public demonstration with a broad participation was organized in Ankara against transition to F type prisons on 25th of November. Then, in the media, the opinion which F type prison is a problematical environment and it is against human rights started to emerge. As a result of the formation of public opinion, in December 9, the Ministry of Justice declared a postponement of the transition. The day after, the Vice General Director of GDPDH Yılmaz Sağlam expressed that if the public expectation is in this direction, F types may not open.

In the same day, December 10/2000, the second group of prisoners started to indefinite hunger strike. However, the next day, in December 11, TKP(ML) raked the police bus with gun; two police officers lost their life and 11 police got injured. The next day, the police organized a public demonstration in Istanbul;

...unprecedented in the history of the republic, over two thousand members of the riot police (Çevik Kuvvet) marched in protest against poor weapons, low pay, and the restrictive laws on the use of weaponry that allegedly tied their hands against 'terrorist attacks' (Bargu, 2014: 136).

After this day, the negotiations between the State and the prisoners came to a stopping point. Onur asserted that the State tried to create a perception as 'The State does all it can do; but revolutionists insist upon their actions and they are not pro-agreement'. Elif also expressed that the State said to the supporters of the prisoners that 'they want to die in any case'. The Minister of Justice told that the agreement would realize only in the case of accepting the "room system".

From the discourses of the State officials, the political prisoners became aware that the operation would be the severe and multidimensional one; so they prepared gas masks and gave each other some stuff as a souvenir; "One friend martyred next to me. The things left behind her were sugar cubes, chewing gums, and her watch. They are still with me". (Burcu)¹⁸

In December 18, the Prime Minister, the Vice Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, and the Minister of Internal Affairs hold a meeting. In December 19, at 04.00 o'clock, the simultaneous operation started in 20 prisons. At this point, it is necessary to listen that night from the perspective of the interviewee;

The day before, I was spotter. The window of the administration was looking to our yard. I felt that we were being watched from there. Also, a few days ago, they (the officials) started to walk about on the roof equivocally; so to say it was for repairing the roof. However, the men did not seem as a roofer... That night, we woke up with the voice; "Friends, we are under attack!". With this voice, we were started to be raked, windows were raked. At that moment, we started to construct a barricade and switched on the news... The call was made that if you give in, nothing will done. Kurdish friends were in the upper ward and they took a decision before; in the case of operation, they would give in. However women friends were saying that this is not our decision and they went tearfully due to centrally took decision... When we went to the side of men, we saw that there were many wounded; in a welter of blood. Sanitarian friends were formed medical team... The voice of heavy construction equipment started to be heard. We were in malta with both male and female prisoners singing the Australia Worker Anthem. I still cannot sing it you know; I cry during listening. They

¹⁸ "Yanımda bir arkadaş şehit düştü. Ondan kalan küp şekerler vardı, bir de dandini sakızları vardı, saat. Onlar hala durur bende."

(the soldiers) pinpointed on us with lights like laser light. After a while they started to shoot; being shot from neck, ear, belly... On the fourth day, we went out. (Bahar)¹⁹

The Prime Minister, Bülent Ecevit, interpreted the operation as saving the terrorists from their own terrorism. When this statement and the name of the Operation (Return to Life) is thought together; Baker (2001) is right. He claims that, in the discipline society, the judge can say that “it is not a prison” and s/he adds “we do not punish; in fact, the thing we do is to recover, to reintegrate into the society, and to cure”. Then, Baker states that it can be asked why other institutions exist which exist for treatment. On the contrary to Ecevit’s statement, within the same day, Hikmet Sami Türk declared that the main aim is not to end the death fast, but rather to retain the authority of the State. As Güçlü Sevimli (2010) expressed, the operations were carried out by National Security Council and Turkish Armed Forces. That is; there was consensus of the Government, the opposition parties, and NSC; therefore, it can be claimed that the operation was performed by the State.

The statement of the interviewee and the statements of the State officials prove Weber’s definition of the state. It is the State who “monopolize the legitimate use of physical force” (Weber, 1946 : 83). As in the cases of the transition period, it was not allowed prisoners to continue death fast struggle which probably resulted in prisoners’ death. Rather, the State chose to carry out an operation at the risk of prisoners’ death. Foucault’s discussion on the difference between sovereign power and biopower is necessary to mention in this point. He mentions that while the right

¹⁹ “Bir gün öncesi ben nöbetçi idim. Ve idarenin camları bizim avluya bakıyordu. Ordan izlendiğimizi hissetmişim. Gerçekten de izleniyormuşuz. Birkaç gün öncesinde şüpheli bi şekilde çatılarda dolanmaya başladılar güya çatı aktarımı içinmiş. Ama hiç çatı aktarıcı tipi yoktu adamlarda... Arkadaşlar saldırı var diye uyandık. O sesi duymamızla biz taranmaya başladık zaten camlarımız tarandı. O an barikatı kurmaya başladık, hemen haberleri açtık. Kürt arkadaşlar bizim bir üst taraftaki koğuşta idiler. Onlar şey kararı almışlar böyle bişey olursa teslim olma kararı almışlar. Ama kadın arkadaşlar şöyleydi; bu bizim kararımız değil. Merkezi bi karar olduğu için ağlaya ağlaya gittilerini biliyorum. Şey çağrısı yapılmıştı teslim olursanız hiçbir şey olmayacak diye... Erkeklerin tarafına geçtiğimizde durum daha farklı çünkü bi sürü yaralı olduğunu gördük. Kan revan. Sağlıkçı arkadaşlar sağlık ekibi oluşturdular... İş makinalarının sesi de duyulmaya başladı. Maltadayız kadınlı erkekli Avusturalya İşçi Marşı söyleniyor. Ben hala onları söyleyemem biliyor musun, dinlerken de ağlarım yani. Lazer ışıkları gibi ışıklarla üzerimize nokta atışı yaptılar. Bi süre sonra ateş etmeye başladılar Boynundan, kulağından, karnından vurulan... 4. Gün iş makinalarının duvarı delmek üzere olduğunu şey yaptık. Sonra bi anda noldu bilmiyorum. Sadece şeyi hatırlıyorum birileri bize bi maske verdi el yapımı bi maske. İç organlarım ağzımdan çıkacak gibi oluyordu. İnsanlar derisini soymak istiyor o kadar nefessiz kalıyorsun ki. Sonra dışarı çıktık.”

of the sovereign power is “to take life or let live”; the right of the biopower is “to make live and let die” (2003: 241). He claims that there is transition from the former to the latter. However, Bargu (2014: 26) criticizes this point by saying that “not only that sovereignty continues to be prominent, but also that it refounds and installs itself in new, albeit contingent, configurations based on the fertilization and mutual interpenetration of sovereign tactics with biopolitical tools of government.” Although Foucault told, for the sovereign power, that “Killing” does not mean murder, but “exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people... political death, expulsion, rejection” (2003: 256); Bargu’s claim is valid; because the State still exposed prisoners to death as in the cases of transition to F type prison system in Turkey.

5.2.3 The Period After the Operation

The interviewees expressed that the December 19 was one of the steps in suppressing the public opposition. As Zeki interpreted that, by the operation, the State implied “This person is in political struggle and look what happened to him/her! Don’t you dare!”. Then, through the interviewees’ claim on the regression of public opposition after the 2000s; it can be seen that there is moral and social significance of punishment (Garland, 1991: 123). Besides the regression, the interviewees claimed that they forced the boundaries of the State with their actions during the transition process to the new prison regime. That is; they think that even if they could not success to stop the architectural transformation; they did not give up the struggle against the State in order to maintain the status of political prisoner and the political prison culture. The new prison administration cannot be thought as independent from the State which is tried to destroy prisoners’ status and culture, as Pinar explained;

The prison administration does not act as independent from the political power. Policies are determined centrally. They carry out policies which are designated by the political power... The logic of F type is to prevent collective behavior and to force the

prisoners accepting which was imposed by dividing them into small groups. However, in due course, prisoners found the ways for collective action.²⁰

Mahir said that there was an intense emotional ambience. He expressed that when the struggle became intensified against the State, the weak points of the prisoners emerged; however, he added that people, who were hazy about the struggle, became bent upon. There are many ways of resistance for prisoners. One of the resistance ways is explained by Elif;

For example; they could not carry out a roll-call by forcing prisoners to stand up and to get in line. They had a plan for a uniform. But it was reacted and they could not put it into practice; because, prisoners were resisting in multidimensional ways.²¹

After the operation, prisoners continued the death fast struggle. Diyar expressed that, in the prison, even the ideologically conflicted political organizations accompanied with each other in those days. However, the situation outside of the prisons was different. The organizations were criticizing each other's political manner in their publications. Before the Operation, ÖDP saw the statement of the Ministry of Justice on postponement of the transition to F type prisons as sufficient and the party wanted the prisoners to end the death fast. SİP did not want to let death fast mothers in their party buildings. The party leader also interpreted the operation as "the discharge of lack of politics" (as cited in Poyraz, 2001). In the newspaper Evrensel, the action is evaluated as a petit bourgeois leftism and as not being related with the struggle of working class (Özgür, 2000).

DHKP-C uses the term "Feda" (Sacrifice) for describing the period of death fast. This term generated from the notes of two prisoners; Gülnihal Yılmaz and Fatma Tokay Köse. During the action period, they started to write a book on the prison

²⁰ "Hapishane idaresi genel siyasi idareden bağımsız hareket etmiyor. Politikalar merkezi olarak belirleniyor. Siyasi iktidar ne tür uygulamalar getiriyorsa onu uyguluyorlar... F tiplerinin bir mantığı da bu aslında insanları küçük gruplara bölerek onların ortak hareket etmesini engellemek ve kendisine dayatılanı kabul etmeye zorlamak. Ama yıllar içerisinde tutsaklar ortak hareket etmenin yollarını buldular."

²¹ "Mesela ayakta sayım verme hizaya geçerek sayım verme gibi şeyleri hiç işletemediler. Tek tip elbise niyetleri vardı ama korkunç bi tepkiyle karşılandı ve uygulamaya sokamadılar. Direniş çok boyutlu olduğu için."

resistance and the people who lost their life during December 19-22/2000 period (Köse and Yılmaz, 2003). Besides, the party criticized the calls for ending up the action; they stated that the decision belong to the death fasters. They argued on the politics of other political parties and also of İHD by claiming that it broke the resistance (“Avrupa Şemsiyesinde”, 2001). They claimed that the leftist movement is divided into four category; 1) the death fast struggle, 2) the revolutionist politics stayed out of both the death fast and reformism, 3) legal parties, 4) Kurdish Nationalist Movement (“Solda Birlik”, 2001).

The Kurdish movement evaluated the struggle in their publications. They asserted that it was illegal and inhuman what the State did; but this situation was also caused by self-exaggeration of the left and also its planlessness. They expressed that it is not proper to see the mistakes of the one side and not to see the other’s fault. They criticized the political parties by claiming that they were sitting on DHKP-C’s tail with the logic of not falling behind the leftist competition. It is stated that many people outside do not have the demands which declared by the prisoners. Therefore, they thought that the demands were not just and realist (Serxwebun, 2001). Abdullah Öcalan also mentioned that the cases in prisons were not consistent revolutionist resistance and they exhibited their difference from the other political parties within the process (as cited in “Katliam, Direniş ve PKK”, 2001).

In fact, in January 3/2001, seven political groups converted the hunger strike to death fast struggle. That is; 11 political organizations in total were maintaining the action. In May 28/2002, eight organizations declared that they ended to the death fast. Yılmaz (2013) thinks that, after this declaration, the differences between DHKP-C and other parties became clear. He expresses that the former is evaluated with both antipathy and “imperative respect” by the latter. Kara (2008) says that the revolutionist movement, except the one, did not see the resistance against F type prisons as the part of an active and primary political agenda. Yılmaz (2013) asserts that although the leftist organizations continue their power in specific neighborhoods such as Okmeydanı and Gazi; the socialist left movement became ineffective throughout the country. DHKP-C was the last organization that finished the death

fast in January 27/2007. They announced their indefinite break to death fast on the basis of 45/1 Numbered Notice of the Ministry of Justice. This notice was about an increase of the hours of common use areas, which is not practiced today, in the F type prisons. The party interprets the Notice as a triumph.

At the end of seven years of death fast, 122 people lost their life and 600 people became disabled. The discrepancies between the politics of the outlawed leftist parties deepened and the political culture diversified. In the next section, the relationship between the organizations in the prison environment will be mentioned, based on the period both before and after the Operation. It is necessary to argue about the prison regulations and prisoners' reactions in order to see the significance of the internal dynamics.

5.3 The Internal Dynamics on the Prison Culture

5.3.1 The Daily Routine of the Prisoners

Among the interviewees, the duration of imprisonment varies from three to sixteen years in total. While one interviewee imprisoned for three and a half months in the ward system; the other was sentenced for fourteen years which depends on the accusation type. In addition, the shortest incarceration period was one year; while the longest one was eight years in the cell system. Although the period changes; it seems from the responses that the adaption of the prison culture remains the same. It cannot be claimed that the duration of imprisonment is the significant factor of political prisoners' prisonization process, which Clemmer (1940) discusses. Political prisoners could easily adapt behaviors, attitudes, rules and norms which are created by the prisoners themselves, whether the period is short or long. That is; the period of imprisonment is significant not for transformation of behaviors as appropriate to the prison culture, but rather it ensures the progress and intensification of the attitudes and behaviors which are pre-existing before imprisonment.

It is seen that the culture of political prisoners cannot be thought as separated from the pre-prison experiences; because this is the culture which is based on ideological accumulation before the imprisonment period. Therefore, it can be claimed that the prisonization process of the political prisoners related with the other factors like a prisoner's personality, a connection with groups in prisons, a relationship with outside, and a living place in prison, which are also discussed by Clemmer.

At this point, it should be noted that, for the scope of the thesis, the term *prisonization* is not used in relation with negative connotations which Clemmer (1940) uses, like deepening of criminality or anti-sociality. Also, it is not the process which Terence Morris and Pauline Morris (1963: 169) argue as "the continuous and systematic destruction of the psyche" and as adaption of inappropriate attitudes for normal social role. In fact, the political prisoners try to protect their psyche and identity through the values and norms which are included in the prison culture. Therefore, the process of political prisoners' prisonization cannot be thought associated with negative connotations.

First of all, the responses on the daily routine of the political prisoners should be analyzed in order to understand how the prisonization process realized without negative connotations. All the interviewees agreed that there was the specific order which the political prisoners created. Everybody was waking up before the roll-call time. According to the decision of the commune, nobody should with sleepwear or in bleary eyed. Therefore, the waking hour was between 06.30 and 07.00 in the ward system. The yard's door was opened at almost 08.00 in the morning and being closed at dark.

After the doors opened, the prisoners, who want to make an exercise, were using te yard for this activity in order to improve their physical and psychological health. The meals were prepared by the prisoners themselves. For this reason, there were people who were on duty for the day. They were responsible for making food and washing up the dishes. After the breakfast, they were starting to study collectively or individually. Prisoners were holding a meeting for commenting on the country's

agenda or were studying on Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism until the lunch time. They were thinking on what these people argue and how the prisoners could interpret these discussions. Beside these theoretical discussions, the female prisoners stated that they were reading the articles on the issue of woman.

At almost 13.00 o'clock, they were making lunch collectively. After the lunch, the silence time was starting for studying, reading, or producing texts until 17.00. Then, they had free time for an hour for football and volleyball match or having a talk and pacing up-down in the yard together. Free time was ended by incoming the guardians for the roll-call, which was almost 18.00 at winter; and 20.00 at summer. After the dinner time, the prisoners were watching a film or a newscast, which was again decided collectively. After these collective activities, they were doing what they want, like watching television, playing chess, or making arrangements for the next day's study. There was no strict time for bed; however, all prisoners should wake up on time in next day. Also, as part of their daily routine, they were cleaning the ward and toilets. When the entire daily activities are thought, the remarkable thing is that there was no time to get bored; "Be sure, you are more engage in cultural and art activities in the ward system than the outside society. These are the activities that make me myself". (Bahar)²²

The significance of the statements of Crewe and McEvoy can be seen in the organization of this daily routine. As Crewe discusses, political views seem to "bind prisoners into organized and purposeful action, particularly when reinforced through support in a wider social or ideological community" (Crewe, 2007: 141). McEvoy (2001) states that the formation of community in prison is easier when prisoners share an ideological and political base and also are organized in political organizations with structures of command. It can be seen that the interviewees organize their daily life consciously and this life do not contain anti-sociality or

²² "Emin ol, dışardakinden daha fazla kültür-sanat faaliyeti içinde oluyorsun koğuş sisteminde. Benim ben olmamı sağlayan şeyler bunlar."

destruction of psyche. In this context, the prisonization process which is defined with negative connotations seem not appropriate for the political prisoners.

After transition to F type prison system, the program of prisoners had to vary from cell to cell. However, the political prisoners were waking up in the same hour and pacing up-down, even in the condition of the death fast struggle, in order to keep their memory alive, like in the ward system. The roll-call time was again at around 08.00 in the morning; so, the prisoners wake up early. The interviewees said that they were again getting ready for the roll-call; because, during the process of death fast struggle, if the officials saw them in their bed, then they were trying to take the prisoner to the hospital in order to end up the struggle. Therefore, prisoners were waking up before the officials come in.

When the guardians came, they were also opening the yard's door. In opposite to the ward system, the meals were given by the prison administration. They stated that the communication between the cells was starting at almost 09.00 o'clock via manholes on the ground and paper-made balls. One of the interviewees told that they started to communicate with each other after getting out of shock of the Operation. The balls are kind of letter created by the political prisoners from a paper and a part of plastic bottle. Beside these balls, there is another method for helping each other that was called as heavy cargo. It refers to send an excess amount of tea, sugar, and cigarette, inside of the five liters bottles from one yard to the other where these requisites were needed. The interviewees said that communication and cooperation had continued throughout the day at the beginnings. Therefore, they determined specific time interval for these activities. Apart from that, the former prisoners told that the days and nights were generally elapsing with sleeping, eating, writing and reading. The prominent thing is that the daily routine was organized individually in the cell system. In fact, they said that, by the transition from the ward to the cell, it was also intended to dissolve the programmed daily life of the political prisoners.

All in all, when the prisoners were transferred to the new system, the entire program of the daily routine changed although the ideological and social community continue

to exist. It can be said that McEvoy's (2001) and Crewe's (2007) emphasis on political and ideological base is significant, but this base is not sufficient for organization of community; because it can be claimed that the reason of the change in the daily routine stems from not being able to organize, due to architectural features of the prison. Therefore, it is difficult to mention about collectively programmed daily activities in the F type prison system. Besides the architecture, the continuing death fast struggle and hunger strike had also influence on the daily routine.

5.3.2 The Relation with the Prison Administration

The reasons of the prisonization process can be seen in the responses on relation with the prison administration. The question was necessary in order to grasp the influence of the prison regulation on creation of political prisoner culture. The interviewees stated that the relation differed from prison to prison; and also from time to time. Diyar explained the reason of the difference with the political prisoners' profile and the manner of administration. He claimed that there is logic in prisons; the sovereign power always wants to prisoners engage in little things. He expressed that if you engage in little things, then you have to overlook more significant ones. He gave an example that if you do not have tea, you protest for tea. He asserted that the prisons in rural areas are always in poorer conditions; so prisoners have to struggle for improvement of conditions. However, Bayrampaşa Prison is the place where more conscious political cadres are imprisoned; therefore its conditions are better.

Although there is difference in prison conditions and in administration's attitudes, it can be claimed that there was the tensionless relationship between the administration and the political prisoners in the ward system. Beside the administration, the relation with the guardians was compatible to some extent. As Hasan mentioned;

We are like friends with some of the guardians. There were guardians who were even reading publication (political journal). There were the ones who ensured communication with the outside.²³

The interviewees mentioned the difference in attitudes of soldiers who were responsible for external security and of guardians who were responsible for an interior one. While the former was more strident, the latter was more affirmative. For instance; they indicated that if there would be a new regulation, some of the guardians were informing them in advance. The interviewees told that because of knowing this relation, the State aimed to put an end to this interaction by changing guardians time to time.

For the political prisoners, the significant thing in this relation is to be unified against the administration and officials; therefore the connection with the administration was realized through the commune representatives. There were specific people who were determined by the commune and represented it. Every fraction had its own commune and, above of them, there was the Central Coordination of Prisons which was formed in the death fast period of 1996 (Bargu, 2014: 186) and which should be composed at least three people. This committee was tasked with conveying problems and needs of the political prisoners to the prison administration. In case of necessity, the prisoners were able to connect with the officials individually; however, the interviewees stated that this situation was rarely occurred. By the formation of the Coordination, Mahir said;

In the ward system, the recognition of revolutionary willpower was intended to tell to the prison administration. Their tendency was getting in contact on an individual basis while we impose them that we are a political organization; there is hierarchical structure and you should deal with the organizational structure. (Mahir)²⁴

McEvoy (2001) mentions on the similar structure of paramilitary prisoners who have their responsibilities, support structures, norms and values, and hierarchies. Also,

²³ “Gardiyanların bi kısmıyla arkadaş gibiydik. Yayın okuyanlar bile vardı. Dışarıyla iletişimizi sağlayanlar vardı.”

²⁴ “Koğuş sisteminde hapishane idaresine anlatmak istediğimiz şey devrimci idarenin tanınmasıydı. Onların yönelimi tek tek bireylerle iletişime geçmek bizim onlara dayattığımız şey biz bir örgütüz bizim hiyerarşik bir yapımız var örgütsel yapıyı muhatap almalısın.”

Foucault (1980: 59) says that “In order to be able to fight a State which is more than just a government, the revolutionary movement must possess equivalent politico-military forces and hence must constitute itself as a party, organized internally in the same way as a State apparatus with the same mechanisms of hierarchies and organization of powers”. When it is thought that political prisoners are imprisoned based upon their ideological and political struggle against the state; this hierarchical structure is indispensable for political prisoners, as McEvoy and Foucault argue.

It can be asserted that the transition to new system brought about the change in attitudes and behaviors of both prison administration and guardians. One of the significant change realized in the way of communication with the administration. Unlike the ward system, the role of prison administration was carried out by the prison guards. They were the only ones who the prisoners can interact with. When a prisoner had a problem, s/he should tell it to guardians at first. If a guard decide to recruit, then s/he conveys it to an administration. Onur explained the situation as;

First of all, you should be able to express the problem to that person. His duty was like a filter. Depending on a cultural background of a person, he may say ‘never mind’. It was arbitrary.²⁵

In this changing relationship, the huge and formal social distance between the two groups can be seen. As Goffman (1961: 7) argues, each group tends to see the other as hostile; “...staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending, highhanded, and mean”. He argues that, in total institutions, inmates do not have knowledge of the official’s plans and decisions about him/her. He says that an exclusion of inmates from knowledge gives officials a basis of control over inmates. The interviewees mentioned the similar conditions in the F type prison system. On the part of the political prisoners, still there were representatives of the communes; however, as the interviewees mentioned, the administration did not get into touch with them perseveringly; so, the prisoners has to communicate with the officials individually.

²⁵ “O kişiye önce bir sorununu anlatabilmen gerekiyor. Filtre görevi görüyordu. Ordaki kişinin kültürel birikimi neyse; ya boşver de diyebilirdi sana. Biraz daha keyfi idi.”

The interviewees stated that, especially in the beginning stages, they confronted with severe violence, torture, and violation of rights. In fact, one of the interviewees mentioned on his doubt that they may not be a guardian; but rather a member of Special Team;

It is suspicious whether he was guardian or not. Probably, he was a member of Special Team. (When sentenced) I did not take off my clothes. They disrobed me swiftly. The guardians took me inside and aligned me on the baseboard. He was getting up speed and kicked me. Can there be such a guardian? After several months, I did not see that man. (Hasan)²⁶

Mahir explained his idea on their reaction against torture and violence;

We did not have a chance to occlude running. You prevent the roll-call; so what?! You are only one person. You should occlude running so as it will do a bargain. You have only your body. Hunger strike, thumping door, shouting slogans... However, due to not having power of sanction, the relation with the administration proceeded in disadvantageous way for the revolutionists. But it was not like that before. You were setting up a barricade in front of the door. You were 60 people in. It was going mad when it was not able to take the roll-call. Therefore, it was choosing one way quickly; diplomacy or assault.²⁷

In the ward system, the prison administration and the officials could not get knowledge of the prisoners' everyday life and discourses as it can be understood from Mahir's statement. Sykes (1965) is right when he states that as solidarity is ensured among prisoners, the degree of isolation and repression of officials decrease. However, as a result of the transition, the prisoners were broken apart cell to cell and they became not able to act collectively and not to communicate instantly. Although Mahir told the situation despairingly, Zeki mentioned the other reactions against the regulations of the prison administration. In the F type prisons, prisoners could not go to the haircutter without submitting a petition to the administration. Zeki told that, the prisoners protested the obligation of petition by not cutting their hair. Then, the

²⁶ "Gardiyan mıydı değil miydi o da şüpheli. Muhtemelen Özel timdi. İlk alındığımı biliyorum; soyunmadım, beni hızla soydular. Duvarın dibine dizdi. Hız alıyor geliyor bana ayakla vuruyor. Böyle bi gardiyan olabilir mi? Sonra o adamı görmedim ben, birkaç ay sonra."

²⁷ "Bizim işleyişi tıkama gibi bi şansımız yoktu. Sayım vermiyorsun, vermesen ne! 1 kişinin yanı. İşleyişi tıkayacaksın ki seninle pazarlığa oturacak. Bir tek beden var. Açlık grevi, kapı dövme, slogan atma... Ama bunların da çok yaptırım gücü olmadığı için idareyle olan ilişkiler devrimcilerin aleyhine büyüdü. Eskiden öyle değildi; kapının önüne barikat koyuyordun, içerde 60 kişinin sayamadı mı çıldırıyor. O yüzden çabucak geliyordu iki yoldan birine; ya diplomasi ya saldırı."

administration gave up the petition for a haircutter. The other narration was about the lighting. When the lamp was blown out, the administration forced the prisoners to submit a petition for the new one. In that case, the other lamps were blown out by the prisoners. He told that the administration had to change all the lamps in the cell.

Goffman mentions the obligation of taking permission for every little activity like smoking, telephoning, shaving, mailing letters or spending money. He expresses that “this obligation not only puts the individual in a submissive or suppliant role “unnatural” for an adult but also opens up his line of action to interceptions by staff” (1961: 41). Sykes (1965) also states that not only prisoners must live in a restricted area (thirteen and a half acres), but also their movements depend on the permission of the officials. In the narrations, which Zeki mentioned, the examples of Sykes’s and Goffman’s argument can be seen. Besides, the resistance methods of the political prisoners also can be understood. Buntman (2004: 260) is right when she argues that “Forging and maintenance a notion of community was both a product of basic struggles against a malevolent regime and a bulwark against state onslaught”.

Besides resistances against an obligation of petition for every activity, the prisoners struggled for the poems and the humor magazines which they created. In the first stages, they were putting the humor magazines on the cell roof in order to protect them. However, then, they thought that they should struggle against the arbitrariness; so they did not hide the magazines. When the administration appropriated them, the prisoners asked about three times a day. Then, the administration started not to seize. Zeki said that, by their actions, it was intended to tell the administration that it acts arbitrarily. In these narrations, Goffman’s (1961: 62) discussion on the *intransigent line* could be seen; because the political prisoners were consciously challenge the administration and the officials by their actions. Also, it seems that they reach high individual morale as a result of their resistance, as Goffman mentions. It should be noted that the power of resistance relies on the political prisoners’ collectivity. This collectivity can be seen clearly in the relationship among prisoners. Therefore, it is necessary to mention on this relation in detail.

5.3.3 The Commune Order Among Prisoners

The first reflection of collectivity can be seen in the social order which the political prisoners created in the ward system; “Every fraction got its own organization. Training was on one’s responsibility like security and editorial works. There was a type of committee”. (Ozan)²⁸

In ward, we structured our life organization. For instance, there was a sanitarian among political prisoners absolutely; she was the one who responsible for health. There were friends who follow health problems of the ill one. If there was no, then they were being trained. That is; the sanitarian friend was providing training to another friend, like master-apprentice, if she would transfer to another prison. (Elif)²⁹

It is obvious that every political prisoner felt themselves responsible for organization of the ward and so their life. They explained the harmony among them associated with their political ideas and with having a status of political prisoner. Ahmet;

In every subject, the common direction was certainly being found out. If there is no work sharing, then trouble emerges... The issue of doing laundry. Five or six people were uniting in front of the faucet, like women uniting near stream in the old style. There was no washing machine; but rather only washbowls.³⁰

As mentioned before, according to McEvoy (2001) and Foucault (1980), political organizations should have values, norms, actions, and most importantly a hierarchical structure in order to realize their political and ideological aims. When it is thought that the political prisoners continued to struggle in the new prisons; the formation of a social order and hierarchical relations among prisoners becomes inevitable. In Sykes’ study (1965), one of the prisoners declared that “the worst thing

²⁸ “Her siyasetin kendi içinde kurduğu bi düzen var. Eğitim işleri bikaç kişinin sorumluluğundaydı, aynı şekilde güvenlik, yazı çizi işleri. Komiteleşme tarzı bişey vardı.”

²⁹ “Koğuşta biz kendi yaşam örgütlenmemizi yapılandırmıştık. Mutlaka tutsaklar içinde sağlıkçı vardı mesela; sağlıktan o sorumluydu. Birisi hastalanmışsa onun sağlık sorunlarını takip edebilen arkadaşlar olurdu. Olmadığında da yetiştiriliyorlardı. Şöyle; hekim arkadaş başka bir cezaevine gidecekse birini orda kendisiye birlikte yetiştiriyordu usta çırak yöntemiyle.”

³⁰ “Her konuda mutlaka bir ortak yön bulunurdu. Bir iş bölümü olmazsa sorun çıkar... Çamaşır yıkama konusu vardı. Kişiler tek başına değilde, 5-6 kişi birleşip, hani köyde eski usul kadınlar birikir ya dere başında. O şekilde 5-6 kişi muslukların başında birikir, elden ele yıkanır. Çamaşır makinamız yoktu, sadece leğenler vardı.”

about prison is you have to live with other prisoners”; because, in Trenton Prison, they had the feeling of insecurity. Sykes expresses that prisoners sometimes view other prisoners as dangerous and vicious; therefore they feel themselves living in an insecure situation. When handling with this situation, anxiety starts. For this specific case, it should be noted that these prisoner did not imprison for their ideological or political standpoint. That is; the former political prisoners generated their coherent relation from their political commitments.

There were the times when capacity of ward exceeded and when prisoners had to sleep on tables. However, even in these conditions, they solved their problems all together under favor of solidarity. As it can be seen from the responses, the relation among the political prisoners was proceeding with based on unity, sharing, and trusting. They were sharing their money and clothes. They stated that everybody was able to wear each other’s dress. Although it differed from prison to prison, the wardrobe was belonging to the commune. They were also adding their money to each other for using it as the money of the commune. By doing commonisation, they were trying to provide financial support to each other. In these experiences, the examples of commoning practices and common space can be seen, which was discussed before. Therefore, the claim of Clemmer (1940) that prison world is world of dishonesty, trickery, and self-interest cannot be said for the political prisoners within the context of this study. The interviewees mentioned some of the activities which maintain and strengthen the relationship among prisoners. One of these activities was the labor days in the ward system;

Every Sunday, we were making handicrafts like bead. We were selling them outside via our families in order to maintain our life. We were trying to provide an opportunity to the needs of the outside political struggle. When the musical instruments of Grup Yorum were broken; for solidarity, we were sending money, which was gotten in consequence of cigarette cessation campaigns. (Zeki)³¹

³¹ “Her Pazar günü el işleri yapıyorduk; maket, boncuk. Bunları ailelerimiz aracılığıyla satıyorduk dışarda; kendi yaşamımızı idame ettirebilmek için. Arttırmaya çalışarak dışardaki siyasal mücadelenin ihtiyaçlarına olanak sunmaya çalışıyorduk. Grup Yorum’un müzik aletleri kırıldığında sigara bırakma kampanyaları düzenleyerek onun paralarını dayanışma olsun diye gönderiyorduk.”

The other significant days were the ones for commemorating and celebration. On those dates, which are related with the leftist political history of Turkey, the political prisoners were performing theatre, reading poems, and singing anthems in the yard. The ordinary prisoners were also able to participate to these activities. For that matter, the interviewees mentioned that some of the ordinary ones expressed that they were watching theatre for the first time in their life. The political prisoners stated that it was one of the times when the prison turns into school. Although Jacobs argues on the gang system, the essential point of the argument is also valid for the political prisoners; because, from the responses, it is clear that the existence of collective identity and social support among prisoners ensure to diminish of the pains of prison life.

At this point, it is necessary to open a bracket for the relationship between the ordinary and the political prisoners. Although they did not live in the same ward, it is understood from the responses that there was limited interaction between the two groups of prisoners. Therefore, it was necessary to understand the attitude of the political prisoners towards the ordinary ones in order to grasp better the culture of political prisoner.

Because of being like a neighborhood, in Ulucanlar Prison, you can meet ordinary prisoners in the infirmary, in visiting. The administration assigned them in distribution of bread and coal. We met while they were distributing them. There is no tension. In fact, our relation can get into a relation for advisory. (Ahmet)³²

From the responses, it is understood that, except for the extreme rightist, the ordinary prisoners were generally adopting the political ones as informed and trustworthy people; because they know that the political ones do not gain “advantage over other prisoners via fraud, force, or cheat”, which refers the third principle of Sykes; so they were consulting them about their problems and trial. It can be said that one of the reasons of this tensionless relationship was the political prisoners’ rejection of both thief and convict subcultures, which are discussed by Cressey and Irwin (1962).

³² “Ulucanlar mahalle gibi olduđu için adlilerle sürekli karşılaşırsınız orda, revirde, görüşte. Orda adlilere idare ekmek kömür dağıtma gibi işleri vermiştir. Onlar ekmek kömür dağıtırken karşılaşırsınız. Gerginlik falan yoktur; hatta ilişkimiz danışma durumuna gelebilir.”

Although the ordinary ones may come from these two subculture, the values of the political prisoners seem to them as outstanding. They were aware that the political prisoners protect also the rights of ordinary ones.

The argument of Cressey and Irwin on the legitimate subculture is valid for the political prisoners; although their means and goals can be discussed in terms of being legitimate. “They bring a set of values with them when they come to prison, and they do not leave these values at the gate” (1962: 153). The former political prisoners mentioned that there are differences between their values and the values, behaviors, and norms of ordinary ones. However, they added that ordinary prisoners adapt the values of the former as they spent time together. They were influenced by the values like friendship, solidarity, and cooperation;

We were refusing the ward headmanship and we were opposing to prisoners who declared themselves as a headman. The ordinary prisoners know the issue; so they were taking sides with us. (Hüseyin)³³

In due time, the administration noticed this interaction. From the responses, the concern of the administration on the process of becoming self-aware of the ordinary prisoners can be seen;

When they (the officials) took the ordinary prisoners in, they were stripping the buff so we were interfering to this situation. As a result of our intervention, the administration put an end... Previously; the ordinaries were collecting garbage of our wards. Then, when the resistances started against these enforcements in the ordinary wards; they thought that the reason was the political prisoners; so they terminated this task. (Diyar)³⁴

The officials aimed to cease the relationship between the two groups in order to prevent the ordinaries from including the political prisonization process, which refers to adaption of political values, norms, and behaviors. The interviewees stated that the

³³ “Koşuş ağalığı diye bişeyi biz reddiyorduk, koşuş ağalığı yapanlara engel oluyorduk. Adliler de bunu bildiği için zaten bizim yanımızda oluyorlardı.”

³⁴ “Adlileri aldıklarında kapıdan çırıl çıplak soyuyorlardı. Biz müdahale ediyorduk. O müdahaleler sonucunda onlar da artık bıraktılar... Daha önce bizim kaldığımız koşuşların çöpünü adliler topluyormuş. Sonra adli koşuşlarında bu yaptırımlara karşı direnişler başlayınca, işte bundan dolayıdır diyerek onu kesmişler.”

administration advanced its aim by provoking ordinary prisoners against political ones. After transition to the F type prison system, the method of the administration changed slightly. It started to place the gang members, who have negative attitudes towards the political ones, next to political prisoners' cell. McEvoy (2001) sees the placement of ordinary prisoners as close to political prisoners as a strategy of prison authority. While, in the ward system, it was difficult to cut collective power of political prisoners by placing ordinary prisoners close to them; in F type prison system, the administration placed the ordinary one intentionally, as McEvoy claims.

When we first went to Edirne (Prison), revolutionists were in three cells and, in the next three cells; there were prisoners who were members of Nuriş Gang. We cannot communicate; because, there was much distance. When we throw the paper-ball, it drop their yards. We were saying 'throw it sideways!'; they were swearing. (Mahir)³⁵

Nevertheless, the interviewees added that the ordinary prisoners started to have positive attitudes towards them in due course, due to oppression of the administration and officials. Sykes (1965: 74) states that prisoners may become hostile towards the prison regime; because some rules and commands do not make sense for the prisoners. Hence, the interaction and the solidarity improved between two groups;

He was imprisoned for his self-interest. In cell, bureaucracy strikes you. You have nothing; but you have to wait for shopping until the canteen day. Under these conditions, solidarity steps in. We were not asking for what kind of crime he was imprisoned and we were sending tea, cigarette, dress so far as we can. This very impressed that person. He said 'I do not greet to anyone with who I have no interest; however, you understood me and I was confused. You said only 'get better soon!' and then bread, tea, and cigarette started to pour.' (Zeki)³⁶

After closing the bracket on the relationship with the ordinary prisoners, it should be noted that the transition affected on not only relation with the ordinary prisoners, but

³⁵ "İlk gittik Edirne'ye. Üç hücrede devrimciler kalıyordu yan üçte Nuriş çetesi. Haberleşemiyoruz arada çünkü çok mesafe var. Notu atıyoruz onların havalandırmaya düşüyor. Diyoruz ki "o tarafa at"; küfür ediyorlar."

³⁶ "Adam kendi çıkarı uğruna gelmiş. Hücrede bürokrasi sana öyle çarpar ki hiçbirşeyin yok ama alışveriş için kantin gününü beklemen lazım. O tür durumlarda dayanışma devreye giriyor. Gelen tüm tutuklulara ne suçtan geldiğini sormazdık ve çay gönderirdik, sigara kıyafet göndeririz elimizden geldiğince. Bu o insanı çok etkilemişti. Adam diyor ki 'dışarda ben çıkarımın olmadığı birine selam vermiyorum ama siz beni öyle bi anlayışla karşıladınız ki ben allak bullak oldum. Sadece geçmiş olsun dediler sonra havalandırmaya ekmek çay sigara yağmaya başladı' dedi."

also relationship among the political prisoners. One of the interviewees told that the continuation of relationship with others and with the specific political organization started to depend on the individual's personality and will, and also the strength of him/her political ideas. That is; if prisoner attaches importance to be in relation with others, then relationship continues. At this point, Clemmer's (1940) discussion on the factors of prisonization process comes to the mind. It can be claimed that, rather than dominance of political ideas, personality of prisoner became prominent in struggle in the F type prisons. Because of living with one or two people, the prisoners were forced to focus on each other's characteristics. Also, the interviewee told that there is no activity which bands three people together. The only activity was cleaning of the cell. In the ward system, they were preparing meals together, as it was mentioned before. By this activity, they were also producing a social relationship. This was one of the activities which strengthened collectivity. However, in F type prison system, there is hardly any activity which ensures collectivity. Therefore, in due course, the prisoners started to pay attention to personal features. They stated that it was more difficult to agree with two people than a bevy of people; "In F type, if you do not find well adjusted person, then it is really difficult. It is harder to solve problem between two or three people". (Hasan)³⁷ In due course, every motion starts to draw one's attention and to become a matter of debate;

When we sit like this, as two people, we start to look around after some time. F type is just like that. The person next to you may be the person who you like much; but, after a while, the trouble emerges due to not being able to speak on anything in the cell. This situation may cause a tension between people. This is the place where humanity depletes. (Ahmet)³⁸

When the manner of administration and the prison regulations are added to this situation, the cooperation and interaction become harder. At this point, it is necessary

³⁷ "F tipinde uyumlu insan bulmazsan çok zor gerçekten. 2-3 kişi arasındaki sorunu çözmek daha zor."

³⁸ "İki kişi otursak böyle bi süre sonra etrafa bakmaya başlarız. F tipi de aynı böyle. Yanınızdaki insan çok sevdiğiniz bi insan olabilir ama bi süre sonra hücrenin içinde insanların bir şeyi konuşamamasından dolayı sıkıntı ortaya çıkıyor, sürekli sağa sola bakma, kaçınma halleri başlayabiliyor. Bu da ister istemez kişiler arası gerilimlere yol açabiliyor. İnsanlığın tükendiği bi yer f tipi."

to mention on these regulations and how the political prisoners cope with them in detail. First of all, as the interviewees stated, in the F type prison system, prisoners have to buy what they need by their own money. They cannot carry their money with them. They have to invest it in their account in prisons, like a bank account; so they are not able to use each other's money. Besides, the interviewees mentioned on the expensiveness of the prison canteens. For instance; the newspaper, which is sold for 50 piastre outside, is 2 liras in prison. While this being the case, the administration does not let the prisoners for mutual assistance in economic sense;

Today, in neither prison, prisoners do not carry money. The friend next to you needs something; but they (the administration) prevent this. They say that you can only do shopping for yourself. (Suna)³⁹

Although they were not able to share their money; in response to this regulation, they were sharing the excess amount of what they had in the cell by paper-made balls and heavy cargo, as it was mentioned before. In addition, in due course, the prisoners found the ways for living with spending minimum amount of money. For instance; Hüseyin stated that there were electricity meters in every cell and the prisoners were responsible to pay their own electric bill, except for the lighting. In one of the cells, the prisoners found a method to use electric for free. In the three-prisoner cells, there is a lamp between first and second floor. The prisoners linked the cable of the lamp to the normal power lead and they used refrigerator, television, and kettle for free by this way. These are the regulations intrinsic to the cells. It is necessary to mention on the other regulations such as communication with the outside society.

5.3.4 The Relations with the Outside Society

The communication with the outside is carried out through visiting, correspondence, and accession to mass media. Therefore, the related question was asked in order to grasp how the implementations changed and how they affected the political prison

³⁹ “Şu an hiçbir hapishanede tutsağın üzerinde para yoktur. Yanındaki arkadaşının birşeye ihtiyacı vardır. Buna engel olurlar; ‘sen sadece kendi adına alışveriş yapabilirsin’ derler.”

culture. It was tried to be understood how the prisoners cope with the restrictions of the new regime.

First of all, in the previous prison regime, duration of visiting was changing from prison to prison because of limited place of visiting and density of both prisoner and visitor. However the common theme for prisoners was to be able to meet and get into touch with many people on these days. The interviewees indicated that, in the ward system, the visiting was one of the activities which provided continuation of social relations and sociability. As Ahmet said, these days ensured to keep world of ideas and emotions and also humanity alive. In some prisons, the contact visitation was continuing from morning till night. Visitors were free to bring pastry, cake, or tea to visiting area. Also, there was no obstacle on meeting with other prisoners' families. As a matter of fact, the political prisoners preferred to be acquainted with the families; because they stated that their families feel themselves as safe by this way. They told the concern of the families about people who their child was living with. As the interviewees said, their concern could be surpassed by means of face to face conversation.

Besides, the former prisoners stated that when one family saw the other, they thought that they are not alone and "there are others who are in the same situation". It was mentioned that, in the entrance to the prison, a family may become a target and may be given a hard time by the administration. In such a situation, by virtue of acquaintanceship among families, they could take joint action and could solve the problem together. Therefore, the former prisoners expressed that it is necessary to meet with other families and to make relation with each other.

The interviewees stated that all of these practices were gained by their struggle, protests, and so collective power. However, they interpreted the transition to the F type prison system as a loss of what they gained until that time. The first new regulation was an increase in security measures. Both before and after the visiting practice, the prisoners started to be forced to body search. They indicated that this regulation was for shaping their personality and for insulting them;

Before walking out the door, you had to be searched. In the first week, we had nothing. I remember that I went to the visiting with a blanket. We had no shoes. Even in that situation, they tried to body search. You are in a closed environment and you had nothing. They want to body search again. It is irrational. (Burcu)⁴⁰

However, prisoners were not the only ones who confronted with this implementation. The families were also faced with body searching before entering to the prison for visiting. The interviewees claimed that the officials were harassing their families on the ground of body search. They told that pregnant and young females were refraining from the visiting for this reason.

The difficulty of the visiting days was not only about body searching. In contrast to the ward system, the contact visiting was allowed for one hour. In fact, the visiting decreases almost 30 minutes due to body search. Also, the prisoners could not meet with other families; because people who do not have the same surname were not able to do open visiting. Beside the first degree relatives, prisoner is able to give the names of three friends to the administration by petition; but s/he could not meet with any other friends except these three people. In addition, in the closed visiting, there is double glazing unit between two people and prisoners have to interconnect through telephone, which is wiretapped as the former prisoners said. If the administration feels uncomfortable about the conversation, it is able to finish the visiting. The interviewees told that this situation frustrated an emotional affiliation and made the prisoners remote to the visitor, even if s/he is the closest one.

Besides visiting regulation, it was asked how the correspondence was realizing. The former prisoners stated that they were able to correspond with the outside in three days of the week in the ward system. They mentioned that the letters were richer in terms of writeable memories and stories, owing to being in a richer social relation. For this reason, they stated that the letters were going beyond a political text and was becoming a humanistic one. By transition to F type system, the correspondence

⁴⁰ “Kapıdan çıkmadan önce kendinizi aratmanız gerekiyor. İlk bi hafta zaten üstümüzde başımızda bişey yoktu ki. Battaniyeyle gittiğimi hatırlıyorum ben görüşe. Ayakkabılarımız yok. O durumda bile seni aramaya kalkıyorlar. Kapalı bir yerdesin, elinde hiçbirşey yok. Seni tekrar aramak istiyor. Mantıksız yani.”

regulation changed. The interviewees said that the letters were arriving to the outside after almost 20 days. In addition, they expressed that they started to be deprived of stories and memories, due to limited social interaction between prisoners. It was told that the negative tone of the prison environment was necessarily reflected in letters. Moreover, they mentioned the censorship on letters. The prison administration reads and stamps as Approved (Görölmüştür). While, in the ward system, some words were being scratched out; now, some sentences, paragraphs, and even all letter may be crossed out;

I sent my family a fax. All that remained was only a sentence. Nothing could be read. They crossed out the word ‘our morale’; for instance. ‘Good’ remained; good but what is good. (Bahar)⁴¹

I cut the picture from newspaper; a person behind the glass...Imagine how it seems pale. I attached it and wrote something related with the picture. There was no criticism of the conditions. They (the officials) destroyed the letter under colour of showing the prison as poor. (Diyar)⁴²

The last regulation was about accession to media tools. The interviewees told that they were reading almost every publication whether it was political or not in the ward system. They were able to reach newspapers in each day. As it was mentioned before, they had also television and were able to listen to the news. There is no restriction in the number of the book they have in the ward; and indeed they were able to build a library. However, the transition to the F type prison system brought about restrictions in all of these media tools. Under normal circumstances, the administration allows one newspaper. Therefore, when the prisoners read the newspaper, they sent it to other cells by throwing to the next yard. By this way, each cell was able to read different newspapers. Besides, in the first stage of the transition, the prisoners did not have television and they were only able to listen to radio which

⁴¹ “(F tipinde) Ben aileye faks göndermişim. Faksta sadece 1 cümlem kalmıştı. Hiçbir yeri okunmuyordu. “Moralimiz” kelimesinin üzerini çizmişlerdi mesela. “İyi” kalmış orda. İyi de ne iyi ama.”

⁴² “(F tipinde) Gazeteden bir resim kesmişim ben. Camın arkasında bi insan, düşünün nasıl soluk görünür. Onu yapıştırmışım. Ona ilişkin de şeyler yazmışım. Ne koşul eleştirisi var, hiçbir şey yok. Mesela o mektubu imha etmişlerdi. İçeriği kötü gösteriyormuşum.”

belongs to the prison administration. It had only one channel, TRT FM (the State channel);

You did not have a chance to switch on or off. It was in the administration's power and if it wants; it makes prisoners listen during 23 hours. You can get rid of the voice so long as you rend. But, in that case, they inflict a disciplinary punishment. (Ahmet)⁴³

In due course, the prisoners started to buy television with their own money. But they stated that there were 18 channels which were determined by the administration. They expressed that these channels were specified with the effect of political party in power. It was shaped by contradictions among power groups;

In the past, there was Samanyolu tv; for instance. At one stage, they imposed ban on publication. Behind this implementation, there was effort for preventing the magazines which were belong to Fetullah such as Sızıntı. This situation extended over to usurp our vested rights. (Pınar)⁴⁴

All in all, it is understood that the regulations of communication with the outside society changed with the transition. The restrictions became intensified. Besides, there are facilities and shared areas in prisons like atelier and library; however prisoners are able to use them conditionally. As Sykes (1965: 73) argues, these restrictions and routine commands and rules cause prisoners to feel themselves as being deprived of autonomy. Foucault (2007: 15) is right when he claims that “the political effectiveness of sovereignty” is related with “an intensity of circulations” of orders, wills, and ideas. He shows “how the territorial sovereign became an architect of the disciplined space, but also, and almost at the same time, the regulator of a milieu, which involved... making possible, guaranteeing, and ensuring circulations: the circulation of people, merchandise, and air, etcetera” (2007: 29).

⁴³ “İdarenin radyosu, kapatma şansınız da yok açma şansınız da yok. İdarenin elindedir ve isterse 23 saat onu dinlettirebiliyor. Bir tek kırar parçalarsanız o sestən kurtulabilirsiniz. Kırdığınız zaman da idare disiplin cezası veriyor.”

⁴⁴ “Geçmişte samanyolu tv vardı mesela belki kalkmıştır şimdi. İktidarın kendi iç çelişkileriyle birlikte de şekillenebiliyor. Bi ara yayın yasağı getirdiler dergilerin yatırılmasını engellemek için, tutsak bayiye yazdırarak alabilecek. Bunun da altında fetullahçıların sızıntı vesaire dergilerinin yatırılmasını önleme çabası vardı. Bizim de kazanılmış haklarımızı gasp etmeye kadar vardı iş.şimdi direnişle birlikte bu şeyden vazgeçildi.”

It is seen that every regulation which was for the prisoners' disadvantageous was met with the prisoners' resistance. The interviewees stated that they had to regain all of what they lost as a result of the transition; so they struggled for this throughout their sentencing. For instance; in order to keep their memory alive, they were solving puzzle which was given as a newspaper supplement. They try to prepare different foods, except the one given by the administration. They were learning methods for making toast, lentil patties, steak tartar a la turca, and birthday cake. This effort should be read as not only a need for different taste, but also a wish to maintain sharing, production, and so collectivity. The other activity for ensuring collectivity was an issuing a magazine. While some cells were writing texts, some were drawing pictures and some were painting them. There was work sharing, like in the ward system. The interviewees added that there was no coloring material and indeed coloured pens were forbidden in the F type prisons. However, the political prisoners were overcoming the prohibition by producing colors from fruits, vegetables, and medicine.

(In the ward system) We had many thing for handicraft; however, we can also do handicraft now. We are able to sculpture by steeping newsprint for three days and rendering it a clay. The key issue is to think and produce. (Zeki)⁴⁵

On the basis of the political prison culture, there is resistance that gives way to be creative, to maintain intellectual production, solidarity, and collective action. Foucault (1997: 167) is right when he states; "resistance comes first, and resistance remains superior to the forces of the process; power relations are obliged to change with the resistance".

⁴⁵ "El işi yapmak için her şeyimiz vardı. Ama şimdi de el işi yapabiliyoruz. Bir gazetenin kağıdını 3 gün suda bekletip, çamur haline getirip, ondan heykeller yapabiliyoruz. Temel mesele düşünmek ve üretmek."

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

*Vladimir: Was I sleeping, while the others suffered?
Am I sleeping now? Tomorrow, when I wake, or
think I do, what shall I say of today?*

Samuel Beckett, *Waiting for Godot*

Since the 1980s, there have been changes in the architecture and the regulations of prisons in Turkey. The old types, which include different capacity of wards, were converted into at least two-person and at most ten-person living spaces. Besides this transformation, since the end of the 1990s, the high-security F type prisons have been built. With its one- and three-person cells, regulations, and high security measures, these prisons were designed for two specific kinds; the organized crimes and the terror crimes. Since it was projected, the F type system has been criticized by the leftist political organizations, the national and the international civil society organizations, and the occupational groups. The criticisms are mainly related with the problem of social isolation, and so mental and physical problems which it brings about.

Within this context, the thesis focused on the reciprocal relationship between prison architecture and prison culture through the transition from the ward-based system to the high-security cell-based system. During the research process, the open-ended semi-structured interview was conducted with 17 former political prisoners who experienced the ward system, the Operation of December 19/2000, and the high-security F type prison system. The first network was established through the civil society organizations and then the snowball sampling was carried out. The experiences of the three conditions are essential; because, each of them correspond different values and practices.

There are three main questions in order to analyze the political prison culture through the transformation in the prison regime of Turkey. The first question is on the reasons of the transition from the ward to the cell. The two dimensions should be discussed in the process. The first one can be related with the political and economic context of Turkey, and also the manner of the official ideology within this context. As a response to political, social, and economic problems, the State preferred to legitimize itself through force, as argued before. In this context, the position of the leftist movement was also significant for the official ideology; because, in May 1/1996, it was seen that the outlawed leftist groups had an influence on the specific neighborhoods. This situation may cause the State worry about the possibility of increasing public opposition. However, it was also the same date which the leftist movement faced with deep conflicts in itself.

The second dimension can be related with the condition of the leftist political organizations inside the prisons. It was seen that outside political culture find an opportunity to continue in the prisons. The political prisoners proceed in their political motivations during the imprisonment period. The continuation of hierarchical structure, ideological standpoint, formation of relationship both among prisoners and with prison administration, resistance types, collective discussion platform, and collective power are the ones which are based on the outside political culture. These structures were sharpened within the ward environment. Therefore, the prison was the continuous encountering environment between the political organizations and the State, through the prison administration. The process of encountering both deepens the political ideas and actions of the prisoners and makes difficult to control of the administration. The ward system did not permit continuous control and interference of prison administration to prisoners and their relationships, due to its architectural characteristics. The claims that “the authority of the State decreased in the prisons” and “the pressure of political organization leaders on prisoners increased” became widespread.

The second question is on the political prison culture in the ward-based and cell-based prison systems, and so the change of this culture. Based on the importation and

the deprivation theories, political prison culture is defined in the thesis as ever-growing attitudes, behaviors, and values shaped by political prisoners with respect to external impacts and intrinsic deficiencies of prison systems. One of the claims of the thesis is the strict relation between pre-prison political culture and political prison culture. Imprisonment of political prisoner generates from political culture which is fed by ideological accumulation and relationships. The pre-prison values and behaviors were adapted within the environment of the ward. The practices of adaptation can be seen in the hierarchical structure, the celebration and commemorating of important days, the resistance forms, and the intellectual studies within the opportunity of the architecture. All actions and activities were transformed after the transition process.

First of all, solidarity was one of the important characteristic of the ward system. It continued to exist in the cells; however it was evolved as other features. In the ward, everyone used to help each other in the case of necessity and problems could be solved easily. Moreover, although their wards were separated; the political prisoners could also solve the problems which the ordinary prisoners faced with; because the ward doors were open through the daytime (it was also one of the vested rights and it was gained via resistance). This solidarity was evolved in the cell type system. In the new system, for instance; everyone had to wait for the canteen day, even if it was the first day of imprisonment. The other prisoners were aware of the situation; so they were sending whatever the newcomer needed to his/her cell's yard by throwing. Even if the newcomer did not have the same political motivations and indeed even if s/he had opposing political stance, the old prisoners acted in the same particular manner, except for specific crimes. It can be claimed that this aspect is shaped by both the deficiencies of the prison and the pre-prison culture.

Secondly, the prisoners told that the ward system was like an intellectual school for them; because there was a specific time for reading and discussion. There were many people to carry out intellectual discussions. Yet, in the cell system, they were divided into one or three people; so everyone had to do these activities by themselves. In fact, they could not find anybody to discuss interactively what they read at the moment

and at any time. At this point, a will-power of person becomes significant, even if there is a determined plan for these activities. If will-power and ideological/political background are strong, then a person reads and discusses by oneself. Therefore, it can be claimed that the intellectual culture became deformed in the cell-type prison.

Besides, in the ward system, there were many things to produce such as cooking, writing, or laying on entertainment. However, in the cell system, production was restricted by the architecture of prison and its new regulations. It can be claimed that although productivity was decreased to some extent, creativity of the prisoners was increased. The deficiency of material which was necessary for production led to an increase in creativity. The prisoners were using every kind of material; that is, they find a way to use a least little thing. They created a culture about what can be used where and they taught each other about their usage. Also, the prisoners could not organize art and entertainment days anymore; but they sang songs and anthem aloud in front of their windows. They were not able to see and to be next to each other; however they were hearing each other's voices in order to feel that they were not alone.

Moreover, creativity was also seen in the ways of communication. Because the ward doors were open; there was not difficulty in communication between the prisoners in the ward system. There was no limitation of the architecture; therefore the prisoners did not need new methods. However, in the cell type, they required to create new communication methods. They taught each other how to communicate from cell to cell. It can be claimed that this feature of prison culture developed as a result of the deficiencies of prison itself. The boundaries of the architecture and the prison regulations increased creativity and forced the prisoners to be more productive and creative.

Finally, the establishment of the prison coordination and the existence of organization leaders were the significant features of the outside political culture. In the cell system, there were still leaders; but this order was not as powerful as like in the ward system; because it was difficult to get into contact with the leaders

immediately. The prisoners protested and staged hunger strike for many things such as for increase number of books, for allowance of political magazines or newspaper, or for removal of obstacles on correspondence. It can be claimed that the impact of these acts were more effective in the ward system than the cell one; because, in the former, the number of prisoners ensured to act in unison in the case of injustice; however, in the latter, the number decreased to one or three person. It means that the prisoners' power of sanction on the administration decreased. The politics of the State weakened the collective power among the political prisoners.

The final question is on the difference between male and female prisoners' experiences. In the responses, there was little information on the issue. One of them was intellectual discussions on the woman issue among the female prisoners. The other is related with the visiting days. In the ward system, while the male prisoners had the visiting right once a week; the female prisoners could see their visitors two times a week. Besides these practices, conceivably, they faced with different processes; but they did not touch upon gender differences. Rather, they mentioned the experiences strictly related with the collective consciousness. The prominent thing was the various experiences which generated from the political and ideological differences of the organizations. At this point, it should be noted that the actions, values and behaviors of the organizations may differ; however the thesis did not focus on these differences, even if the interviewees were chosen consciously from the various political parties. It was thought that although the political prisoners are the members of different organizations; these prisoners formed a society in the prisons with their common and different characteristics. The analysis did not emphasize on the context of organizational structure, but rather on the prison society.

With being aware that there is no single and integrated prison culture, in this study, it is assumed that both the internal deprivations and the external factors contribute to shape the political prison culture. It can be seen that the first aspect which formed the prison culture is the political culture which exists outside of prisons and which originates from pre-prison experiences. This political culture was carried into the wards, and also the prisoners tried to keep this culture alive in the cells. The

programmed daily life, solidarity and cooperation, intellectual production, resistance and creativity are constituent features of the political prison culture within the scope of this study. Throughout the history, the prison system which inhibits the formation of prison culture could not be established. The states aimed to manage this culture through changes in prison systems. However, for the case of Turkey, it can be claimed that still there are situations which either the prison administration could not handle or the political prisoners could not cope with.

For the further studies, 1) the prisoners who are accused of organized crimes and experienced the ward and the F type prison system can be studied in order to analyze the difference in prison cultures of political and ordinary prisoners; 2) the relation between the F type prison regime and public opposition can be studied in order to understand, whether the State succeed to suppress public opposition by changing the prison system; 3) the contemporary prison culture of ordinary prisoners who are accused out of the scope of organized crime can be discussed.

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APPENDICES

Appendix-1 List of Abbreviations

CPT	Avrupa İşkencenin ve İnsanlık Dışı veya Onur Kırıcı Ceza veya Muamelenin Önlenmesi Komitesi / European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
GDPDH	Ceza ve Tevkifevleri Genel Müdürlüğü / General Directorate of Prisons and Detention Houses
HRW	İnsan Hakları İzleme Örgütü / Human Rights Watch
İHD	İnsan Hakları Derneği / Human Rights Association
İMOP	İzmir Meslek Odaları Platformu / İzmir Occupation Chambers Platform
KESK	Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / Confederation of Public Laborers' Trade Unions
TAYAD	Tutuklu Aileleri ve Yakınları Dayanışma Derneği / Solidarity Association for the Families and Relatives of the Arrested
TBB	Türkiye Barolar Birliği / Union of Bar Associations of Turkey
TTB	Türk Tabipleri Birliği / Turkish Medical Association

Appendix-2 Interview Questions

1. Could you define ward system and F type system? (Koğuş sistemini ve F tipini tarif edebilir misiniz?)

2. How long were you imprisoned in ward system and F type system? (Koğuş sisteminde ve F tipinde kaç sene kaldınız?)

3. Could you tell a daily life in ward and in F type prison? (Koğuş sisteminde ve F tipinde geçen bir gününüzü anlatır mısınız?)

- The things which you faced with every day; roll-call, body search etc. (Hergün maruz kaldığınız şeyler; sayım, üst arama vb.)

4. How was your relation with prison administration? (Hapishane yönetimiyle ilişkiniz nasıldı?)

- Their attitude towards you (Onların yaklaşımı)

- Your attitude towards them (Sizin yaklaşımınız)

- The facilities which they provided (Yönetimin sağladığı olanaklar)

- The things which prisoners were entitled to have, but cannot make use of; the number of books, shopping, time of visiting, exercise (Mahkûmların hakkı olan fakat yönetim tarafından sağlanmayan şeyler; kitap sayısı, alışveriş, görüş süresi, spor...)

5. How was your relationship among prisoners? (Diğer mahkûmlarla ilişkiniz nasıldı?)

- Political prisoners (siyasiler) and ordinary prisoners (adliler)

- Division of work and cleaning etc. (İş bölümü ve temizlik vs.)

6. How was your communication with visitors? (Görüşe gelenlerle iletişiminiz nasıldı?)

- Family, Lawyer, Friend (Aile, Avukat, Arkadaş)

7. How was your communication with outside? (Hapishane dışıyla olan iletişim nasıldı?)

- Corresponding, Solidarity (Mektuplaşma, Dayanışma)

8. Did physical structure of ward and F type affect your daily life? (Koğuş sistemi ve F tipinin fiziksel yapısının günlük yaşantınıza etkisi var mıydı?)

- The number of person living with (Beraber yaşanan kişi sayısı)

- The fixed furnitures (Sabitlenmiş eşyalar)

- The color which can and cannot be used (Kullanılan ve kullanılmayan renkler)

- Resistance types (Direnme biçimi)

9. Did the political and economic context of Turkey affect your prison life? How? (Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik ve siyasi durum hapishane yaşantınızı etkiledi mi? Nasıl?)

10. What did you experience during the transition process from ward to F type? (Koğuştan F tipine geçiş sürecinde neler yaşadınız?)

- How and why did the process begin? (Süreç nasıl ve neden başladı?)

- How did it proceed? (Nasıl ilerledi?)

- The relationships which death fast and hunger strike created inside (Açlık grevi ve ölüm orucunun içeride yarattığı ilişkiler)

Appendix-3 Türkçe Özet / Turkish Summary

Ben Crewe, hapishaneyi, devletin cezalandırma gücünün ve tüm vatandaşlarını norm sistemine dâhil etmedeki başarısızlığının kuvvetli bir sembolü olarak değerlendirir. Bu değerlendirme tüm cezalandırma biçimlerine ilişkin olarak yapılabilir. İdam cezası, sürgün, ya da para cezası pratikleri uygulamada olan yasa ve eylem arasındaki ayrımın yansımasıdır. Günümüzde, hapsetme yaygın ve sistematik cezalandırma biçimi olarak kabul edilmekte ve hapishane nüfusu gün geçtikçe artmaktadır. Zaman içinde, şehir merkezine inşa edilen hapishanelerin yeterli tecrit koşullarını sağlamadığı düşünülmüş ve bu kurumlar merkezden kırsal alanlara taşınmıştır. Siyasi iktidar hapishaneyi toplumdan soyutlamayı ve mahkûmları görünmez kılmayı hedeflese de ne ilgili kurumlar ne de kişiler toplum hafızasından soyutlanmaktadır. Göz ardı edilemeyecek kadar büyük bir nüfus hapishane duvarları arasındadır ve bu nüfusun duvarın dışında sosyal ilişki halinde olduğu yapılar vardır. Türkiye’de, 2016 yılı itibariyle, toplam erkek hükümlü sayısı 123.987, kadın hükümlü sayısı 4.659 ve çocuk hükümlü sayısı 645 olarak ifade edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, toplam erkek tutuklu sayısı 62.976, kadın tutuklu sayısı 3.235 ve çocuk tutuklu sayısı 1.795’tir. Tüm mahkûmların toplam sayısına baktığımızda ise 197.297 gibi büyük bir nüfusla karşılaşmaktayız.⁴⁶

Cumhuriyet döneminden itibaren hapishane koşullarında iyileştirmeler yapılıyor olsa da hapishane rejimiyle ilgili önemli dönüşümler 1980 yılından itibaren başlamıştır. 2000 yılına gelindiğinde ise, işlenen suça göre hapsetme pratikleri değişmiş ve Türkiye tarihinde daha önce uygulanmamış yeni bir mimari yapıya geçiş yaşanmıştır. Mimari dönüşümün yaratacağı tecrit ortamı ve koşulları hem hapishane içi hem de dışından direniş ve tepkilerle karşılanmıştır. Fakat siyasi iktidar, dönüşümü gerçekleştirmekte kararlı olduğunu 19-22 Aralık 2000 tarihinde eş zamanlı olarak 20 hapishaneye düzenlediği ve sonucunda 30 mahkûm ve iki askerin hayatını kaybettiği

⁴⁶Ceza ve Tevkifevleri Genel Müdürlüğü; <http://www.cte.adalet.gov.tr/>

operasyonla göstermiştir. Bu bağlamda, yapılan çalışmada hapishane mimarisi ve siyasi kültürü arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki; fiziksel tasarım, dış etkiler ve iç dinamikler çerçevesinde analiz edilmiştir. Bu ilişki koğuş sisteminden F tipi hapishane sistemine geçiş üzerinden incelenmiştir. Analiz boyunca hapishane kültürüne ilişkin iç eksiklikler ve dış etkiler tartışmalarının yanı sıra ceza teorilerinden yararlanılmıştır. Ceza pratiklerindeki dönüşümü ve bu dönüşümün sosyolojik getirilerini bilmek hapsedilmenin işlevini kavrayabilmek açısından gereklidir. Bu çalışmada, koğuş sisteminin sol siyasi kültürün hapishane koşullarında devam etmesine ve gelişmesine olanak tanıdığı varsayılmıştır. Zaman içinde, bu kültür siyasi otoriteye karşı bir tehdit olarak algılanmıştır. Devletin hapishanelerde güç kaybettiği söylemine dayanak oluşturularak yeni hapishane tasarımları oluşturulmuştur. Dolayısıyla hapishane mimarisi ve kültürü arasında tek taraflı bir ilişki olduğu varsayılmaz.

Çalışma konusunun belirlenmesi üç temelde açıklanabilir. Birincisi, kurumun yapısal durumundan kaynaklanan, mahkûm ve hapishane yönetimi arasındaki eşitsiz ilişki biçimi, araştırmacıyı iktidar ilişkisinde “ezilen” konumunda olanın sesi olmaya zorlamıştır. İkincisi, sosyoloji disiplininin temel meseleleri ve kurum olarak hapishane arasındaki ilişkidir. Crewe (2007) hapishanenin, hem toplum içinde bir kurum hem de kendi sosyal dünyasıyla bir kurum olarak, sosyolojinin temel kaygılarını (iktidar, eşitsizlik, düzen, çatışma, toplumsallaşma) resmettiğini ifade eder. Tezin temel meselesi bu kavramların hepsine ayrı ayrı odaklanmıyor olsa bile hapishane kültürü kaçınılmaz olarak bu kaygılarla ilişki içerisindedir. Bununla birlikte, bu kurumlar kırsal alanlara kampüs şeklinde inşa edilerek toplumdan yalıtılmaya çalışılsa da içerisi ve dışarıları arasındaki etkileşimin devam ettiği iddia edilebilir. Gresham Sykes’in da ifade ettiği gibi, hapsedilmenin anlamını kavramak istiyorsak; cezaevi yaşamının duvar, parmaklık, hücre ve kilit meselesinden daha fazlası olduğunu görmek; hapishaneyi toplum içinde bir toplum olarak anlamak zorundayız. Dolayısıyla duvarın arkasında büyük bir nüfus olduğu ve bu nüfusun maddi ve fikirsiz temelde sosyal hayatı üretmeye çalıştığı unutulmamalıdır. Konunun belirlenmesinde etkili olan son temel ise Türkiye’de sosyoloji alanında hapishane ve

dolayısıyla hapishane rejiminin dönüşümünün analizine ihtiyaç olduğunun düşünülmesidir.

Yapılan çalışmanın hem Türkiye hapishane literatürü hem de hapishane kültürü literatürüne katkısı olduğu söylenebilir. İlk literatüre katkı; çalışmanın tek bir hapishane sistemine odaklanmamış olması ve sistem dönüşümü sonucunda oluşan kültür değişimini analiz etmiş olmasıdır. Mimari dönüşüm ve yeni yüksek güvenlik uygulamalarının siyasi hapishane kültürü üzerindeki etkisini görmek açısından bu nokta önemlidir. Bununla birlikte, var olan literatüre bakıldığında, bu iki hapishane sisteminin kültür temelinde çalışılmadığı görülmüştür. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Antropoloji bölümüne ait hapishane alt kültürüne odaklanan çalışma yalnızca eski tip cezaevlerini kapsamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, yapılan çalışma hem hapishane kültürü teorilerini hem de yeni hapishane sistemini içermesi bakımından diğer çalışmalara katkı sunmaya çalışmıştır. Hapishane literatüründeki yerine baktığımızda ise öne çıkan iki nokta vardır; ilki iç eksiklikler ve dış etkiler tartışmalarını sentezlemesi; ikincisi ise analiz birimi olarak siyasi mahkûmlara odaklanmış olmasıdır.

Çalışma beş ana bölüme ayrılmıştır. İlk bölümde, cezalandırma ve hapsetmenin kısa tarihinden ve dönemlere göre cezalandırma pratiklerinin arka planında yer alan ceza felsefesinden bahsedilmiştir. Bununla ilişkili olarak, Amerika, Avrupa, özellikle İngiltere ve Türkiye’deki ilk cezaevi modelleri anlatılmıştır. Bu bölümde, hapishane sistemleri arasındaki benzerlik ve etkileşim görülebilir. Bugün en çok bilinen Amerikan hapishane modelleri önce Avrupa’yı ve daha sonra Türkiye’yi etkilemiştir. 1820’li yıllarda geliştirilen Pensilvanya ve Auburn hapishane modelleri İngiliz reformcuları etkilemiş ve 1842 yılında Pentoville hapishanesinin kurulmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır. 1865 ve 1914 yılları arasında, birçok Avrupa ülkesinde bu hapishane modeli inşa edilmiştir. Türkiye hapishane sistemi bu süreçlerden bağımsız ele alınamaz. Kaptanoğlu’nun (2000) da ifade ettiği gibi, “Yapılmakta olan 11 F tipi cezaevi, mimari açıdan, ABD (Marion, Lexington), İngiltere (H Blokları), Almanya (Stammheim) ve İtalya’daki (Tirani) benzerleri gibi modern panopticon’lardır”. Türkiye ile ilgili olan alt bölümde, kapalı hapishane modelleri, hapishane müdahaleleri ve koğuş ve hücre tipi cezaevi sayısının zaman içindeki değişiminden

bahsedilmiştir. Sayılardaki değişim ve müdahalelere bakıldığında, F tipi yüksek güvenli hapishane inşasının yanında, koğu sisteminden hücre sistemine geçişin hedeflendiği anlaşılabılır.

Tezin ikinci bölümünde, bu çalışma kapsamında önemli olan kavramlar tanımlanmıştır. Bu noktada, temel kavramlardan ikisinin tanımına yer vermek gerekmektedir. Hapishane kültürü, mahkûmlar tarafından hapishane ortamının iç eksikliklerine ve ülkenin içinde bulunduđu siyasi ve ekonomik konjonktüre cevap olarak, sürekli gelişen davranış biçimi, değer ve kuralları ifade eder. Bununla birlikte, çalışma kapsamında, şiddet içersin ya da içermesin siyasi güdülere dayanarak yapılan ve mahkûmiyetle sonuçlanan eylemi gerçekleştiren kişi siyasi mahkûmdur. İlgili bölümde, önemli kavramların yanı sıra, hapishane kültürü ve mimarisi üzerine yapılan kaynak taramasına yer verilmiş; ceza teorileri, iç eksiklikler ve dış etkiler tartışmalarından bahsedilmiştir. İki alt bölüme ayrılan kaynak taramasına, iki önemli devlet tanımıyla başlanmıştır. Weber'in tanımında meşru güç kullanma tekeli vurgusu varken; Durkheim'ın tanımında iç ve dış düşmanlara karşı ortak duygu ve bilincin korunması kavramları öne çıkmaktadır. Durkheim'e göre, bir davranış ortak değer ve duyguları ihlal ediyorsa suç olarak tanımlanır. Dolayısıyla, suç olarak tanımlanan davranış doğal kategori değil; zamana ve mekâna göre değişen sosyal normların sonucudur. Durkheim, suçun başka kaynakları olduğunu da eklemiş ve resmi idarenin suç yaratma ya da belli suçların önemini arttırma kabiliyetine dikkat çekmiştir. Yani, ortak bilinci tehdit etmese bile, eğer bir davranış resmi idareyi rahatsız ediyorsa suç olarak kabul edilebilir. Ayrıca, cezalandırma sadece suçluyla ilgili bir durum değildir; ahlaki ve sosyal önemi vardır.

Weber ve Durkheim'ın devlet tanımının yanı sıra, cezalandırma pratiğindeki dönüşümün analizinde öne çıkan tartışmalar Elias ve Foucault'ya aittir. Elias'ın ifade ettiğı, halk önünde gerçekleştirilen cezalandırmanın zaman içinde utanç kaynağı olarak yorumlanması, rahatsız edici olay ve görüntülerin sahne arkasına taşınması ve kamusal alandan saklanması önemli bir noktadır. Fakat bu süreç sonunda rahatsız edici uygulamalara son verildiğı söylenemez. Görünmeyen alanlarda, hapishane duvarının arkasında benzer fiziksel ve psikolojik etkilere sahip uygulamalar devam

etmektedir. Foucault da modern hapishanenin uyumlu ve “normal” bireyler üretme işlevini tartışır. Aynı zamanda iktidarın bireylerin hücrelerine dokunduğunu, davranış, tutum, söylem, öğrenme süreci ve günlük yaşamlarına nüfuz ettiğini söyler. Fakat bu süreç iktidara karşı direniş olmadığını göstermez. Bu bağlamda, Clemmer, Sykes, Goffman, Jacobs, Irwin ve Cressey’nin üzerinde tartışma yürüttüğü hapishane kültürü kavramı önemlidir. Clemmer mahkûmiyet süresinin bu kültürü benimsemede önemli rolü olduğunu ifade eder. Goffman tam gözetim kurumlarında kalan kişilerin kuruma karşı geliştirdikleri adaptasyon taktiklerini tarif eder. Benzer şekilde Sykes hapsedilmenin özgürlükten, ürün ve hizmetlerden, heteroseksüel ilişkiden, otonomiden ve son olarak güvenlikten yoksunluk olduğunu söyler. Hapishane ortamının iç dinamiklerinin mahkûmlar arasında bir kurallar bütünü yarattığından bahseder. Hapishane kültürünü hapsedilmenin iç eksiklikleri tarafından belirlenen ve ceza infaz kurumlarına özel bir kavram olarak tanımlar. Yaratılan kültürün tecrit ve personel baskısının daha az hissedilmesinde payı olduğunu ifade eder. Bu tartışmanın yanı sıra, Jacobs, Cressey ve Irwin bu kültür üzerinde başka bir boyutun etkili olduğunu iddia eder. Buna göre, kolektif güç hapishane dışındaki ilişkiler açısından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde, yüksek lisans tez konusunun seçilme sürecinden ve araştırmacının araştırmadaki konumundan bahsedilmiştir. Araştırmacının, toplumun bir parçası olarak sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi koşullardan etkilenmemiş olması beklenemez. Bu duruma ilişkin, Mills ve Birks (2014) de 1968’de yaşanan sosyal ve siyasi kırılmaların sosyal araştırmacıların kendi rollerini ve araştırma süreci boyunca görüşmecilerle kurdukları ilişkiyi sorgulamalarına yol açmasından bahseder. Benzer şekilde, Alison Liebling (1999) araştırma için seçilen konunun, projenin öncesine dayanan bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz değer ve ilgiyle ilişkisine dikkat çeker. Bu bağlamda, çeşitli teknolojik imkânlarla ve iletişim yollarına ulaşabilen, farklılıklara saygı göstermeyi öğrenmiş ve adalet duygusu gelişmiş bir neslin parçası olmanın mutlaka bu süreçte etkisi vardır. Fakat, bu noktada şunu eklemeliyim. İçinde yetişmiş olduğum çevrenin, sol siyasi düşünce ve hareketin karşısında konumlandırılan ve diğer tarafı tanımaya/anlamaya olanak sağlamayan bir yapı olması sebebiyle

toplumsallaşma süreci “öteki”ne karşı beslenen önyargıyla ilerledi. Bu önyargılı sürecin parçalanmasında kişisel olarak etkili olan üç durumdan bahsetmek gerekir. İlki, ODTÜ’nün bir parçası olmadan bir sene önce Marx, Engels, Foucault ve Eric Fromm’la tanışmış olmamdır. İkincisi, üniversite öğrencilerinin kriminalize edilmesine şahit olmuş olmam ve arkadaşlarımla hapishane deneyimlerini dinlememdir. Sonuncusu ise, aldığım sosyoloji eğitimi sayesinde sorgulama yeteneğini geliştirmiş olmamdır. Tüm bu kişisel süreçlerin sonunda ilgili konunun seçilmesine karar verilmiştir. Howard Becker’in (1967) de ifade ettiği gibi, değerden arındırılmış araştırma yoktur ve önemli olan hangi tarafta yer alarak analiz yapılacağına karar vermektir.

İlgili bölümde, aynı zamanda, saha araştırması süreci hakkında bilgi verilmiş, kullanılan araştırma ve örnekleme yöntemleri açıklanmıştır. Bu çalışma için önemli olan nokta, birden fazla gerçeklik olduğunun farkında olunmasıdır. Dolayısıyla, tek bir hapishane kültürü olmadığı varsayılmıştır. İlgi, neden ve nasıl soruları üzerinedir. Hapishane kültürünün anlaşılması ve analiz edilmesi için bu kültürü kolektif şekilde oluşturan kişilerle görüşmeler yapılması gerektiği düşünülmüştür. Koğuş sistemini, 19 Aralık Operasyonu’nu, ve F tipi hapishane sistemini deneyimlemiş, 12 erkek ve 5 kadın eski siyasi mahkûmla açık uçlu yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşmecilerle ilk bağlantı iki sivil toplum kuruluşu- TAYAD ve İHD- aracılığıyla sağlanmıştır. Daha sonra kartopu yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Görüşmeler, eski siyasi mahkûmların genellikle yaşadığı yerler olması sebebiyle İstanbul, Kocaeli ve Ankara şehirlerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk görüşme 2 Şubat ve son görüşme ise 25 Nisan 2015 tarihinde yapılmıştır.

Bu noktada, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme sorularından bahsetmek gerekir. İlk soru, mekânın mahkûmlar üzerindeki etkisini ve mahkûmların anlam yaratma sürecini anlamak açısından, koğuş ve hücre sistemi tarifi üzerinedir. Hiller ve Hanson’ın (1990) da ifade ettiği gibi, hapishane mimarisinin yorumlanması bu yapıların kişilere ilettiği anlamı açığa çıkarmaktadır. İkinci soru, mahkûmiyet süresiyle ilgilidir. Bu soruya verilen cevaplar üzerinden, Clemmer’in (1940) hapishaneleşme (prisonization) kavramı tartışılmış; hapislik süreci ve hapishane kültürünün

benimsenmesi arasındaki ilişki analiz edilmiştir. Üç ve yedinci sorular arasındaki sorular günlük yaşam, hapishane yönetimiyle ilişki, mahkûmlar arasındaki ilişki, görüş günleri ve dış toplumla iletişim üzerinedir. Bu sorular aracılığıyla, Goffman'ın (1961) üzerinde tartıştığı, tam gözetim kurumlarının nasıl işlediği ve mahkûmların bu işleyişi günlük yaşamlarında nasıl deneyimlediği, iç eksiklikler ve dış etkiler tartışmaları temelinde, anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca, kolektif güç kavramı bu deneyimler üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Sekizinci soru hapishane mimarisi ve tasarımıyla ilgili tartışmalarla direkt ilişkili olarak fiziksel yapı üzerinedir. Fiziksel yapının mahkûm ve hapishane kültürü üzerindeki etkisini anlamak açısından önemlidir. Son iki soru siyasi ve ekonomik yapının mahkûmların yaşamlarına etkisi, 19 Aralık Operasyon süreci ve bu sürecin getirdiği dönüşümle ilgilidir. Alınan cevaplar Jacobs, Cressey ve Irwin'in dış etkiler tartışmaları ekseninde analiz edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Operasyon'un o zamana kadar ve ondan sonra gerçekleşen anlam yaratma ve kültür oluşturma/devam ettirme sürecinde etkili olduğu varsayılmıştır.

Çalışmanın dördüncü bölümü olan tartışma, üç ana başlığa ayrılmıştır. İlk başlık hapishane mimarisi ve iç tasarımıyla ilgilidir. Koğuş ve hücre sistemleri arasındaki mimari farktan ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının yeni inşa edilen kurumlarla ilgili görüş ve eleştirilerinden bahsedilmiştir. Ayrıca, mimari yapının ve iç tasarımın mahkûmların duygu ve deneyimleri üzerindeki etkileri ve mahkûmların bu etkileri aşmak için oluşturduğu ortak kültür ve alan hakkında bilgi verilmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. İkinci başlıkta hapishane kültürüne etkisi olduğu varsayılan olaylar analiz edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik ve siyasi konjonktürden, hapishane rejiminin dönüşümünün denk geldiği tarihsel dönemden bahsedilmiştir. Operasyon öncesi ve sonrasındaki süreçte siyasi örgütlerin kendi arasında yaşadığı çelişkiye ve siyasi tutum farklılıklarına yer verilmiş ve bu sürecin hapishane kültürüne olan etkisi tartışılmıştır. Son başlıkta iç dinamiklerin hapishane kültürü üzerindeki etkisi analiz edilmiştir. Günlük yaşam rutini, yönetim ve mahkûm ilişkileri, mahkûmlar arasındaki komün düzeni, dış toplumla ilişki kurma pratikleri, hapishane uygulamalarındaki değişim üzerinden analiz yapılmıştır.

Temel araştırma sorusuyla ilişkili olarak, bu çalışmada üç soru üzerine odaklanılmıştır;

1) Türkiye’de neden hapishane sisteminin dönüşümüne ihtiyaç duyuldu?

Süreçle ilgili olarak iki boyut tartışılabilir. İlki, ekonomik ve siyasi konjonktür, bununla bağlantılı olarak, güç kullanarak kendini meşrulaştırmayı tercih eden resmi ideolojinin tutumu ve sol siyasi hareketin aynı dönem içerisindeki durumudur. Örneğin; 1 Mayıs 1996 tarihi, sol grupların belli mahallelerde etkili olduğunun görülmesi, toplumsal muhalefetin yükselmesiyle ilgili endişelerin oluşması ve son olarak sol grupların kendi iç çelişkilerinin yoğunlaşması açısından önemlidir. İkinci boyut, hapishanelerde sol grupların konumuyla ilişkilidir. Dış siyasi kültürün koğuş sisteminde devam etme olanağı bulunduğu daha önce belirtilmişti. Hiyerarşik yapı, ideolojik konum, komün yaşamı, hapishane yönetimiyle kurulan ilişki biçimi, direniş yöntemleri, ortak tartışma zemini ve kolektif güç; tüm bunlar dış siyasi kültürden beslenen pratiklerdir. Bu bağlamda, hapishane ortamı, devlet ve siyasi grupların hapishane yönetimi aracılığıyla sürekli bir karşılaşma noktası haline gelmiştir. Karşı karşıya gelme sürecinin hem siyasi fikir ve pratikleri derinleştirdiği hem de hapishane yönetiminin ortam üzerindeki kontrolünü zorlaştırdığı söylenebilir. Geçiş süreci boyunca, koğuş sisteminin mimari açıdan sürekli kontrol ve denetime izin vermediği, hapishanelerde devlet otoritesinin zayıfladı ve örgüt liderlerinin mahkûmlar üzerindeki baskısının arttığı iddia edilmiştir.

2) Koğuş ve F tipi hapishane sistemlerinde hapishane siyasi kültürü nasıldı ve nasıl değişti?

Dış etkiler tartışmalarına dayanarak, çalışmanın önemli iddialarından biri hapishane öncesi siyasi kültür ve hapishane siyasi kültürü arasındaki sıkı ilişkidir. Siyasi sebeplerle hapsedilme süreci kendiliğinden ideolojik birikim ve ilişkilerle beslenen siyasi kültürden kaynaklanmaktadır. Hapislik öncesi değer ve pratikler koğuş sistemi koşullarına adapte edilmiştir. Hiyerarşik yapı, Türkiye sol siyasi tarihi için önemli olan günlerde kutlama ve anma, direniş biçimleri, okuma ve tartışma çalışmaları devam ettirilen pratiklerdendir. Yüksek güvenlikli F tipi hapishane sistemine geçişle

birlikte tüm bu pratiklerde dönüşüm yaşandığı söylenebilir. Örneğin; koğuş sisteminin temeli olan dayanışma, hücre sisteminde dönüşerek varlığı sürdürdü. Koğuş yaşamında herhangi bir problem ya da haksızlıkla karşılaşıldığında kolektif olarak çözme imkânı bulunuyordu. Hatta koğuşları ayrı olsa da koğuş kapıları gün içinde açık bırakıldığı için, siyasi mahkûmlar adli mahkûmların sorunlarına da müdahale edebiliyordu. Fakat yeni sistemde, örneğin tutukluluğun ilk günü bile olsa herkes kantin gününü beklemek zorundaydı. Eski mahkûmlar bunu bildikleri için yeni gelen kişiye ihtiyacı olan ne varsa havalandırmasına atarak yardımcı oluyorlardı. Hatta görüşmeciler, belli suç tipleri haricinde, yeni gelenle aynı siyasi görüşe sahip olmasa bile aynı şekilde davrandıklarını ifade ettiler. Dayanışma pratiğindeki bu değişimin hem hapisane ortamının iç dinamiklerinden hem de hapisane öncesi siyasi kültürden kaynaklandığı söylenebilir.

Dayanışmanın yanı sıra, mahkûmlar koğuş sistemini bir okul olarak değerlendirmektedirler. Komünün günlük rutininin bir parçası olarak, okuma ve tartışmaya zaman ayrılması mahkûmların ideolojik bilgi birikimini geliştiren bir pratik olarak görülmektedir. Hücre sistemine geçişle birlikte, mahkûmlar 1 veya 3 kişi olarak ayrıldıkları için bu aktiviteyi kendi iradeleriyle yapmak durumunda kaldılar. Bu noktada, görüşmeciler kişinin kendi kişisel direncinin ve ideolojik birikiminin önemli hale geldiğini ifade etmektedirler. Dolayısıyla, okuma ve özellikle tartışma kültürünün hücre sisteminde zayıfladığı söylenebilir. Bunun yanında, koğuş sisteminde mahkûmların emek verip üretim yapabileceği şeyler vardı; yemek yapma, yazı yazma, eğlence organize etme. Fakat yeni sistemde üretim, mimari kısıtlamadan ve yeni uygulamalardan dolayı sınırlanmıştır; üretim düşerken yaratıcılık artmıştır. Üretim için gerekli olan malzemelerin eksikliği yaratıcılığın gelişmesini sağlamıştır. Görüşmeciler, en küçük malzemeyi bile kullanmanın yolunu bulduklarını ve bunu birbirlerine aktardıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca, anma ve kutlama etkinliklerini kolektif olarak yapamıyor, yan yana olup birbirlerini göremiyor olsalar da pencerenin önünde şarkı ve marş söyleyerek yalnız olmadıklarını birbirlerine hissettirdiklerini söylemişlerdir. Benzer yaratıcılık durumu iletişim yollarında da görülebilir. Eski sistemde koğuş kapıları açık olduğu için

iletiřim kurmada zorluk çekmiyor ve yeni yollar geliřtirmeye ihtiya duymuyorlardı. Fakat yeni sistemde, mimari sınırlamaya raėmen yeni yollar bulduklarını ve hücreden hücreye iletiřim kurma yollarını zaman içinde öğrendiklerini anlatmışlardır. Bu keřiflerin hapishane ortamının iç eksikliklerinden beslendiėi söylenebilir.

Hapishane siyasi kültürünün deėişimine ilişkin son örnek, örgüt liderlerinin ve koordinasyonun durumuyla ilgilidir. Hücre sisteminde örgüt lideri konumu varlığını sürdürse de mahkûmlar arasında anlık iletiřim mümkün olmadığı için etkisinin azalmış olduėu iddia edilebilir. Eski sistemde kolektif biçimde eylem yapılırken ve çeřitli eylem biçimleri varken yeni sistemde neredeyse tek eylem biçimi olarak açlık grevi söz konusudur. Görüşmeciler, kitap sayısının arttırılmasından siyasi dergilerin içeri alınması ve mektuplaşma üzerindeki engellemelerin kaldırılmasına kadar en küçük bir hak için bile açlık grevi yaptıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Yapılan eylemlerin koėuş sisteminde daha etkili olduėu ve mahkûmların yönetim üzerindeki yaptırım gücünün daha fazla olduėu iddia edilebilir.

3) Kadın ve erkek eski siyasi mahkûmların deneyimleri arasında fark var mı?

Görüşme sorularında direkt olarak deneyim farkına odaklanan soru sorulmayarak dolaylı olarak bu bilgi elde edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Fakat alınan cevaplarda bu konuda yeterli veriye rastlanmamıştır. Elde edilen verilerden biri, kadın mahkûmların kadın meselesine ilişkin yaptıkları okuma ve tartışmalardır. Bir diėeri ise görüş günleriyle ilgilidir. Bir görüşmeci koėuş sisteminde erkek mahkûmların haftada bir gün görüş hakkı varken kadın mahkûmların iki gün görüş hakkı olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Bu iki örnek dışında, deneyim farkıyla ilgili mutlaka başka örnekler de vardır. Fakat görüşmeciler, anlatı sırasında bu farka odaklanmamıştır. Bunun yerine, kolektif bilincin yansıması olarak kabul edilebilecek deneyimlerden bahsetmişlerdir. Öne çıkan mesele, sol siyasi örgütlerin ideolojik tutum ve pratiklerinden kaynaklanan deneyim farklılıkları üzerine olmuştur. Bu noktada şunu ifade etmek gerekir; örgütlerin deėer ve eylemleri farklılık göstermektedir. Bunun bilincinde olarak, görüşmeciler farklı siyasi örgütlerden seçilmiştir. Fakat, bu çalışma ideolojik

ayrılıklara odaklanmayarak, eski mahkûmların farklı ve benzer özellikleri çerçevesinde hapishane ortamında oluşturdukları toplumu analiz etmeyi hedeflemiştir. Dolayısıyla, yapılan analiz örgütsel yapı üzerine değil; hapishane toplumu üzerinedir.

1980’den itibaren, Türkiye’de hapishane mimarisi ve uygulamaları köklü bir değişim sürecindedir. Farklı kapasitelerde koğuşlardan oluşan eski model cezaevleri en az iki ve en çok on kişinin yaşayabileceği alanlara dönüştürülmüştür. Bu dönüşümün yanı sıra, 1990’lardan itibaren yüksek güvenlikli hapishaneler inşa edilmeye başlanmıştır. 1 ve 3 kişilik hücreleriyle, yeni uygulamaları ve yüksek güvenlik tedbirleriyle diğer hapishanelerden ayrılan bu kurumlar, iki tip suç için özel olarak tasarlanmıştır; organize suçlar ve terör suçları. Proje aşamasından itibaren bu kurumlar sol siyasi örgütler, ulusal ve uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşları ve meslek grupları tarafından, yapının yol açtığı sosyal tecrit, fiziksel ve ruhsal problemler sebebiyle, eleştirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, tek ve bütün bir hapishane kültürü olmadığı varsayılarak iç ve dış dinamiklerin siyasi hapishane kültürünü şekillendirdiği kabul edilmiştir. Tarih boyunca hapishane ortamında mahkûmlar arasında gelişen kültürü yok eden bir rejimin oluşturulabildiği söylenemez. Fakat mimari dönüşümle ve yüksek güvenlik uygulamalarıyla bu kültürün yönetilmesinin hedeflendiği ifade edilebilir. Türkiye özelinde, hem hapishane yönetiminin başa çıkamadığı hem de siyasi mahkûmların üstesinden gelmekte zorlandığı durumların olduğu görülmüştür.

Appendix-4 Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Karagöl
Adı : Elif Yağmur
Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : POLITICAL PRISON CULTURE IN TURKISH
PRISONS: FROM THE WARD TO THE F TYPE SYSTEM

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: