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A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION INTO SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCES OF
POLITICAL DETAINEES WHO WERE SENTENCED TO HOME
CONFINEMENT WITH ELECTRONIC MONITORING IN TURKEY

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Türkiye’de Elektronik İzleme ile Ev Hapsi Kararı Almış Siyasi Tutukluların
Öznel Deneyimlerinin Nitel İncelemesi

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the world, since 1980s, home detention with electronic monitoring has been implemented as an alternative form of sentencing in both pretrial and post imprisonment stages of judicial process in the case of diverse groups of detainees such as juveniles, drugs offenders, traffic offenders, property offenders, political detainees, etc. In the literature, although there exist studies on the other cases, there is not any study focuses on the case of political detainees in home confinement with electronic monitoring. Hence, the current study aims to inquire into the subjective experiences of political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey. The main research questions of the current study are how tagged electronic clamp affect both body image and bodily integrity of detainees and how the representation of the home in the mind of political detainees transform during the home confinement. To qualitatively explore these questions, eight students as political detainees in Turkey, aged between 20-27, experiencing total duration of home confinement between 33 and 75 days, were interviewed. Thematic analysis was applied in data analysis. Five main themes were revealed. Themes were identified as a) home confinement as a trying experience, b) loss of safe and private space, c) transformation in the representation of home, d) bodily experiences, e) agency becoming an issue. The findings illustrated that, in home incarceration with electronic monitoring, as a peculiar kind of captivity, political detainees encountered several troubles, experienced distinct kinds of deprivations, and were exposed to a number of violations of human rights through intrusive practices under constant control and surveillance, which focused on detainees' body and home. Moreover, transformations in both body image and the representation of home were experienced. Aforementioned findings were discussed in the light of the psychoanalytic theory. Strengths, limitations, and clinical implications of the study were discussed with making some suggestions for future studies.

Keywords: home confinement with electronic monitoring, house arrest, body image, representation of home, political violence

ÖZET

Dünya genelinde, 1980'lerden bu yana, elektronik izleme ile ev hapsi, yargı sürecinin hem yargılama öncesi hem de hapis sonrası aşamalarında, alternatif bir cezalandırma şekli olarak çocuk tutuklular, narkotik suçlular, trafik suçluları, mülkiyet suçluları, siyasi tutuklular vb. gibi çeşitli tutuklu vakalarında uygulanmaktadır. Literatürde diğer vakalar ile ilgili çalışmalar olmasına rağmen, elektronik izleme ile ev hapsinde siyasi tutuklular vakasına odaklanan herhangi bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, Türkiye'de elektronik izleme ile ev hapsine mahkûm edilen siyasi tutukluların öznel deneyimlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Mevcut çalışmanın ana araştırma soruları, takılı elektronik kelepçenin hem tutukluların beden imajını hem de vücut bütünlüğünü nasıl etkilediği ve siyasi tutukluların zihnindeki ev temsili ev hapsi sırasında nasıl değiştiği üzerinedir. Bu soruları niteliksel olarak araştırmak için Türkiye'de yaşları 20-27 arasında değişen, toplam 33 ila 75 gün arasında ev hapsi yaşayan sekiz siyasi tutuklu öğrenciyle görüşülmüştür. Veri analizinde tematik analiz uygulanmıştır. Beş ana tema ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Temalar, a) zorlayıcı bir deneyim olarak ev hapsi, b) güvenli ve mahrem alanın kaybı, c) evin temsiliindeki dönüşüm, d) bedensel deneyimler, e) eylemliliğin bir mesele haline gelmesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Bulgular, özgün bir tutsaklık türü olarak elektronik izleme ile ev hapsinde, siyasi tutukluların çeşitli sorunlarla karşılaştığını, farklı türden yoksunluklar yaşadıklarını ve sürekli kontrol ve gözetim altında, bedenleri ve evlerine odaklanan müdahaleci uygulamalar aracılığıyla bir takım insan hakları ihlallerine maruz kaldıklarını ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca bulgular hem beden imajında hem de ev temsilde dönüşümlerin gerçekleştiğini göstermektedir. Yukarıda bahsi geçen bulgular, psikanalitik kuram ışığında tartışılmıştır. Gelecekteki çalışmalar için bazı önerilerde bulunularak çalışmanın güçlü yönleri, sınırlılıkları ve klinik uygulamaya dair çıkarımlar için öneriler tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: elektronik izleme ile ev hapsi, konut hapsi, beden algısı, ev temsili, politik şiddet

INTRODUCTION

The present study intends to investigate the subjective experiences of political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey. Since 1980s, home incarceration with electronic monitoring has been implemented as an alternative form of sentencing in both pretrial and post imprisonment stages of judicial process (Payne & Gainey, 2004). As a kind of location monitoring, home detention with electronic monitoring sanctions the person to reside in a specific place and checks it through an electronic bracelet (clamp) and its recipient based on radio frequency sensors (Maes et al., 2012; Martin et al., 2009). This is the most prevalent model of home detention with electronic monitoring. In addition to this traditional model, a contemporary alternative became internationally implemented for specific cases; some offenders are permitted to go out due to rehabilitation or to work within a restricted time of day. This contemporary model of electronic monitoring is Global Positioning System (GPS) model, based on persistent monitoring of all motions of the individual in order to control remaining specific zones and to detect violations of prohibitions by the means of distinct kinds of technical devices (Maes et al., 2012; Martin et al., 2009). Such implementation is also called partial house arrest.

Throughout the world, implementation of home detention with electronic monitoring has been applied for diverse groups of offenders encompassing juveniles, drugs offenders, traffic offenders, property offenders, political detainees, etc. (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Payne & Gainey, 2004; Wadhawan, 2021). In Europe, Latin America, New Zealand, Canada, and the USA, the severity of offense is one of the most determinative criteria for sentencing (Maes et al., 2012). In general, low risk offenders are found appropriate for home incarceration with electronic monitoring (Bagaric, 2002; Maes et al., 2012). This criterion excludes offenses especially related to violence, because this kind of offense can pose a threat for the community. Moreover, low risk of recidivism is another determinant of sentencing to home confinement (Maes et al., 2012). In Turkey, home confinement is substantially used in the cases of political detainees, and elder as well as patient

detainees. On the other hand, electronic monitoring was essentially intended to be used to protect women from the perpetrator in the cases of violence against women in Turkey (Koç, 2013). Through GPS model as kind of partial home arrest, the aim was to prevent the perpetrator from approaching the woman; however, it is not prevalently implemented in these cases in Turkey.

Research on the population of offenders sentenced to home confinement indicates that the majority of detainees are white, middle class, and male (George, 2006). This outcome is associated with class, racial and gender biases inherent in the sanction (George, 2006). Furthermore, in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Canada, and Europe, offenders are generally able to apply for sentencing of home confinement and the consent of co-residents of place, in which offender is expected to live during home confinement (Bagaric, 2002; George, 2006). This process of application and consent is not implemented in Turkey; rather, merely judicial process is authorized for the decision on sentence of home confinement.

Internationally, there exist distinct purposes behind the use of house arrest as an alternative form of incarceration in the context of probation. From the systemic view, it is regarded as a solution to overcrowding in prisons and mass imprisonment (Bagaric 2002; Maes et al., 2012; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Also, in this way, costs of imprisonment, which encompass building and operating prisons, can be reduced and this is regarded as an economic goal of the implementation (Bagaric, 2002; Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Maes et al., 2012; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Moreover, house arrest aims to protect detainees from maleficence of jails so that it could alleviate probable adverse impacts of imprisonment on prisoners (Maes et al., 2012; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Furthermore, considering the cases of pre-trial detention, it could be argued that, this method is crucial to not only preserve the presumption of innocence (Maes et al., 2012), but also to obstruct offenders from escaping the trial process (Payne & Gainey, 2004). In addition, rehabilitative (Bagaric, 2002; Payne & Gainey, 2004) and reintegrative purpose behind this implementation could be to safeguard both social and familial connections from

adverse influences of separation due to imprisonment (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Maes et al., 2012; Payne & Gainey, 2004).



CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON HOME CONFINEMENT WITH ELECTRONIC MONITORING

Review of literature illustrates that several terms, as such "house arrest", "home confinement", "home detention", "home incarceration" refer to the same conception and are used interchangeably. In this review, I will also use these notions interchangeably.

The widest body of academic literature on home confinement with electronic monitoring comprehensively investigates the experience of offenders during home confinement process. In the following, I will provide a summary of the examination of offenders' experiences of home detention with electronic monitoring.

Gresham Sykes (1958) identified the "pains of imprisonment" under five distinct categories of deprivation: deprivation of autonomy, of liberty, of goods and services, of heterosexual relations, and of security (as cited in Shammass, 2017, p.1). Firstly, deprivation of autonomy means sanctions and requirements suppress and override personal control. Secondly, deprivation of liberty includes loss of some human rights, restrains on mobility, and forced disruption of crucial relationships. Thirdly, deprivation of goods and services means bereavement of opportunity to work and purchase what is wanted. Fourthly, deprivation of heterosexual relations means separation from sexual partners. Lastly, deprivation of security means living in the risky setting due to other prisoners and staff in prisons. Some authors investigate experiences in home confinement according to these conceptualizations. Results indicate that, pains of imprisonment can be considered to be valid in the case of home confinement (Nellis, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Unlike imprisonment, in some countries, regular monetary payments are gathered from offenders, such that the monetary cost could be regarded as one of the peculiar pains of home detention with electronic monitoring (Nellis, 2009). On the other hand, in contrast to imprisonment, detainees are able to preserve social and familial

connections during home confinement (Gainey & Payne, 2000; Gibbs & King, 2003a).

Studies with offenders illustrate distinct levels of problems with respect to home confinement with electronic monitoring. Some offenders' experiences are cited as moderate level problems regarding the sanction. For this category, offenders generally underscore troubles associated with compensating physiological needs, such as not being able to go out for eating, exercising, and shopping (Payne & Gainey, 2004).

Some research shows that most offenders in home confinement experience this implementation as controlling and punitive (Lilly & Nellis, 2013; Payne & Gainey, 2004; Renzema, 2013; Van Swaaningen & Uit Beijerse, 2013). Loss of freedom (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Gibbs & King, 2003b; Martin et al., 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004), deprivation of autonomy (Payne & Gainey, 2004; Chamiell & Walsh, 2018), increase in dependency on others and infantilization especially for cases of juvenile offenders (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018), exposure to witness others doing things, what they want to do and what offenders can not to do, (Gainey & Payne 2000; Payne & Gainey, 2004), increase in family tension due to perpetually staying in the same place altogether (Gibbs & King, 2003a; Payne & Gainey, 2004), embarrassment from wearing the electric bracelet (Gainey & Payne, 2000; Gibbs & King, 2003b; Martin et al., 2009; McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009), visibility of the bracelet as a risk for stigma within society especially in the cases of partial home detention (McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004), mood swings (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018), erosion of emotional attachment to home (Wadhawan, 2021), violation and loss of privacy in the home due to intrusive practices of officers (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gainey & Payne, 2000; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Wadhawan, 2021), perpetual monitoring and checking implementations (Gainey & Payne, 2000; Wadhawan, 2021), feeling of being visible and watched (Gibbs & King, 2003a; Nellis, 2009) are justifications behind evaluations of home detention as controlling, restrictive, and punitive. It could be argued that although the degree of intrusion, restriction, and punitiveness of the sanction depends on offenders' attribution of value to freedom and autonomy

(Payne & Gainey, 2004), aforementioned experiences are substantially prevalent and are regarded as major problems relating to the sanction among offenders. However, even though offenders criticize the sanction as punitive, intrusive, and restrictive, most offenders tend to clearly prefer house arrest rather than imprisonment (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Martin et al., 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004).

In comparison with prisons, for offenders who have previously experiences in prison, difference in the amount of control is one of the most determinative aspects of preference toward home detention implementation (Payne & Gainey, 2004). Furthermore, unlike imprisonment, the opportunity to maintain employment, family and social connections, to participate and contribute to household work could be cited as positive aspects regarding the sentence of home confinement (Bagaric, 2002; Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gainey & Payne, 2000; Payne & Gainey, 2004). In addition, it could be argued that, this sanction enables offenders to reflect on their offenses and mistakes and focus on future plans during the sentence of home confinement (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gibbs & King, 2003b; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Moreover, some detainees from New Zealand emphasized various benefits of the implementation including development of self-discipline and participation in various courses to improve oneself (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gibbs & King, 2003b). Furthermore, home confinement is found to be safer than prison (Gainey & Payne, 2000).

Some other studies focus on the experience of offenders' families regarding home confinement (Gibbs & King, 2003b; King & Gibbs, 2003; Martinovic, 2007). A family member or housemate needs to be the sponsor and supervisor of the offenders during this sentence. Selected person as a sponsor should earn the livelihood of offenders and compensate for the costs of home confinement. Also, the selected member is expected to supervise the offender to obey the rules of home detention with electronic monitoring. This implementation is applied in various countries such as New Zealand, the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia, Latin America; whereas, in Turkey, it is not mandatory. Findings from studies focused on families shows that sponsors and other members in the family are found to feel

guilty for being free, to reduce their social lives, and to be increasingly present at home (Gibbs & King, 2003b; George, 2006). Also, as a supervisor, co-residing member is expected to report to surveillance officers when offender does not comply with the rules and obey sanctions (Gibbs & King, 2003b; Martinovic, 2007). At that point, intrusive and controlling practices results in a sense of loss of freedom among family members (George, 2006; King & Gibbs, 2003). Moreover, similar to offenders, family members show a tendency to shame the situation of home confinement (Gibbs & King, 2003b; Martin et al., 2009; Martinovic, 2007). Taking these into account, it could be argued that, on the positive side, families are satisfied with home confinement due to keeping together the family; on the negative side, it creates an extra burden especially for children and women and brings about distress, restrains, and extra punishment for innocent members of the household (Bagaric, 2002; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Gibbs & King, 2003b; Martin et al., 2009; Martinovic, 2007). Furthermore, it is noticeable that, sponsors or supervisors are generally female members of the family (Martinovic, 2007). According to research findings, in contrast to men, women substantially feel obligated to be sponsors, take extra responsibilities for ensuring orders, and sacrifice their routine for promoting offenders (Gibbs & King, 2003a; King & Gibbs, 2003).

Another body of literature regarding home incarceration with electronic monitoring focuses on the effectiveness of this sanction. Evaluation of effectiveness depends on the outcomes with respect to cost, recidivism rate, and net-widening. Several studies indicate that, the implementation of home confinement is cheaper than imprisonment for the state (Bagaric, 2002; George, 2006; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Gibbs & King, 2003b; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Since building prisons, employing officers and staff, compensating expenditures of prisons necessitates great budget, home confinement is a cost-effective alternative to prison for the states. Also, as in many countries, offenders should pay monthly for home incarceration, this implementation results in revenue for the states. Consequently, with respect to cost, home incarceration with electronic monitoring is more efficient than imprisonment.

Recidivism rates is evaluated as another indicator of efficiency of this implementation. Some research has focused on the rehabilitative efficiency of this sentence in the cases of drug users through comparing post-detention outcomes regarding drug consumptions (Courtright et al., 2000). Comparing results of the control group in prison with another group in home detention with electronic monitoring indicated that there is no crucial difference between two groups with respect to drug consumption (Courtright et al., 2000). In addition, findings of another study in Germany illustrated no significant difference in terms of recidivism rates (Meuer & Woessner, 2020). Furthermore, taking the lack of crucial evidence regarding significant discrepancy of recidivism rates between home confinement and imprisonment into consideration, Bagaric (2002) argued that, harshness of punishment could not be associated with contributing to internal transformation of offenders. Moreover, in the case of drunk drivers, the outcomes of comparison of older offenders with younger offenders regard to recidivism rates illustrates that, decrease in re-offending rates of older offenders is more than that of younger ones (Gibbs & King, 2003a). Another study illustrates that increase in duration of home confinement gives rise to the increase in likelihood of re-offending (Nellis, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004). Hence, considering aforementioned results, it could be claimed that there is no conclusive outcome with respect to recidivism in the literature.

Finally, efficiency of implementation is evaluated through focusing on net-widening. From the state's perspective, this implementation could play a crucial role in expansion of the net of criminal justice control through transforming homes into prisons (Gibbs & King, 2003a; Payne & Gainey, 2004). At this point, there is a strong opposition with respect to ethical issues in the academic literature. Opponents of this view argued that net-widening of control of the state has surveillance nature which brings about violation of human rights and privacy, intrusion, restrictions, and punishment (Gibbs & King, 2003a; Lilly & Nellis, 2013; McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004; Renzema, 2013; Van Swaaningen & Uit Beijerse, 2013; Wadhawan, 2021).

In the following, I will focus on the issue of surveillance and control regarding home confinement. It is crucial to begin with the discussion on distinction between home and house in the literature. A house is depicted as an ordinary shelter; in contrast, home is portrayed as a place that intertwines with various life experiences, reminiscences, affects, and expectations (Brun & Fabos, 2015; Wadhawan, 2021). Consequently, beyond being solely a shelter, the resident gradually transforms house into a private and personalized space in which they could form belonging and develop affective attachments (Brun & Fabos, 2015). This differentiation between house and home could put over the attribution of sacredness on the home. In the case of home incarceration, as private and sacred place, home is reconstructed into a place in which control and surveillance is operated, so that the home is gradually turned into an extension of prison through enforcing prison rules and sanctioning carceral and punitive practices (George, 2006; Gainey & Payne, 2000; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Lilly & Nellis, 2013; Renzema, 2013; Van Swaaningen & Uit Beijerse, 2013; Wadhawan, 2021).

In the process of transition of home into a prison, initially, the boundaries of home and even sometimes boundaries within the home determine the borders in which offenders are enforced to stay and are prohibit to exit from. Especially when the receiver of electronic monitoring cannot detect signals from certain places in the home, these areas are also prohibited. Hence, offenders cannot use restricted places within their home. This restructuring of home is interpreted as "embodiment of carceral architecture" and "imitation of prison ecosystems" within home (Wadhawan, 2021, p.7). Moreover, this kind of sanctions regarding penal practices lead to criminalization of neutral attitudes within home such as drinking, being late, exiting the house, gambling, and having visitors (George, 2006; Wadhawan, 2021). Furthermore, some research reveals that sense of security, privacy, belonging and positive emotions associated with home could be gradually eroded due to deployment of prison practices within the home (George, 2006; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Wadhawan, 2021).

Surveillance is defined as "any collection and processing of personal data, whether identifiable or not, for the purpose of influencing or managing those whose

data have been garnered" (Lyon, 2001, p.2, as cited in Nellis, 2009, p.43). As both registration of data gathering from offenders' tagged body and sanction of certain attitudes and behaviours during home confinement point out surveillance nature of this implementation, there exist crucial discussions on reframing of home detention with electronic monitoring as an experience of surveillance in the literature. The infringement of privacy at home through untimely call and checking could create the sense of being visible and watched (Lilly & Nellis, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Nellis, 2013). Tracking the compliance of offenders to sanctions throughout a day and immediately direct checking at any time of the day via phones or receiver of device of electronic monitoring demonstrate intrusively monitoring, controlling, and modulating offenders' mobility during home detention. On the other hand, the persistent existence of an ankle bracelet is regarded as a reminder of surveilled position, and lack of solution regarding discomfort of the bracelet is regarded as indication of the lack of control on one's body (Nellis, 2009; Nellis, 2013). Furthermore, since the consequences of noncompliance become punitive, requirements of implementation could be experienced as restrains and strict control (Lilly & Nellis, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Nellis, 2013; Renzema, 2013; Van Swaaningen & Uit Beijerse, 2013).

In the literature, there exists a significant controversy on the nature of home confinement implementation as a form of control and surveillance practice. On the one hand, sense of being monitored, visibility of self, and violation of privacy could be associated with Foucauldian conception of "panopticism", as a design of disciplinary power, based on surveillance of offenders in prison (Nellis, 2009). From the Foucauldian perspective, in the "societies of discipline", the ambition is to reconstruct subjects as "docile bodies" through exposure of systematic controlling which brings about a sense of being watched and internally modulating behaviours in accordance with requirements (Foucault, 1977). On the other hand, Deleuze (1992) proposed a theory of "societies of control", as distinct from Foucauldian "societies of discipline", in which persistent obedience of subject to external sanctions occurs. At this point, since both offenders and their families actively engage in restructuring conditions of home detention in line with prison

practices and actively demonstrate compliance to the rules, experience of home confinement could be interpreted as an example of surveillance practice in "societies of control" (McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Nellis, 2013). Furthermore, McCahill and Finn (2013) maintained that, offenders could not be regarded as Foucauldian "passive subjects" because of not only their active submission but also their active resistance. As McChaill and Finn (2013) has claimed, some offenders and their family members actively develop various strategies of resistance to surveillance during everyday practices of home confinement, so that they could withstand collecting and processing of personal data. Hence, taking aforementioned approaches into account, it could be argued that, in the literature, there exist distinct interpretations with respect to the nature of surveillance and control practiced throughout home detention.

In the following, I will mention four different emphases regarding the sanction of home incarceration with electronic monitoring in the literature. Formerly, some authors have shed light on the socioeconomic aspects of this implementation (Bagaric, 2002; George, 2006; Nellis, 2009). They asserted that there exists serious inequality with respect to class stratification in the sentencing of home confinement with electronic monitoring (Bagaric, 2002; Nellis, 2009). Both the structure and condition of home could change according to economic status of offenders (George, 2006; Nellis, 2009). Thus, the influence of sentencing on offenders who could access a swimming pool, tennis court, and gardens does not resemble the experience of the poor offenders (Bagaric, 2002; George, 2006). Hence, considering the class stratification among offenders, it can be argued that home confinement implementation could create inequalities with respect to punishment (Bagaric, 2002; George, 2006; Nellis, 2009).

Secondly, in the light of gender perspective, a recent study questioned the unproportioned augmentation in the number of home confinement sentences for female drug-offenders in comparison with male offenders, and underscored the political function of the home detention implementation in Latin America (Ariza et al., 2021). Furthermore, another study on home detention in New Zealand indicates that, duration of home confinement for female offenders is considerably longer than

for male offenders (King & Gibb, 2003a). Consequently, it has been contended that, home detention could be regarded as "a tool for structuring the punitive re-domestication of women into the roles traditionally assigned to them in patriarchal societies" (Ariza et al., 2021, p.287-288). Findings of a research in Canada illustrates the effect of the reinforcement of traditional gender roles during home confinement implementation such that men on home confinement with electronic monitoring are generally interesting in watching TV, resting, talking with friends during sentences; whereas, female offenders mostly do household duties and responsibilities throughout sentences (Maidment, 2002, as cited in George, 2006). Taking designation of home as a site for the control of women into account, home detention also could be reconstructed as a means of surveillance and control of women (Ariza et al., 2021; George, 2006).

Thirdly, in the case of juvenile offenders, lack of external boundaries in home incarceration with electronic monitoring causes youths to have trouble controlling themselves and complying with rules during home detention (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018). In addition, isolation from social interaction with peers could have negative influences on the development of juveniles (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018).

Finally, the emphasis on the offender's body with the tagged electronic bracelet is crucial to dwell on. Body is turned into a signifier which indicates whether offender obeys or disobeys the sanctions (McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009). As Nellis (2009) has argued that, the tact body is reconstructed as "depersonalized entity" (p.59). In addition, since surveillance is executed on the body, the target of this sanction is the body of offender instead of the mind of the offender (McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009).

1.2. THE CONTEXT AND PURPOSE OF CURRENT STUDY

Aforementioned literature review indicates how home detention with electronic monitoring is handled in the academic literature. While there are international studies about the experiences of drug-offenders, traffic offenders and other non-violent offenders, there is a deficiency of investigation of this sanction in

the case of political detainees. In Turkey, this sanction is substantially used for political offenders. Also, there is no research on the cases regarding home confinement sanction in Turkey. Thus, the present study will focus on the case of political detainees in Turkey. Among political detainees, the current study will particularly focus on political students' experiences. Moreover, in the literature, there is no a study that inquiries into the experiences of home incarceration with electronic monitoring from the psychoanalytic perspective. Hence, the purpose of the present study is to contribute to the literature by analysis of the way that political students experience home confinement with electronic monitoring in the light of psychoanalytic perspective.

From the psychoanalytic perspective, body and home can be regarded as two safe spaces with containing functions for the person (Anzieu, 1989; Aron, 1998; Diamond, 2013; Lemma, 2015; Meissner, 1998; Rayska, 2017; Winnicott, 1966). The literature clearly points to the breaking of the inviolability of not only home but also body of offenders through intrusive interventions (George, 2006; Gibbs & King, 2003a; McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Wadhawan, 2021). From this point of view, the present study intends to investigate the subjective experiences of political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey. On one hand, the study will focus on how tagged electronic bracelet influences both body image of detainees and bodily integrity of detainees. That is, the current study aims to examine the effects of tagged electronic bracelet on detainees' relationship with their bodies. On the other hand, the present study will inquire into the possible transformation of representation of the home in the mind of the detainees due to this sanction.

1.3. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE BODY IN PSYCHOANALYTIC LITERATURE

The origin of the discussion on the body in the psychoanalytic theory dates back to the emergence of psychoanalytic discourse in the literature. In the late nineteenth century, bodily symptoms in hysterical cases could not be crystalized

through reducing them to any organic cause (Freud & Breuer, 1893-1895/1955). At that point, Sigmund Freud, pioneer of psychoanalytic theory, argued that " ...the lesion in hysterical paralyses must be completely independent of the anatomy of the nervous system" (Freud & Breuer, 1893-1895/1955, p.169) and maintained that these somatic symptoms are anchored in the mind (Freud, 1905/1953). To clarify hysterical conversions and in general psychosomatic states, it has been asserted that, unbearable and intolerable psychological contents are disavowed from consciousness and transformed into somatic symptoms so that pre-verbal and pre-symbolic mental contents could be expressed through the body (Freud, 1920/1955; McDougall, 1989; Rayska, 2017). As "the symbol stands in for what is not", in the absence of the mental configuration and the linguistic symbolization, the body demonstrates a function as a metaphor and bears symbolic meanings (Diamond, 2013, p.42).

In the psychoanalytic literature, there exists remarkable emphasis on the metaphorical expressiveness of the body which can offer significant information about affects, thoughts, mental tensions and contents (Diamond, 2013; Elisha, 2006; McDougall, 1989; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Rayska, 2017;). As Lemma (2015) has asserted that "The body always speaks." (p.1). McDougall, who has endeavoured to integrate the language of the body in the analysis, (1995) contended that "the body language is the only language that cannot lie" (p.157). It could be argued that, the discovery of the bodily symbolization and expression of the unbearable and disavowed mental contents in the cases of hysterical conversion opens up space to conceptualize the body as metaphor. Consequently, the expressiveness of the body can play crucial role in interpretation of the unconscious, pre-verbal and pre-symbolic mental contents.

In the psychoanalytic literature, there is another emphasis on the body in Freudian instinctual drive theory. According to the theory, instinctual drives stem from the bodily stimulus and tension, which create demands on the mind for discharge and seek satisfaction through behaviours (Freud, 1915/1961). Thus, the main source of the process of the mind and behaviours as outcomes of this process grounds on the body (Elisha, 2006). At that point, drive is depicted as the

representation of somatic stimulus in the mind; consequently, it has been argued that, instinctual drives operate as frontier between the body and mind (Mitchell & Black, 1995; Meissner, 2000). Briefly, in instinctual drive theory, the body is conceptualized as a main source of the operation of the mind and of the construction of mental contents, human behaviours, and interactions (Elisha, 2006; Sella, 2008).

1.3.1. The Concept of Body-Ego

In *The Ego and the Id*, Freud (1923/1961) claimed that, "the ego is first and foremost a bodily ego" (p.26). He maintained that the ego stems from bodily sensations which are especially rooted in the body surface (Freud, 1923/1961). There exists crucial discussion on the interpretation of these statements in the psychoanalytic literature. According to Freudian conceptualization, the ego refers to the core of one's self; consequently, he propounded that a bodily self is the origin of one's psychic self (Aron, 1998). Bodily sensations and somatic states play crucial role in the construction of the ego, that is, the self (Diamond, 2013; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997). It has been argued that, objective somatic sensations and states are performed as premonitory demonstrations of the subjective states (Sella, 2008). Bodily sensations originated from multisensory stimulus, which are composed of visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and thermal inputs (Diamond, 2013). Among these multisensory inputs, tactility places a particular importance. For infants, majority of bodily sensations are based on the tactile stimulus through touch (Aron, 1998). It has been asserted that, along with the birth, a baby is initially touched and held by the other (Diamond, 2013; Meissner, 1997). At that point, as Freud (1923/1961) has claimed that, touch brings about double sensation. Not only body, as an object, is touched and held by the caregiver but also new-born baby, as a subject, is feeling and touching (Diamond, 2013; Meissner, 1997). Hence, double sensation encompasses both a sense of touching as a subject and a sense of being touched as an object (Meissner, 1997). From this point of view, it could be contended that new-born baby's first experience in the position of a subject and an object comes into being through the touch (Diamond, 2013). As a result, Freudian

notion of body ego opens up space to the association the body with the self and theoretical discussion on body self in the psychoanalytic literature.

1.3.2. The Concept of Skin Ego

After Freud, with reference to the Freudian concept of the body ego, in *Skin Ego* psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu (1989) propounded the notion of skin ego, that is, skin self. Similar to the body ego, the construction of skin ego is based on the bodily sensations (Anzieu, 1989). Likewise body ego, through internalization of the perceptions originating from the sensations on the skin surface, bodily and psychic skin ego start to be constructed (Anzieu, 1989). In the beginning, the skin does not coherently contain the body (Anzieu, 1989). For Anzieu, neurologically underdeveloped new-born baby makes uncoordinated motor movements; thus, holding together the unity of the body is reinforced through restrictions or any kind of wrappings such as clothing and even holding by the other (Anzieu, 1989). At that point, it has been asserted that, "the containing object is experienced concretely as a skin" (Anzieu, 1989, p.193). Since skin is one of the most fundamental means of the contact between mother and infant, the construction of skin ego substantially depends on mother-infant interactions (Anzieu, 1989; Aron, 1998). Specifically mother's hand and her holding the new-born's body enable infant to gradually internalize both the sense of boundedness and the function of containment, so that the skin can gradually operate as rudimentary ego (Aron, 1998). From this point of view, "Skin ego as psychological container keeps the internal world in the relational contact with the outside world" (Diamond, 2013, p.140). According to this approach, on the one side, inner surface of the skin performs as holding the unity of the body together; on the other side, the external surface of the skin performs a ground for relationality with the external world (Anzieu, 1989; Houzel, 1990). Thus, skin ego involves both individuality and relationality. Moreover, similar to the body in the frame of the discussion regarding body ego, skin becomes a means of the complementary sense of self as subject and the sense of self as object via touch.

1.3.3. The Concept of Body Self

The discussion around body ego and skin ego is recently maintained on the concept of body self in the contemporary literature (Krueger, 1989; Lichtenberg, 1975; Meissner, 1997). The Freudian hypothesis that the infantile and primitive ego is derived from body ego is furthered and propounded on that the body self "refers to the individual's full range of experiences that center on his body- its surface, its interior and all the images (conscious, preconscious, and unconscious) that comprise it." (Lichtenberg, 1978, p.360). Although the fundamental assumption is the same, the conceptualization of the body self distinctively assumes that, not only primitive ego structure but also the construction of the self throughout life is associated with a whole range of bodily experiences (Lichtenberg, 1978; Lemma, 2015).

In *Body Self and Psychological Self*, David Krueger (1989) clarified the improvement of the body self through following three stages. In the first stage, somatic stimulations, sensations and states dominate the whole experiencing of the body. This state can be resembled to Thomas Ogden's presumption of a primitive autistic-contiguous position, in which the self entirely consists of bodily and sensory experiences which derive from specifically the skin surface (Ogden, 1989). In the Krueger's second stage of the development of the body self, the formation of body boundaries is realized (Krueger, 1989). Moreover, the second stage involves establishing body image based on bodily experiences (Krueger, 1989). The last stage encompasses the integration of multiple sense of self and construction of the cohesive sense of self and identity (Krueger, 1989). It is crucial to focus on discussions in the literature on some points of the development of the body self in the frame of this research.

1.3.3.1. The Concept of Body Boundary

The recent discussion on the concept of body self specifically concentrates on the issue of the boundaries of the body (Aron, 1998; Krueger, 1989; Lichtenberg,

1978; Meissner, 1998). The integration of the body with the sense of self prioritizes the formation of boundaries of the body and its psychic functions (Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1998). Both the psychic acquisition of the restricted nature of the membrane of skin and the development of the sense of boundedness of the body bring about two main functions. One of the basic functions of body boundaries is the differentiation of the self from non-self (Aron, 1998; Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1998). The subjective sense of the separateness from the other (non-self) is acknowledged as a precondition of psychic maturity (Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1998). Establishing body boundaries and its intrapsychic internalizations play a crucial role on the separation and individuation during developmental process, construction of sense of self and self-cohesion, and the formation of distinct personality organizations (Aron, 1998; Meissner, 1998). As Meissner (1998) has argued, important distinctions in personality organizations, relational patterns, affectivity, and behavioural tendencies have been observed between individuals with definite and indefinite body boundaries. For instance, people, who have more definite body boundaries, generally demonstrate greater sense of agency, autonomy and independency, greater tendency for interaction with others and for opening to new experiences, and greater capability for coping with body alterations such as amputations, pregnancy, and physical disabilities (Meissner, 1998). In addition, the capability for reality testing is also associated with the structure of body boundaries (Lichtenberg, 1978). Consequently, establishing body boundaries and the definiteness of them have crucial influences on one's sense of the self, agency, relational patterns, affects, attitudes, and coping capabilities (Aron, 1998; Meissner, 1998).

Another fundamental function of the construction of the body boundaries is containment. Anzieu accounted for the construction of the skin envelope through associating it with psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion's conceptualization around containment (Diamond, 2013). Bion's concept of containment refers to the transformation of raw somatic beta elements into alpha elements, which are composed of thoughts encompasses affects, through the mother's process named as alpha function (Bion, 1967; Bion, 1970). In Bion's point of view, specifically the

mother's breast contains beta elements and makes alpha function (Bion, 1967). Thus, mother's breasts as body parts could contain and process raw somatic material of the infant (Bion, 1967). Furthermore, through holding the new-born baby, the mother and specifically her hands function as the protective container for the infant (Bion, 1967; Bion, 1970). As Anzieu (1989) has claimed, "The containing object is experienced concretely as a skin" (p.193). The containing function of the maternal body is gradually internalized by the infant due of their dyadic interactions and forms the sense of boundedness of the skin, which is necessity for the construction of the primitive skin ego (Anzieu,1989).

This emphasis is preserved for the construction and consolidation of the self in maturity. As Slavin and Rahmani (2016) have underlined, "we think with our bodies and with our bodies' encounters with the material world." (p.154). At that point, Winnicott (1966) propounded that, the subjective experience of "the indwelling of the psyche in the soma" is acknowledged as prerequisite for the personalization (p.515). According to Winnicott's approach, the body is viewed as a "container for the multidimensional sense of the self" (Rayska, 2017, p. 49). Furthermore, Winnicott (1966) has contended that, any distortion of this function of containment and the unity between psyche and soma result in psychopathology. In Winnicott's perspective on the self, false self is regarded as a kind of disintegration in one's personality based on split between the mind and the body; in contrast, true self is associated with the integration between one's mind and body (Winnicott, 1960). Hence, the integration of the personality necessitates that the body functions as a container for affects, thoughts and whole the sense of self (Lemma, 2015). Through the development of skin envelope owing to internalization of maternal function, one can be gradually resided and rooted in one's body and body contain multiple self-states (Aron, 1998; Krueger, 1989; Lemma, 2015; Meissner, 1997). Consequently, the construction of body boundaries is regarded as a prerequisite for not only the differentiation the self and non-self but also of the containment (Aron, 1998; Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1997).

1.3.3.2. The Concept of Body Image

In Krueger's second stage of the development of the body self, there exists the formation of mental representation of the body and construction of the body image (Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1997). As the formation of a cohesive sense of self necessitates formation of body image, it is crucial to mention the discussion on the body image in the psychoanalytic literature.

In the psychoanalytic literature, Sigmund Freud (1923/1961) was the first to mention the body image. For Freud (1923/1961), "Ego is first and foremost a body ego; it is not merely a surface entity but it is itself the projection of a surface" (p. 26). This connotes that mental representation of the self is derived from primitive representation of the body in the mind (Aron, 1998; Lemma, 2015). Moreover, in Freudian approach, the body image has both conscious and unconscious sides (Diamond, 2013). At that point, to underscore unconscious aspects of body image, Lemma (2015) used the term body imagining(s).

After Freud, psychoanalyst Paul Schilder (1935/1950) designated the body image as "the picture of our own body which we form in our mind, that is to say the way in which the body appears to ourselves" (Schilder, 1935/1950, p. 11). Diamond (2013) went a step further and contended that, the representation of the body is not only product of visual stimulus but also product of multisensory inputs that involve kinaesthetic, motional, thermal, tactile, olfactory sensations. At that point, Schilder (1935/1950) claimed that, body image is derived from bodily sensations of skin surfaces; nevertheless, it is not acknowledged as an only sensation or only perception. Even though body image consists mental representations and imaginations, it is not sole representation and imagination (Schilder, 1935/1950). Rather, it is regarded as "self-appearance of the body" which encompasses the totality of one's authentic sensations, perceptions, experiences, imaginations, fantasies, and representation of one's own body (Schilder, 1935/1950, p.11). Hence, in Meissner's brief designation, "body images are representations of experienced bodily percepts" (Meissner, 1997, p.429).

On the other hand, "the body image is not innate" (Lemma, 2015, p.5). Rather, it is intersubjective and relational construct (Diamond, 2013; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Lemma, 2015; Meissner, 1997). "The body image is thus formed by the deposit of images and symbols of key external figures, internalized by stimuli from without, fusion with sensory perception from within" (Mushatt, 1975, p. 92-93). Moreover, body image stems from the interiorization of the bodily and nonverbal interactions based on caregiver's bodily reactions to somatic and affective states of the infant, maternal handling and her personal representations of the body (Diamond, 2013; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Lemma, 2015; Meissner, 1997). Consequently, the process of the formation of the body image depends on the intersubjective relation between infant and caregiver (Diamond, 2013; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Lemma, 2015; Mushatt, 1975).

The relational aspect of the construction of the representations of the body brings with it in flux nature of the body image (Diamond, 2013; Lemma, 2015; Schilder, 1935/1950). Body image is continuously dynamic (Aron, 1998; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Ehrlich, 1970; Lemma, 2015; Schilder, 1935/1950). The source of the plasticity of the body image can be both internal inputs and external effects of interaction with others (Diamond, 2013; Schilder, 1935/1950). In the state of perpetual fluctuations, the body image is constructed, dissolved, and reconstructed by the process of identifying, projecting, participating in bodies of the others and integrating them with personal body image (Ehrlich, 1970). Furthermore, it is significant to emphasize that, trauma is also associated with the fluctuations of body image and ultimately body self, because the construction of representations of body is the founder of the construction of body self. Hence trauma has particular importance with respect to body images and body self.

1.3.4. Body, Self, and Trauma

In the psychoanalytic literature, *Unheimlich* is portrayed as the state of "not being at home in one's own body" (Freud, 1919/1955; Diamond, 2013, p.184). In contrast to the state of *Heimlich*, *Unheimlich* refers to the unfamiliar and alien self-states that bring about estrangement from our subjectivity (Diamond, 2013). *Unheimlich* is regarded as a product of distinct kinds of traumas that encompass abuse, accident, natural disaster, torture, and any kind of violations (Diamond, 2013). In the face of trauma, self initially recognizes destructive danger and is overwhelmed by the fear of annihilation (Boulanger, 2007). "Stimulus barrier" as threshold for external stimuli is excessively penetrated and body boundaries as protective shield are severely violated (Elsass, 1997). Since the formation of body boundaries is precondition for the construction of the sense of self, the exposure to the destructive violations of the body boundaries results in the distortions in body image and the disintegration of the coherent sense of the self (Meissner, 1998). Hence, during the traumatic experiences, "it is the intense pain that destroys a person's self and world, a destruction experienced spatially as either the contraction of the universe down to the immediate vicinity of the body or as the body swelling to fill the entire universe" (Scarry, 1985, p.35). "The body thus became the last foothold for survival" (Meissner, 1998, p.126). Merely the body can possess and safeguard the maintenance of the self (Waintrater, 2015). Although only the body remains in the state of trauma, but it is not safe, familiar, holding, and containing as before; on the contrary, it is unfamiliar, fragile, and violated. That is, traumatized person experiences the state of *Unheimlich*, "not being at home in one's own body" (Diamond, 2013, p.184).

It is crucial to briefly mention dissociation as a defense mechanism in order to grasp the influences of traumatic experiences on both the body and the sense of the self. Dissociation is designated as "a way of organization of information" compartmentalizes experience, so that components of experience are preserved as insulated units instead of combined into a whole (Van der Hart, et al., p.254). In the cases of trauma, dissociation paradoxically plays crucial role on the maintenance of

the integrity of the self through compartmentalizing (Luci, 2017). During the exposure to extreme trauma, dissociation enables person to abstain from total dissolution of self through holding destructive experience within distinct self-states, interrupting accessibility between them, dissolving body-mind unity, and restricting cognitive and reflective interpretation of the traumatic experiences (Bromberg, 1998; Luci, 2017). There exist three distinct kinds of dissociation. In primary dissociation, dissociated experience is not affectively processed and verbally encoded; it is raw and isolated as pieces of bodily intense sensations (Aron, 1998; Van der Hart et. al., 2002). On the other hand, if there exists ego fragmentation as "observing ego" and "experiencing ego", that is person alienates his/her body and turns into a spectator while he/she is experiencing trauma in order to protect from being aware of adverse influences of the traumatic event, this is called as secondary dissociation (Van der Hart et. al., 1998; Aron, 1998). Luci (2017) portrayed this kind of dissociation as observing oneself from a distance. This estrangement is designated as depersonalization (Aron, 1998). It can be argued that, the state of *Unheimlich* exemplifies this kind of dissociation. Besides, it is depicted as an "out-of-body experience (OBE)" and it is associated with the distortion in body image as consequence of the trauma (Meissner, 1997, p.437). Furthermore, when stimulation is so intensive and overwhelming to process and integrate, it is stored in a separate self-state through vertical splitting (Davies & Frawley, 1994; Ehrensaft, 2008). This kind of compartmentalization is designated as tertiary dissociation (Aron, 1998; Van der Hart et. al., 1998). As a result, in the state of distinct kinds of dissociation, traumatic experience is compartmentalized in order to prevent the self structure from total disintegration.

Boulanger (2007) has asserted that, dissociation in the wake of traumas gives rise to the collapse of the self. This collapse of the core self could be observed through analysing its reflection on the sense of agency, physical cohesion, psychosomatic collision, affectivity, and continuity. Consequently, in the following parts, I will focus on the collapse of the self as consequences of the dissociation through linking it with the issues regarding body-mind unity, self-reflexivity, bodily integrity, and the sense of agency respectively.

During the traumatic experiences, the self shatters, loses its capacity for reflection, and becomes numb due to the dissociation (Boulanger, 2007). As Aron (1998) has argued, "all dissociation is rooted in the primal dissociation of body from mind, of subjective awareness from objective awareness, of "I" from "me" (p.27). As consequence of dissociation, the unity of body and mind is dissolved. Dissociated experience is not affectively processed and verbally encoded; it is raw and verbally unsymbolized; thus, it is not recognized, narrated, and contained in the mind (Boulanger, 2007). Rather, body keeps any kind of records beyond verbalization and symbolization in the cases of extreme trauma (Van Der Kolk, 2014).

Trauma "draws the individual back to a time in which the mind was still corporised and the body not yet mentalised" (Waintrater, 2015, p. 50). The separation mind and body brings about the loss of reflective functioning of the mind on the embodied experiences (Elisha, 2006). At that point, since the formation of body self necessitates reflective capacity, the loss and impairment of the capacity for reflection is crucial to underscore so as to understand the collapse of the self in the face of trauma (Aron, 1998). Self-reflexivity refers to the capability by which one can observe, dwell on, and reflect on one's experiences in the state of both self as subject and self as object (Aron, 1998). As Ogden has maintained "self-reflective thought occurs when "I" (as subject) look at "me" (as object)" (1997, p.727). In consequence of trauma, skin surface lost its function to mediate experiences between self as subject and self as object (Aron, 1998). Thus, self-reflexive functioning is impaired and traumatized person unable to reflect on the traumatic experiences (Aron, 1998).

On the other hand, in traumatic cases related to torture, abuse, physical and sexual violence, the corporality of the body becomes vulnerable, since body is become institutionalized as means of persecution through extreme pain infliction on it. "The body is invaded, injured, defiled", so "basic bodily integrity" is disrupted and even lost (Herman, 1992, p.53). As Boulanger (2007) emphasized, even the threat to the sense of physical cohesion could bring about fragmentation of bodily experience, depersonalization, and derealization, an actual assault toward the body

is quite likely to result in collapse of the bodily integrity. At that point, Lichtenberg (1975) has claimed that, the manifestations of the fragmentation of bodily integrity can be observed in the transformations of body image as both the separation of the painful parts of the body from the whole body and objectification of these parts. Meissner has maintained that, demonstrations of the collapse of bodily integrity reveal in the dreams as fragmented and distorted representations of the body (Meissner, 1997). Furthermore, since skin symbolically represents intersubjective border between self and other and intrapsychic border between psyche and soma, the penetration of skin through pain infliction could shatter this distinction between interior and exterior and dissolve the function of body as container of agency, affects, distinct self-states (Aron, 1998; Boulanger, 2007; Meissner, 1998).

During torture, physical, sexual, and systematic violence, victim loses his/her control over motor behaviours and bodily functions (Boulanger, 2007; Herman, 1992). Thus, the self is transformed into an object and loses the sense of agency and autonomy by systematic techniques of disempowerment and dehumanization (Boulanger, 2007; Herman, 1992). Since "it is capacity to be agent that makes an experience real and capable of being remembered", survivor of trauma remains under the attack of intrusive and fragmented memory (Slavin & Pollock, 1997, p.582; Boulanger, 2007). Also, the capacity for narrative memory requires both psychic integrity and the sense of agency (Slavin, 1997). Thus, meaning making of unbearable memories and creating cohesive narrative of traumatic experiences become impossible due to loss of the sense of agency in cases of extreme traumas.

1.4. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HOME IN PSYCHOANALYTIC LITERATURE

1.4.1. Defining the Concept

Home, as a fundamental notion regarding humanity, is conceptualized in various ways by distinct disciplines, theories, and perspectives in the literature. The present study will focus on theoretical conceptualization of home from

psychoanalytic perspective. Thus, following parts will provide discussion around the concept of home in psychoanalytic literature.

Initially, it is crucial to illustrate how home, as multidimensional concept, is defined in the literature. Home is depicted as a material structure for dwelling, which is accepted as a fundamental human need for physical protection (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Kennedy, 2014). At this point, it is crucial to mention the distinction between home and house in the literature. A house is depicted as an ordinary shelter; in contrast; home is portrayed as a place that intertwines with various life experiences, reminiscences, affects, and expectations (Barhelard, 1958/1994; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Brun & Fabos, 2015; Wadhawan, 2021). Residents gradually transform home into a private and personalized space in which they could form belonging and develop emotional attachments (Brun & Fabos, 2015). Consequently, beyond being solely a physical shelter for dwelling, home is conceptualized as an affective space, which contains various kinds of emotions ranging from feeling of belonging, security, attachment, and the sense of comfort to the sense of fear, feeling of alienation, persecution, and oppression (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017; Allnutt, 2016; Barchelard, 1958/1994; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Kennedy, 2014). Furthermore, Blunt and Dowling (2006) portrayed home as “a spatial imaginary” encompasses a cluster of interwoven and diverse affects, meanings, and ideas which are appertaining to the context (p.2). In the cases of domestic violence, home confinement, and deep poverty, home is experienced as a space of insecurity, alienation and persecution rather than a secure and supporting space (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Moreover, home is regarded as an alive creation which is constantly constructed and reconstructed within practices, experiences, relations, meanings and feelings related to it (Blunt & Dowling 2006). As a result, home can refer to a space, a place, an idea, a meaning, an affect, a state of mind, a practice, and an experience (Kennedy, 2014; Mallett, 2004; Prietto, 2015).

1.4.2. Feeling at Home in the World

In the light of attachment theory, the quality of the attachment between infant and primary caregiver has crucial impacts on the formation of the one's sense of safety, which is fundamental for exploration of the world (Bowlby, 1988). It has been argued that, "an awareness of being at home is a development of original attachment to the mother" (Bedi, 2011, p.550; Hill, 1996). Consequently, the common statement of "feeling at home in the world" reflects the construction of affective attachment with home; thus, a sense of home connotes secure ground for rootedness and for interaction with the world (Hill, 1996; Kennedy, 2014). From this point of view, it can be maintained that, the sense of being at home enables one a safe base to engage the unknown outside and to establish relations with others (Papadopoulos, 2002).

The formation of a sense of home is acknowledged as a complicated accomplishment in developmental process (Durban, 2017). Throughout life, the construction of the sense of home is intertwinement with one's seeking of "a safe physio-mental coverage" (Durban, 2017, p.175). In the literature, a beginning of the construction of the sense of home is associated with dwelling in mother's womb as a secure physio-mental-coverage (Durban, 2017; Eguier, 2013; Karaman, 2009). As Freud (1919/1955) has asserted that mother's body is a "former *Heim* [home] of all human being, to place where each one of us lived once upon a time and in the beginning" (p.245). However, since mother's immune system might initially recognize embryo as a foreign entity and assault it, the dwelling on mother's womb is a difficult task in which destructiveness of mother's body must transform into protectiveness and nutritiousness in order to growth of embryo (Durban, 2017). In addition to physiological aliveness and growth of baby, this transformation of destructiveness is experienced as being contained in the secure body of mother (Durban, 2017). This first experience of being securely contained in mother's body is regarded as a prerequisite of the construction of sense of being at home in the world in the future. Hence, if initial home is insecure, foreign, and destructive, child will tend to experience the world as an unsafe, destructive, unfamiliar, and

persecuting place in the future (Durban, 2017). As reflections of this destructiveness of primary home; the lack of containment, security, continuity, wholeness, and relatedness have severe influences on “being at home in our body, feeling at home with the other while being a home for the other, and feeling at home in the union of differences namely, in the link between father and mother, and through all these then finding a home in society at large with its norms, values, and culture” (Durban, 2017, p.183; Papadopoulos, 2002).

Following the dwelling in mother’s body, the process of the formation of sense of home requires dwelling in one’s own body (Durban, 2017). One of the most fundamental prerequisites is an existence of borders to establish home, since boundaries could distinguish inner from outer and could create an internal space which has containing function for dwelling (Durban, 2017; James, 2015; Karaman, 2009). Consequently, the construction of body boundaries gives rise to separate self from non-self and form a containing space for "the indwelling of the psyche in the soma" (Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1998; Winnicott, 1966, p.515). As previously mentioned in the second part of introduction chapter, the formation of body boundaries, as an enveloping structure, necessitates the internalization of primary caregiver’s psychic function of “holding” and “containing” (Aron,1998). At that point it is crucial to briefly mention Winnicott’s concept of “holding” and Bion’s concept of “container-contained”.

Winnicott (1960) asserted that, primary maternal preoccupation is essential to form a holding environment which is arranged as appropriate for satisfaction of infant’s needs. During this period, physiological needs of infant are not differentiated from psychological needs (Abram, 2007). Thus, holding means protection from physiological dangers, awareness of child’s sensory sensitivity based on tactile, auditory and visual stimulus, and routine caring including nourishing, cleaning, dressing (Abram, 2007). Winnicott (1960) claimed that, good enough maternal care provides satisfaction of dependent baby’s basic needs to strengthen infantile ego. Furthermore, holding function brings about the protection of child from not only external dangers but also internal threats (Modell, 1975). Holding also refers to psychological capability to handle infant’s temper tantrums

and to soothe frustrations, so that holding functions as restriction of aggressive impulses and regulation of intense affects can protect child from internal destructiveness (Modell, 1975). Compensating both physiological and psychological needs of infant by holding illustrate continuity and stability of secure ground in which caregiver is available and reliable. This holding function of primary caregiver is gradually internalized by the child toward achieving "the indwelling of the psyche in the soma" (Winnicott, 1966, p.515). Consequently, through internalization of safe, integrating, and regulating object, child can feel at home in his/her body which opens space for construction of sense of self (Cregeen, 2017; Diamond, 2013; Durban, 2017).

Similar to holding function, containment function is internalized by infant from caregiver infant dyadic interactions in early infancy (James, 2015). Bion's container-contained function refers to that, caregiver digests and processes raw somatic and affective experiences in the name of child (James, 2015; Hafsi, 2011). The internalization of containing function of the caregiver body by the infant forms the enveloping structure of the skin and develops internal psychic space for containing, which are required for the construction of body as home (Durban, 2017).

1.4.3. The Concept of Internal Habitat

In the literature, home is conceptualized through associating with body. Alberto Eiguer discussed unconsciousness of home through establishing analogy between home with body (2013). He pointed out the concept of "internal habitat", which evokes body image and means conscious and unconscious representation of lived space. Internal habitat is constructed by means of the reflections of both body image and unconscious representation of body parts (Eiguer, 2013). Integrity, flexibility, and endurance of body image are transferred psychic representations of home and vice versa (Eiguer, 2013).

According to Eiguer (2013), there exists several functions of internal habitat. Similar to the function of enveloping coverage of skin for the body, the

endurance of internal habitat provides protection and containment for family members. Thus, one of the most crucial functions of internal habitat is containment (Eiguer, 2013). It is fundamental to differentiate inner space of home from outside, to protect family from destructiveness of external world, to provide comfortable and safe ground for experiencing privacy (Eiguer, 2013). At that point, home is accepted as one of the most suitable places for development of privacy (Eiguer, 2013). Privacy operates to protect the vulnerability of human (Eiguer, 2013). Privacy gives rise to both repression of exhibitionistic tendency for shameful aspects of human and sharing sensitive and positive aspects of identity with intimate others (Eiguer, 2013). Regarding the latter, the main purpose of privacy is being understood by the other within the sense of safety (Eiguer, 2013). Shared privacy in safe ground is one move ahead of the sense of uncanny; while, privacy of authentic and unique self is one step beyond the uncanny (Eiguer, 2013).

Another function of internal habitat is identification with the home which results in carrying marks of dwellers on the home (Eiguer, 2013). Continuity of historicity is another role of internal habitat (Eiguer, 2013; Papadopoulos, 2002). Moreover, internal habitat has function of creativity for design the home (Eiguer, 2013). It is asserted that, sense of self reflects on the design of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006) At that point, it is emphasized that, “home belongs to us and we belong to home. Home creates us and we create home” (Bachelard, 1958/1994; Durban, 2017; Hill, 1996; Papadopoulos, 2002, p.22).

Similar to the concept of identity, self is associated with home in the literature. As a self-space, home is composed of the reflections of self (Karaman, 2009). Not only the door of home but also the doors of self open to both interior and exterior (Karaman, 2009). The door represents border between inner and outer (Karaman, 2009). The door has role in controlling entrance and exit. The transition from the door and its opening to outside illustrates vital role of the door (Karaman, 2009). Furthermore, window, as another part of home for opening to outside, represents eye of the home (Karaman, 2009). It has functions of both seeing and surveillance (Karaman, 2009). Observing outside from the window is a way of protection of inside (Karaman, 2009). Window enables to view outside through

remaining inside (Karaman, 2009). The gaze is our least restrained sensory trait; thus, gaze can not only escape but also break the law and prohibition the easiest (Karaman, 2009).

1.4.4. The Concept of Psychic Home

In *The Psychic Home*, Roger Kennedy (2014) propounded the concept of a psychic home, which connotes to an inner sense of a safe home ground and fundamental psychic structure for the construction of identity. As Papadopoulos (1997) has asserted the sense of home is accepted as “substratum of identity” (p.14). Psychic home is a product of distinct intrapsychic and interpersonal ingredients (Kennedy, 2014). Particularly containment experiences regarding physical home play a crucial role in internalization of psychic home (Kennedy, 2014). Material boundaries of home, permeability of borders, differentiation exterior from interior, the presence of internal containing space characterized not only physical home but also psychic home (Kennedy, 2014). Moreover, when other’s mind, as a home, become substantially available and a receptive container for one’s internal objects, one’s affects, one’s self, and one’s relational patterns, one can construct sense of home for oneself and others (Cregeen, 2017). Consequently, finding and experiencing “psychic home in parental minds” enable child to establish one’s own psychic home through internalization of this function (Cregeen, 2017, p.164). Psychic home encompasses affects, representations, internalization of objects, identification with objects, and relational patterns (Kennedy, 2014).

In secure psychic home, parental objects provide reinforcement for autonomy, independence, and separation and recognize individuality for development of integrated sense of identity (Kennedy, 2014). According to Kennedy, the construction of a mature identity necessitates leaving home at one point in order to explore and find authentic identity (2014). In the literature a paradoxical nature of association with home is underlined as yearning while leaving home and desire of leaving for new encounters (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017).

From the psychoanalytic perspective, it is asserted that home contains maternal and paternal functions (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017). On the one hand, the sense of safety and the sense of nest-warmth is associated with maternal function of home (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017; Karaman, 2009). In addition, both holding and containment functions are regarded as maternal function (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017). On the other hand, existence of firm and protective boundaries and separation internal from external are regarded as paternal functions (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017).

1.4.5. The State of *Unheimlich* and “Uncanny”

Freud (1919/1955) dwelled on the “uncanny” experiences and elucidated them from psychoanalytic view. *Unheimliche* as German word is translated in English as uncanny (Hariry, 2010). Thus, Freud (1919/1955) discussed “uncanny” experiences by explaining the state of *Unheimliche*, as opposite of *Heimliche* which means “familiar”, “free from fear”, and “belonging to the house”, connotes unknown, unfamiliar, and the sense of not being at home (p.225). That is, the state of heimlich reminds homelike as secure, familiar, comfortable, and intimate; in contrast, the state of unheimlich reminds unhomely as insecure, unknown, strange, and frightening. Freud portrayed uncanny experiences as being unhomely and homeliness (Hariry, 2010). Consequently, uncanny experiences involve the feelings of insecurity, horror and dread (Kennedy, 2014). Uncanny experiences bring about alienation (Kennedy, 2014). Furthermore, feeling of uncertainty is acknowledged as a stunning example of the uncanniness (Freud, 1919/1955).

In the paper, Freud (1919/1955) contended that, “we can understand why the usage of speech has extended *das Heimliche* into its opposite *das Unheimliche*; for this uncanny is in reality nothing new or foreign, but something familiar and old- established in the mind that has been estranged only by the process of repression” (p.245). Thus, uncanny is also depicted as re-emergence of repressed familiar, old, and secret (Kennedy, 2014). At that point, it is questioned how familiar, secure, comfortable, and homely is turned into something uncanny

(Diamond, 2013; Hariry, 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002). Political oppression, torture, war, disasters, and abuse can transform safety and homeliness into insecure, alien, strange, and frightening (Hariry, 2010; Diamond, 2013; Papadopoulos, 2002). On the other hand, it is emphasized that, uncanny experiences give rise to a need for feeling at home. Hence, those experiences arouse a pursuit of home. This is regarded as the “use of the uncanny to find home” (Hariry, 2010, p.25).

In the following discussion on the state of Unheimlich in the literature, the discussion on the mental states of homelessness and nowhere-ness will be briefly mentioned. Both the state of homelessness and nowhere-ness are related to a threat and break down of the sense of home (Durban, 2017). Similar to the sense of home, homelessness is regarded as developed mental state, since differentiation between self and object and progress of object relations are realized (Durban, 2017; Papadopoulos, 2002). Anxieties regarding homelessness are product of danger for object and loss of object and indicate development of capability for loss and mourning (Durban, 2017). Therefore, treatment of homelessness required process of mourning for the loss and reconstruction of feeling at home in the world (Durban, 2017).

On the other hand, nowhere-ness is “a state of having no body, nobody (else) and nowhere to hide” (Durban, 2017, p.180). In the extreme state of nowhere-ness, anxieties regarding ontological existence demonstrated disturbance of sense of boundedness, lack of protective envelope, deficiency of differentiation inner from outer, and absence of psycho-somatic integration (Durban, 2017). Moreover, raw and intense somatic and affective sensations cause chaotic and isolated inner state (Durban, 2017). Besides, there is no differentiation between self and object (Durban, 2017). Treatment of the sense of nowhere-ness and existential dread starts with construction of protective shell for security and separation inside from outside and continues internalization of holding and containing function, so that emergence of sense of home can become possible (Durban, 2017).

In conclusion, during the treatment process of both homelessness and nowhere-ness, therapists endeavour to be home for patients in order for the construction of sense of being at home in the world through providing holding and

containing environment (Bedi, 2011; Hill, 1996; Papadopoulos, 2002; Prietto 2015).



CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. DATA COLLECTION

After Istanbul Bilgi University Ethics Committee's approval, since the study focuses on experiences of a specific group, both convenience and snowball sampling methods were utilized to recruit participants. Firstly, announcement of the study was shared with some networks of activist university students' organization, so that participants volunteering to participate in the study could be reached. Candidate participants were eliminated according to suitability of inclusion and exclusion criteria. Participants included political prisoners sentenced with home incarceration with electronic monitoring. Inclusion criteria were composed of being a student, the age range of 18-30, and 1-4 months for duration of home confinement.

Firstly, criteria of being a student in a university encompasses undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students. Since it focused on young adults' experiences, it excluded adolescent students in high school. It was expected to being an official student in the state or private universities. Student status during the home detention process was not be determinative criteria. In literature, there is not specific research inquire into home confinement experiences of students, who are political detainees, or any particular occupational group. Student identity was common characteristic of participants for collecting data from more homogeneous group. Also, in Turkey, according to reports of non-governmental organisations, there exist approximately seventy thousand students as political detainees in prisons (Arti Gercek, 2021; DW., 2018). Since student represent significant portion of political detainees in Turkey, the present study scrutinized the experiences of this specific group and aimed to give voice their experiences during the process of home detention with electronic monitoring.

Secondly, as participants' age might determine how detainee experience house arrest with electronic monitoring, age interval was restricted as between 18-30 in order to examine more homogeneous group and minimize differentiation related to participants' age. In addition to it, as participants were composed of

students, designation of this interval purpose to be suitable for including general age of studentship. In literature, few studies on the case of juvenile detainees (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018) utilized age intervals as an inclusion or exclusion criteria regarding participants. In general, majority of the research is on adults (Payne & Gainey, 2004; Gibbs & King, 2003b). Present study focused specifically on young adults to minimize impact of participants' age on their experience and investigate more homogeneous group.

Thirdly, duration of confinement was restricted between one and four months to minimize differentiation of experiences due to duration, since different durations can have various influences on detainees. In addition to it, long duration of home detention could be regarded as captivity, as a kind of long-term trauma, which could adversely affect and traumatize detainees (Herman, 1992) and it falls outside of the scope of the present study. Moreover, in the case of political detainees in Turkey, home detention with electronic monitoring is generally implemented during pretrial process. Therefore, the duration of implementations in pretrial period is not as long as sanctions in posttrial periods. Since this particular duration is commonly executed in those cases, it is determined as an inclusion criterion.

Fourthly, the interviews were conducted within the first ten months following release both for getting a vivid narrative about their experiences and for preventing influences of retrospective interference on the memory.

On the other hand, one exclusion criterion was having previous experience in prisons due to eliminating impact of imprisonment and comparison with prisons. Furthermore, Turkish version of Severity of Acute Stress Symptoms—Adult (National Stressful Events Survey Acute Stress Disorder Short Scale [NSESSS]), which can be seen in Appendix D, initially was used to eliminate candidate participants who shows higher acute distress in order to inhibit possible risk for well-being of participants. In other words, candidate participants who display substantial acute stress symptoms were excluded from the study. According to DSM-5 criteria, Severity of Acute Stress Symptoms—Adult (National Stressful Events Survey Acute Stress Disorder Short Scale [NSESSS]) was developed so as to measure the severity of acute stress symptoms (Psychiatry, n.d.). The Turkish

adaptation of NSESSS was developed (Aşçıbaşı et al., 2017). The Cronbach alpha coefficient was calculated as 0.95 (Aşçıbaşı et al., 2017). Consequently, the results showed that the Turkish version of the NSESSS is a valid and reliable measure for severity of acute stress symptoms (Aşçıbaşı et al., 2017). The scale is composed of seven items which are rated on a 5-point range from not all true (0) to true nearly all the time (4). Higher score demonstrates greater severity of acute stress symptoms. To quantify acute stress, which is another exclusion criterion of the study, and determine participants, the Turkish adaptation of NSESSS was filled out by the candidate participants (see Appendix D for NSESSS). According to results, candidates who shows great acute stress will not be include the study, so that the possibility of posing threat for wellbeing of the participants was diminished.

After checking whether candidate participants fulfilled the inclusion and exclusion criteria, demographic form, which can be seen in Appendix C, informed consent document, which can be seen in Appendix B, and NSESSS form were sent to participants by email. Participants were informed how to fill these forms and send back to researcher via phone calls. All documents were expected to be sent to the researcher by email. To give their consent, participants informed the researcher with a brief statement, which indicates "I have read and understood this informed consent document. I agree to participate in the study and to use the information obtained from the interview in scientific publications. I am signing this consent form of my own free will."

A semi-structured interview guide developed for this study, which can be seen in Appendix A. Some questions were inspired from some qualitative studies on home confinement experiences of detainees in the literature (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gainey & Payne, 2000). Most of the questions in interview guide were determined by researcher who endeavour to select indirect questions to reveal the narrative of reminiscence about body and home during home detention with electronic monitoring. The interview guide was not reviewed after the first pilot interview, since it was observed that, there was not any question that can potentially cause psychological discomfort in the participants.

Afterwards, the interviews were conducted via Zoom by the researcher, since the continuation of conditions of pandemic. Prior to starting the interviews, all participants were informed of the goals of the study and ensured regarding confidentiality. Also, participants were be informed that they could stop at any time they want. After getting consent, the interviews were tape-recorded. The duration of each interview was between 90 and 120 minutes.

2.2. PARTICIPANTS

Target number of participants is between 10-12, which is determined as an appropriate number of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Nevertheless, total number of participants of the present study did not reach at least 10. Although interviews were conducted with nine participants, narratives of eight participants were thematically analysed. Since one participant did not use an electronic clamp during home confinement and semi-structured research questions regarding bodily experiences with tagged electronic bracelet were not asked, his/her data could not be involved in the present research. Consequently, number of participants was eight.

Since this study was planned with a very specific group of people and endeavoured to access at least 10 participants within approximately 50 candidate participants, indication of any demographic information about 8 participants can pose a threat to anonymity and confidentiality. Hence, the details which can create risk were not reported. Among eight participants, five of them were female and three of them were male. Their ages were ranged from 20 to 27, with a mean of 23. Their total duration in home confinement with electronic monitoring ranged from 33 to 75 days, with a mean of 50. All participants were undergraduate students at diverse departments and universities, when they were sentenced to home incarceration with electronic monitoring. Some of the participants earned their living on their own, some earned their living with family support, and some received scholarships during home confinement. Their ethnic and political identity demonstrated diversity.

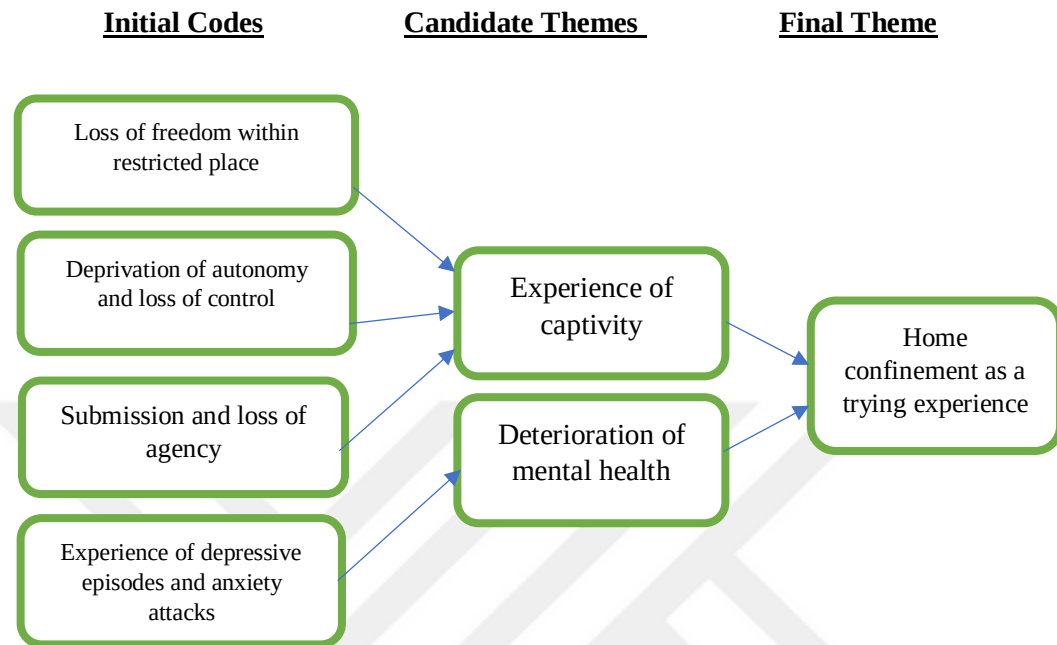
2.3. DATA ANALYSIS

All interviews were transcribed verbatim with the exception of names, which were substituted with false names (participant's number) to ensure confidentiality by the researcher. The current analysis relied on Thematic Analysis (Boyatzis, 1998) to grasp the subjected experiences of political student who were sentenced to home detention with electronic monitoring. Thematic Analysis is a systematic method that enables the researchers to inquire into participants' authentic experiences through tracking a series of steps (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Afterwards interviews field notes were taken and memos were written during the process of analysis. In the coding process, MAXQDA Software program were used. Throughout analysis, interpretations were shared and reconsidered with the thesis advisor, when required.

Analysis followed six phases of Thematic Analysis step by step (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Initially, researcher transcribed the verbal data and recognized the whole data set through recurring readings. Researcher actively read whole data set through scrutinizing probable patterns and took brief notes during repeated readings. In second phase, researcher endeavoured to initially code entire data set and to gather the contents of the same code with each other. In the third phase, possible themes and sub-themes were identified by analysis of codes. In the fourth phase, candidate themes were revised by turning initial coding phase. At that point, it is crucial that the content of each theme was internally coherent and externally differentiated from other themes. At the end of revision, thematic map, which encompasses whole data set, were constructed. In the fifth phase, the content and meanings of each individual themes was identified. Themes were analysed according to research questions and also in the relation to distinct themes. In the last phase, analysis of the themes was comprehensively reported. An example of the process of finding theme from initial codes can be seen in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1.

An Example Demonstrating the Initial Mapping of Themes



To trustworthiness, the member checking (Larkin et al., 2006), which enables researcher not only to share findings, as consequences of thematic analysis, with participants but also to get feedback from participants to evaluate consistency and compatibility of outcomes with participants' experiences, was realized. A brief summary of findings, which can be seen APPENDIX E, was shared with participants via email. Four participants responded and indicated consistency and compatibility of themes with their subjective experiences.

2.4. REFLEXIVITY

Recently, researcher has been graduate student in clinical psychology department. After the 1-year internship period, she continued to practice psychodynamic psychotherapy with adults under clinical supervision. She was graduated from psychology and sociology double major undergraduate program at the university. This provides complementary perspective in order to grasp authenticity and uniqueness of subjectivities in the socially constructed contexts. She was interested in and curious about social, cultural, and political issues at macro

and micro level. Also, she endeavours to engage in activism against human rights violations. This had crucial influence on her decision to be clinical psychologist so as to work particularly with survivors of political violence on trauma. Hence, determination of topic of the present research as subjective experiences of political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey is product of aforementioned background. Since body is generally a target of political violence and body keeps any kind of records of trauma, research questions were constructed to explore the subjective experiences of tagged body with electronic clamp and being restricted within personal home in the case of political detainees in home confinement (Van Der Kolk, 2014).

As a graduate student, researcher endeavours to witness and participate in student movement and activism for free and autonomous academia, she knows famous student organizations, so that she can easily access those organizations to find participants. During data collection process, aforementioned researcher's background enabled participants to securely interact with the researcher and to confidently open their experiences. At the end of the interviews, several participants gave positive feedbacks regarding the issue of confidentiality and security, which has particular importance in the case of political detainees due to continuing their pretrial process. In addition, according to participants' feedbacks, it is crucial to indicate that, psychotherapist identity of researcher has positive influences on the interviews.

During data analysis, coding and theming the narratives related to the violations of human rights, exposure to physical, psychological, and political violence, traumatic experiences, agency, control and surveillance might be more discernible for researcher because of researcher's interested topics. Moreover, as a therapist, researcher tends to easily notice and focus on participants' narratives regarding affects, sense of self, and relationality. Thus, determination and discussion of themes were influenced by researcher's subjectivity.

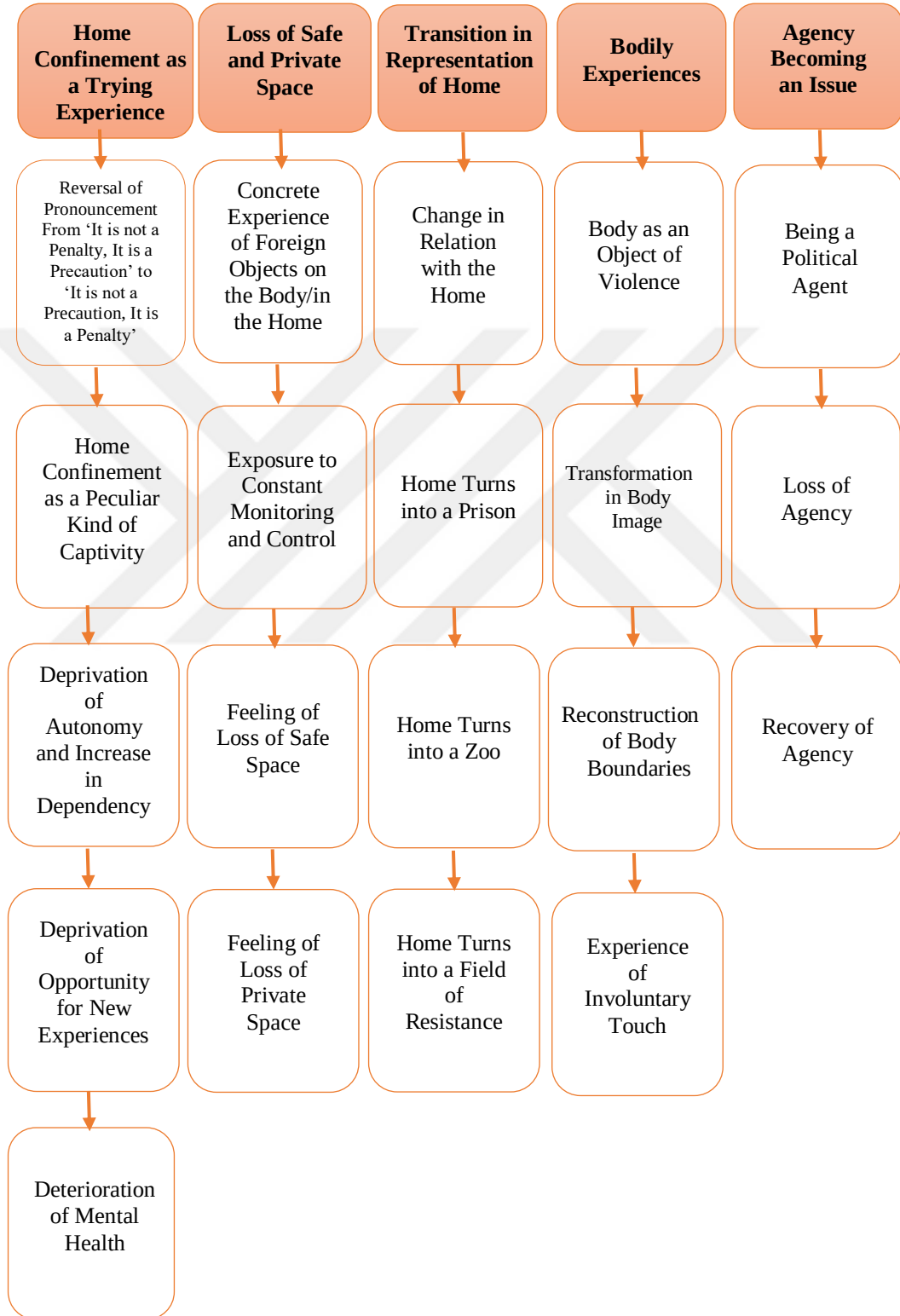
CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Participants' narratives and experiences were analysed. The repeated patterns in their narratives and experiences were determined and categorised under five themes. Themes were called respectively as "Home Confinement as a Trying Experience", "Loss of Safe and Private Space", "Transformation in Representation of Home", "Bodily Experiences", and "Agency Becoming an Issue". Each theme encompassed subthemes in order to thoroughly demonstrate participants' accounts and experiences (See Figure 3.1.). Throughout the result section, these themes and subthemes will be presented by the means of a variety of quotations of participants' narratives in the interviews.

Figure 3.1.

The Themes and Subthemes of the Research



3.1. HOME CONFINEMENT AS A TRYING EXPERIENCE

When the experiences of political detainees during the process of home detention with electronic monitoring were observed, all participants mentioned their encounter with various kinds of difficulties. Their elaborative narratives illustrated that a majority of them shared common problems. Some of them mentioned their experiences through comparing the troubles of home confinement with electronic monitoring with confinement in a prison. Their troubles during the process will be illustrated in subthemes were named as “Reversal of Pronouncement from ‘It is not a Penalty, It is a Precaution’ to ‘It is not a Precaution, It is a Penalty’”, “Home Confinement as a Peculiar Kind of Captivity”, “Deprivation of Autonomy and Increase in Dependency”, “Deprivation of Opportunity for New Experiences”, and “Deterioration of Mental Health”.

3.1.1. Reversal of Pronouncement from ‘It is not a Penalty, It is a Precaution’ to ‘It is not a Precaution, It is a Penalty’

All participants started their narratives with the emphasis on a designation of the home confinement process. When questions encompassed the statement of a ‘sentence for home confinement with electronic monitoring’, they instantly demonstrated tendency to correct this statement. Initially, they defined the home confinement with electronic monitoring as a precaution that was implemented in pre-trial period. Since their judicial process continues and there is no final judgement in the court yet, they rejected to define the home confinement process as a sentence or a final verdict relying on any kind of determined offence by the court. In addition, all participants underscored the legitimacy of their protests and their innocence.

“You used the term ‘sentence’ in your question, I would like to talk about it before we start. Actually, it's a precaution, it wasn't a punishment. This is one of the judicial control measures. It hasn't been said yet that, your crime is this and your punishment is that, because

the trials are still going on. So, in the case of political students, this is a judicial control measure, not a punishment. Prosecution says that I am restricting you with this precaution throughout the court process until the final verdict. This restriction may be signing under probation or a ban on abroad. According to the law, there are two reasons for home confinement with electronic monitoring. It can be given due to the suspicion of blackening of evidence and the suspicion of escaping.” (P5)

“There was such a situation that the lawyers were surprised. For such a reason, there is no example of such a judicial control request. Since the action we did was not actually a crime that required this, all the lawyers thought that even if the prosecutor's office asked for judicial control, the judge would not accept it. However, they kept us at home as a precaution before our punishment and guilt were proven. Thus, there is a process that has happened to you unlawfully and you cannot base it on anything legal. Lawyers say this has no place in law. I say that if it has no place in law, we have to do something to protect us. In spite of lack of legitimate base of this precaution, noting we can do against it. (...) The strangest and worst part of the situation is that it has no place in law, nor does anything you do seem wrong to you. That's why you have a hard time accepting it.” (P3)

Some participants asserted that this judicial control measure was given directly by the decision of the prosecutor's office, without even being brought to court. Moreover, all participants underlined the lack of legal basis for this implementation. They claimed that the crime, that they were charged with, even does not require detention in custody, they took home confinement as judicial control measure. Consequently, all participants argued that, they were exposed to injustice.

“I know what I am doing, in fact, even in the constitution it is called a peaceful demonstration. I am tagged clamp and placed under house arrest for participating in the peaceful demonstration. As someone

who has been detained in custody many times during the past protests, I can say that this situation we experienced was completely unlawful and we were exposed to injustice.” (P6)

Some participants reinforced their argument about illegitimacy of the home confinement implementation in their cases through pointing impunity following their protests such as violation and termination of home confinement.

“If this measure was based on legitimate basis, you would have to take action if you were removing the clamp. You took off the electronic clamp and terminated the house arrest by yourself. After that, no sanctions were applied. This again demonstrates that there is no legal explanation for this measure. At that point, it feels good that this enables people to see the illegitimacy of this punishment.” (P6)

“It has no legal basis, so you cannot explain it to yourself. There is no such article in the constitution this decision based on. This decision has no legitimate ground. This is a political sanction, no other reason. Home confinement with electronic monitoring is captivity as penalty, it is not a precaution as a judicial control measure. There can be no control whether I go out or not. How could I pose a danger to the state if I go out and throw my garbage? (...) We were not guilty, but we were declared guilty and punished.” (P7)

As seen in following and below excerpts, several participants regarded both their protest as legitimate and this precaution as illegitimate and injustice. When participants mentioned the troubles during the home incarceration with electronic monitoring, they evaluated these troubles in the process as punishment. Consequently, in the continuation of interviews, all participants started to reverse their designation regarding the process. Taking their exposure to injustice and punishments into account, they asserted that, “it is not a precaution, it is penalty”. Also, their feeling of injustice substantially consolidated with the exposure to these punishments. All participants depicted the fundamental punishment as an experience of captivity.

“The investigation continues, but there is actually no verdict decision. Despite this, something is actually applied to me, a penalty is applied. It's not a precaution. What we never call house arrest, I think, is absolutely no different from direct imprisonment. You are imprisoned in your house. There is nothing you can do individually; you can't even get out to breathe.” (P3)

3.1.2. Home Confinement as a Peculiar kind of Captivity

All participants portrayed their experience of this process as a kind of captivity. In the interviews, the emphasis on captivity is one of the most repeated narratives. Participants elaborated these experiences of captivity within distinct contexts. To clarify the experience of captivity, all participants mentioned the sense of being restricted and loss of freedom.

“Electronic clamp is a disgusting thing. As a symbol of male domination, it is tagged on your body. The state got you captive and you can't go anywhere. Patriarchal power made you experience it. It's disgusting and very frustrating.” (P2)

“Except custody, I had never experienced anything where I was prohibited from leaving and I had not been arrested. We say that it is a kind of imprisonment, that is, captivity. That's why it was my first experience of being in captivity. As soon as I felt like a prisoner, I couldn't get used to it.” (P8)

“They were confined the wrong person. I couldn't stay still in the home and they imprisoned me inside the house. So, it was a bit difficult, I didn't know what to do at home, I felt trapped. (...) In this process, I learned the most what freedom means.” (P1)

“You are under constant surveillance and control all the time. You can't go anywhere. (...) You can't get air because I can't even get to the in front of the door. So, your body can't see a sun. The policy of being imprisoned in a restricted area makes people very

uncomfortable. (...) Being imprisoned, detained, and restricted a person's freedom completely changes his/her habits, order, and perspective on life. (...) They said, "this is your new order; you can't go to school, you can't go to work, you can't go to the market, and you can't go anywhere. You will stay at home." This changed every pleasure, habit, experience I had in my life. It changed my whole life." (P3)

"Electronic clamp was a foreign object over my body. During the two-month period, I felt that I was under pressure, I was restrained, there was an attack on me, I was always on the alert, and I was restless and angry due to the clamp" (P5)

"I lost many of my freedoms. I could not go out into the street and join the resistance. Not being able to show my anger was forcing me. As a captive, I was confined with my anger and I was kept under control all the time." (P2)

Several participants underscored that home confinement with electronic monitoring is a peculiar kind of captivity. They endeavoured to portray what kind of captivity that they experienced. Some participants qualified it as "softer and sweeter captivity" in comparison with captivity in prisons, since they could access some goods and services.

"The state says I give you freedom of choice. Here's the freedom of choice. I'm restricting you in a very broad sense, and actually I'm making you do this. This is the consent mechanism. You consent to this restriction and submission. You can reach satisfaction by saying that I am free. The state is making fun of you. This is a softer and sweeter form of captivity. It adorns captivity and deceives you. Some of our friends had drawn flowers and made coloured paintings on the clamp. It is good illustration of this embellished captivity as it was a pretty isolation. You just can't get out the door. Your prison is over, don't go out the door, whatever you do." (P4)

“The state has designated home confinement with electronic monitoring. Let's imprison political detainees, in fact, let them be prisoners, but let's pretend they are not. (...) It wasn't as easy as we thought at first. At first, we thought it was not like a prison. After all, you see what you want, you eat what you want, you access internet. You are free. At first, we took it so lightly. But it was not as much as we take lightly. We lived in a kind of captivity that had an adverse effect on us. Thus, we decided to terminate it in order not to stay in this captivity any longer.” (P8)

Several participants depicted this peculiar kind of captivity as “self-imprisonment” and “self-condemnation”. They indicated that, they approved, gave consent, and executed this punishment by themselves. They underlined that, since there is no any physical obstacle to get out from home, they turned into their own “guardian” and executed this punishment. Also, they pointed out peculiar troubles regarding “self-imprisonment”.

“The state does not even want to pay the electricity bill for the place it has turned into a prison. I (the state) put a clamp on you and that's it, I'm going, you'll arrange everything. You will imprison yourself here, without a guardian or even a physical obstacle in front of you. It's really comedy. You were just imprisoning yourself. You can't work, but whatever you do. You can starve to death here. I don't know, you can go to your parents' house and experience a hell bigger than a home confinement with electronic monitoring. The state says I give you freedom of choice. Here's the freedom of choice. I'm restricting you in a very broad sense, and actually I'm making you do this. This is the consent mechanism.” (P4)

“I always think I accepted it (home confinement). There is something different about home confinement. For example, when you are confined in prison, you cannot escape, they locked you up somewhere. But under house arrest, I feel like I can escape at any time if I want to. You are doing a constant self-control. You feel as if you have

imprisoned yourself. I think I can take the electronic bracelet off right now and throw it away or I can run with the it and escape from here. I have such an opportunity. I'll probably get caught eventually, but I can escape. So, there is a gap, they leave a gap there. That gap is a very frustrating. You know, you're not exactly like in a prison such that you're closed, you don't have any communication with anywhere, and you have to do this, nor are you free. There is a gap. You are in between. You feel like you are stuck in Purgatory. I always had this difficulty.” (P1)

“If I were somewhere else, if it was something that I was restricted and didn't set the rules for, I would have adapted it more easily. For example, the borders of the prison are drawn with very definite and sharp lines. There are walls in prison. No matter how much you hit the walls or punch yourself, you can't change it and you can't get out. But here you are in your own space. You can get out but you don't. It was very difficult to be in something that you could get out of but couldn't get out of. It's actually your choice. On the one hand, it's like you're punishing yourself. The state is telling you that. It says you will stay under house arrest and you will not come out. That is, you also approve of the punishment. It punished. Okay, I approve. In the prison, you are taken away and locked up. Here, it's like you approve of the punishment. It was weird, I approved the punishment, so I don't leave the house either.” (P8)

“There really was a state of self-condemnation here. Much worse than a normal captivity, the case of being one's own guardian. These metaphorical things are actually what we live and feel. You stop yourself so you don't go outside the designated closed area.” (P7)

3.1.3. Deprivation of Autonomy and Increased Dependency

All participants mentioned that, throughout home confinement process how they have troubles both in satisfying their significant needs themselves and in need to helps of others in order to compensate their needs. According to several participants' narratives, the difficulties in satisfying basic needs were experienced as deprivation of autonomy. Besides, they asserted that, need to others' support to meet their needs brought about increase in dependency to others.

“Home confinement is something that makes you feel needy. I am a person who does everything by myself. I am a working person. However, I can't go to do my shopping myself. My friends have to bring me something. There are people who have to do this for me because I can't leave the house and go to the market. I hate when my needs forcefully involve closed people in this process. As I said, for a long time, I am a person who lives on my own. I didn't need anyone. I don't want anything from anyone. I handle everything myself. What happened all of a sudden? I became needy and inevitably included everyone in this process.” (P3)

“There was also another problem, when I have a need and I have to tell my friends. They have to fetch me my necessities. I'm a burden to someone. Someone has to go somewhere, shop, get things done for me. The state makes you dependent on someone. I've suffered so much from this. Why does someone have to help me, why do I need someone? (...) On the one hand, these solidarity and benevolence have evolved into something that makes you feel very good and allows you to get through this whole process easily. On the other hand, I have fallen into this situation where I am needy, lame, unable to handle their own work. It made me bad.” (P1)

“One of the most challenging things, for example, was a simple garbage disposal. Because I couldn't throw out my garbage, I remember experiencing things like this, I asked the children of the

neighbourhood to throw my garbage away. I brought the garbage down with the basket and they took it and threw it away. Besides, I was warned by the landlord when I kept my garbage waiting at the door of the apartment because I could not get out and throw it away. I said, 'I'm sorry, my friend is not at home at the moment, you know I am under house arrest'. He warned harshly to throw it away when he/she came. I was very offended.” (P7)

“Being imprisoned in your own home and not even getting out to take out the garbage made me feel helpless. (...) In prison, the state normally has to meet these things. Unlike captivity in prison, it does nothing here. That is, you have to fulfil your needs completely. However, you cannot afford it as you cannot go out.” (P8)

Moreover, participants who had pets emphasized their troubles in need to others' help for care of pets especially in the case of veterinary examination and walking the outside. Furthermore, some participants complained that, they were subjected to the protective and suffocating attitudes of both their families and friends in the name of care and support. They claimed that, these excessive attitudes resulted in increase in dependency and gradually bothered them.

“For example, when my parents came, I wanted them to go back a day or two later. Because there was a constant interest on me. They were constantly shopping, preparing food, and approaching from a protective perspective. They were saying you don't do anything and you sit on your butt. I was living in a situation where I couldn't act as I wanted and couldn't make decisions.” (P6)

On the other hand, some participants mentioned that, they had trouble in rejecting request for interviews since it could be useful to form awareness about home confinements in the society. During interviews with journalists, they behaved the way journalists wanted. They encountered difficulties in pretending as if in the state of home confinement with electronic monitoring. They asserted that, this triggered their sense of deprivation of autonomy.

“When journalists come to the house to report, you can't say, this is my room, let's not go into the room, let's not shoot. (...) On top of that, there was a situation like it was shared with the public, of course, this was something that I had consented to. (...) The whole house was filmed; the whole room was filmed. Journalist says to you, “let's walk this way, look this way, stand that way, do that”. Someone came to the house daily. You're filming and telling the same things to the camera all over again. You could not get out of this loop. You participated in and pretended.” (P6)

3.1.4. Deprivation of Opportunity for New Experiences

Several participants stated that, they had difficulties in acquiring new experiences. Throughout home confinement process, they indicated that, they felt deprived of opportunity to have new experiences outside, since they could not get out their houses.

“Since home confinement is a process that restricts your whole experiences within the house, it is very difficult. Home confinement has the dimension of depriving you of life experiences. Firstly, you're missing out on what's out there. I didn't want to miss out on what was out there. There was a situation where I want to witness something socially, I don't want to miss them. Secondly, I can't live my personal life. My chance for both social and personal experiences is simultaneously missing. The state is stealing experiences from me. They are stealing my life from me. Life is flowing and I am not flowing. I'm standing in front of the flowing life.” (P1)

“There is also life on the street; there is an ongoing resistance or there are ongoing activities. There may be a lot of fun and experiences that we missed. There's a life out there, but you can't touch it. You can't go further down. You are very close to the street and life, but you can't touch it.” (P7)

Some participants mentioned that, they could only witness life from the windows during home confinement process. As they emphasized, the depiction of witnessing life from the window could be regarded as one of the demonstrations of their deprivation of opportunity to experience life.

“While I am under house arrest, the March 8 action takes place. I'm watching from home, I can't go. I 'm missing out on life all the time. (...) I wanted to leave the house during this whole process. I was watching the whole life from that window. After I ended the house arrest, I wanted to sleep in a new place, live in a new place, look at life from a new place, see it in a new way.” (P1)

“You can see the street. You can look out the window and watch the life outside. You can sit on the balcony and watch the people passing by on the street, but you can't go. You can just watch. It adversely influences you.” (P8)

In addition, a majority of participants stated that, they were exposed to witnessing what others could do outside. They underlined that, the exposure to witness others doing what they want had adverse influences on them. This kind of witnessing embodied and made visible their deprivations regarding experiences during home confinement period.

“When the crowd of incoming visitors dispersed and they came out, I was having a confrontation about my state. Because after spending time together at home, when they came out, we normally went out together. We would go out together and everyone would then orient toward their own business. However, every day there was a situation where they left and I stayed at home. Different people were constantly coming to the house. The people who came every day were changing. There was only one thing that did not change. Everybody could leave the house and I had to remain at home.” (P6)

“You know, everyone leaves that house at some point and you stay in your own room with clamp. It hurts to know that at the end of the day you will experience this. This happens almost all days.” (P3)

“One of the most disturbing things in the process is that someone comes and goes to the house all the time, while you are always there. They are free but you are not.” (P8)

“People come and go; they continue their lives from there. Nevertheless, you constantly wait as if your life is suspended.” (P5)

3.1.5. Deterioration of Mental Health

Several participants mentioned that, they experienced distinct kind of mental and somatic difficulties in various stages of the home confinement process. A majority of participants stated the reflections of the home confinement as trying experience on their mental and physical health. Although some participants elaborated their somatic complaints which encompasses certain muscle pains due to insufficient movement, backache, headache, toothache, difficulty in breathing, a majority of them emphasized their psychological troubles in the home confinement period. At that point, several participants complained being under severe distress throughout the home confinement process. In addition, some participants declared the symptoms of anxiety attacks and panic attacks. Furthermore, some participants shared that, their cognitive capabilities and functions such as decrease in spontaneous concentration and attention got worse and functionality of short-term memory.

“When we returned home after the decision of house arrest was announced, I had an attack in the space where I felt safe. Something like this had never happened to me before, that is I didn't have a panic attack. I didn't even understand how that concept was, frankly, I thought it's possible to calm down somehow. I thought that if I had an attack, I could cope with it. But I experienced something where I lost all control. I've never had it before such a situation where I can't control my breathing and heartbeat with crying jag.” (P3)

“During home confinement, I think I experienced something we call acute stress disorder. I even thought of getting support at the end of

that month and a half. I had trouble in sleeping at night. My attention unbelievably declined so that I couldn't read anything, attend meetings or follow something. On the other hand, my school continues through online education, but I couldn't listen to the lectures, since my ability to focus was incredibly weak. I had constant headaches, I had to take painkillers. From time to time, I felt like I was shrinking and I couldn't breathe.” (P5)

Moreover, some participants mentioned depressive mood was dominant during home confinement. They claimed that they experience depressive periods in which the impairment of sleep and eating orders, loss of pleasure and interest, feeling despair, helplessness and hopelessness, and deterioration of cognitive functions took place.

“I really can't see a step ahead and that's where the full darkness is. It is a process that very much undermines hope. The fear and insecurity I felt prevented me from feeling excited and hopeful. I thought there was no point in continuing to do things under these conditions (...) There was no point in doing activities that made me feel safe and that used to make me happy. I was not enjoying and getting pleasure like before. In general, my mood and character have changed so much. I mean, I lost interest in everything. My enthusiasm and interest in doing something decreased a lot in that process. (...) I can say that I am depressed. I used to put myself to sleep when I felt bad. I was throwing myself on the bed and sleeping for long time.” (P3)

A majority of participants indicated that, they had trouble grasping and portraying their affects during the process of home confinement with electronic monitoring. As seen in excerpts below, several participants portrayed various kinds of dissociative experiences, that include alienation, derealization, and depersonalization, in the face of troubles they encountered. As a defence mechanism, dissociation enabled them to handle with their difficulties.

“When decision of home confinement was announced, I experienced it from somewhere as if someone else was punished, not me. When you

get bad news, you can't comprehend it. Similarly, I didn't fully register that either.” (P5)

“I couldn't explain how I felt. I'm still having a hard time explaining how I felt, because I really didn't understand it. There were foreign objects (electronic bracelet and receiving device) constantly in there and they were constantly checking you. I was having a hard time understanding what was going on inside of me.” (P3)

I mean, frankly, you feel a little bit like you are in a zoo. There is such an electronic bracelet, there is a signal, they constantly follow you, they know you, they are aware of you with those signals. That's why my first impression and my view of electronic monitoring and home confinement throughout the process was that they were always controlling you with a mechanism, like in a zoo.” (P1)

“On the one hand, after interviews were conducted, I really felt like an animal in a zoo or a circus monkey, like a real circus monkey. The reason is that now he is interviewing me, we are talking, I say a lot of political things, but a classic journalist mentality goes and pulls the things regarding victimization. (...) On the other hand, the video interviews go like this, let's take a walk with electronic bracelet and show what you do on a daily basis. I felt like a circus monkey, when I always pretend to do something.” (P5)

“Home confinement with electronic monitoring also caused alienation. We all broke the electronic clamps in certain symbolic places and as a political protest. If such a thing had not been done, alienation would have profound and adverse effects on us.” (P4)

3.2. LOSS OF SAFE AND PRIVATE SPACE

In the narrative of all participants, as political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring, “loss of safe and private space” emerged as one of the most fundamental themes. This theme

contains the experiences of all participants during the process of home confinement with electronic monitoring. This second theme were demonstrated under four subthemes were named as “Concrete Experience of Foreign Object on the Body/in the Home”, “Exposure to Constant Monitoring and Controlling”, “Feeling of Loss of Safe Space”, and “Feeling of Loss of Private Space”.

3.2.1. Concrete Experience of Foreign Object on the Body/in the Home

All participants emphasized the concrete feel of the electronic bracelet on their ankle. Considering the experience with electronic bracelet during home confinement, all participants depicted the electronic bracelet as a foreign object for their body and portrayed this foreign object in detail. Particularly the concreteness of the electronic bracelet was elaborated in their narratives. In addition, the structure of electronic bracelet was thoroughly narrated. Although there exists remarkable emphasis on the abstract meanings of the electronic bracelet during interviews, this subtheme focuses especially on the concrete and physical experience of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on the body. All participants underlined their discomfort regarding the constantly concrete existence of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on one’s own body. Moreover, all participants associated the concrete experience of foreign object on the body with the violation of security and privacy.

“First of all, you have something concretely on your ankle. (...) Something concrete is in your body and it constantly makes itself felt.”
(P4)

“I was something like this when it is firstly hooked up. There's something on my foot (laughs). Exactly, there's something on my foot. (...) For example, I remember the first thing I always had trouble sleeping. Because I have something on my foot and you want to take it off, what is this foreign thing. This is disturbing me. (...) You don't leave me alone (voice gets louder) you are with me everywhere, every moment, electronic bracelet.” (P1)

All participants stated the effect of the mechanical structure of the electronic clamp on the body and reluctance of his/her body for the adaptation of the foreign object as a part of it.

“There is a device that physically exists on your body at your feet. (...) It takes away what you call hope, so think about it, a black electronic bracelet, such an obscure tool, constantly on your body. (...) No, I could never say that I could get used to it. It is always something that is disturbing; because it is not a situation that you prefer and want it to be there. Something has been placed on your body. I did not form an emotional relationship with the electronic bracelet. It didn't make me feel good in any way. (...) It's not something soft. It was such a matte thing. The electronic bracelet is a synthetic, ugly tool that is uncomfortable to the skin, and it's cold. (...) My friend made a bead anklet for me. I wore anklets near the electronic clamp, but the clamp with anklet didn't seem good and it didn't make me feel good. No, I never got it as a part of my body.” (P3)

Majority of participants underscored the experience of the concrete existence of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on their body specifically when taking a shower and sleeping.

“At first, there is something heavy on my ankle that constantly wobbles (...). Something foreign was attached to my body, I was taking a bath with it. I have nothing on my body, I was naked, but there is only an electronic bracelet, it was a strange feeling. I have a foreign substance on my body, I have to sleep with it and there is something that bothers my feet all the time.” (P5)

“The fact that the tool is always there is already very uncomfortable in itself. While you're taking a bath, it is there. You go to sleep, you get up, it's there, you know, it's always there.” (P3)

“On the one hand, it physically prevents me from sleeping; since I'm also someone who has trouble sleeping, I can't sleep at all. And feeling it when you're asleep is much worse when you're in bed by yourself,

feeling that shackle I call it as shackles. Sometimes you feel its presence even when you sleep, even when you fall asleep. It can even affect your sleep quality. (...). The room, my room, the room where I stay, even in my bed, the quilt, the sheets because the electronic bracelet touching the quilt or touching my other foot made me feel bad. Sometimes I was trying to catch a position so that my foot wouldn't touch it, it bothered me a lot.” (P7)

Similar to the concrete existence of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on the body, a majority of participants referred to the concrete existence of receiver of the device of electronic monitoring installed inside the home as a foreign object. Some participants underlined the constant connection between tagged electronic bracelet and its receiver in the home.

“They place a device in the centre of the house and this device is in constant communication with the electronic bracelet on our feet.” (P6)

Many participants indicated the adverse influences of the receiving device of electronic monitoring as foreign object in their homes on their lives.

“How to put it, something like that takes away my freedom of speech. It's inside my house. At that moment, for example, a friend of mine would come. I changed the location of the device for my friend and I wouldn't want my friend to get into trouble too, just because of something he/she said. (...) In fact, fear of harm. Actually, we know that somehow we are being listened to somewhere on our phone as much as they can illegally. But you know, the concrete presence of a device in the house creates a much greater feeling, they may be listening to us, this probability increases. You do not know the capacity of the device, how much sound it can receive. For example, if I put the phone a little further away, if I put something on it, it is enough to prevent recording. The anxiety that is always there, but the concrete presence of the device increases it a lot. (...) The process would have been very relaxing for me without the electronic bracelet that are constantly touching my body and the receiving device at

home. So, the device and the bracelet itself are what makes it hard for me the most.” (P7)

“They are putting one device in the house and I did not want to put it in the living room because it is not clear whether it is listening to sound or what it is doing, we do not know anything. There was a room we used as a warehouse, so I put it there, it stood there. Even its presence in the home was actually disturbing. (...) I had both a foreign object in my body and a foreign object in my home, which I saw as my safe space, so it was difficult.” (P5)

“We felt really strange. I have an electronic bracelet on my ankle and the room I stayed in was the room where that device was also. At first, my partner and I were worried if this device is picking up something we did? Shall we not have sexual intercourse or intimacy now? At first, we were very worried about whether there was an audio or video recording.” (P8)

As seen in the excerpts, not only the concrete experience of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on the body but also the experience of the receiving device as a foreign object in the home were depicted as some reasons for the emergence of the sense of loss of safe and private space.

3.2.2. Exposure to Constant Monitoring and Control

All participants mentioned that they were exposed to constant checking and control through electronic monitoring during the process of home confinement. The exposure to constant monitoring and control in their home resulted in the loss of freedom and loss of safe and private space.

“In the whole process, from the first week to the last week, it is always being monitored and controlled (...) There is a constant contact between the device and the electronic bracelet, so they are watching me from Ankara by the means of this device. (...) I'm at home, I'm in my bed, but someone is watching me. (...) By being watched, I mean

being in control and being questioned about something you do. (...) Also, the question of whether this machine is listening to us made me very nervous. Because my friends could visit me. People could come home. We were chatting. Oh God, are they listening to us now because this is a communication tool and we have no idea about it. That's why I felt very unsafe at home. They don't even give you the right to open your mouth and get angry at something like that. A constant monitoring, you are constantly under control. (...) Even if you think that it is a house that is under constant surveillance, at one point people became reluctant to come here. As I said inside the house, I mean, we'll chat, now I want to curse it, I mean something adverse happened to me, I am in home confinement with electronic monitoring, I want to swear, even that is not possible, because you are being watched all the time. I mean, if I were in jail, if I were in the cell, I would say that it is just, let me talk and curse here.” (P3)

A majority of participants indicated that they feel being visible and watched in their home. According to participants narratives, the constant checking of electronic monitoring through signals coming from the link between electronic bracelet and receiving device is associated with a feeling of being visible and watched during the process of home confinement. As seen in the excerpts below, one participant depicted how being visible and watched by the means of electronic monitoring system give rise to feel insecurity within private and safe space.

“We were constantly thinking of whether it was possible to record audio or video via electronic bracelet. That's why I felt very strange at first when I was in the shower. When I was naked, there were constant questions such as whether I am being watched, whether they are watching me, even if they are watching, the angle does not see upwards, but I forgot this after a while. (...) We thought that it could receive sound, but we thought that the image probably couldn't. But even that is something that can cause discomfort. You know, since the

shower is a private space, we felt like we were having a privacy violation”. (P8)

Taking the sense of being visible and being watched into consideration, some participants drew an analogy between their experience in the home as confined place and animals' experience in the zoo with respect to surveillance and control.

“You're always watching me and stuff. You can see that I'm moving from this room to that room, you can understand that I'm moving away from the device with the signal. (...) I mean, frankly, you feel a little bit like yourself in a zoo. There is such an electronic bracelet, there is a signal, they constantly follow you, they know you, they are aware of you with those signals. That's why my first impression and my view of electronic monitoring and home confinement throughout the process are that they are always controlling you with a mechanism, like in a zoo.” (P1)

On the other hand, some participants mentioned that they have trouble in constant visits for solidarity since they tend to rearrange their private space as suitable for visits. Thus, they emphasized being visible and watched in their private space.

“You have an uneasiness, if your friend, spouse or even your family comes to your living space. For this reason, the house needs to be cleaner and tidier all the time. The end of that situation allows you to be more comfortable at home or, for example, there is no such thing as who is coming and who is leaving.” (P6)

In addition to constant checking through electronic monitoring, a majority of participants indicated that, they were constantly being called from the receiving device and their private phones for the reason of signal interruption. Many participants complained of intrusive calls at all hours of the day.

“When you accept the electronic bracelet, you can always be called at two or three at night. This may not be a regular phone call. You are woken up by a very loud sound like an alarm or a siren from the

receiving device, even if you did nothing. It is caused by the problem of their device or the problem of their electronic monitoring system.”

(P7)

In addition to intrusive calls for checking, many participants stated that officers frequently came to their home for checking the system of electronic monitoring. A majority of participants portrayed these callings and comings as intrusive practices of officers in order to form surveillance and control on them during home confinement.

“A constant stimulus, reminding you again as soon as you forget the electronic bracelet, just as soon as you forget the house arrest. All through this process, I think that's what they were trying to do. They were constantly trying to remind you that you were under house arrest and that you had electronic bracelet on your feet. Somehow the police come to the door or you are called by an officer. They are constantly reminding you that you are under constant control. For example, I haven't left the house for 2 months anyway. I'm at home. If there is no technical problem, for 2 months, my mind will go without contacting the police or the state. However, they are constantly reminding themselves. It's like making fun of it, and that just makes it harder. In other words, psychological violence is also applied to you. It's not just about the isolation or captivity, they're constantly warning you.” (P1)

“They place a device in the centre of the house and this device is in constant communication with the electronic bracelet on our feet. If you go out of the house or the signal goes out somehow, you are directly checked from the Probation Office in Ankara, it is constantly monitored. A notification goes there, they call you directly from the machine. Are you at home? Where are you? They're trying to confirm whether I'm there or not. But as I said, the tool was a very mediocre tool. They call me in the middle of the night because my sock got under the electronic clamp or because it got stuck under the duvet. Since it is winter, I sleep under the duvet in the winter. They called me at 3 am

from the machine. They call from the machine and wake us up, we are at home. So, there is no system that they can control themselves. That was the most disturbing thing for me because officers came to my home all the time, they came to change electronic bracelet 3 times or 4 times approximately. They came to me thinking that there is a problem with the electronic bracelet, they installed a new electronic bracelet and they did it a few times. Also, the police came and took a report about whether I was at home or not. I mean, they keep bothering you the entire time you're under house arrest and come to your house and put such pressure on you. I don't know how true this is, is the connection broken or not? Because I was always at home, I never went out. You know, I didn't risk it, but despite this, you have to deal with them.” (P3)

In the interviews, several participants mentioned the poor quality of the electronic bracelet since it easily collapsed and broke down. They claimed that the poor quality and fragility of electronic bracelet opened space for perpetual control by officers. At that point, some participants stated that even the system of electronic monitoring was instrumentalized for these intrusive practices in order to expose perpetual control to detainees in the home confinement with electronic monitoring.

“These electronic bracelets are normally produced in the USA, but since they have a very expensive price, domestic production has been started. It was tried on us for the first time. There was no product quality. Thus, electronic bracelet was constantly breaking down. It was changed every few days. Officers would come and install a new one every few days.” (P6)

“Electronic bracelet is really a technological device, but it is not a properly planned and designed device in terms of technology. That's why it's causing problems. Absolutely terrible tools. Electronic bracelets also make it a process where officers and polices constantly have to come home and fix things about it.” (P3)

As seen in the below excerpt, the problems regarding electronic monitoring systems were also instrumentalized for control through invasion and intervention of the political detainees' homes. As political detainees, they were subjected to pressure and threat for encountering officers of the state in the name of problems of electronic monitoring system.

“There have been situations like this a few times: I'm at home, I'm sitting in the living room and they call and say I'm not at home. I said, this is your problem and I won't deal with it anymore, it was one of those moments when I got angry. Officer was also a very tough talker. He/She said it is not our concern and I will inform the police. I said it's not the job of the police, it's your job. If the electronic bracelet is broken, come and change them, you know I'm here, you're getting a signal from the machine”. (P5)

Furthermore, some participants underlined the complicated structure of electronic bracelets. They had trouble in understanding how it works and when the signals interrupt. Besides, they mentioned that, they could not get help regarding this issue from officers who are also do not know the drill. According to their narrative, this obscurity about the use and structure of the electronic bracelet resulted in the exposure to constantly intrusive checking and controlling.

“I mean, it squeaks whether we pull the sock or not. At one point, I sometimes quarrelled with the man like that, brother, should I cover the quilt in the winter or not wear the socks? I said what should I do, so I'm at home, I'm not violating house arrest. (...) But there is absolutely no answer to the question you asked, because officers do not provide the tool with an instruction manual. The officers also do not know how to use it or what to pay attention to. For example, I'm asking why it doesn't work, why the signal goes out, while I'm at my house. If you can't use the electronic bracelet, if it doesn't work, then why did you tag the electronic bracelet on me?” (P3)

3.2.3. Feeling of Loss of Safe Space

In the participants' narratives, both concrete experience of foreign object on the body and in the home and the exposure to constant monitoring and controlling were associated with the feeling of loss of safe space.

“But there is a situation like that, the house does not feel the same as my home because you no longer see it as a place that you have coded in your head as a safe space and from which you escape from everything else. (...) There is absolutely no sense of comfort and security that I used to feel in my home. That is, it's completely gone. (...) Actually, I have to be safe, where else would I be safe as much as I'm at my home, in my bed. But someone is watching me all the time. (...) There is a huge interference in personal space and it is not an environment where you feel safe anymore (...) Because they intrude into my house. they didn't just leave me in my house. They entered the house themselves and continued the invasive interventions during all process. They always kept bothering me. (...) Being at home, you are both in your safe zone and insecure, because they create such a conflict, I think it is no different from staying in a prison.” (P3)

According to some participants narratives, constant checking and controlling through intrusive calling and coming to house gave rise to insecurity not only in the home but also within the neighbourhood. Since officials' perpetual visits became discernible from the neighbourhood and political orientation of the detainees revealed, political detainees could be subjected to various kinds of threat. One participant mentioned being under threat in their neighbourhood; thus, she/he dwelled on moving to a different house.

“Then we felt a kind of insecurity at home as the home was beyond being a safe space for us. Because they were constantly coming to the house and checking. As you live in a neighbourhood and the fact that the probation officers come to your door every day makes you nervous. We even considered moving there. At that time, because they

threatened a friend of mine who was staying at my house at that time, with a gun on the street. The police told everyone in the whole apartment that we were members of various armed organizations. We experienced such things in a predominantly fascist neighbourhood.” (P4).

Several participants underscored the transformation of home as a secure space into an insecure one and put this transformation into words as the loss of safe space.

“It turns your own house, your private life, your private space into a prison. If there was another place, you would say they locked me up somewhere, but that's your most secure and most private area, it was confusing things. (...) Frankly, I don't feel safe at home right now. House arrest is over and I am currently living in the house where I was placed under house arrest. I still don't feel safe at home.” (P1)

Moreover, all participants mentioned the sense of insecurity and vulnerability as consequence of the loss of safe space during the process of home confinement with electronic monitoring.

“I felt so insecure that neither a lawyer could help me, nor my family could help me. No one can help me. I'm not strong enough to help myself anyway. I think this started from one-day custody, that is really enough to leave people very weak and vulnerable directly. Throughout the whole process, I felt very insecure. Anyone and anything can hurt me. Nothing can help me. This feeling settled in me directly. (...) It was fear and insecurity that bothered me the most. (...) I always consider whether this machine listening to us? This is very disturbing. (...) A fierce enemy that you always fight against is always ready to harm you. I was feeling scared. Then I felt uncertainty and anxiety. Even if you come up with a solution for something, there is no system. There is no system. That's why you feel insecure all the time. I was so insecure that I didn't trust anyone. Anyone like that can hurt me. I was so suspicious.” (P3)

All participants stated that they felt being threatened and under attack due to various reasons from the beginning to the end of the home confinement process. The feeling of being under threatened and imperilment was one of the most prevalent affects during the whole process. Some participants shared that; they were afraid even when the decision of home confinement with electronic monitoring was made but it was not actually implemented yet. In this interim period, they did not actually leave the house to wait officials to come; thus, starting the home confinement process themselves.

“But I was psychologically into a different mode. I was always thinking that they will come at any moment and I will not be here and this will be a problem. Before home confinement was started, I didn't go out of the house for 2 weeks as things were going to get messy. I was at home until they came because I was worried and afraid.” (P1)

Another participant mentioned his/her somatic symptoms, that arise during this process, and associated them with the feeling of being alert and under imperilment due to presence of foreign objects in the his/her safe space.

“Being with foreign objects in my safe space makes me feel alert all the time. It makes me anxious and the things I say occur in my body are actually the result of this. There is a danger. It's something that happens in animals as well. If an animal is in danger and be hunted, it will always be on the alert. It cannot sleep. It cannot pay attention to something because its attention is there, in danger, so he cannot focus on anything else. I was experiencing these kind of things”. (P5)

Another trigger of the feeling of being under attack was indicated as being targeted in the media. Several participants noted that senior officials of the Turkish state made scapegoated political detainees for their activism, targeted, and threatened them. They claimed that, proliferation of this targeting through social media posed serious threat for some detainees.

“On the one hand, you see that our struggle constitutes a great social awareness and social force. On the other hand, in the face of this social force, On the one hand, you see that our struggle constitutes a

great social force. On the other hand, in the face of this power, everyone from the gang leaders to the minister or to the President threatens you and sees you as a threat. In the media, it is presented as if you did something bad. While it feels good to see the impact of struggle, being threatened is unsettling and frightening". (P6)

"Such scenarios are being written in my mind that, I will even be killed because people wrote these kinds of things on Twitter. They said "We will spill blood". I was afraid if anyone would find us. I wonder if they will find my house because the cops know my house, you know, the probation office knows my house. Thus, there was always a tension and an uneasiness that they would harm us." (P3)

As a result of being pointed to a target in the media, some participants closed their social media accounts in order to protect them.

"Although I should not close my accounts for my job, I locked or closed my social media accounts. I only told my thoughts to my close friends; because there may be cops on my profile. There is such a concern that they knew us. While we are being detained, they talk such nonsense like "You are at the forefront of protests, you are very dangerous". At that point, I think we can say that the well-known and elected activists have already received house arrest." (P2)

As seen in the following excerpt majority of participants believed that since they were visible in protests in the student movement, they were recognized. They asserted that, the reason behind their sentence of home confinement with electronic monitoring is both intimidating and weakening the student movement by punishing pioneer students. Hence, one participant depicted this implementation as a "witch hunt".

"It is clear that there are huge protests and they were really going to scapegoat some people and put them in prison for intimidating (...) We understood that, among the hundreds of students who were custody, those who were organized in the various student movement were elected and punished like a "witch hunt"" (P5)

A majority of participants underlined the continuation of the feeling of being under threat and attack during the whole process.

“For example, at night, I couldn't get comfortable at night either. While I was sleeping, I was constantly worried that the police would come at night and raid the house. I was in that state of being alert for 2 months if the device or phone would ring again at night or if something bad would happen.” (P1)

“Sleeping in constant fear of police operations was like sleeping in a foreign house. Anything can happen at any time. Being in a state of protection instinct started home confinement process. It is a vigilance. This state of alertness is less in me now than when I am under house arrest. However, it still continues. When I hear the sound, I look at it and get worried. I focus on the sounds, whether they are footsteps or vehicle sounds, which vehicle sounds. My obsession whether or not police operation occur at the night has continued for a long time. (...) For me, imprisonment is scary. In the past, I frequently encountered various physical assaults, bare-searching and detention processes. I no longer gave the same reaction as when I first encountered it. Recently, being in custody or confinement in the prison become very challenging and frightening for me.” (P7)

Furthermore, as seen in the following excerpt, several participants pointed out the persistence of feeling of being under imperilment and attack after the home confinement process was finished. They portrayed persisting fear, anxiety, and insecurity as remnants of the home confinement process.

“The house arrest process is over, but nothing is the same as before. I don't think the physical absence of the device on my ankle or at my home is something that makes everything okay. It is quite effective to have experienced home confinement. Maybe I didn't feel physically restrained or there was nothing in my body, but still the alertness and insecurities, that it created, stayed with me for very long periods of time”. (P3)

“We live in a neighbourhood under a police blockade. I'm out of house arrest but nothing has changed. I don't feel safe in that neighbourhood. I'm out of house arrest, but I'm not in a very free mode. The cops are always around. We are in constant contact with the police. The state of alertness and the state of being in paranoia continue, because constantly encountering the apparatus of state in one way or another, the state is everywhere.” (P1)

In addition to feeling insecurity within previously safe spaces, after home confinement, several participants mentioned their need to get away from home and tendency to seek new secure places. Some participants stated they wanted to get away from their city and even the country. In the interviews, it is noticeable pursuit of the new secure spaces as a reflection of constant feelings of insecurity, alertness, fear, and being under attack during home confinement.

“When I got out of house arrest, I didn't want to come and stay home for 2-3 weeks. I didn't want to go into my room because when I entered the room, it was in my mind as the place where I was imprisoned. (...) At first, I was in the mood like that, no matter where I stayed, even if I didn't stay here. For me, home became a place where my household goods were stored. It is not at the point of sleeping, spending time, and staying. I was spending time outside and I went to my friend at the point of stay.” (P1)

“After home confinement, I spent very little time at home, because it was no longer a place that I enjoyed. I escaped from the home. I even run away and escaped from the city because I felt insecure. Unfortunately, I can't say that I felt safe in those places I went. The deep sense of insecurity continued. There was no safe environment that I established with my home in the past.” (P3)

“I mean, at least in my youth, I can develop and maintain this political activism in a safer place. To practice this, I considered to go to foreign country because there are more nurturing areas where we can move more freely.” (P2)

3.2.4. Feeling of Loss of Private Space

In addition to the loss of safe space, feeling of loss of private space was prevalent in the narratives. A majority of participants asserted that the exposure to perpetual checking and control through intrusive calls and visits, the feeling of being visible and watched, and concrete experience of electronic bracelet and receiving device as foreign objects in the private spaces bring about not only feeling of loss of safe space but also feeling of loss of private space. According to the narratives of several participants, the exposure to these kinds of treatments was remarkable demonstration of violations of privacy that gradually evolved in the loss of privacy.

"It (signal) is constantly monitored. A notification goes there, they call you directly from the machine. (...) They're trying to confirm whether I'm there or not. (...) They called me at 3 am from the machine. (...). It was the most disturbing thing for me because officers came to my home all the time, they came to change electronic bracelet 3 times or 4 times approximately. (...) Also, the police came and took a report about whether I was at home or not. I mean, they keep bothering you the entire time you're under house arrest and come to your house and put such pressure on you. I don't know how true this is, is the connection broken or not? Because I was always at home, I never went out. You know, I didn't risk it, but despite this, you have to deal with them. (...) They intrude into my house. They didn't just leave me in my house. They entered the house themselves and continued the invasive interventions during all process." (P3)

All participants emphasized the transformation of home as private space into an open place with respect to interventions. Several participants complained that their state of alertness for constant accessibility of their private space by officials and visitors due to home confinement. Moreover, since home is visible and accessible from outside, many detainees tended to prepare the home for visits and to change in personal arrangement style of their private space. Hence, these

aforementioned transformations regarding home as private space were experienced and depicted as violation of privacy and loss of privacy in their narratives.

"You're always there, visits also violate such a private space. You are in the house all the time and visitors always come, since they always want to visit and meet you. (...) How can I explain it, it took away the privacy." (P3)

"During the house arrest period, my room was always tidy. It was never messy. Because someone is coming, going, visiting you. At any moment, the police, the officers from Probable Office, visitors or friends, whoever they were, were in a position to enter my room. That's why I didn't feel comfortable, it was my room and my private space. I didn't feel like my room was inaccessible. As I was always on the alert and did not feel the environment as my private space, the house was always clean, tidy, visible, and in the state of disclosure during home confinement period. Since it was open to view and intervention at any time, everything had to be in its place and tidy. I used to not have to worry about my room looking messy. But during the house arrest, my clothes, my wardrobe, everything was so sterile, everything was so clean. It has become a routine that I do all the time because of the state of alertness throughout this whole process." (P1)

Some participants stated that they had to share their private rooms with visitors especially with boarding guests. Thus, they started to use living room in the house as their personal place. They mentioned totally change their private and personal room with distinct rooms, which are generally common areas of household. Although detainees settled in living rooms, these rooms continued to be used as common places by the household. Thus, they could not settle and organize the living room as personal and private spaces. As they claimed, this change between rooms were experienced as displacement that creates feeling of loss of private space.

"My room stood apart from the other side of the house. Since I used to use the living room all the time, I turned the living room into my

own room, brought bed linen and started to sleep there for a month and a half. After all, since it was a common area, the other members of the house could not spend time there while I was sleeping. I had such a habit because I was sending the boarding guests to my own room, and I stayed in the living room. Although there was a private area in the house, I cannot use the private area when guests come to stay. Actually, my own space inside the house is restricted. For example, I used to get up early in the morning and read a book and then prepare breakfast, because the house was empty only until that part. Afterwards, house turned into a fully common area and I did not have any private space with the arrival of such visitors.” (P6)

“Since home confinement was started, I was staying in the living room with my partner. It is living room with a door, but a living room. This place normally used as a common area. For this period of 2 months, we did not have a private room. There was no place for our private belongings and our private space. We could only be alone after everyone went to bed. We could retreat to our private area after everyone went to bed. We did not have a private space during the home confinement period”. (P8)

Some participants mentioned that since they wanted to create social awareness for the home confinement and student movement, they accepted to open their private space to the public by the means of media. Throughout this process, journalists frequently visited their home and conducted interviews with political detainees in home confinement. At that point, they indicated that opening private space to the public resulted in violation of privacy.

“We were meeting journalists because I was a political student. When they come to the house to report, you can't say, this is my room, let's not go into the room, let's not shoot. I don't have a private space anyway. On top of that, there was a situation like it was shared to the public, of course, this was something that I had consented to. It was something I accepted to make people see it and feel that it (home

confinement) was nothing to be afraid of; because at that time, students were intensely following the agenda and protests had increased". (P6)

Although political detainees in the home confinement with electronic monitoring always stayed at home, they expressed their great need to be alone. Several participants indicated how they became tired and how they trouble finding time to self-care due to visits. On the one hand, they expressed their gratitude and satisfaction with visits and solidarity. On the other hand, they underlined negative effects of frequent visits on their lives.

"People were constantly coming to visit and I was constantly chatting with them. This was very valuable. However, I sometimes wanted to be alone. There were times when I wanted them to leave the house so that I could watch something, read something, take some time for myself." (P1)

"A lot of people were coming. This situation itself is a beautiful, valuable, important thing. These friends are wondering about you, but you're constantly seeing 20 different people in a day. It goes on for hours and even all day. After a certain point, it's a matter of boredom. I was saying that today I wish no one would come or at least 1-2 people would come, so that I could sit at home for a while and spend time with household. It is a weird situation. Although there is a so-called private area in the house and you are always at home, you cannot use the private area of the house when you are a guest. For instance, I wanted to go to my room, watch a movie alone or do something in my room today. However, people are coming and you can't say anything like I'll go to my room in order to be alone." (P6)

3.3. TRANSFORMATION IN REPRESENTATION OF HOME

Another fundamental theme is revealed as "transformation in representation of home" during home confinement with electronic monitoring in the narratives of

political detainees. In the content of initial subtheme was named as “Change in Relation with the Home”, the transformation in their relationship will be identified. The following subthemes were named as “Home Turns into a Prison”, “Home Turns into a Zoo”, and “Home Turns into a Field of Resistance”, the transformation in representation of home will be demonstrated.

3.3.1. Change in Relation with the Home

In the interviews, participants were asked about how they depicted their previous relation with their home, how they depicted their relation with the home during home confinement process, and how they depicted their relation with the home after home confinement respectively. Taking their depictions regarding their relations with the home into account, transformation of the relation is noticeable in their narratives. A half of participants stated that, before home confinement, they spent most of their time outside the house. In contrast, another half of participants stated that they spent most of the day inside their house. The former group of participants indicated that they did not have an intimate bond with their home; rather, they used it for only satisfying basic needs such as shelter, nutrition, personal care, and rest. Conversely, the latter group of participants established a close bond and relation with their home. They thoroughly mentioned their emotional attachment to their home. Both groups of participants indicated the change in daily practices in the home. Moreover, not only those who do not have intimate bond with house but also those who have an intimate bond with house emphasized the trouble in being restricted in the home during home confinement.

“Before home confinement, I was a person who does not spend much time at home. I was not a domestic person. I was a person who was always out and had to come home at some point due to needs. In other words, I was not in a position to take ownership of the house, to establish a bond with it, and not to give up on it. To me, the house solely was a comfortable place to stay. On the other hand, I am actually a very hyperactive person. I am a person who is constantly

moving from place to place. That's why it was hard for me to be confined in the house. Normally, some people like their house anyway and they spend good time in the house, but I'm not like that. When I wake up, my head works on getting out of the place I'm in, I wake up with that feeling. Thus, they confined the wrong person. I couldn't stay still in the home and they imprisoned me inside the house. So, it was a bit difficult, I didn't know what to do at home, I felt trapped. If there was a situation of being at peace with the house, maybe it would have been a little easier” (P1)

“Normally, I am a person who likes to spend time at home. I was a person who was happy in his/her personal and private space. I love creating my own space. I invest a lot in my home, for example, I touch everything with my hand. Also, I was a person who took care of everything in my house and my room and arranged everything in my own way, I was a person who loved to spend time at home under normal conditions. On the contrary, since I could no longer feel safe that I was doing these activities I used to do at home in the same secure environment, I was having a hard time doing some things with the same joy I used to get. While I was drawing a picture, sewing and knitting something, I did not feel safe and peaceful because I was under house arrest. Throughout this process, intimate relation with my home gradually worsened. I was a very domestic and home-loving person; but I can say that it (the home confinement) definitely took my feelings about home to different points.” (P3)

As seen in the following excerpt, all participants mentioned the deterioration of their relation with the home due to home confinement process. Furthermore, some participants emphasized the erosion of emotional attachment to their home. They associated it with the loss of safe and private space.

“In my opinion, the house is the safest place. No one interfered there. After all, it's a safe space you created yourself. But, since this perception has changed through interventions and invasions, the bond

you establish with the house completely changes. I couldn't do the things I used to do at home with the same pleasure; because the perception of the house is different. You cannot look at the house with the same love, compassion, and need because you have to compulsorily be in the house. It takes you away from the confidence you feel at home and the other benevolent emotions that home makes you feel. You cannot establish the same relationship with your home. But as I said before, I actually had such a good relationship with my house. Home confinement hurt this relationship.” (P3)

On the other hand, some participants indicated that they could notice the importance of specific spaces within the house during the home confinement period. Particularly, they underscored the significance of the existence of balcony and garden for the house. In the narratives, it is discernible that the presence of parts of house that open to outside became more crucial and valuable in the case of home confinement with electronic monitoring.

“The meaning of the balcony has changed for me. The balcony has turned into a place where I could observe the outside from afar, but cannot get off outside. The meaning I attributed to the balcony or the feelings I felt when I was on the balcony has changed. In the past, the balcony was a place where I sat and drank my coffee and I became melancholic by looking at the air at night. During the house arrest process, I look outside and have a strange feeling, I can't get down there. I was waving to the kids from the balcony. I was playing volleyball with the kids from the balcony. Their balls would often come to the balcony. It has turned into a space where I watch and do things without going out. In the balcony, I constantly encounter with the restriction of not being able to go out” (P7)

“It was very comforting to have a balcony to go out to. Also, it was in a place that could see the view of the city and the neighbourhood we live in, that was a bit of a relief for me. Balcony was very relaxing as

a place where we could go out and breathe and witness the life outside. Thanks to the balcony, I had a huge sky.” (P8)

In the narratives, participants responded questions such as, for you, what was your home like before home confinement, what was your home like during home confinement process, what was your home like after the home confinement process. Before home confinement process, all participants portrayed home as a safe, personal, and private space.

“I have a personal room of my own. It was a house that belonged to me, where I felt safe and comfortable. So, I can define it as a safe space. However, since home confinement started, there was a foreign object in my body and a foreign object in my home where I called my safe place, so this process was difficult”. (P5)

“Your own home or room is your own personal space, free space, and safe space. In other words, it was a place where you made the choices yourself, where you yourself determined what you would do within”. (P8)

A majority of participants mentioned the transformation in their representation of home. Several participants indicated the loss of home as safe and private space because of constant controlling through intrusive interventions during the home confinement process. After home confinement, they indicated the transformation of home into a prison, a zoo, and a space of resistance.

3.3.2. Home Turns into a Prison

Except for one participant, when they were in home confinement with electronic monitoring, all participant portrayed their home as a prison. They stated the radical transformation of home into a prison during home confinement process. Also, they mentioned the reflections of this transformation in the representation of home on their lives.

“It turns your own house, your private life, your private space into a prison. If there was another place, you would say they locked me up

somewhere, but that's your most secure and most private area, it was confusing things. It was the thing that challenged me the most.” (P1)

Some participants mentioned that they had trouble in using and staying in certain areas within the home since connections of the signals between electronic bracelet and receiving device were interrupted. When they entered those areas, signals were interrupted and they were called from Probation Office for checking. In the narratives, both the reformation of boundaries of the house and formation of forbidden zone in the house were also associated with the transformation of home into a prison. Hence, these kinds of implementations could promote the change in transformation in the representation of the home in the mind of participants.

“We were living in a large house. The living room is in the place that opens to the outer door. According to the system they initially used to put the receiver in the house, the living room was divided into two and I could not pass to one part of the living room where the outer door was. That is, I could not use that part of the house. For example, there is no one at home and the doorbell rang, will I not open door, will I not go to that area? It always seemed absurd. Besides, in the room opposite the room where the receiver device is on, I could not go to the corner of that room, due to signal interruption.” (P6)

Several participants indicated the reconstruction of particular spaces in the home as if they were parts of prisons. Some participants mentioned their experiences at home had also changed in parallel with this spatial transformation and became similar to prison experience.

“It (house) had turned into a prison, that I couldn't get out of from the door. Also, the living room of my home was now a place where it was a visiting room like in a prison. We always had visitors in the living room of the house. Weekdays were like visiting days in prison, started from Monday and our meeting time continued until Friday. People I knew or I didn't know were coming to visit all the time.” (P5)

Moreover, for all participants home confinement resemble captivity in prison, since they lost their freedom, experienced deprivation of goods and services,

and were restricted to limited space. At that point, some participants indicated their tendency to transform their daily practices within the home as similar to the practices of political detainees within the prisons.

“We (political detainees in home confinement) are experiencing some kind of captivity. In order to spend the time more efficiently, we have organized the practices at home. We were trying to live more orderly, although not exactly like them, as political prisoners live in prison. Wake up time is fixed, working time, free time, and so on. (...) I was walking on the balcony in the mornings for relaxing. It seemed to pace back and forth in the prison courtyard. (...) We had problems because of a situation where people were constantly coming and going. We even thought that we should return to the prison system and accept certain people at certain times, such as the visiting days.” (P8)

3.3.3. Home Turns into a Zoo

When asked to describe their experience of home confinement with electronic monitoring, some participants indicated that they compared their experiences during home confinement with electronic monitoring to those of animals in the zoo. In their narratives, they portrayed both the representation of the home as a zoo and their experiences by analogy with the those of animals.

“It felt like there are animals in the zoo or people go to watch it. People come and go. They said let's visit someone under house arrest. It was a feeling as if people saw tigers in the zoo, they came, watched, and went. After visit, they continued to their lives. Thus, I felt like I was in a zoo.” (P5)

“They came and put on the electronic bracelet and receiving device. You feel like you are in a zoo. There is an electronic bracelet, there is a signal, they constantly follow you, they know you, they are aware of you with those signals. That's why the first impression and the impression throughout the process are that they control you with a

mechanism like in a zoo. That's why it's more humiliating to human dignity. At the same time, I'm vegan; thus, this kind of imprisonment also insults the dignity of animals and all living things.” (P1)

“I can explain it through a metaphor: like a cage in a crowded field, like in a zoo. Something that outsiders can do whatever they want, and that the caged bird can do whatever it wants in a certain area. I felt like birds in that cage. The cage is a widely used image for prison, but house arrest is different from imprisonment. When you are in the cage, for example, you can see outside. Prison is not like that, because of the prison walls you can only see the sky, but you cannot see outside. You can see the streets and watch the life outside, because you can look out the window and you can go to the balcony, but you cannot go outside. In that context, the cage image is more suitable for home confinement than imprisonment.” (P8)

Some participants underlined that the both attitude and expectations of journalists and photographers during interviews pave the way for the formation of this analogy between animals in a zoo and political detainees in home confinement with electronic monitoring.

“I don't know how many people came to the house, there was a rush of journalists and photographers, they came to the house and took video interviews, and after a while, I stopped answering their phones (...) On the one hand, after interviews were conducted, I really felt like I was an animal in a zoo or a circus monkey, it was a real circus monkey. The reason is that now he is interviewing me, we are talking, I say a lot of political things, but a classic journalist mentality goes and pulls the things regarding victimization. (...) On the other hand, the video interviews go like this, let's take a walk with electronic bracelet and show what you do on a daily basis. Also, I felt like a circus monkey, when I always pretend to do something.” (P5)

3.3.4. Home Turns into a Field of Resistance

In the interviews, some participants stated that they continued their activism within the home during home confinement. They endeavoured to discover distinct methods to maintain their struggle in the home. They referred to not only the endeavour to continue their activism in their home but also the reconstruction of home as a part and place of student protests. Taking these experiences into consideration, it is discernible that the representation of home is transformed into a space of resistance in the mind of participants.

“The resistance is already going on. There is something new happening every day. Every day I have guests who are resisting students from many different universities come to my house. So, every day passed with resistance. The whole house arrest process passed like that. I was contributing as much as possible to the protests from my home. For example, there was a period of playing pots and pans at 9 o'clock every evening. Every day at 9, we were shouting and making loud noises. (...) That's why I experienced quite differently a home confinement process or a prison sentence from a judicial case. It also influences what the person does there when under home confinement. For example, while I was still under house arrest, I was producing something and contributing to the resistance. I use social media actively and post regularly. Although I've been under house arrest, the resistance continued for me. I have not withdrawn from everything. I said my friends, 'I am at home, so I can do all the work to be done on the computer. That's why I am not in the field but I endeavour to do all the desk work'. Thus, I was supporting the resistance from home. The house turned into a part of the resistance field.” (P1)

“Student resistance continued during the house arrest period. In this process, I tried to contribute as much as I could from home. My use of social media has increased. I was sharing about the resistance on

social media. We were having online meetings and forums with students. Besides, university solidarities were coming to visit the house. Students under house arrest were visited and demonstrations were held in front of their houses. For example, a ballet dancer came and danced. There were musical performances. There were scenes like the front of the houses being turned into an area of protests. So, the resistance was going on both in front of the house and inside the houses.” (P6)

“When the decision of house arrest was issued, we said that we will go under house arrest, but we will turn our place, the house, into a resistance area and we will carry out our voice and struggle from here. (...) If I can't get out of the door from here, then I'll turn this place into a battlefield and a space where I can make my voice heard. I hung a banner on the window and change the inscriptions on the banner on the windows every day. I was constantly posting on Twitter.” (P5)

3.4. BODILY EXPERIENCES

In interviews, participants' bodily experiences throughout home confinement with electronic monitoring were also explored. Interview questions focused on the sensations, perceptions, and representations about tagged body. Taking participants' narratives regarding body into consideration, participants bodily experiences were classified into four subthemes composed of “Body as Object of Violence”, “Transformation in Body Image”, “Reconstruction of Body Boundaries”, and “The Experience of Involuntary Touch”.

3.4.1. Body as Object of Violence

From the custody to the end of home confinement, narratives of participants illustrated that the body becomes a target of distinct kinds of state violence. As

object of the violence, political detainees' bodies were exposed to destructive maltreatment in various ways. All participants complained severe restrictions on meeting bodily needs during custody. Some participants complained of exposure to long custody. Several participants asserted that they had difficulty in having access to sufficient water and food. Moreover, several participants claimed that, they were subjected to deprivation of their own medicines. According to some participants, they were prevented from satisfying the need to go to the toilet.

“Under custody, when I had a request for a toilet, polices asked me to sign a document. I said I wouldn't sign it then they said we won't take you to the toilet. Things like this happened again 3-4 times.” (P6)

“I experienced physical pain during the custody. The cops didn't give me my medicines. There was fatigue as consequence of not consuming enough food and water for a very long time. I was detained several times in a month. I fell from 72 kilos to 62 kilos in that month and lost nearly ten kilos. I was in custody for about 20 days in a month because the legal deadlines were extended by the decision of the prosecutor's office” (P4)

As seen in the following excerpt, several participants emphasized that the restrictions on meeting bodily needs resulted in deterioration of bodily health during custody.

“I spent the night in custody, it's pretty unpleasant. You are kept in solitary cells is full of white light. I have epilepsy and I was afraid that my epileptic attack would be triggered. Most of us were majorly depressed and we used drugs. However, medicines were not given.” (P2)

“It had been 2 days. I collapsed physically. 5 herpes came out in my mouth.” (P3)

In addition to deterioration of physical health, some participants declared being exposed to physical violence and maltreatment process during custody.

“I was subjected to physical violence of polices while being initially detained. In the custody, I had some nausea and dizziness because of

the blows I received on my head. Moreover, due to the toilet request, health request or strip search torture, I had been exposed to maltreatments.” (P6)

“While being detained for custody, I experienced back handcuff torture and waited in that position for a long time. Also, I was forced to strip search torture.” (P7)

3.4.2. Transformation in Body Image

Several participants mentioned their sensations, perceptions, and representations about tagged electronic clamp on their ankle. In their narratives, the experience of a foreign object on the body had certain reflections on bodily sensations, perceptions, and representations. They talked about this whether they get used to electronic clamp or not. Taking their experiences into account, the transformation of body image become discernible.

“I thought it would fit on my left ankle, but I guess I did it wrong. I made a simple calculation according to how much I use which leg. I thought my left leg could handle it better because I'm lefthanded. I thought it would make me feel more comfortable, but I made a big mistake. Because I mostly use my left leg, it is my left leg that will always get stuck while sleeping, sitting somewhere or doing something. I was hurt all the time, because of the clamp.” (P4)

“I remember that the clamp left its mark locally. Part of my ankle itched and was injured. I was always wearing boots at home. The boots were covering the image of the bracelet so that I could dance. It was very frustrating to see. One of my legs is tattooed and not the other. I like my tattooed leg more. I wore it on my tattooed leg like an absurd accessory. Actually, I chose my favourite leg to be able to tolerate its presence on my body.” (P2)

“At the end of 1 and a half months, when officers brought a new electronic clamp due to signal problem, I said, this time, put it on my

other ankle. Electronic clamp stayed for a month and a half, I got so used to its weight on my wrist. This time, I started to feel my ankle getting lighter. When it was initially tagged, there was something heavy on my ankle that was constantly swinging. After a while I got used to its presence and weight. When it was removed, it felt like my leg was lighter than the other.” (P5)

“I got physically used to its existence after a while, but it is not possible for me to get used to it mentally. Even if it's only a short time on my ankle, but it's concretely there. A message of the state, that I restrict your freedom, is always on my ankle. I could not get mentally used to it.” (P4)

As seen below excerpts the transformation in body image with respect to sensation, perception, and representation become visible when tagged electronic bracelet was removed.

“We are used to wearing something like a watch or bracelet on our wrist. That's why I researched whether it would be possible to attach it to the hand rather than the foot. There is also the dimension of making you feel being captive when clamp was tagged on your ankle. I mean, it really feels like a shackle. It's a metaphor for house arrest. You feel shackled by your feet. (...) Sometimes I tell myself to forget that you have electronic clamp on your feet. This is actually the desire not to feel and the desire not to feel it on your foot. (...) When I removed the clamp, there was a feeling that I was still with electronic clamp at some moments. It is like a bad habit. It may still carry its mark on you.” (P7)

“Initially you feel its weight, there is something on your foot, it's like sticky. It's a big, visible, very disturbing thing. (...) After a few days, you forget its initial physical weight and feel its abstract weight. The situation evolves into it. You forget its physical weight, but this time it is doing weight in the abstract. I remember when the clamp was

removed, I felt weird. My feet were lighter. I felt all kinds of lightness, both physically and mentally.” (P1)

“Because it (electronic clamp) sticks to your body like a black leech. When it goes, you definitely make an effort to cover yourself. However, its influences did not go away. I think you never get rid of the insecurity it creates, after you get rid of it. You're just physically more comfortable of course, but nothing is the same as before. The insecurities it brought about remained with me for very long periods of time.” (P3)

On the other hand, some participants declared they experienced fragmentation of the body into parts and discovered the existence of specific parts of their body during this process. According to their narratives, since electronic bracelet was attached to their ankle, bodily sensations on the surface of the ankle enabled them to feel the physical existence of their ankle. They emphasized that the sensation and perceptions around their ankle dominated other bodily sensations.

“For the first 3-4 weeks, I always felt physical presence of my ankle. For example, when a part of your body hurts, you will feel the presence of that place more. It was something like that. It came with the feeling of pain on my ankle”. (P7)

“What I learned and discovered about myself in this process was my left ankle. (laughs). So, I really discovered the existence of my ankle. In other words, since I did not use my left ankle anywhere, I had never felt its presence that much before. The existence of clamp was touching my ankle that made me physically notice it. It made me realize what my body is and what the limits of my body are.” (P4)

“I even saw it once or twice in a dream that they cut my ankle and I feel relieved (laughs). That is my ankle was leaving my body so that I could be so relieved.” (P5)

3.4.3. Reconstruction of Body Boundaries

All participants regarded tagged electronic bracelet on the ankle as violation and even invasion of bodily boundaries. Several participants stated their endeavour to cover the breaking of bodily integrity as a consequence of the electronic bracelet. A majority of participants mentioned the issue of using socks. Their narratives regarding socks could be metaphorically associated with reconstruction of bodily boundaries. In addition to these narratives, some participants mentioned they cover the electronic bracelet with their boots or pants in order to ignore the intrusive existence on the skin.

“In general, wearing socks turned into a real problem. It was very frustrating. Especially when it was cold, I was wearing socks under the clamp. Then the officers were coming to the house because the signal was lost. According to what they said, it needed to take the body temperature and when I put the clamp on the socks, the signal was distorted. It didn't feel good to pull the sock over the clamp either. The image was also ugly. In fact, it was very uncomfortable for the clamp to touch the skin. It was straining the skin and leaving marks. However, wearing socks was not a solution, even it created problems.” (P7)

“I was always worried. I was thinking that if I pull my sock over the clamp and the signal goes off, something bad could happen to me. I learned over time that since a sock is a layer, wearing socks break the connection regardless of being over or under the clamp.” (P3)

“I wasn't sure whether to put the sock under the clamp or over it. For example, I wear socks over the clamp. The officers came to me and said, 'when you do that, the signal goes out, so put your socks under the bracelet. I'm doing what they said but the signal still goes out.’” (P1)

Some participants indicated the deterioration of their relation with their body as a consequence of dissolution of bodily integrity due to electronic bracelet.

“Before home confinement, I was a person who likes to take care of my body. However, I couldn't even use depilatory wax on my leg, because the electronic clamp was there. I was having difficulties in such matters as the clamp disrupted the integrity of my body. Thus, I lost my desire to take care of myself physically. Even when I just looked at electronic clamp, it made me depressed. That's why I was trying to contact my body, as little as possible, in order to forget the existence of bracelet.” (P3)

Some participants portrayed the restriction on going out from the home as an intertwining of body boundaries with the boundaries of house. According to the narratives, since they could not go out, they lost opportunity for experiences outside and the field of their experiences were restrained within the borders of house.

“The houses affect our mood so much because we have been living in such a narrow and representative reality for a long time. This is our life, this is our mind, because the boundaries of our bodies are concretely determined by the boundaries of these houses since the pandemic. (...) I see how much our movement area in the house, how many people we meet the day, or how much the light the house receives affect our mood. (...) After house arrest, I use the house as little as possible. I want to be outside, be more active, and concretely expand the boundaries of my body.” (P4)

Some participants mentioned their endeavour to re-personalize the body in order to recover both belongingness and attachment to their intruded upon body. Moreover, several participants instrumentalized the electronic bracelet for political protests through covering it with stickers and paintings in order to repair their emotional bond with their body.

“My friend made a bead anklet for me. I wore anklets near the electronic clamp, but the clamp with anklet didn't seem good and it didn't make me feel good.” (P3)

“At first, many of us pasted stickers on the electronic clamp, which is in line with the agenda. That is, we continued to do something to express our protest by using the object they had forcibly attached to our bodies.” (P1)

3.4.4. The Experience of Involuntary Touch

Several participants declared that, they constantly experienced physical touch to the electronic bracelet. They elaborated their bodily sensations and perceptions stems from the tactile contact of it on their skins. They depicted the physical touch of the clamp as involuntary touch that they did not want to experience.

“I did not form an emotional relationship with the electronic bracelet. It didn't make me feel good in any way. So, it always stood there as something disturbing and pitch black. As I said, it is such a material thing on my ankle. It's not something soft. It was such a matte thing. It is a synthetic, ugly tool that is uncomfortable to the skin, and it's cold. (...) It was something that squeezes your body. Sometimes when I wake up, the tool applied pressure and damaged my skin. It hurt so much. Nor could you leave it in a certain abundance, since it needs to be contacted with the skin.” (P3)

“It feels something cold when first put on. For a long time, I felt not only its coldness but also its weight.” (P4)

In the narratives, some participants mentioned the experience of involuntary touch in a position of an object rather than as a subject. They were not in a position to determine this contact but they could be exposed to it. Some participants endeavoured to break this tactile stimulation on the skin through formation of separative layers between the clamp and the skin via socks. Also, some participants stated various efforts to prevent these involuntarily tactile experiences.

“It's such a dark thing and stuck to your body like a leech (...) It is a reality that you cannot escape physically that the tool is in contact

with your body and is always with you. You know, you can't close your eyes and forget it. It's really there, and the more you feel its touch, the more fear and insecurity it makes you feel.” (P3)

“I always felt its weight. When I wore socks, only its appearance was disturbing, but I did not feel it touching my skin. It is quite uncomfortable to touch the skin. Since it is constantly tagged, it forces our skin and leaves a trace even if it is not tight. You always feel its presence by touching it to the skin. Its discomfort is stressful. The more you come into contact like this, the more you are in constant stress. At night, especially when I was in bed, it didn't matter if there was skin contact or not, because I felt it again as a result of another foot touching it. That is, I constantly feel its presence. (...) Its touch to the duvet or touch to my other foot bothered me a lot, sometimes I was trying to catch a sleeping position so that my feet wouldn't touch it.” (P7)

3.5. AGENCY BECOMING AN ISSUE

Several participants framed their experiences from the very beginning to the end of the process in the context of a matter of agency. This is predominantly prevalent narrative of the participants' experiences regarding home confinement with electronic monitoring. When talking about their experiences before home confinement, participants mentioned their political activism, commonly revealing the narrative of being a political agent. These narratives will be illustrated under the subtheme “Being a Political Agent”. In addition, all participants stated that the most serious trouble during home confinement was a loss of agency. The narratives regarding this trouble will be demonstrated in the subtheme “Loss of Agency”. Lastly, a majority of participants mentioned their struggle for recovery of agency during and after home confinement period. These narratives will be shared in the scope of the last subtheme “Recovery of Agency”.

3.5.1. Being a Political Agent

A majority of participants were activist within certain student organizations before home confinement. They waged an active struggle in the student movement. Although other participants did not belong to any student organization and they did not identify themselves as part of any specific movement, they had newly started to individually carry out activism within the student movement or human rights movements at those times. Consequently, all participants stated their activism with respect to both student movement and struggle for free and autonomous academia. In the narratives, all participants portrayed themselves as an agent within activism that was also indicated as a fundamental reason for their sentencing to home confinement with electronic monitoring.

“I’ve been out of this system mentally for a long time, I try to resist physically as much as I can. When you could walk on some kind of ideal in the predominant system, that is, you could endeavour to construct the peculiar concreteness of your own life or your ideal life for society, you know some sanctions against these stance and actions will be implemented by the system. In that respect, it (home confinement) was something I was prepared for. (...) The more you fight with the mechanism called the state, the more you understand what it and its history is, the more you understand its illogicality, the more concretely the destruction it has created, the more you see something happen to you in the turmoil of the mechanism called the state. It becomes normal. In this case, electronic bracelet was tagged on my ankle and home confinement with electronic monitoring was sentenced.” (P4)

“In this whole process, I discovered my own power and influence. I also produce something, I also contribute to something, I also intervene in something, I also struggle for something. I just don’t watch from the outside. Because when I saw how people were treated unfairly in front of me, how there was police intervention, how they

were detained, I got very angry too. At that point, I also wanted to do something. The passive state did not feel good. I had to do something. So, the moment I felt that passive myself, I went into a dreadful depression. Then I gradually moved from a witnessing position to an active participant in the protests. I said that I am experiencing things now, I am not just observing. (...) I also want to become the subject of the struggle. I also want to be seen in the struggle, one day I want to hold the torch in the struggle, one day I want to make my voice heard since I'm human too, I have problems with the system too. (...) I live, I say my word, I am also the subject, I am very satisfied in terms of realizing myself, intervening in myself and life, not only being a witness, but also being involved in something, it made me feel very special. I'm doing something for the community, I'm very satisfying from this position.” (P1)

“I feel strong. Of course, something I did had adverse consequences and hurt me, but it also became one of the things that made me who I am. So, when I see it, I feel good. At that point, something had to be touched and intervened. Although I was a political person before, I did my best there. (...) At one point it was a revolt, and it was a revolt against an already existing system. We worked very actively in the field. We did a great job. We made a great contribution to the resistance. We made the resistance visible and spread it.” (P3)

3.5.2. Loss of Agency

Throughout the home confinement process, the loss of agency is one of the most common experiences among participants. All participants mentioned the sense of loss of agency within distinct contexts. When they indicated what is the most trying experience during the home confinement process, they repeatedly pointed out the loss of agency in their narratives. Some participants emphasized that they

could not continue to be political agent outside, since they could not participate protests and take an active role in student movement.

“While I am under house arrest, the March 8 action takes place. I'm watching from home, I can't go. I 'm missing life all the time. I am in great conflict. The March 8 action is a political action, an action where people take to the streets and say a word against this state and the government, and the reason you couldn't go there is to accept the punishment that this government gave you. So, I blamed myself for being a coward, accepting and adapting to the sanctions of the system, and still thinking within the system.” (P1)

“After all, we are political people, so how can I tell you, someone says don't do something, they ban you, you know that ban is meaningless, but (raising your voice) you can't break it. Protests and struggles continue outside, but you cannot get involved. It was so challenging” (P5)

All participants underlined the situation of being willing not to leave the house while they could leave the house and there is no physical obstacle for this. When they mentioned this situation, they tended to compare home confinement with imprisonment. Several participants blamed themselves to negotiating with the system by their consent for staying in the home during home confinement. A majority of them portrayed this situation as submission to the state and had trouble effectively coping with this situation.

“The worst thing from the beginning was not being able to go out even though I knew I could go out. Thus, it felt bad to feel like I was obeying. I know I can get out of the electronic bracelet. If I open the door, I will come out, there is no such obstacle. However, I couldn't even take a step outside the apartment door. It's really something very disturbing. Because in my own house and in my safe space, not being able to go out by my own choice was a much more difficult process. I guess that's why it was always better if I was in a prison than in home confinement. Initially, you can't physically get out of prison, you accept it in prison.

However, I can actually get out of my house but I do not go out in order to prevent situation from worsening. The matter of consenting to it hurts me and makes me feel bad.” (P5)

“I always think I accepted it (home confinement). There is something different about home confinement. For example, when you are confined in prison, you cannot escape, they locked you up somewhere. But under house arrest, I feel like I can escape at any time if I want to. You are doing a constant self-control. You feel as if you have imprisoned yourself. I think I can take the electronic bracelet off right now and throw it away or I can run with the it and escape from here. I have such an opportunity. I'll probably get caught eventually, but I can escape. So, there is a room, they leave an opening there. That opening is a very frustrating. You know, you're not exactly like in a prison such that you're closed upon, you don't have any communication with anywhere, and you have to do this, nor are you free. There is an opening. You are in between. You feel like you are stuck in Purgatory. I always had this difficulty. (...) The feeling of something was very dominant from the beginning to the end. I accepted this punishment. They gave me this punishment and I agreed with the decision of the state...I always questioned why did I accept it? Why did I surrender? During this whole house arrest process, the situation that I could not come to terms with myself was this issue of submission and acceptance.” (P1)

Some participants underscored an illusion of freedom of choice or consent in their case. They emphasized the contradiction between their sense of loss of agency and illusion of having freedom of choice. According to their narrative, this illusion means they punished themselves.

“The state says I give you freedom of choice. Here's the freedom of choice. I'm restricting you in a very broad sense, and actually I'm making you do this. This is the consent mechanism. You consent to this restriction and submission.” (P4)

“On the one hand, it's like you're punishing yourself. The state is telling you that. It says you will stay under house arrest and you will not come out. You also approve of the punishment. “On the one hand, it's like you're punishing yourself. The state is telling you that. It says you will stay under house arrest and you will not come out. You also approve of the punishment. You are punished. Okay, I approve. In the prison, you are taken away and locked up. Here, it's like you approve of the punishment. It was weird, I approved the punishment, so I don't leave the house either.” (P8)

Moreover, several participants depicted how they lost their agency in a broadened sense. They mentioned how the experience of deprivation of autonomy and being dependent others for basic needs to maintain their lives.

“I was a person who earned money by working, without support from my family. I was covering my expenditures alone through giving lessons. Because of home confinement, all of my private lessons collapsed in an instant and I found myself sitting at home with my hands tied.” (P3)

“Being imprisoned in your own home means being unable to even go out to throw out the trash. It that makes you feel helpless and impotent. You need others to do it.” (P8)

Some participants associated the restriction of freedom for decision of their actions with both loss of agency and an experience of objectification due to the oppression and control over them.

“At the same time, this is a restriction of freedom. It is not possible that they take away the right to decide something individually and take action on it. This is something that makes you feel terribly bad. (...) For me, the electronic bracelet was a symbol of pressure. They have complete control over you. It doesn't matter who you are, what you do, what you want to do. You just have to adapt to this situation (...) You feel oppressed. You think you can't change something because they scare you. It takes your energy to produce something, to do

something, to defend something. Only fear remains to you, just fear, fear, fear, fear.” (P3)

Some participants depicted the sense of loss of agency as not only an experience of objectification but also experience of dehumanization. They portrayed themselves as “caged bird”, “circus monkey”, “experimental animal”, “animal in a zoo”, and “puppet”, so that they could illustrate their experiences of objectification and dehumanization during the home confinement process.

“They (officers from Probation Office) said ‘Let's calculate how far you are from your room to your kitchen and bathroom, then let's put the receiving device here, you don't come out of this triangle. If you exit, the signal beeps.’ You are totally something like a test animal, an animal confined in a zoo, or a puppet. (...) The impression throughout the process is that they control you with a mechanism like in a zoo. That's why it's more humiliating to human dignity. At the same time, I'm vegan; thus, this kind of imprisonment also insults the dignity of animals and all living things” (P1)

3.5.3. Recovery of Agency

In the interviews, several participants narrated their solutions against the experience of loss of agency. They mentioned their various ways of recovery of agency both throughout home confinement and after this process. Since some participants described their agency in the frame of being a political agent, they identified their experiences regarding recovery of agency with increase in their political awareness, developing activist identity, belonging to certain collectives, and continuing to struggle.

“At some point, being in home confinement pushed me to constantly follow the agenda and to feel responsible for learning about politics. So, the house arrest is over, but for example, I think I have to do something about the resistance. We became one of the well-known names of the resistance. It's like I have to produce something for the

struggle. (...) In the future, there are many fields in Turkey that I would like to work in. I have such handicraft projects for victimized women. I have plans to work with children, especially with immigrant children, through art activities. I was not a political person in the past, but now I base my future plans around activism.” (P3)

“In home confinement, I possessed such an ideal that, like well-known activists who have paid the price for the struggle, I am here, if necessary, I will go to jail, but I will not stop telling the truth. I know there are many people behind me. No matter how long you stay in prison, there are people behind you, a fight, a struggle, a resistance, so it's not a problem. What is your purpose in this life anyway? That's what home confinement taught me. After home confinement, I had more goals of doing something for the community. Individual career plans seem very selfish. (...) When you directly experience injustice, you meet the common denominator with those who have been oppressed. In the future, I want to make the voice of the unheard voice heard and to tell the story of the oppressed from the Marxist perspective” (P1)

“During the process of home confinement, I met very nice people and got involved in some collectives. I realized that as you shout about what I don't want or what I want, people with similar concerns and desires are coming towards you. So, I think that you need to raise your voice. Those people, who I met and form solidarity, and understood the absurdity of life and were able to take a proactive place for indicating that something is possible even in this disgusting system. (...) Home confinement is a process leading to more politicization. I'm curious when and how I can have a more meaningful presence in activism scene” (P2)

A majority of participants indicated their tendency to violate home confinement as much as possible. According to their narratives, the various kinds of endeavours for violation of home confinement brought about the sense of the

recovery of agency. Some participants indicated that they tried to frequently use the situation in the scope of valid excuse such as going to hospital, participating trials or exams...

“From the first moment, I've been trying to think how do I get rid of it (home confinement). If you give a valid excuse, you can leave. For example, you could go out for a health check-up or for attending the trial. You could go out to take the exam, but the prosecutor's permission was required. Every week, I went out with one of these pretexts. (...) I was out for about 2-3 hours. I went out, it felt really good. The worst thing from the beginning was not being able to go out even though I knew I could go out. Thus, it felt bad to feel like I was obeying. However, I'm not obeying right now. Also, I went down to the door and the grocery store a couple of times. When they don't get a signal or I stand in a far place for more than 10 minutes, they call at the end of 10 minutes. So, I could do short tours of 10 minutes nearby. When they called, I said 'I don't know, maybe the device was broken, I was at home (laughs). Then they came and changed the electronic bracelet. This has happened a few times.” (P5)

“I was constantly trying to spoil it (electronic bracelet). I was constantly breaking it down and removing it myself. A day or two later they would come and put them back on. Later I was breaking it again. It's like a child's game. I was thinking how can I get rid of this. Sometimes I was disconnecting it from the receiving device. I was thinking about how to get out. I gave a health reason such that I was going to the dentist or I was going to the hospital. After about 1 month, I had already started to quit. I was going out and walking. I was going to the grocery store. I was drinking tea and coffee nearby. I spent 10 days like this. Violations felt powerful and free, but I was also anxious while traveling. In spite of this, I satisfied.” (P6)

Furthermore, after approximately two months, a majority of participants terminated the home confinement with electronic monitoring with their own

volition. In the narratives, the termination of home confinement process was depicted as an act of re-emancipation. Moreover, they associated terminating home confinement with the recovery of agency.

“I said I don't want this damn black thing on my ankle and started going out after a while. I don't know, this is very frustrating but it gives you a tremendous opportunity. You can break it, so you can't comply with it. It's a relationship between you and it (the state). I thought that if it tagged a clamp on my ankle, I have the right to remove this clamp. 'Look, I'm on the same plane with you. I know your limits.' When we do this collectively, it becomes a political message. A message is to the whole hegemonic structure the state has drawn, to the society itself, to that kind of victory symbol (clamp). The state can't finish the struggle and it is a limited thing. When it put a clamp on my ankle, I didn't say I can't fight with it and I have to follow its rules. I subtract the clamp and equalize terms. I'm not talking about anything physical. I am in front of it mentally. I'm not worn out. Beyond being something that creates a political effect, it increases my joy of life, is inherent in my existence, and makes my existence meaningful.” (P4)

“Personally, I was very clear about termination. I had decided. But I was patient to turn it into a political protest. I also wanted to end house arrest in order to prevent the spread of this sentence for political prisoners. It was a trial, they used us as guinea pigs. Thus, our termination actions would prevent the generalization of house arrest for all candidates. It was to be realize that, no one has been sentenced to home confinement yet. (...) It was to be freed from a shackle that, I wanted to get rid of. I did what I wanted to do. There exist the feeling of liberation and solidarity with my friends in the struggle. Both paving the way for this protest in the struggle and the liberation of myself were the main reasons behind the termination.” (P7)

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The current study intended to inquire into the subjective experiences of political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey. On one hand, the study aimed to comprehend how tagged electronic bracelet influences both body image of detainees and bodily integrity of detainees. That is, the current study intended to examine the effects of tagged electronic clamp on detainees' relationship with their bodies. On the other hand, the present study investigated the possible transformation of representation of the home in the mind of the detainees as a consequence of this sanction. Moreover, subjective experiences of detainees related to body and home will be examined and discussed from the psychoanalytic perspective.

After the thematic analysis of narratives in semi-structured interviews with eight participants, five essential themes were identified: Home confinement as a trying experience, loss of safe and private space, transformation in representation of home, bodily experiences, and agency becoming an issue. The following parts will focus on the discussion of these five main themes in the light of the literature. Moreover, recommendations for further studies will be indicated in this section. In the third section, possible practical implications of the findings of current study will be presented. In the last section, both specific strengths and limitations of the present study will be determined.

4.1. DISCUSSION OF THE THEMES

Home confinement as a trying experience was the first theme identified from the narratives of the participants. In the scope of this theme, political detainees, who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring, narrated how they encountered diverse troubles during this period and the different kinds of the adverse influences of this implementation on them. For instance, participants indicated that they had troubles both in satisfying their significant needs themselves

and in need to helps of others in order to compensate their needs. These difficulties in satisfying basic needs were experienced as both a deprivation of autonomy and an increase in dependency, which were also reported in previous studies (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Nellis, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004). As particular for the case of political detainees in Turkey, participants experienced difficulties in rejecting requests for interviews in the name of creating political awareness about implementation of home detention with electronic monitoring in the society. Troubles in rejecting to participate in interviews were experienced as suppressing and overriding personal control, which triggered the sense of deprivation of autonomy.

As adverse consequences of home confinement, deprivation of opportunities of new experiences is one of the unique outcomes in the case of present study. Also, a majority of participants underlined that, the exposure to witnessing others doing what they want embodied and made visible their deprivations regarding opportunity for experiences. The adverse impacts of this witnessing on detainees were previously identified in the literature (Gainey & Payne, 2000; Payne & Gainey, 2004).

As a subtheme, deterioration of mental health was accepted another adverse outcome of the process of home confinement. In the literature, there was no emphasis on the reflections of the home confinement as trying experience on their mental and physical health. Somatic complaints encompass certain muscle pains due to insufficient movement, backache, headache, difficulty in breathing. Psychological troubles contain severe distress, anxiety attacks, mood swings (Chamiell & Walsh, 2018), experience of depressive periods in which the impairment of sleep and eating routines, loss of pleasure and interest, feeling despair, helplessness and hopelessness, and deterioration of cognitive functions took place. Consequently, it could be argued that, these findings in the case of political detainees illustrate that, future research should comprehensively investigate reflections of home confinement with electronic monitoring on mental health.

Several participants portrayed various kinds of dissociative experiences, that include alienations, derealization, and depersonalization, in the face of troubles they encountered. As a defense mechanism, dissociation enabled them to handle their difficulties. In the cases of trauma, it is asserted that, dissociation paradoxically plays crucial role in the maintenance of the integrity of the self through compartmentalizing (Luci, 2017). In primary dissociation, dissociated experience is not affectively processed and verbally encoded; rather, it is raw and isolated as pieces of bodily intense sensations (Aron, 1998; Van der Hart et. al., 2002). It is evident that, in the present study, some participants, who had trouble grasping and narrating certain experiences during both custody and home confinement process, experienced anxiety and panic attacks and some somatic complaints. This could be associated with primary dissociation.

On the other hand, if there exists ego fragmentation as "observing ego" and "experiencing ego", that is person alienates his/her body and turns into a spectator while he/she is experiencing trauma in order to protect oneself from being aware of adverse influences of the traumatic event, this is called secondary dissociation (Aron, 1998; Van der Hart et. al., 1998). Luci (2017) portrayed this kind of dissociation as observing oneself from a distance. When decision of home confinement was reported, one participant (P5) stated that "*I experienced it from somewhere as if someone else was punished, not me.*". This could be regarded as an example of secondary dissociation. In addition, since they were exposed to objectification through surveillance, control, oppression, and maltreatment during this process, several participants mentioned their experience of feeling oneself as nonhuman or like as an animal such as "circus monkey" and "caged bird". This estrangement is designated as depersonalization, which is seen another kind of secondary dissociation (Aron, 1998).

On the other hand, within the scope of the second theme, participants' loss of safe and private space was analysed in detail. Concrete experience of foreign object on the body and in the home, constant monitored and controlled through invasion of home, feelings of being visible and watched, the sense of insecurity, and feelings of loss of safe and private space resulted in not feeling at home both in

their body and home. This is experience in the state of *Unheimlich* which means a sense of not being at home (Freud,1919/1955). In the literature, the state of *Unheimlich* is evaluated as a kind of secondary dissociation (Diamond, 2013). Consequently, these experiences can be interpreted as examples of secondary dissociation. Considering all examples of dissociation in the present study, it could be asserted that, some participants lived traumatic experiences as consequences of home incarceration with electronic monitoring and their mental health deteriorated. In the lights of these findings, it is highly recommended that, the impacts of home confinement on mental health should be comprehensively investigated in the future research in order to take necessary measures regarding its implementation.

As another subtheme, home confinement as a peculiar kind of captivity illustrated similarities between consequences of imprisonment in a prison and home confinement with electronic monitoring on detainees. Gresham Sykes (1958) identified the "pains of imprisonment" under five distinct categories of deprivation: deprivation of autonomy, of liberty, of goods and services, of heterosexual relations, and of security (as cited in Shammass, 2017, p.1). In the literature, for comparison of home detention with imprisonment, opportunity to access goods and services, maintaining sexual relations, and being in home, as safer place than prison, were underscored; thus, it is asserted that deprivation of good and services, sexual relations, and security is not experienced in home confinement process. However, there existed results of few studies indicated that, all deprivations of “pains of imprisonment” were considered to be valid in the case of home confinement (Nellis, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2004). At that point, the present study also demonstrated validity of five deprivations of “pains of imprisonment” in the case of political detainees in Turkey.

All participants portrayed their experience of this process as a kind of captivity. To clarify the experience of captivity, all participants mentioned the sense of being restricted and loss of freedom. In addition to deprivation of freedom, deprivation of autonomy was a prevalent experience among participants. Moreover, some participants indicated that, since the existence of electronic bracelet on the body and receiving device in the home created a concern of being visible, watched

and registered by the means of these devices, they had trouble in sexual intercourse. Furthermore, all participants narratives indicated an intense sense of insecurity and feeling of loss of safe and private space during home confinement. Contrary to the notion that the home is safer than the prison, subjective experiences of political detainees demonstrated that, they experienced insecurity within their home and lost their home as a safe and private space.

On the other hand, some participants qualified captivity in home confinement as “softer and sweeter captivity” in comparison with captivity in prisons, since they could access some goods and services. This result was compatible with the findings in the literature (Payne & Gainey, 2004).

On the other hand, several participants depicted this peculiar kind of captivity as “self-imprisonment” and “self-condemnation”. They indicated that, they approved, gave consent, and executed this punishment by themselves. They underlined that, since there is no physical obstacle to get out of home, they turned into one’s “guardian” and executed this punishment. Also, they pointed out peculiar troubles regarding “self-imprisonment”. Self-imprisonment can be regarded as another unique outcome in the case of political detainees in Turkey. It demonstrates that, detainees were permitted as being an agent and autonomous only in the context of which they were transformed into perpetrators who executed self-imprisonment in home confinement process. Through compliance and submission to home confinement, on the one hand, detainees were victimized, on the other hand they were turned into a perpetrator due to self-imprisonment. Thus, detainees ironically became both victims and perpetrators of captivity. Considering the internalization of the role of perpetrator, the target of destruction was asserted as self and identity of political detainees. In addition, as two opposite roles, being victim and perpetrator can give rise to rupture in sense of self and fragmentation of self. Tagged body become instrumentalised for the destruction and fragmentation of the self. It is crucial to comprehensively investigate this peculiar experience of self-imprisonment through focusing its dynamics, influences, and consequences; therefore, research on the experience of self-imprisonment in home confinement is highly recommended in the future.

Taking their experiences of “pains of imprisonment” into consideration, political detainees portrayed home detention with electronic monitoring as a peculiar kind of captivity. According to participants’ narratives, home confinement had adverse influences on them and gave rise to distinct kinds of deprivations and human rights violations. Consequently, they argued that, they were unjustly treated and severely punished even though their judicial process was continuing. In the beginning of interviews all participants indicated that, “it is not penalty; rather, it is precaution” in order to underscore the legitimacy of their activism and their not being guilty. Nevertheless, in the continuation of the interviews, taking their exposure to injustice and punishments into account, all participants reversed their designation regarding the process such that “it is not a precaution, it is penalty”. Furthermore, for participants, the exposure to injustice and punishment in pre-trial period was depicted as violation of presumption of innocence. At that point, even though preservation of presumption of innocence is indicated as one purposes behind the use of house arrest as an alternative form of incarceration in the context of probation by the authorities (Maes et al., 2012), participants’ feelings of exposure to injustice and punishment illustrate notable contradiction with this declaration. The case of political detainees in Turkey illustrates that, how law, constitution and judicial system which can be regarded as protective, containing and holding for citizens turned into source of injustice and human rights violations and perpetrator of political violence.

As second theme, “loss of safe and private space” demonstrates one of the most prevalent experiences of all participants during the process of home detention with electronic monitoring. Four subthemes contained experiences triggered loss of safe and private space. These subthemes will be discussed respectively.

All participants substantially emphasized the concrete existence of electronic bracelet on their ankle and depicted the electronic bracelet as a foreign object for their body. In their narratives, participants underlined their bodily discomfort regarding the constantly concrete existence of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on their own body, the exposure to tagged foreign object against their will and control, the reluctance of his/her body for the adaptation of the foreign

object as a part of it due to influence of mechanical structure of the electronic clamp on the body and its symbolic reminiscences, their trying experiences when taking a shower and sleeping with tagged foreign object. Similar to the experiences regarding concrete existence of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on the body, a majority of participants complained of concrete existence of the receiver of the device of electronic monitoring as a foreign object in the home. Participants associated the concrete experience of foreign object on the body and in the home with the violation of security and privacy. Consequently, not only the concrete experience of electronic bracelet as a foreign object on the body but also the experience of receiving device as a foreign object in the home were depicted as some reasons behind the emergence of the sense of loss of safe and private space.

Concrete experience of foreign object on the body and in the home can be interpreted as infringement of borders of both the body and home. Since body and home is conceptualized as safe and private spaces thanks to presence of protective boundaries which distinguish inner from outer dangers (Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1998), violability of the boundaries can give rise to the intense sense of insecurity and feeling of loss of privacy. From the psychoanalytic perspective, since existence of firm and protective boundaries and separation internal from external are regarded as paternal functions (Abramovitch & Wiener, 2017), the violability of protective boundaries can be interpreted as breaking of paternal function of home.

On the other hand, in the literature, basic function of body boundaries is the differentiation of the self from non-self (Aron, 1998; Krueger, 1989; Meissner, 1998). Body boundaries plays crucial role on the construction of sense of self and self-cohesion, and the formation of distinct personality organizations (Aron, 1998; Meissner, 1998). Furthermore, people who have more definite body boundaries, generally demonstrate a greater sense of agency, autonomy and independency, greater tendency for interaction with others and for opening to new experiences, and greater capability for coping with body alterations (Meissner, 1998). Findings of current study indicated change in sense of self, decrease in autonomy, increase in dependency, and deterioration of interpersonal relations among participants. Thus, these findings can be associated with the impairment of definiteness of body

boundaries as a consequence of violations. Besides, it is recommended that, the further influences of impairments in body boundaries on the self, body-self, and self-cohesion should be comprehensively investigated in the future studies.

According to all participants narratives, they were exposed to the constant checking and control of electronic monitoring through signals come from the link between electronic bracelet and receiving device. The exposure to constant control and checking triggered feeling of being visible and watched during the process of home confinement. Some participants depicted how being visible and watched by the means of electronic monitoring system give rise to feel insecurity within private and safe space. Furthermore, as peculiar to the case of political detainees in Turkey, they stated that perpetual visits for solidarity and participation in interviews brought about an increase in the sense of being visible and watched in their private space.

In addition to constant checking through electronic monitoring, a majority of participants were constantly being called from the receiving device and their private phones and were frequently visited by officers frequently for checking the system of electronic monitoring due to the reason of signal interruption. Several participants portrayed these callings and comings as intrusive practices of officers in order to form surveillance and control on them during home confinement. This was also underscored in previous studies (Lilly & Nellis, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Nellis, 2013; Renzema, 2013; Van Swaaningen & Uit Beijerse, 2013). At that point, it can be interpreted as an instrumentalization of home confinement for surveillance and control of society.

In contrast to these prevalent experiences among distinct types of detainees in home confinement in the world, there exist distinctively genuine outcomes in the case of political detainees in Turkey. For instance, some participants stated that even the system of electronic monitoring was instrumentalized for these intrusive practices. Moreover, as political detainees, they were subjected to pressure and threat for encountering law-enforcement officers of the state in the name of problems of electronic monitoring system. Since officials' perpetual visits became discernible from the neighbourhood and political orientation of the detainees revealed, some political detainees were subjected to various kinds of threats in their

neighbourhoods. Consequently, constant checking and control through intrusive calling and coming to house gave rise to insecurity not only in the home but also within the neighbourhoods.

The content of third subtheme encompasses causes behind the feeling of loss of safe space. Both concrete experience of foreign object on the body and in the home and the exposure to constant monitoring and control were associated with the feeling of loss of safe space. Furthermore, all participants felt being threatened and under attack due to various reasons from the beginning to the end of the home confinement process. As specific to this study, one trigger of the feeling of being under attack was indicated as targeting in the media. Several participants noted that senior officials of the Turkish nation state made some political detainees as a scapegoat for their activism, pointed as a target, and threatened them. Furthermore, they portrayed persisting fear, anxiety, and insecurity as remnants of the home confinement process. Moreover, it is noticeable that pursuit of the new secure spaces emerges as a reflection of constant feelings of insecurity, vigilance, fear, and being under attack during home confinement.

In the scope of fourth subtheme, feeling of loss of private space was analysed. In addition to concrete experience of foreign object on their body and in their home, the exposure to constant monitoring and checking through intrusive calls and comings can be interpreted as violation of privacy. Feeling of being visible and watched and constant control through intrusive callings and comings demonstrate breaking of inviolability of not only home but also body of detainees. These findings were supported by previous studies in the literature (George, 2006; Gibbs & King, 2003a; McCahill & Finn, 2013; Nellis, 2009; Wadhawan, 2021). Consequently, in distinct cases of home confinement in the world, the transformation of home into an insecure space and loss of safe space are prevalent.

On the other hand, some findings are particular to the case of present study. Some participants had to share their private rooms with visitors especially with boarding guests. Thus, they started to use living room in the house as their personal place. Since it is common area of household, they could not settle and organize living room as personal and private spaces. As they claimed, this change between

rooms were experienced as displacement that creates feeling of loss of private space. Furthermore, to create social awareness for the home confinement and student movement, some participants accepted to participate interviews and open their private space to the public by the means of media. They indicated that opening private space to the public resulted in violation of privacy.

Aforementioned subthemes illustrate that, as it has been asserted that, in the cases of home confinement, home is experienced as a space of insecurity, alienation and violence rather than a secure, private, and supporting space (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). From the Eiguer's (2013) point of view, it could be contended that, participants' internal habitat, which is conceptualized as both conscious and unconscious representations, imaginations, and perceptions regarding home, was transformed. Consequently, loss of home as a safe and private space overrides containment function of internal habitat, which protects inside from destructiveness of outside, contains experiences, and provides safe ground for experiencing privacy.

Furthermore, since body and home were transformed into insecure, violated, and threatening spaces for one, satisfying basic needs, regulation of affects, soothing frustrations, and containing intense affects and experiences in one's body and home cannot be actualized. Hence, it could be argued that, both home and body lost their maternal functions, which encompass emotional attachment, intimacy, comforting, containment and holding. Since body and home, as holding and containing spaces, turned into main sources of insecurity and obstacles for functions of regulating and soothing, participants experienced intense feelings of insecurity and being under attack, which is hard to soothed under deprivation of holding and containing environment.

Moreover, it can be interpreted that, loss of safe and private space connotes loss of feeling at home in the world. Because aforementioned triggers of feelings of loss of safe and private space continue during home confinement, reparation the sense of loss of safe and private space, reconstruction of body and home as safe and private spaces, and revival of feeling at home in the world cannot be possible. In other words, compensation of loss of safe and private space cannot be probable under restrictions and violations regarding home confinement.

In the literature, Freud (1919/1955) discussed “uncanny” experiences by explaining the state of *Unheimliche*, as opposite of *Heimliche* which means “familiar”, “free from fear”, and “belonging to house”, connotes unknown, insecure, frightening, and the sense of not being at home (p.225). From this point of view, participants’ sense of intense insecurity, being under attack, and fear, and the feelings of loss of safe and private space could be interpreted as being the state of *Unheimlich*, which means not being at home in one’s body and home, and “uncanny” experiences. The case of present study clearly illustrates how familiar, secure, comfortable, holding, and homely is turn into something uncanny. In other words, political oppression, the exposure to constant control and surveillance, breaking inviolability of body and home through intrusive interventions, targeting and threatening by the means of state apparatus resulted in the state of *Unheimlich* and uncanniness. Thus, this deduction supports the argument that, political oppression, torture, war, disasters, and abuse can transform safety and homeliness into insecure, alien, strange, and frightening (Diamond, 2013; Hariry, 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002).

On the other hand, in the literature, it has been emphasized that, uncanny experiences give rise to a need for feeling at home. Hence, those experiences arouse a pursuit of home. After home confinement, several participants mentioned their need to get away from home and tendency to seek new secure places. Some participants stated they wanted to get away from their city and even the country. Hence, this pursuit can be interpreted as the “use of the uncanny to find home” (Hariry, 2010, p.25).

In the scope of third theme, finding related to the transformation in the representation of home will be discussed. Taking participants’ depictions regarding their relations with the home prior, during and after home confinement into account, transformation of the relation is noticeable in their narratives. Although some participants initially depicted their home as shelter without emotional attachment, which solely provides protectively safe and private space for compensating basic needs, the loss of home, as a safe and private space had staggering influences on these participants as much as it affected those who previously had an emotional

attachment with their home. In support of past studies with distinct kinds of detainees in home confinement, political detainees mentioned the deterioration of their relation with the home (Wadhawan, 2021) and the change in daily practices in the home (Bagaric, 2002; Chamiell & Walsh, 2018; Gainey & Payne, 2000). Furthermore, the erosion of emotional attachment to the home is compatible with previous findings in the literature (Wadhawan, 2021).

Furthermore, regardless of the initially emotional attachment with home, some participants experienced the loss of home as a safe and private space such as homelessness and nowhere-ness. In the light of psychoanalytic theory, it can be argued that, this difference in being state of homelessness or nowhere-ness can be associated with their prior experiences of being at home in mother womb, caregivers' mind, one's own body and psyche.

Moreover, some participants indicated that they could notice the importance of the existence of specific spaces such as window, balcony and garden for the house during the home confinement period. From psychoanalytic point of view, window and balcony, can be seen as eyes of the home and parts of home for opening to outside. Observing outside from the windows and balcony is a way of protection of inside (Karaman, 2009). Taking participants' intense feeling of insecurity and being under attack into consideration, increase in importance of these parts can become understandable. Besides, gaze, as least restrained sensory trait, is able to break the law and prohibition the easiest (Karaman, 2009). In the case of political detainees, the increase in engagement with windows, balcony, and gardens can be interpreted as a way of breaking prohibitions and resistance through freely interaction with outside.

A majority of participants mentioned the transformation in their representation of home. From psychoanalytic perspective, the change in representation of home can be interpreted as transformation of internal habitat, which is conceptualized as containers of conscious and unconscious representation, imagination, and perception with regard to the home (Eiguer, 2013). In their narratives, they indicated the transformation of home into a prison, a zoo, and a space of resistance.

Except for one participant, all participants portrayed their home as a prison, during home confinement process. Some participants mentioned that they had trouble in using and staying certain areas within the home since connections of the signals between electronic bracelet and receiving device interrupted. When they entered those areas, signals interrupted and they were called from Probation Office for checking. In the narratives, both the reformation of boundaries of the house and formation of forbidden zone in the house were also associated with the transformation of home into a prison. Moreover, all participants resemble home confinement to captivity in the prison, since they lost their freedom restricted in space, experienced distinct kinds of deprivations, and felt insecurity.

Several participants indicated the reconstruction of particular spaces in the home as if they were parts of prisons and the emergence of various prison practices in those reconstructed spaces. In the literature, this restructuring of home is interpreted as "embodiment of carceral architecture" and "imitation of prison ecosystems" within home (Wadhawan, 2021, p.7). It can be deduced that, the restructuring of the home and proliferation of prison practices in the home were analysed such that, home is reconstructed into an extension of prison place in which control and surveillance operate (Gainey & Payne, 2000; George, 2006; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Lilly & Nellis, 2013; Renzema, 2013; Van Swaaningen & Uit Beijerse, 2013; Wadhawan, 2021). Furthermore, some research reveals that sense of security, privacy, belonging, and attachment could be gradually eroded due to deployment of prison practices within home (George, 2006; Gibbs & King, 2003a; Wadhawan, 2021).

In the third subtheme, when asked to describe their experience of being in home incarceration with electronic monitoring, some participants indicated that they compared their experiences during home detention with electronic monitoring to those of animals in the zoo. In their narratives, they portrayed both the representation of the home as a zoo and their experiences by analogy with the those of animals. As Nellis (2009) has argued, the tagged body is reconstructed as "depersonalized entity" (p.59). Hence, it can be contended that, the exposure to constant monitoring and control through tagged devices, intrusive interventions, the

sense of being visible and watched by visitors, humiliation, and objectification through dehumanization result in the transformation of representation of home into a zoo.

In the fourth subtheme, some participants stated that they continued their activism within the home during home confinement period. They endeavoured to discover distinct methods to maintain their struggle in the home. They stated that not only the endeavour to continue their activism in their home but also the reconstruction of home as a part and place of student protests. Taking these experiences into consideration, it is discernible the transformation in the representation of home into a field of resistance in the mind of participants. It can be asserted that this transformation is peculiar to the case of political detainees in Turkey.

In the content of fourth theme, participants' bodily experiences throughout home confinement with electronic monitoring were explored. From the custody to the end of home confinement, narratives of participants illustrated that the body become a target of distinct kinds of the state violence. As object of the political violence, political detainees' body was exposed to destructive maltreatments and severe restrictions on meeting bodily needs during custody. Several participants had difficulty in accessing sufficient water, food, and medicines. Also, they were prevented from satisfying the need for a toilet. In the literature, it is emphasized that, during torture, physical, sexual, and systematic violence, victim loses his/her control over motor behaviours and bodily functions (Boulanger, 2007; Herman, 1992). Thus, the self is transformed into an object and lost the sense of agency and autonomy by systematic techniques of disempowerment and dehumanization (Boulanger, 2007; Herman, 1992). From this point of view, it can be asserted that, in the case of current study, participants' bodies were instrumentalization for objectification, disempowerment, and dehumanization.

In the literature, through the concepts of body-ego, skin-ego, and body-self, bodily self is depicted as an origin of one's psychic self (Aron, 1998). At that point, it has been argued that, not only primitive ego structure but also the construction of the self throughout life is associated with whole range of bodily experiences

(Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Diamond, 2013; Lemma, 2015; Lichtenberg, 1978). Consequently, the body is viewed as a "container for the multidimensional sense of the self" and for multiple self-states (Aron, 1998; Krueger, 1989; Lemma, 2015; Meissner, 1997; Rayska, 2017, p.49). From this perspective, it is crucial to question how the instrumentalization of body as object of destruction influences on the self.

At that point, since the formation of body boundaries is precondition for the construction of the sense of self, the exposure to the destructive violations of the body boundaries can result in the disintegration of the coherent sense of the self (Meissner, 1998). In addition, since body boundaries became essential individuality and relationality, the violations of body borders can dissolve the function of body as container of agency, affects, distinct self-states and have adverse influences on interpersonal relations (Aron, 1998; Boulanger, 2007; Meissner, 1998). In the present study, the narrative of some participants regarding the change in their sense of self, subjectivity, and intersubjective relationality can be understood from this approach.

In the second subtheme, transformation in body image was found out. The experience of tagged electronic bracelet as a foreign object on the body had certain reflections on bodily sensations, perceptions, and representations. Throughout the process, preference on right and left ankle, trouble in getting used to the bracelet, tendency to camouflage it, reminders of it, and bodily sensations, perceptions, and representations after removing it illustrate the transformation of body image.

In the psychoanalytic literature, body image is regarded as the totality of one's authentic sensations, perceptions, experiences, imaginations, fantasies, and representation of the one's own body (Schilder, 1935/1950, p.11) and "representations of experienced bodily percepts" (Meissner, 1997, p.429). Body image is continuously dynamic (Aron, 1998; Dosamantes-Beaudry, 1997; Ehrlich, 1970; Lemma, 2015; Schilder, 1935/1950). At that point, trauma is also associated with the fluctuations of body images and ultimately body self, because the construction of representations of body is founder for the construction of body self. From this point of view, transformations in body image can be interpreted as

consequences of trying and traumatic experiences during home confinement and indicators of problems regarding the sense of self.

On the other hand, some participants declared they experienced fragmentation of the body into parts and discover the existence of specific parts of their body during this process. According to their narratives, since electronic bracelet was attached to their ankle, bodily sensations on the surface of ankle enabled them to feel the physical existence of their ankle. They emphasized that the sensation and perceptions around their ankle dominated other bodily sensations. From the psychoanalytic perspective, participants' experiences regarding their ankle can be interpreted as transformation of whole object into a part object. Furthermore, the transformations of body image as both the separation of the painful parts of the body from the whole body and objectification of these parts are seen as the manifestations of the fragmentation of bodily integrity (Lichtenberg, 1975).

All participants regarded tagged electronic bracelet on the ankle as violation and even invasion of body boundaries. The deterioration of their relation with body can be interpreted as a consequence of dissolution of bodily integrity due to electronic bracelet. Also, several participants stated their endeavour to cover the breaking of bodily integrity. Participants' common narratives about using socks could be metaphorically associated with reconstruction of body boundaries. In addition to these narratives, some participants covered the electronic bracelet with their boots or pants in order to ignore its intrusive existence on the skin.

Moreover, some participants mentioned their endeavour to re-personalize the body in order to recover both belongingness and attachment to their intruded body. For instance, several participants instrumentalized the electronic bracelet for political protests through covering it with stickers and paintings in order to repair emotional bond with their body.

On the other hand, participants constantly experienced physical touch with the electronic bracelet. They elaborated their bodily sensations and perceptions stems from the tactile contact of it on their skins. They depicted the physical touch of the clamp as involuntary touch that they did not want to experience. Since they

were not in a position to determine this contact rather, they could be exposed to it, the experience of involuntary touch indicates a position of an object rather than as a subject. Some participants endeavoured to break this tactile stimulation on the skin through formation of separative layers between the clamp and the skin via socks.

In the literature, as Freud (1923/1961) has claimed that, touch brings about double sensation. Not only body, as an object, is touched and held but also body, as a subject, is feeling and touching (Diamond, 2013; Meissner, 1997). Hence, double sensation encompasses both a sense of touching as a subject and a sense of being touched as an object (Meissner, 1997). In the case of present study, since majority of tactile experiences were in the position of object, it can be interpreted as another way of objectification and bereaving agency of political detainees.

In the last theme, predominantly prevalent narrative of the participants' experiences regarding home detention with electronic monitoring was in the frame of a matter of agency. Before of home confinement, the narrative of being a political agent or an activist of student movement commonly revealed, that was also indicated as fundamental reason for sentencing of home confinement with electronic monitoring.

On the other hand, all participants stated that the most serious trouble during home confinement was a loss of agency. Supporting previous findings in the literature, the persistent existence of an ankle bracelet is regarded as a reminder of surveilled position and as indication of the lack of control on one's body (Nellis, 2009). In the case of current study, not able to continue to be a political agent outside, participate protests and take an active role in student movement were experienced as loss of agency. Furthermore, all participants underlined the situation of being willing not to leave the house while they could leave the house and there is no any physical obstacle for this. A majority of them portrayed this situation as submission to the state and had trouble in affectively coping with this situation. This submission was another indicator of loss of agency. The deprivation of autonomy, dependence on others, and the restriction of freedom to decide on their actions were associated with an experience of both loss of agency and an objectification due to

the oppression, surveillance, and control over them. In addition to experience of objectification, the experience of dehumanization can be interpreted as a demonstrator of loss of agency since they portrayed themselves as “caged bird”, “circus monkey”, “experiential animal”, “animal in a zoo”, and “puppet” during the home confinement.

In the literature, it is underlined that, during torture, physical, sexual, and systematic violence, victim loses his/her control over motor behaviours and bodily functions (Boulanger, 2007; Herman, 1992). Thus, the self is transformed into an object and lost the sense of agency and autonomy by systematic techniques of disempowerment, objectification, and dehumanization as a consequence of violation of body boundaries, exposure to constant control, making political detainees visible, vulnerable, and unsafe (Boulanger, 2007; Herman, 1992). Hence, the loss of agency in the case of political detainees is one of the most specific findings of this current research.

In the last subtheme, several participants narrated their various ways of recovery of agency both throughout home confinement process and after this process. Since some participants described their agency in the frame of being a political agent, they identified their experiences regarding recovery of agency with increase in their political awareness, developing an activist identity, belonging to certain collectives, and continuing to struggle. Besides, the various kinds of endeavours for violation of home confinement brought about the sense of the recovery of agency. Some participants tried to frequently use the situation in the scope of valid excuse such as going to hospital, participating trials or exams. Furthermore, after approximately two months, a majority of participants terminated the home confinement with electronic monitoring with their own volition. In the narratives, the termination of home confinement process was depicted as an act of re-emancipation. Moreover, termination of home confinement is associated with the recovery of agency. These findings in the scope of issue of recovery of agency can be regarded as unique and peculiar in the case of political detainees in Turkey.

In conclusion, taking various findings on the issue of agency into consideration, it can be recommended that, future studies should comprehensively

investigate the experience of home confinement with electronic monitoring in the context of agency.

4.2. CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

This study provides certain findings, which can be crucial to grasp subjective experience of political detainees. These findings can be useful to understand how home confinement as a peculiar kind of captivity has influences on detainees. In the clinical field, in the cases of working with those who are exposed to captivity, human rights violations, and political violence, findings of this thesis provide crucial points to work on, since it clearly demonstrates reflections of the home confinement with electronic monitoring on political detainees. For instance, this study indicates how loss of safe and private space and feeling not being at home in one's body and home were triggered and created and, in turn, what kinds of consequences were revealed. Specific to this instance, the mental state of some participants in the study can be associated with homelessness and others' with nowhere-ness.

There exists literature about therapeutic interventions. Anxieties regarding homelessness are product of existence of danger against object and loss of object (Durban, 2017). These kinds of anxieties indicate development of capability for loss and mourning (Durban, 2017). Therefore, treatment of homelessness required process of mourning for the loss and reconstruction of feeling at home in the world (Durban, 2017). On the other hand, nowhere-ness is "a state of having no body, nobody (else) and nowhere to hide" (Durban, 2017, p.180). In the extreme state of nowhere-ness, anxieties regarding ontological existence demonstrated disturbance of sense of boundedness, lack of protective envelope, deficiency of differentiation inner from outer, and absence of psycho-somatic integration (Durban, 2017). Treatment of the sense of nowhere-ness and existential dread starts with construction of protective shell for security and separation inside from outside and continues internalization of holding and containing function, so that emergence of sense of home can become possible (Durban, 2017). Furthermore, during the

treatment process of both homelessness and nowhere-ness, therapists endeavour to be home for patients in order for the construction of sense of being at home in the world through providing holding and containing environment (Bedi, 2011; Hill, 1996; Papadopoulos, 2002; Prietto 2015). In therapies, maternal and paternal functions of home should be realized by therapists.

On the other hand, the issue of agency was revealed in the results. It can be deduced that, working with the case of captivity and political trauma loss of agency and recovery of agency are important to focus on. Since "it is capacity to be agent that makes an experience real and capable of being remembered", survivor of trauma remains under the attack of intrusive and fragmented memory (Boulanger, 2007; Slavin & Pollock, 1997, p.582). Also, the capacity for narrative memory requires both psychic integrity and the sense of agency (Slavin, 1997). Thus, meaning making of unbearable memories and creating cohesive narrative of traumatic experiences become impossible due to loss of the sense of agency in cases of extreme traumas. To recovery of agency, construction of narratives in clinical work is accepted as critical for the treatment of trauma (Slavin, 1997).

Furthermore, self-reflexivity refers to the capability by which one can observe, dwell on, and reflect on one's experiences in the state of both self as subject and self as object (Aron, 1998). In consequence of trauma, skin surface lost its function to mediate experiences between self as subject and self as object (Aron, 1998). Thus, self-reflexive functioning is impaired and traumatized person unable to reflect on the traumatic experiences (Aron, 1998). In the case of present study, exposure to constant control, intrusive interventions, dehumanization, and involuntary touch experience in a position of object can be evaluated as indicators of experience of objectification. To repair the objectification, strengthening self-reflexive functioning should be one of the significant purposes in therapy processes.

In conclusion, since this study demonstrates how home confinement as a peculiar kind of captivity brings about destructions in psyche, body, and the sense of self, it can be a supplementary resource for therapist to understand their patients, who experienced captivity.

4.3. STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE CURRENT STUDY

A strength of this study is that, it is a unique study focused on the case of political detainees in home confinement. Also, there is not any research on home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey. Moreover, there is no study that explore and interpret subjective experiences of detainees in home detention with electronic monitoring from the psychoanalytic perspective. In addition, it is a unique study, that was conducted with only student political detainees in home confinement in the literature. The present study can be seen as a critical study to focus, underline, and overcome the lack of research on this topic in the literature.

In terms of trustworthiness, the member checking (Larkin et al., 2006), which enables researcher not only to share findings, as consequences of thematic analysis, with participants but also to get feedback from participants to evaluate consistency and compatibility of outcomes with participants' experiences, was realized. According to feedbacks of participants, it is clear that, the findings were not invalidated by them. Member checking can be regarded as a strength of this study.

In spite of aforementioned strengths, the present study possesses certain limitations. It is crucial to demonstrate limitations of present study. Firstly, a deficiency in the number of participants constructs a limitation to generalizability of outcomes across distinct kinds of detainees in different cultures and countries; the main ambition of the study was to provide a comprehensive investigation of subjective experiences of political detainees in home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey.

Secondly, it should be indicated that the participants voluntarily took part in the current research; thus, they were self-selected. As this research illustrates the experiences of a restrained group of political detainees, this situation can bring about a self-selection bias.

Furthermore, in Ethical Board Application Form, targeting number of participants was indicated as 10-12, because Braun and Clark (2013) asserted that 10 is appropriate number of participants for Thematic Analysis. Nevertheless, total

number of participants did not reach 10. Although interviews were conducted with nine participants, narratives of eight participants were thematically analysed. Since one participant did not use an electronic clamp during home confinement and semi-structured research questions regarding bodily experiences with tagged electronic bracelet were not asked, his/her data could not be involved in the present research.

Moreover, due to exclusion and inclusion criteria, a very limited number of people can fulfil criteria to participate in the present research. Taking inclusion and exclusion criteria into account, it can be argued that, the target sample of the research is formed by approximately 50 people. Thus, this indicates that the target participants of the current study comprise a very specific and limited group of people. Hence, the deficit in number of participants can be evaluated as reaching eight participants within 50 candidate participants. This actually indicates great proportion to represent the limited sample. Besides, even though approximately five candidate participants made an appointment for interview, they did not participate in interviews without any justification.

One reason behind the lack of the number of participants can be indicated as continuation of judicial process of political detainees. Since they were in pretrial period, they might have tended to abstain from talking about home confinement process, that might affect judicial process. In the result section, prevalent feelings of insecurity and being under attack among participants were illustrated in detail. Considering this, it is crucial to indicate that, withdrawal of some candidate participants from participation in the study can be associated with intense sense of insecurity and vulnerability as common consequences of home incarceration with electronic monitoring.

In addition to influence on the small of number of participants, continuation of judicial process of participants means that any information, which can possibly disclose identity of participants and damage anonymity, was not indicated in method section, not cited in result section, and not interpreted in discussion section. Moreover, focusing substantially on a specific group of people in this study also results in these kinds of exclusion of data in the name of confidentiality and

anonymity. These kinds of exclusions can be regarded as particular limitations of the present research.

Lastly, since qualitative research requires the multidimensional inclusion of the subjectivity of the researcher on the distinct stages of the study, the process of determination of research topics and research questions, data collection, and data analysis inevitably reflects the researcher's perspective. This limitation is perspicuously demonstrated in the reflexivity section under the method chapter of the present research. Researcher's sensitivity to human rights violations and execution of political violence can influence on both gathering data in the interviews and interpretation of the data. Consequently, when readers read the present study, the impacts and reflections of researcher's age, gender, ethnicity, political and cultural identity, and professional background on the research should be taken into consideration.

CONCLUSION

The present study intended to investigate the subjective experiences of political detainees who were sentenced to home confinement with electronic monitoring in Turkey. On one hand, the study focused on how tagged electronic bracelet influences both body image of detainees and bodily integrity of detainees. That is, the current study aimed to examine the effects of tagged electronic bracelet on detainees' relationship with their bodies. On the other hand, the present study inquired into the possible transformation of representation of the home in the mind of the detainees due to this sanction. Thematic analysis of participants' narratives on their subjective experiences during home confinement evidently illustrated how their sense of self, agency, autonomy, being at home in the world, body image, bodily integrity, representations of home have been impacted. The findings illustrated that, in home confinement with electronic monitoring, as a peculiar kind of captivity, political detainees encountered several troubles, experienced distinct kinds of deprivations, and were adversely influenced. Also, they were exposed to a number of violations of human rights and intrusive practices under constant control and surveillance, which focused on detainees' body and home; consequently, the experience of loss of safe and private space was evident. At that point, it was deduced the instrumentalization of home confinement with electronic monitoring for proliferation of surveillance and control on society. Moreover, findings demonstrated that transformations in both body image and the representation of home were realized. Additionally, outcomes indicated that, the experience of home detention with electronic monitoring was closely associated with the issue of agency. In the lights of these findings, it is highly recommended that, the impacts of home confinement on mental health should be comprehensively investigated in the future research in order to promote authorities for taking necessary measures regarding implementation of home confinement with electronic instead of instrumentalization of this implementation for proliferation of surveillance and control.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

YARI YAPILANDIRILMIŞ GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

Ev Hapsi Öncesi Sürece Dair Sorular

1. Ev hapsi cezası almanızla sonuçlanan süreci öğrenmek isterim. Neler oldu ve siz denetimli serbestlik kapsamında ev hapsi cezası nasıl aldınız?
2. Ev hapsi cezası aldığınızı nasıl öğrendiniz ve ilk öğrendiğinizde neler hissettiniz ve neler geçti aklınızdan?
3. Ceza kesinleştikten sonra elektronik kelepçenin takıldığı güne kadar olan zamanı nasıl geçirdiniz, bu süre içinde neler yaptınız?

Bedendeki Deneyimlere Odaklanan Sorular

4. Evinize gelinip elektronik kelepçe takıldığı ve alıcısının evinizde kurulduğu ilk gün neler yaşadınız?
5. Bileğinize bir elektronik kelepçe takılması nasıl bir deneyimdi/ sizde nasıl hisler uyandırdı?
6. Bileğinize takılan elektronik kelepçe bedeninizde nasıl duyumsamalar yarattı?
7. Elektronik kelepçe ile ev hapsinde ilk gününüz nasıl geçti?
8. Bir tüm günü göz önüne aldığınızda, ev hapsindeki ilk gün sizi en zorlayan şey ne oldu? Bu zorluklarla nasıl baş ettiniz?
9. Tüm sürece baktığınızda bileğinizde elektronik kelepçe ile x ay yaşamak nasıl bir deneyim anlatabilir misiniz?
10. Bileğinizde bulunan elektronik kelepçeye süreç içinde alışabildiniz mi? Bu nasıl oldu?

11. Elektronik kelepçe süreç sonunda bileğinizden çıkarıldığında neler hissettiniz? Bu durum bedeninizde nasıl duyumsamalar yarattı? Biraz anlatır mısınız?

Evdeki Deneyime Odaklanan Sorular

12. Ev hapsi sürecinden önce evde nasıl vakit geçirirdiniz? Neler yapardınız? Eviniz ev hapsi sürecinin öncesinde nasıl bir yerdi sizin için, nasıl tarif edersiniz, tanımlarsınız?

13. Ev hapsi sürecinde bir gününüz nasıl geçiyordu? Ev hapsi sürecinde eviniz nasıl bir yerdi sizin için, nasıl tarif edersiniz, tanımlarsınız?

14. Ev hapsinde olmak sizin için nasıl bir deneyimdi? Biraz anlatır mısınız?

15. Ev hapsi sürecinde evinizdeki günlük pratiğinizde nasıl değişiklikler oldu/ ne tür değişiklikler oldu?

16. Ev hapsi sürecinden sonra evde nasıl vakit geçiriyorsunuz, neler yapıyorsunuz? Ev hapsi sonrasında eviniz nasıl bir yer oldu sizin için, nasıl tarif edersiniz, tanımlarsınız?

17. Geri dönüp baktığınızda o günlere dair aklınızda canlı kalan, unutamadığınız anlardan bahsedebilir misiniz?

18. Ev hapsi sürecinde sizi zorlayan şeyler nelerdi?

19. Süreç içinde bahsettiğiniz zorluklarla nasıl mücadele ettiniz/ nasıl başa çıktınız?

Kapanış Soruları

20. Bu süreçte kendinizle ilgili öğrendiğiniz ve keşfettiğiniz neler oldu? Biraz anlatır mısınız?

21. Bu süreç hayatınızda ne tür değişiklikler yarattı? Gelecekte beklentileriniz ve gelecek planlarınız nelerdir?

22. Bugünkü görüşme size nasıl geldi? Eklemek veya sormak istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

APPENDIX B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Bilgilendirilmiş Onam Formu

Sayın Katılımcı;

Bu çalışma, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi olan Eda Gayretli tarafından Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak'ın danışmanlığında elektronik kelepçe ile ev hapsi cezası alan siyasi tutuklu öğrencilerin deneyimlerini anlamak amacıyla yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir.

Henüz Türkiye’de siyasi tutukluların ev hapsi deneyimini anlamaya yönelik herhangi bir bilimsel çalışma yapılmamıştır. Araştırmaya katılımınız sizinle benzer deneyimleri yaşayan siyasi tutukluların ev hapsi sürecini deneyimleme biçimlerini daha iyi anlamak, farkları ve benzerlikleri keşfedebilmek ve bilgilerimize katkı sağlamak adına oldukça değerlidir.

Araştırmaya katılım gönüllülük temeline dayanmaktadır. Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz sizinle online olarak Zoom uygulaması üzerinden araştırmacı tarafından bir görüşme gerçekleştirilecektir. Görüşmenin 1 buçuk saat sürmesi beklenmektedir. Görüşmeler esnasında izniniz doğrultusunda ses kaydı alınacak ve araştırmacı not tutacaktır. Tutulan kayıtlara ve notlara sadece araştırmacı ve danışmanı ulaşabilecektir.

Ev hapsi sürecinizdeki deneyimlerinize yeniden odaklanmanın ve duygularınıza temas etmenin sizin için sarsıcı olacağını öngörüyor iseniz çalışmaya katılmamanız önerilir. Görüşmede sorulacak sorular iç dünyanızla ilgili duygusal birtakım atıflarda bulunmanızı ve bazı olumlu ve/veya olumsuz deneyimlerinizi hatırlamanızı gerektireceği için size kötü hissettirebilir. Kendinizi rahat hissetmediğiniz takdirde araştırmanın herhangi bir aşamasında araştırmadan çekilebilirsiniz. Araştırmadan kendi isteğinizle çekildiğiniz durumda görüşmenin

gerçekleşmiş kısmına dair kayıtlar silinecek ve araştırma kapsamında kullanılmayacaktır. Görüşme esnasında ihtiyaç duyduğunuzda ara vermek isteyebilirsiniz. Görüşme sırasında dilediğiniz zaman kaydın durdurulmasını isteyebilirsiniz. Görüşme başlamadan önce, görüşme sırasında veya sonrasında, istediğiniz zaman soru sorabilirsiniz.

Bu formu imzalayarak araştırmaya katılım için onay vermiş olacaksınız. Bununla birlikte kimlik bilgileriniz çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında kullanılmayacak ve gizli tutulacaktır. Görüşmede verdiğiniz cevaplar ve araştırma süresince ses kayıt cihazı kullanılarak edinilen her türlü bilgi yalnızca bu bilimsel araştırma kapsamında kullanılıp, eğer gerek görülürse araştırma raporunda alıntı şeklinde yer alabilecek, bu durumlar haricinde hiçbir amaç için kullanılmayacaktır.

Eğer bu araştırmaya katılmak istiyorsanız lütfen aşağıdaki metni araştırmacıya e-posta ile iletiniz.

“Bu bilgilendirilmiş olur belgesini okudum ve anladım. Çalışmaya katılmayı ve görüşmeden elde edilecek bilgilerin bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum. Bu onam belgesini kendi hür irademle imzalıyorum.”

Zaman ayırdığınız ve araştırmaya verdiğiniz değerli katkılarınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi Eda Gayretli veya Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

APPENDIX C. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

Demografik Bilgi Formu

1.Cinsiyetiniz?

() Erkek

() Kadın

() Diğer

2. Yaşınız?

Belirtiniz:.....

3. Eğitim durumunuz?

Lisans () Yüksek lisans () Doktora ()

4. Okuduğunuz üniversite?

Belirtiniz:.....

5. Okuduğunuz bölüm?

Belirtiniz:.....

6. Etnik kökeniniz?

Belirtiniz:.....

7. Dini inancınız?

Belirtiniz:.....

8. Politik görüşünüz?

Belirtiniz:.....

9. Aylık geliriniz?

Belirtiniz:.....

10. Gelir kaynaklarınız?

Aile desteęi () Burs alıyorum () Çalışıyorum ()

11. Ev hapsi cezası kapsamındaki tutukluluk süreniz?

Belirtiniz:.....

12. Ev hapsi cezasının bitiş tarihi?

Belirtiniz:.....



APPENDIX D. NSESSS

Akut Stres Ölçeği

İsim:

Tarih:

İnsanlar bazen stresli olaylardan veya deneyimlerden sonra sorunlar yaşarlar. SON YEDİ (7) GÜN boyunca aşırı stresli bir olay veya deneyim sonrası oluşan yada daha da kötüleşen aşağıdaki problemler sizi ne kadar rahatsız etti? Lütfen her satırdaki soruyu bir kutucuğu işaretleyerek cevaplayınız.

		Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça çok	Aşırı
1	Geçmişteki stresli bir deneyimi herşey tekrardan oluyormuş gibi davrandığınız ya da yaşadığınız (örneğin, stresli deneyimin kısımlarını görerek, işiterek, kokusunu alarak veya deneyimin kısımlarını fiziksel olarak hissederek yeniden deneyimleme gibi), geçmişe dönüşler(flashback) oluyor mu?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
2	Stresli deneyiminizi hatırlatan bir şey olduğunda duygusal olarak çok üzgün hisseder misiniz?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
3	Kendinizden, bedeninizden, fiziksel çevrenizden veya anılarınızdan uzaklaşmış ya da ayrılmış hisseder misiniz?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
4	Stresli deneyiminizi hatırlatan bir şey olduğunda, düşüncelerinizden, duygularınızdan veya fiziksel duyularınızdan kaçınmaya çabalar mısınız?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
5	Aşırı tetikte, savunmada olur musunuz? Ya da tehlikeyi sürekli kollarsınız?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
6	Beklemediğiniz bir ses duyduğunuzda yerinizden sıçır ya da kolaylıkla irkilir misiniz?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4
7	Başka insanlara bağırarak, onlarla kavga edecek ya da eşyalara zarar verecek kadar tahammülsüz veya aşırı öfkeli olur musunuz?	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4

APPENDIX E. SUMMARY OF RESULTS USED IN MEMBER CHECKING

Elektronik İzleme ile Ev Hapsi Kararı Almış Siyasi Tutukluların Öznel Deneyimlerinin Nitel İncelemesi

1. Tema Zorlayıcı bir Deneyim olarak Ev Hapsi

Bu tema katılımcıların elektronik kelepçe ile ev hapsi sürecinde yaşadıkları, ortaklık gösteren, zorlu deneyimleri ve bunların hayatlarına olan yansımalarını içermektedir. Bu temanın alt temaları şu şekildedir: Sürecin Tanımlanmasının 'Ceza Değil Tedbirdir' den 'Tedbir Değil Cezadır' a Dönüşü, özgün bir tutsaklık türü olarak ev hapsi, özerklikten yoksunluk ve bağımlılıkta artış, yeni deneyimler yaşama fırsatından yoksunluk, ruh sağlığında bozulma.

2. Tema Güvenli ve Mahrem Alanın Kaybı

Bu tema ev hapsi sürecinde katılımcıların güvenli ve mahrem alan olarak gördükleri kendi beden ve evlerinde, ev hapsi sürecinde karşılaştıkları uygulamalar sebebi ile yaşadıkları ihlaller sonucunda ortaya çıkan güvenli ve mahrem alanın kaybına dair deneyimlerini içermektedir. Güvenli ve mahrem alanın kaybını doğuran sebepler ile birlikte bu kaybın sonuçlarına da odaklanılmıştır. Bu tema dört alt tema altında sunulmuştur: beden üzerinde ve evin içinde yabancı objelerin somut olarak deneyimlenmesi, sürekli izlenme ve kontrole maruz kalma, güvenli alan kaybı hissi, mahrem alan kaybı hissi.

3. Tema Ev Temsilindeki Dönüşüm

Bu tema ev hapsi sürecinde katılımcıların evleri ile kurdukları ilişkide ve zihinlerindeki ev temsiliinde yaşanan değişimleri kapsamaktadır. Bu tema dört alt tema altında sunulmuştur: Ev ile kurulan ilişkideki değişim, evin hapishaneye dönüşümü, evin hayvanat bahçesine dönüşümü, evin direniş alanına dönüşümü.

4. Tema Bedensel Deneyimler

Bu tema katılımcıların elektronik kelepçe ile ev hapsi sürecinde yaşadıkları bedensel deneyimleri kapsamaktadır. Katılımcıların beden sınırları, beden algısı, beden bütünlüğü ve bedensel duyumsamalara dair anlatıları içermektedir. Bu temanın dört alt teması vardır: Şiddetin hedefi ve nesnesi olarak beden, beden algısında dönüşüm, beden sınırlarının yeniden inşası ve onarımı, kelepçenin yarattığı istemsiz dokunma deneyimi.

5. Tema Eylemliliğin (Agency) Bir Mesele Haline Gelmesi

Bu tema ev hapsi sürecinden önce, süreç boyunca ve süreçten sonra katılımcıların eylemlilik konusunda nasıl bir dönüşüm süreci yaşadıklarını ortaya koymaktadır. Politik bir özne olarak veya bir aktivist olarak başlanılan sürecin, ev hapsi ile gelen süreçte eylemliliğin kaybına, süreç içinde ve sonrasında yeniden eylemliliğin iyileştirilmesine uzanan dönüşümünü kapsamaktadır. Bu temanın üç alt teması vardır: politik bir özne olmak, eylemliliğin kaybı (loss of agency), eylemliliğin yeniden iyileştirilmesi (recovery of agency).

Figure 2.1.

An Example Demonstrating the Initial Mapping of Themes

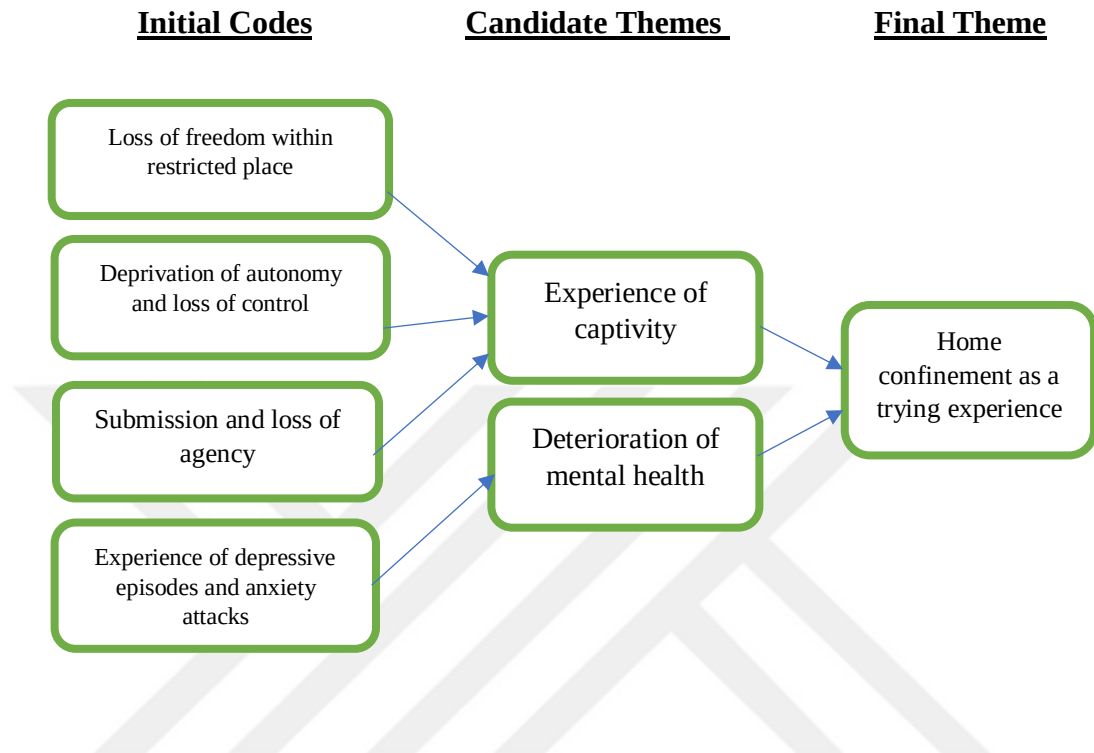


Figure 3.1.

The Themes and Subthemes of the Research



ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL

Ethics Board Approval is available in the printed version of this dissertation.

