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# TURKISH PRISONERS IN THE SWISS PENAL SYSTEM:

## Re-socialization of Turkish prisoners after the deportation decision

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# 02

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## I. List of abbreviations

Art.	Artikel
BGer	Federal Court
CHF	Confoederatio Helvetica franc
e.g.	exempli gratia for example
Et al.	and others.
Etc.	et cetera.
GLM	the Good-lives-Model
FSO	Federal Statistical Office
FDJ	Federal Department of Justice
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IOM	The International Organization for Migration
ISS	The International Social Service Switzerland
i.e.,	that is.
JuWe	The Cantonal Social Welfare Office, the Zurich Immigration Office and Corrections and Rehabilitation
MMC	The Multi-Media Device
NV+ Program	Normal execution plus Program
NGO	Non-governmental organization
Ost-CH	Eastern Switzerland
Pos.	Item Section Number
RETOUR	A project to support the voluntary return of imprisoned persons of foreign origin
SCC	Swiss Criminal Code (CH-StGB) from 1937 (SR 101)
SRC	The Swiss Red Cross

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Over seventy percent of prisoners in Switzerland are foreigners. Most foreign prisoners must leave Switzerland after serving their prison sentences. This concerns the so-called crime tourists and foreigners who must leave Switzerland because of their crimes. This research project has dealt with the second of these two groups.

The imprisonment of foreign prisoners leads to the question of how the correctional goal of resocialization can be achieved in their case. Resocialization means reintegrating an individual into society and obliges both the individual and the community. In this sense, Article 75 of the Swiss Criminal Code (CH-StGB) states that the penal system should promote the social behavior of prisoners and prepare them for an offense-free life after release (Aebersold, 2009; Cornel, 2023a, 2022, 2009; Dünkel et al., 2019).

The increasing number and diversity of foreign inmates pose significant challenges for the penal system, especially concerning resocialization as a correctional goal. The Swiss Criminal Code, as the European Prison Rules, do not exclude foreign prisoners in the execution goal of resocialization. Furthermore, the Swiss Federal Supreme Court emphasizes inconsistent case law that the goal of resocialization also applies to foreign prisoners, thus affirming the principle of equal treatment of domestic and foreign prisoners.

Compared to neighboring countries, the high proportion of foreigners in Swiss is not a new topic in scientific, social, and political discussions (Eicker & Meier, 2016; Raselli, 2017; Burri, 2019; Vetterli, 2019). Recently, the issue of resocialization of foreign prisoners has been the focus again, for example, at the Swiss conference on the resocialization of offenders "reso21" (2021) and the conference of the expert group "Reform in the penal system" (2022). These conferences demonstrated the topic's theoretical, legal, and practical relevance.

The long-standing debates on resocialization and expulsion of foreign offenders have taken on a new explosive force with the introduction of criminal expulsion legislation in October 2016. Under the new legislation, the criminal court decides whether a convicted offender may remain in Switzerland after their release. Thus, it is now clear to all foreign prisoners whether they can stay in Switzerland after serving their sentence. This early clarity about expulsion after serving a prison sentence replaces the previous circumstance. It was often only towards the end of the execution of a prison sentence that the migration authorities decided whether a prisoner would be allowed to remain in Switzerland after the end of the sentence. Uncertainty about future residence in Switzerland has made it vastly more challenging to design resocialization measures for prisoners with unclear future residence status in Switzerland. It was unclear in which society the foreign prisoners should be resocialized (Achermann, 2010).

Today, the question is how this new clarity about deportation or future residence affects the resocialization of prisoners. This research project aims to understand foreign prisoners' resocialization process and identify deficits and opportunities. The project focuses on the population of Turkish prisoners. The total percentage of Turkish prisoners in Swiss prisons is 2.2% (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2021). Turkish prisoners were selected as the study population because they were not EU citizens. Therefore, the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons between Switzerland and the European Union does not apply. Furthermore, Turkish prisoners are usually culturally and religiously



distinctly different from Swiss prisoners. In addition, Turkish people already constituted a numerically significant population among prisoners 30 years ago, making tracing a temporal development possible.

### *Research questions*

In order to approach the object of research, six questions are addressed:

- (1) Who are the Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penal system?
- (2) How is the resocialization goal implemented for Turkish prisoners with a pronounced expulsion?
- (3) How do the relatives of these prisoners deal with the expulsion?
- (4) How do ex-offenders integrate into Turkish society after being expelled?
- (5) What challenges do they encounter?
- (6) How could their resocialization continue to be supported, as would be the case for ex-offenders who remain in Switzerland?

Answering these six research questions requires a critical and in-depth analysis of correctional realities, the correctional experience in Switzerland, and the realities of life in Türkiye. The analysis uses qualitative research methods, focusing on a multisite ethnological approach.

### *Areas in which research is needed and why*

The criminal justice system is concerned with “maintaining the norms and values of a humane penal system oriented towards resocialization and preventing it from falling, in whole or in part, into rigid authoritarianism about foreign prisoners” (Wicker, 2002, p. 233). When resocialization policies and practices are inadequate or lacking, foreign prisoners can become marginalized and fall prey to organized crime enterprises. The criminal justice system’s responsibility is to ensure that people who commit crimes are reintegrated into society after serving their sentences. Migration mobility can make reintegration more difficult (Wicker, 2002). Unlike issues such as health, education, and the labor market, the resocialization of foreign offenders upon their release from prison has received little attention from researchers. Baechtold (1976, 2000) points out that although the number of foreign convicts has increased for decades, little research has been conducted. This project aims to help fill that knowledge gap.

Research on the resocialization of foreign prisoners, particularly in Switzerland, is justified because (1) foreign prisoners constitute nearly three-fourths (70%) of the country’s prison population, (2) effective resocialization programs cannot be developed until the characteristics of these inmates have been identified and their experiences after release have been documented and analyzed, (3) the number of inmates with post-release expulsion orders has increased (Federal Statistical Office, 2019), yet nearly all that is known about the resocialization of these offenders comes from media reports rather than directly from the inmates themselves, (4) most of the studies on the resocialization of foreign inmates have used quantitative research methods and official data sources rather than qualitative ethnographic research methods that involve interviewing foreign prisoners and ex-prisoners, (5) while the resocialization of foreign prisoners is a costly and cumbersome process, the desocialization of foreign prisoners then could ultimately be more burdensome, troublesome, and costly with potential outcomes such as increased recidivism and the recruitment of ex-prisoners by organized crime enterprises or

extremist groups, and (6) a concrete and transformative shift in approaches to resocialization and the development of durable solutions to the problems associated with desocialization can be achieved with a better understanding of the resocialization needs of foreign prisoners (Pruin, 2018; Weber, 2018).

## **1.1 Significance of the research**

The proposed study contributes to the existing academic literature by showing, based on a micro-level perspective (i.e., prisoners), a meso-level perspective (i.e., prisoners' family members), and a macro-level perspective (i.e., resocialization of deported ex-prisoners), how prisoner resocialization contained in the Swiss Criminal Code is interpreted and implemented in practice for a specific group of foreign prisoners. Furthermore, contrary to previous studies, collecting face-to-face interview data from a focus group of imprisoned Turkish offenders allows for a more in-depth analysis. The ethnographic primary source data for the study are detailed, comprehensive, and original. By utilizing this dataset, the study reveals the reality of the resocialization of Turkish prisoners from the perspectives of affected individuals and members of their families. Moreover, this project explores how the resocialization goal could be implemented for Turkish ex-prisoners who were deported from Switzerland after serving their sentence. In so doing, it contributes to the transnational resocialization goal of Swiss criminal policy. This research is the first to examine this research question in depth from a sociological and empirical perspective in the Swiss context. It thus contributes to a better understanding of the resocialization reality of a specific group, which is often at the center of discussions about reintegration. Another distinguishing component of this study covers the period after Swiss legislators approved a law on October 1, 2016, that allowed judges to expel persons from the country who have committed a felony or misdemeanor crime but do not have a Swiss passport. Previous studies (Achermann & Hostettler, 2007; Achermann, 2008, 2009, 2010) on the reintegration of foreign prisoners were conducted before the law was passed. This project aims to shed light on the current situation in Switzerland.

## **1.2 Table of contents**

This study consists of five chapters. The second chapter of the introductory first part describes the research design used and the data collection and analysis. Chapter two sets out the conceptual context of the study, and chapter three focuses on the concrete research questions of the study and begins by introducing the Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penitentiary system and then goes on to describe the group of Turkish prisoners in Switzerland who have a legally binding deportation order. It then examines how the goal of resocialization for this group of prisoners with a final deportation order is implemented in the Swiss penitentiary system. A section accompanies this on how the relatives of these prisoners cope with deportation. It then explores how individuals who have to leave Switzerland after their release from prison experience life in their "homeland" and what challenges they face. Finally, it considers how to continue to support the resocialization of the group of prisoners at the focus of the study, as is the case for ex-offenders who remain in Switzerland. Chapter four presents the study's findings and answers the main research questions based on the empirical data. Chapter five places the findings in a broader socio-political context and concludes with a perspective and recommendations for policy and practice.

## **2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS OF DATA**

This project uses an institutional multi-sited ethnographic methodology, which enables the researcher to (1) overcome the inherent complexity of doing academic work with ex-offenders in and out of prison, (2) analyze the issue more thoroughly, (3) gain a deeper perspective on the resocialization of the target group, (4) be fully immersed in the world of the target group, and (5) reveal deep-rooted mentalities that go beyond numbers (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 14). Institutional ethnography is a qualitative research method that seeks to explain how the actions of individuals are coordinated or dictated by various institutions, such as, in the case of the proposed study, prisons. In other words, the institutional

ethnographic method tries to reveal “how things work” in everyday life (DeVault, 2006; 2008, p. 295; DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 17). The people whose perspectives are being sought tell their concerns and problems to an interviewer, who determines the direction of the research (Smith, 2005, p. 32). Ethnography is a qualitative method that involves collecting data from interviews and observations and then using that data to conclude how societies and individuals function, as in the case of this study, which uses ethnography to investigate how ex-prisoners’ daily activities are articulated and coordinated by invisible social relations and how individuals participate in these relations (Smith, 2005, p. 36).

**2.1 Data collection**

The following provides an overview of the data collected between April and December 2023 from various types and multiple sources to capture different perspectives on the resocialization of deported Turkish prisoners and the study's specific research questions (see Table 1). This is followed by a Sample size and saturation, a corpus of data, a qualitative content analysis of the interview dataset, and a description of the research's validity, reliability, and ethical context.

Given the subject matter's comprehensiveness, the project requires differentiation in terms of data collection. Therefore, a multi-sited collection approach requires data from prison and non-prison areas. The data is collected through ethnographic observation, face-to-face in-depth interviews, and document analysis, which enable the researcher to avoid injecting bias into the data.

**Table 1** *Overview of the data collected*

Type of data	Number
Interviews with Turkish prisoners	6
Interview with Turkish ex-offender	1
Interviews with prison employees (Expert in prison)	8
Interviews with transnational social workers	3
Interviews with experts (Outside prison)	12
A film ethnography with the 3 protagonists of the movie "In Between	3
Participatory observation	4
Statistical data from the Swiss prison statistics of the Federal Statistical Office (FSO) 2017-2024	
Annual reports and statistics of the institutions	2023
Laws, regulations, guidelines, house rules, etc.	2023

Note: Four different prisons were visited. The researcher is withholding the names of these prisons for ethical reasons because the prisoners at the focus of the study represent a particular group.

Table 1 highlights that the researcher visited four different prisons and chose not to reveal the names of these prisons for ethical reasons. This is because the inmates who are the focus of the study represent a specific and small group and emphasize the sensitivity of the research and the importance given to the confidentiality of the inmates. It also demonstrates that the researcher adhered to ethical standards and took the necessary measures to protect the identity of the participants. This approach enhances the credibility of the research and demonstrates a commitment to protecting the privacy rights of participants.

The data types collected include interviews with Turkish prisoners (6), which directly account for their experiences, views, and perceptions of the resocialization processes. In contrast, interviews with Turkish ex-offenders (1) are essential for a first-hand understanding of the resocialization processes in the post-conviction period. Interviews (8) among experts working in prisons (Prison Directors, social workers, etc.) are the ones who have the opportunity to observe and guide the resocialization processes of prisoners closely. Interviews with international social workers (3) address prisoners' transnational social work needs and the challenges faced in deportation situations. Interviews with experts outside prison (12) Experts from various fields, such as academics, lawyers, and prosecutors, offer a broad perspective on prisoner resocialization. The film ethnography (3) with the film "In Between" provides an in-depth perspective on the post-Switzerland life of three of the study's focus groups, exploring the stages and challenges of reintegration in Türkiye. See Table 2 (in Annex 1) for a detailed plan of those interviewed during the interview process.

Through participant observation (4), the researcher had the opportunity to understand the daily life and interactions of prisoners through direct observations in the prison environment. Statistical data from the Swiss prison statistics (2017-2024) supported the quantitative dimension of the research and provided information on general trends. The annual reports and statistics of the institutions (FSO, 2023) provided up-to-date data on the topic of the study. Laws, regulations, guidelines, house rules, etc., provide general information on the regulation of resocialization in prison and the legal and regulatory framework relevant to the research topic. These various data collection methods and sources allowed the research to develop a comprehensive and multidimensional understanding.

## **2.2 Sample size and saturation**

In qualitative research, the goal is to have a sample size that is large enough to sufficiently describe the issue being studied but not so large as to risk the accumulation of repetitive data. In other words, the sample size needs to be limited to the point of saturation. Saturation occurs when the acquisition of additional opinions, or interviews in the case of the proposed study, fails to uncover new perspectives on the issue being studied. The sample also needs to be limited in size because the researcher cannot study the entire population of Turkish offenders with a national expulsion order who are released from the criminal justice system without being able to be deported *and* the entire population of Turkish offenders who are deported from Switzerland and returned to their home country. Instead, The researcher interviewed a limited number of individuals deemed representative of the study population. Therefore, purposeful snowball sampling is used. This sampling technique enables the researcher to find other interviewees from the initial source people, enlarging the size and maximizing the diversity of the sample. A sample with maximum diversity increases the likelihood that the findings reflect different perspectives or differences in the criminal justice system (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 157).

The first hurdle to overcome is to find a sufficient number of prisoners, ex-prisoners, and related actors in the criminal justice system willing to provide information as clearly as possible during an interview. Establishing mutual trust between the interviewer and the participant is crucial in qualitative research. When trust is lacking, the participant may be less willing to provide relevant and honest answers to the interviewer's questions. In contrast, the interviewer may find engaging the participant in the question-and-answer process challenging. Therefore, the researcher reached out to individuals who have been released from prison—whether in Switzerland or Türkiye - primarily through their lawyers. Lawyers who provide legal support to foreign prisoners were contacted and informed about the purpose of the study. Then, the researcher asked the lawyers if they could set up an introduction meeting for an interview with their clients on the condition that the interview would stay within the scope of the research.

The second strategy adopted to reach prisoners was the sending of letters. Within the scope of the research fieldwork, as a result of the literature review, it was determined that prisoners with national deportation orders are generally held in closed prisons. In light of this preliminary information, the researcher developed a strategy for the directors of the closed prisons with the highest prisoner capacity in Switzerland. This strategy aimed to reach the prison directors through written and e-mail communication and increase their interest in the research project. The researcher sent a letter explaining the purpose of the project and the request to interview prisoners and asked for support from the prison administration. With this request, the researcher asked for permission to conduct interviews with this specific target group of Turkish prisoners under deportation orders in their institution. The letter also included an expression of interest form for prisoners agreeing to participate in the interview and requested that this form be delivered to potential participants. During the research process, interviews were conducted with Turkish prisoners within the prison administrations, who responded positively. Existing participants were also reminded that they could ask other prisoners in similar situations if they would like to participate, thus aiming to increase the number of participants. This approach serves the purpose of broadening and deepening the scope of the research.

In addition, the researcher used his social contacts and Turkish nationality to identify additional participants. The researcher further expanded the sample size by contacting nongovernmental organizations in Switzerland and Türkiye that advocate for democratic development, human rights, and criminal justice. As more potential participants agreed to be interviewed for the study, snowball sampling was implemented.

## **2.3 Corpus of Data**

Data collection techniques for this research are observation, document analysis, and interviews.

### **2.3.1 Observation**

Data is collected in a sequence that complements and builds upon the information obtained from the initial data collection process. Therefore, the first technique to be used in observing the prisoners' and ex-prisoners' environment is personal and interpersonal behavior and nonverbal communication. The observations occur in the subjects' natural environment over a specified period, followed by an analysis of what was seen and documented (Punch, 2013, pp. 199, 203). The researcher observed the prisoners during individual face-to-face unstructured interviews in their natural environment (unless the individual's circumstances require a different setting) for signs of resocialization. An unstructured interview format was chosen because it enables the interviewer to make open-ended and flexible observations (Punch, 2013, p. 176). The researcher also observed communication between prison staff and the Turkish inmates and between the Turkish inmates themselves.

### **2.3.2 Document sources**

The following technique used in the data collection process is document analysis. Documents to be analyzed include (but are not limited to) individual sentence plans ('individueller Vollzugsplan') for each participating prisoner and ex-prisoner, newspaper articles about foreign prisoners' resocialization, the official minutes from prison meetings, and the participating prisoners' and ex-prisoners' diaries, memoirs, letters, emails, and social media posts. The sentence plans were of particular interest because they can reveal the resocialization and sentencing goals of the participating prisoners and ex-prisoners and the implementation of those sentencing goals (Weber, 2018, p. 350). Additionally, this study examined the legal context and organizational practice of the prisoners' resocialization in Switzerland. Which actors are involved in what way in the resocializations of prisoners? Answering this question is

precise in the sense of contextual valuable knowledge for all subsequent analyses and interpretations. For this part of the document analysis, the researcher used all publicly available data sources, including federal and cantonal laws and regulations, annual reports of the relevant authorities, and official websites. The information obtained from these documents aided the researcher in studying prisoner and ex-prisoner resocialization. The last technique used for data collection is interviews.

### **2.3.3 Interviews**

The interviews were semi-structured, face-to-face, in-depth life-history inquiries with prisoners (online), ex-prisoners (individual perspective), prisoners' friends (family perspective), and people in the criminal justice field (national and transnational perspective). Triangulation of the interviews is expected to enhance the validity and credibility of research findings and make the complex, diverse, and sometimes contradictory processes of resocialization of foreign prisoners transparent and easier to understand. See **Table 11** (in Annex 1) for a detailed plan of those interviewed during the interview process.

#### *Individual Interviews*

These interviews explore the participants' experiences in one or more settings, as applicable to the individual: inside prison and in the home country after deportation from Switzerland. A participant can be included in more than one of these groups during the research process. For example, a participant interviewed in prison at the beginning of the project can be released from prison and be deported from the country a few months later. In all cases, however, interviewees are asked about their past experiences, current situation, and prospects and expectations for the future of resocialization. See **Table 12** (in Annex 2) for a detailed plan for the interview process. More specifically, the inmates are asked to describe (1) the nature and extent of the resocialization activities that have been made available to them; (2) whether and how well the activities have helped them to engage in and cope with life as a prison inmate daily; (3) whether and how well the activities are helping to prepare them for life after prison in terms of personal development, job training, finding a job and a place to live, and connecting with social services.

All interviews of inmates and ex-inmates deported from Switzerland began with introductory biographical questions (e.g., family situation, education, profession/career, and migration background). The next set of questions asked inmates topics such as daily life in prison, personal experiences in prison, relations with the outside world, preparations for release from prison, imagined daily life after release from prison, personal experiences with resocialization, relations with society in the country where they have been living after being released from prison, plans, and potential challenges in imagined daily life after release from prison. The interview ended with questions about the interviewee's resocialization and reintegration experiences. During the interview, the researcher considered the interviewee's sensitivities.

#### *Participant Profile: Inmates and Ex-offenders*

By snowball sampling, seven ex-offenders were interviewed semi-structured, six of whom were men in the Swiss penitentiary system and one of whom was a man living in Türkiye after his release from the Swiss penitentiary system. The interviews were conducted face-to-face in the prisons where the participants had been incarcerated voluntarily. The participant in Türkiye was interviewed online via Zoom. The profile of the inmates who participated in the research is presented in Table 4.

**Table 2** Profile of the interviewed inmates and an ex-offender.

Name	Ratio <sup>1</sup>	Marital status	Having children	Pre-prison employment status	Main offenses	Pre-Penal Life Center
Inmate 1 Ali	0.03	Single	-	Temporary Jobs	Narcotics Act	Core Family in Germany
Inmate 2 Veli	0.46	Divorced, with EU Partner in Switzerland	2	Kiosk operated	Narcotics Act	Core Family in Switzerland
Inmate 3 Hasan	0.36	Divorced	1	Gastronomy	Narcotics Act	Core Family in Switzerland
Inmate 4 Musa	0.28	Single	-	No work permit	Narcotics Act, Robbery	Core Family in Türkiye
Inmate 5 Ekrem	0.43	Divorced, with EU Partner in Switzerland	2	Warehouse clerk	Narcotics Act	Core Family in Switzerland, Brothers in Türkiye
Inmate 6 Saglam	1	Single	-	Metalworks	Narcotics Act	Mother in Switzerland, Father in Türkiye
Ex-prisoner Tolga	0.75	Single	-	Temporary Jobs	Bodily injury, Narcotics Act	Core Family in Switzerland

Not: The original names of the participating ex-offenders have been changed to completely different names that do not resemble their original names. To protect the participants' anonymity and make a more meaningful statistical comparison, the researcher calculated a ratio number for each participant by dividing the years the participant has been in Switzerland by his age (Length of stay in Switzerland in years / His Age).

Table 2 shows that all ex-offenders in the study group were male and lived in Switzerland for different periods. To ensure anonymity, the individual ages of the participants are not shown in the table. The participants' ages ranged from 29 to 45 during the interview. Most participants had at least one work experience in the pre-prison period, either temporary or permanent, and worked in various professions. Among the participants with marital experience, 3 of them were divorced, and 2 of them continued their lives with their "partners." The other three are single.

#### "Ali"

Ali grew up in Germany as the first son of an expatriate family and spent a significant part of his life there. Ali is a single individual who has lived in Switzerland for a limited time (ratio 0.03). In the pre-prison period, he worked in temporary jobs, and his main charge was a violation of the Narcotics Act. Ali's family lives in Germany, so he is alone in Switzerland and far from a potential support system.

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<sup>1</sup> To protect the participants' anonymity and make a more meaningful statistical comparison, the researcher calculated a ratio number for each participant by dividing the years the participant has been in Switzerland by his age (Length of stay in Switzerland in years / His Age).

### *"Veli"*

Veli is a divorced father of two children who has lived in Switzerland for a long time (ratio 0.46) and has an EU citizen partner there. Before entering prison, he ran a kiosk and held a C residence permit. His main charges include violations of the Narcotics Act, and he has strong ties with his family of origin in Switzerland.

### *"Hasan"*

Hasan's profile reflects an individual who has lived in Switzerland for a significant time and has built a life here. Hasan, who has lived in Switzerland for a long time (ratio 0.36) and worked in gastronomy, is divorced and the father of a child. Hasan's main charge is a violation of the Narcotics Act. However, his relationship with his nuclear family in Switzerland shows that he has a vital support network, which can be interpreted as a place where he can find solidarity and support in difficult times.

### *"Musa"*

Musa is an individual who has lived in Switzerland for a considerable TIME (ratio 0.28). He is single, has no children, and did not have a work permit during his pre-prison period. Musa, whose main charges are robbery and contravention of the Narcotics Act, does not have an official residence permit. This highlights the uncertainty of Musa's legal status in Switzerland and the difficulties he will likely face. His family lives in Türkiye, indicating that he leads a lonely life in Switzerland and most likely has limited access to social support systems.

### *"Ekrem"*

She moved to Switzerland by marriage in her mid-twenties and lived there for a long time (ratio 0.43). Eleven years later, his marriage ended in divorce, and he has a nine-year-old daughter from this marriage who lives with her mother. He later stated that he had a son who would be two years old from another relationship and that this child visited him every two weeks. Before his imprisonment, he worked as a warehouse clerk in a warehouse. Ekrem's nuclear family lives in Switzerland, and his siblings live in Türkiye. This shows that Ekrem has family ties in Switzerland and kinship relations in Türkiye. He started prison life after nine years in Switzerland, was imprisoned several times for various reasons, and was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for drug-related problems.

### *"Sağlam"*

Sağlam is a single individual who was born in Switzerland but does not have Swiss citizenship. Sağlam's family lives in two countries: his mother and other relatives in Switzerland and his father and other relatives in Türkiye. The fact that he has lived in Switzerland for many years and has a stable job shows that he has a socially and economically established life in this country. He worked in the metalworking sector pre-prison and has a C permit. His main charge is a violation of the Narcotics Act.

### *"Tolga"*

He moved to Switzerland at the age of one with his family and lived there for a long time (ratio 0.75); he is single and has no children. He completed his education in Switzerland and trained as a technical Kaufmann. However, due to ill health, he could not practice his profession, and after a certain time, he had to struggle with economic difficulties and unemployment. During this period, he was included in a



training program by the Swiss social security system (IV), but this support was discontinued due to lack of participation. In his twenties, he received minor sentences (for violating the Narcotics Act). However, most recently, he was sentenced to four years in prison (for bodily injury) and was deported from Switzerland after serving three years of his sentence. He returned to Türkiye after his deportation and has been working for a long time in a call center in connection with Switzerland and (according to his declaration) has no criminal record in Türkiye.

### *Family Interviews*

Family interviews are conducted through triangulation to further secure, expand, and deepen the individuals' interview analysis results. Such interviews are planned with several relevant prisoners' family members. The family interviews were intended to understand better the results obtained in the qualitative, in-depth life-history inquiries with prisoners' analysis and, simultaneously, shed more light on aspects that could not be sufficiently pursued from the individual perspective. To this end, this research at the meso level aims to answer the following questions: How is the life of a convicted person's family organized when the convicted person and possibly the entire family have to leave Switzerland after the prisoner's sentence ends? How do the relevant family members of Turkish prisoners cope with the consequences of the prisoner's judicial expulsion order?

Prisoners were distant when asked for an interview about their families. Some explained that they were separated from their first wives, some said their partners might be uneasy about it, and some did not want their relatives in Türkiye to be involved in this research. As the researcher prioritized the sensitivity of the prisoners over the methodology of the study, to answer the research question designed for the family members of the prisoners, the researcher developed a strategy of interviewing friends of the prisoners and social workers working in the prison who are in direct contact with the families of the prisoners. For this purpose, the researcher interviewed both the social workers in the prison and expert-1, who has developed a close relationship with the inmates. Expert-1 is a person who, during the work on the film about inmates who had to leave Switzerland and settle in Türkiye, met about ten former inmates, got to know them closely, and developed a friendship with them. In this way, the questions about the families of the inmates were answered. See Table 2 (in Annex 1) for a detailed plan of the interview process. On this basis, how the relevant family members of foreign prisoners cope with the consequences of a national expulsion order based on the friend and social workers interviews dataset is examined more closely.

### *Expert Interviews*

In order to approach the object of research, data collection in Switzerland and Türkiye utilizing interviews with multiple officials in the criminal justice system who are responsible for the resocialization of foreign prisoners, such as (1) criminal justice experts, (2) prison employees, (3) cantonal prison authorities, (4) non-governmental organization workers, (5) researchers, (6) forensic psychiatrists, (7) prison religious officials, and (8) prison staff responsible for prisoner education, training.

The goal of this research at the macro level is to answer the following questions based on the information obtained from interviews of the partners named above: (1) To what extent can a discussion about transnationality benefit the resocialization of Turkish prisoners? (2) What are the prerequisites for successful transnational resocialization? (3) What new forms of cooperation with authorities and agencies in prisoners' home countries appear helpful or necessary for preparing or enabling deported prisoners to live a crime-free life in their home country? (4) How should Switzerland's sentence-

enforcement policies be modified to enable deported foreign prisoners to resocialize and not return to a life of crime successfully?

Interviews of experts in the criminal justice system follow a concept similar to the ones used for prisoners and deported ex-prisoners, such that each expert is interviewed individually and asked semi-structured questions. At the same time, the interviewer takes written notes about and records the expert's answers. In method triangulation, the expert interviews discover and correct possible errors (biases) in interpreting the individual's and family's perspective interview analysis. On this basis, the experts are asked for details about the country's resocialization process (e.g., how the process is supposed to work and how it works), the national and transnational goals for the resocialization of ex-prisoners, the obligations of Article 75 of the Swiss Criminal Code to be reintegrated as a preventive measure, and the situation of foreign criminals in the Swiss criminal justice system.

## **2.4 Qualitative content analysis of the case files and interview data set**

The recorded interviews are transcribed using Microsoft Word. Each transcript is read a few times to identify common themes among the interviewees' responses that relate to the theoretical component of the study. This reading-interpretation process is repeated several times. Creswell & Poth (2017, p. 195) notes that while quantitative research aims to include and analyze all the data collected, some of the data obtained during a qualitative study (including a comprehensive qualitative study) can be ignored. However, every effort is made to extract all the data contained in the interview transcripts. Only a tiny portion of the total data available is anticipated to be excluded from the analysis. The final dataset is analyzed using a qualitative analysis software—MAXQDA, which provides a regular filing system for the collection of the data and analysis of the data, thereby facilitating the automated reorganization of the study data into new categories (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, pp. 186-187).

For the proposed study, the themes revealed during the reading of the interview transcripts and other notes are transferred to the selected software program, and each theme is repositioned in a whole-part-whole understanding of the data. Finally, the researcher applied qualitative content analysis to show the reality of resocialization for prisoners and ex-prisoner deportees by concluding the participant-interviews dataset. A qualitative content analysis methodology (Mayring & Fenzl, 2019) is used to analyze the data collected and determine how Turkish foreign prisoners in Swiss prisons are being resocialized while incarcerated and after their release. All data is used for the analysis, including interview transcripts, interview notes, field notes, and document sources (aforementioned above in the document sources section). First, a coding guide is developed, and the data is analyzed through coding. The researcher developed the coding guide based on the research questions, the legal and theoretical framework, the interview guide, and the 'notes' taken during the fieldwork. Through this coding, the researcher followed a constructivist content analysis, bringing together similarities while simultaneously creating sub-analysis categories by highlighting distinctive features in the data concerning resocialization (Mayring & Fenzl, 2019). The researcher used induction as an analysis method to discover the resocialization of foreign prisoners for which no existing knowledge of individual and family perspectives can yet be found (Kruse & Schmieder, 2014, p. 135).

## **2.5 Validity, Reliability, and Ethical Context of the Study**

Regardless of the methodology used, validity and reliability should be considered at all stages of a research project (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 200). For the proposed study, triangulation is used to enhance and support the accuracy of the findings and applied at all phases of the research. Triangulation is a research strategy that uses more than one data collection method—such as observation, interview, and document analysis—to maximize the validity and reliability of the findings.

Discussions about the ethical context in the social sciences, especially in qualitative research, are relatively abundant in the literature. As Neuman (2007, p. 593) states, the direct involvement of the field researcher in other people's worlds inevitably creates some ethical dilemmas. Ethical concerns can rise to a much higher level when the topic is a study of former criminals. To minimize ethical concerns about the proposed research, a transparent relationship is established with the participants and maintained throughout the study. The participants' voluntary involvement in the research is ensured, and they are instructed to review the interview protocol before the interview begins. The resulting text is not interfered with in any way, and, most importantly, no text or visual element that reveals the participants' identities is included in the research findings, articles written about the research findings or anything spoken about the research findings. During the participant interviews, the researcher took on the role of a silent listener so that the interviewees could feel comfortable discussing their experiences in detail without holding anything back. Any discourses from the interviews that put the participants in a problematic situation individually or institutionally are not used. When writing the analysis of the interview findings, the researcher described the experiences of the study population in their own words and maintained an objective stance when discussing the themes that emerged from the interview data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87).

"... I was more interested in what happens to people who have no other choice and vice versa, who grow up in Switzerland but have to go to Türkiye. Then I asked myself what kind of people are these, how can this happen, and then I concluded that these are primarily people who are deported." (Expert - 1, Pos. 9)

### 3 CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT

This section establishes the conceptual framework for the study of space-time regimes, which consists of four sub-lenses: **materiality and technology, people's practices, people's perceptions, and their social embeddedness**. These lenses are used together to 'see' Turkish prisoners' experiences of resocialization in the Swiss penitentiary system and post-release Türkiye. The concept of "space-time regimes" involves organizing, managing, and resocializing people according to and through space (where activities take place) and time (when activities take place). This concept is particularly relevant when examining the experiences of individuals moving between different cultural and social settings. It is a meaningful conceptual container for Turkish prisoners deported from Switzerland to Türkiye who have to manage a significant change in both the space and time dimensions of their lives.

Space-time regimes are embedded in the questions at the heart of the study: How is the resocialization goal implemented for Turkish prisoners with a pronounced expulsion? How do the relatives of these prisoners deal with the expulsion? How do ex-offenders integrate into Turkish society after being expelled? What challenges do they encounter? How do individuals who have to leave Switzerland after being released from prison experience post-release life in their "Homeland"? And how do these experiences conflict and adapt?

The second part of this chapter introduces two intellectual tools, Neighborhood oppression and Liminality, to make the above conceptual framework more meaningful and draws attention to how they can significantly impact the resocialization of individuals in Türkiye in the context of space-time regimes. Neighborhood oppression provides a framework through which individuals who are forced to leave Switzerland after evacuation can be conceptualized in terms of their first shelter in Türkiye, where they settle with relatives and encounter, interact, connect, and collide with Turkish society. In the course of the research, the concept of liminality is used to encompass the terms "betwixt and between" (Turner, 1970, p. 97) and "matter out of place" (Douglas, 1966, p. 44) (Jackson, 2005: 333). These two terms,

which are at the core of the concept of liminality, will make the concept's detachment from the ritual context understandable and provide a more solid theoretical basis for interpreting the practices and perceptions of individuals who leave Switzerland and resettle in Türkiye.

Finally, this chapter synthesizes space-time regimes, neighborhood oppression, and liminality. It shows how these conceptual connections provide insights into the experience of resocialization in Turkish society for individuals who have lived in Switzerland for many years and then left after completing their sentence due to a criminal deportation order.

### **3.1 Space-time regimes and four Lenses**

The study "Perception of Time and Space" will be essential in understanding the challenges and dynamics of resocialization. Materiality and Technology refer to how physical spaces and technologies organize people. Using the lens of materiality, the legal framework is understood as a structure that directs and enables—but does not directly determine - individuals' actions while constantly being sustained and reshaped by those actions (Bastrykin et al., 2020). In this sense, it is interesting to see how written law is (or is not) translated into concrete actions and how specific actions can (or cannot) change the law.

This lens focuses on the physical aspects of space and the role of technology in shaping human experiences. For deported prisoners, this includes relaxation of the execution of the sentence, Relations with the outside world, and Türkiye's spatial environment, which differs significantly from Switzerland. The contrast in the material and technological environment can affect their ability to reintegrate, affecting everything from finding shelter to participating in local labor markets.

#### *People's Practices*

This includes individuals' daily activities, routines, and behavior in these places. For foreign national Turkish prisoners, this includes participating in prison programs such as vocational training, language classes, or rehabilitation activities. These practices are shaped by the prison's program and rules, structuring prisoners' time and activities. They may perceive their time in prison as waiting or a chance for personal development, depending on the opportunities provided and their attitudes (Gonçalves et al., 2021). They may see prison as a restrictive environment or a place where new skills can be learned.

This dimension considers the routines, traditions, and daily practices that define life in a given space and time. Deported individuals must adapt to daily life in Türkiye, which may include adjusting to new social norms, adjusting to different work cultures, and relearning language nuances. These changes in daily practices can be challenging, especially after years of acclimatization to Swiss culture.

#### *Human Perception*

This relates to individuals' perceptions and understanding of space and time. For prisoners, this may include their perception of the prison environment, their perception of the time that has passed during their incarceration, and their views on the opportunities or constraints provided by the prison system. Depending on the opportunities provided and their attitudes, they may perceive their time in prison as waiting or a chance for personal development (Romashov & Bryleva, 2019). They may see prison as a restrictive environment or a place to learn new skills.

This lens concerns how individuals perceive and interpret their environment and place within it. For deportees, this may include feelings of alienation or disconnection in a foreign homeland. Their perception of time may also be affected, as they may feel a sense of lost time or the need to 'catch up' with societal changes during their absence.

### *Social Embeddedness*

This refers to how space-time regimes are influenced by and embedded in broader social structures and cultural norms. In this case, social embeddedness may relate to how the prison system reflects broader societal attitudes towards punishment, rehabilitation and outsiders. It also includes how prisoners maintain or adapt their cultural identity and social relations during incarceration. Prison treatment and rehabilitation programs may reflect Switzerland's social and legal approach to criminal justice and foreign nationals. These broader societal values and norms will influence prisoners' experiences of resocialization. This refers to how individuals are embedded in social relations and cultural norms (Lubbers, 2021). Deportees face the challenge of re-entering Turkish social structures, which may include familial expectations, social pressures, and compulsory practices such as military service. Their social embeddedness in Switzerland, including the social networks and cultural adaptations they developed there, may complicate their reintegration into Turkish society.

In essence, time-space regimes in the context of foreign Turkish prisoners in Swiss prisons encompass the interplay between the prison's physical and social environment, the structured routines and practices within that environment, prisoners' perceptions and adaptations to that environment, and the broader social and cultural context in which all of this takes place.

Understanding space-time regimes through these four lenses helps illuminate the multifaceted challenges faced by Turkish prisoners deported from Switzerland. It underlines the complexity of their reintegration process, which involves physical relocation and a profound shift in their social, cultural, and temporal contexts (Griffiths, 2014). This framework can guide your analysis of their experiences and inform policy recommendations to facilitate deportees' reintegration.

In sum, the concept of time-space regimes offers a comprehensive approach to understanding the resocialization experiences of deported prisoners, taking into account the interplay between material and technological elements, everyday practices, personal perceptions, and social embeddedness in their new but familiar surroundings (Bastrykin et al., 2020; Gonçalves et al., 2021). In the cultural context of reintegration, although the interviewees are returning to their home country, they have adopted the culture of Switzerland during the long years they were away from their country. For those born in Switzerland or who came to Switzerland during their childhood, the situation is more complex, as they only know Türkiye as a country they visit as tourists and do not feel they belong to Turkish culture. In this case, the individual experiences entering a cultural environment perceived as "foreign" to him/her and "alien" by the Turkish society. In the following section, we are introduced to "community pressure," which helps us understand the traces of this post-experience interaction.

## **3.2 Community Pressure**

The concept of "community pressure"<sup>2</sup> ("Mahalle baskısı" in Turkish) manifests itself in relatively sparsely populated towns in Anatolia, where the participants' close relatives live and to whom they first turn for

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<sup>2</sup> In community-type societies, there is no systematized, official administration to ensure security. In the absence of such an administration, individuals bring sociability, a social defense mechanism, to the forefront in order to

housing. The term "community pressure," first used by Serif Mardin, actually refers to self-control in a sense (Mardin, 2008, p. 22). Mardin's expression is similar to the panopticon, defined as the power that knows those it observes through its surveillance mechanism and functions and thus exerts its power over them (Foucault, 1991: 204; Bauman and Lyon, 2013, pp. 66-67). In the panopticon, while the observers watch the observed, the observed are aware that they are being watched. This awareness restricts the surveillant's behavior and causes the surveillant to create a desired behavior on the surveilled. Limiting the thoughts and behaviors of the surveilled prevents the individual from thinking about something of his/her own after a while. Behavioral patterns imposed by the oppressor, group, or apparatus emerge.

Similarly, what is meant by neighborhood oppression is the domination of the majority over the minority. In dress, behavior, sect, and religious beliefs, the minority is denied the right to have a say; the superiority of a superior identity is accepted, and otherwise, the minority cannot live in the joint space. In a sense, this oppression is a process that naturally occurs to ensure the neighborhood's self-control and warn residents who act against social morality or to expel them from the neighborhood. Since the participants' first place of residence after leaving Switzerland is a traditional, communitarian, solidaristic social environment, community pressure compels the individual to behave in a certain way (Turkish society's religion, traditions, customs, honor, and shared language). The individual who has been in close contact with Swiss society's social and cultural values for many years feels distant from the values in Türkiye, and the society in which he/she lives responds to this situation with pressure. This oppression reproduces the "uncertainty" and "in-betweenness" that the literature (Jewkes, 2005; Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, & Peeters, 2006; Ball, Weisberg, & Dansky, 2008; Baldry, 2009; Healy, 2010; Johns, 2017) describes in the process of the individual's release from prison and re-socialization. The distressing experience of repression creates a liminal phase in which individuals feel themselves in an uncertain situation.

The film "In Between3 " was used as part of the ethnography data set, which made it possible to make comprehensive observations about the individuals in the film who had to leave Switzerland. One of the protagonists has a period of uncertainty in the first period of his return to Türkiye. However, with the support of his family, he can transition to a stable life by using his human and social capital, while the other two solve the emergency shelter problem with their families' support for a certain time. However, they are stuck in a period of uncertainty; they are no longer imprisoned people in Switzerland, but they cannot feel "free" in the society in Türkiye. The following section explores this concept as a valuable tool to help understand people's practices, perceptions, and social embeddedness in the resocialization process in Türkiye (Deleuze & Foucault, 1977, p. 208).

### 3.3 Liminality

Arnold van Gennep first used the concept of liminal: "The life of an individual in any society consists of a series of transitions from one to another or from one place to another" (1960:2) on rites of passage; however, Turner (1982, 1985, 1995) remade the concept and reshaped it for analyzing contemporary societies in anthropology. According to Turner, the "in-between transition" is given a "negative" connotation by van Gennep using the word "limen" because the liminal being or society has neither

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meet their security and defense needs. Sociability is built by individuals getting to know each other and witnessing each other's lives in societies with community-type settlements. This leads to looking and spying at different times and conditions. Since looking and watching are behaviors of individuals towards each other, outward visibility dominates social life. However, the sense of security provided by visibility is replaced by control over time

<sup>3</sup> The documentary "Arada - Verbannt in eine fremde Heimat" tells the story of three men who grew up in Switzerland but do not have a Swiss passport. Mustafa, Vedat and Duran are deported to Türkiye, their parents' homeland, for criminal offenses.

reached the previous positive state nor the future state, which is pronounced positive (Turner, 1982, p. 24).

Turner states that the threshold (limen) divides two spaces and can be temporal and spatial: "The transition from one social status to another is often accompanied by a parallel transition in space, a geographical movement from one place to another. It may take the form of the opening of doors or the literal crossing of a threshold that separates two different spheres, one associated with the pre-ritual or pre-liminal state of the novice (ritual person-to-be) and the other with the post-ritual or post-liminal state" (Turner, 1985, p. 205). Expanding the boundaries of the concept of liminality, Turner states that van Gennep's tripartite structural scheme does not bind him. This is important when using the concept of liminality outside the ritual context.

Turner, who aims to see the sustainability of societies through symbols and therefore focuses on the liminal space, prefers to re-explain and expand van Gennep's tripartite structural scheme, which he empirically criticizes. Turner provides the following explanation for the first term, "separation": "It consists of symbolic behavior that marks the individual's or group's break from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, a set of cultural conditions (i.e., a situation), or both" (Turner, 1970, p. 2018: 95). He underlines that during the "threshold" period in between, the subject of the ritual, whom he describes as "the traveler", passes through a cultural region where the qualities of the subject are ambiguous, and which has some or none of the predicates of the past or future state. The transition is completed with the third phase, "reunification": "The subject of the ritual, whether an individual or a group, is once again in a relatively stable state, so that, like its expenses, it has rights and obligations of a clearly defined and structural type; it is expected to behave by conventional norms and ethical standards that are binding on those who occupy them in a system of social positions" (Turner, 1970, p. 2018: 96).

Turner expresses the concept of liminality as follows: "They are neither this nor that; or they may be both; or they may be neither here nor there; or they may even be nowhere (in terms of any recognized cultural topography) and at least '*betwixt and between*' at all recognized fixed points in the space-time of structural classification (1970, p. 97)." In this view, those who are '*betwixt and between*' are trapped between standard social roles (Metcalf & Huntington, 1991, p. 11).

The individuals at the focus of the study share a common characteristic during their resettlement and socialization in Türkiye: They do not feel fully "free" within the social structure. As will be discussed in the following sections, the "betwixt and between" threshold moment of these liminal persons offers an anthropological perspective that helps to answer the study's research questions. Turner has already shown in his work that liminal beings can be analyzed for their reactions to the negative and positive areas of liminal experience.

In the course of the research, another meaning of the concept of liminality will be Douglas's (1966) expression "*matter out of place*" for entities that do not fit into the classificatory categories constructed by society. By this definition, Liminality is the situation of individuals in Türkiye who do not fit into social categories. The previous chapter has already shown that the liminal processes of people who experience "community pressure" deepen due to their defiance of cultural categorization. An issue that will be discussed in detail in the section of the study on the reintegration of individuals into Türkiye and the challenges they face is the experience of liminal individuals in shared households (or roommates). These experiences reinforce the idea that liminal beings are not a structure of hierarchically ordered positions but a community of companions, as Turner suggests in his work. More importantly for this research, however, liminality opens up a variety of possibilities for relationship-building and community-building, and in general terms, their ability to transform into a micro-community united in the face of neighborhood oppression and to take initiatives of their own volition in order to re-socialize and, as a result, to create a relatively "free" space.

In the study, it is understood that liminality is temporary for some individuals, but the longer it takes to achieve opportunities for re-socialization, such as employment, social acceptance or marriage, the longer individuals remain in liminality, and in this case, liminality loses the ability to remain in a community, which can be considered positive. In addition, the noteworthy point about liminality is that some individuals, even if they find employment opportunities, remain hesitant to socially integrate with the society in Türkiye because they describe the current society in Türkiye as polarized and "diseased". Another example shows that having a family in Switzerland and the identity of fatherhood leads the individual to find various ways to return to Switzerland. As a result, he/she does not develop relations with the society in Türkiye.

As can be seen, examining the field data, with its definition of the liminal situation as "*betwixt and between*" as well as "*matter out of place*" (Jackson, 2005, p.333), is essential in order to understand the experiences of Turkish prisoners with legally binding criminal deportation orders in Switzerland in the process of their re-socialization in Türkiye after serving their sentences. These experiences are included in the section "Re-integrating in the Homeland after Prison" of the Study.

## **4 UNDERSTANDING TURKISH PRISONERS IN SWISS PRISONS**

### **4.1 Who are the Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penal system**

This chapter provides an overview of the group of Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penitentiary system, with a particular focus on Turkish prisoners with deportation orders.

According to the statistics published by the Federal Statistical Office (FSO), at the end of 2023, 1867 Swiss prison inmates were Swiss citizens, and 4578 people were without a Swiss passport. At first glance, these figures suggest that foreign nationals are overrepresented in the prison population compared to the resident population. However, these data show that at the end of the second quarter of 2023, the proportion of foreign prisoners is only 0.19% of the total number of foreign nationals living in Switzerland. According to statistics also published by the FSO, at the end of 2022, there were 90 Turkish citizens in Swiss prisons. This figure represents 2% of all foreign prisoners in Swiss prisons in 2022. As of 2022, the number of Turkish citizens in Swiss prisons is 88 men and two women. Of these ninety people, 67 are classified in the category (Swiss nationals and foreign nationals with a B and C permit) and 23 in the category Foreign nationals without a B and C permit. However, further information, such as the level of education or socio-economic status of inmates, is not included in prison statistics. In conclusion, Turkish citizens living in Switzerland appear to be overrepresented in the Swiss prison system.

Due to increasing globalization, the composition of foreigners in the prison system has changed considerably. Today's prison population consists of a diverse mix of foreigners from all over the world. While the group of foreign inmates (the so-called crime tourists) consists of foreigners who have less in common with Swiss society, the foreign inmates who are the subject of this study represent a group that has lived in Switzerland to some degree and has had more or less contact with Swiss society. The only characteristic that makes the group of foreigners who are the subject of this study recognizable as a group is that not all of them have a Swiss passport and have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentence. In his first study on foreigners in the Swiss penal system, Baechtold states that foreigners are not a homogeneous group, that there is a great deal of heterogeneity in all the characteristics examined and that there is no uniform prototype of the "foreigner" (Baechtold, 2000, p. 268; Baechtold, 1976). Whether or not to remain in Switzerland after release from prison directly impacts the structure of the Swiss penal system and, thus, the design of resocialization efforts. Therefore, the focus of reintegration



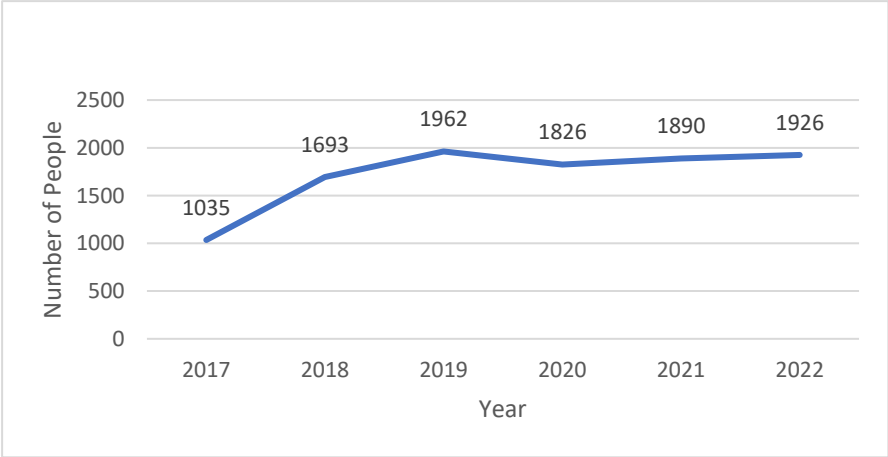
can be on future reintegration into the conditions in the home country. The question of whether the goal of resocialization is currently being implemented satisfactorily for this target group is another problem area.

The initial hurdle in analyzing foreign prisoners in jails involves clarifying what 'foreign' entails. Academic studies often interchangeably use terms like 'non-citizens,' 'foreign,' 'foreign-born,' or 'immigrants,' yet they are not identical. 'Non-citizens' or 'foreign' refer to individuals lacking citizenship of a specific nation (not native or naturalized citizens); 'foreign-born' encompasses those born outside a country regardless of their naturalization status; and 'immigrant' denotes someone (an alien) who relocates to a new country for permanent residency (as per The Columbia Encyclopedia), excluding short-term visitors or tourists. Distinguishing these terms is crucial for accurately interpreting and comparing statistical data. In this project, 'non-citizens' or 'foreign' will describe Turkish prisoners in Swiss jails who do not hold Swiss citizenship."

### 4.2 Turkish criminals subject to national deportation orders

General information on Turkish criminals subject to national deportation orders can be found in the Report on Foreign National Criminals Incarcerated in Swiss Prisons prepared by the FSO (2020). In this report, "foreign national prisoners and ex-prisoners" are defined as "Turkish criminals subject to national deportation orders who are in the Swiss penitentiary system or have been released." Statistical information on the countries of nationality of foreign national ex-prisoners is available on the website of the FSO (2024). The total number of foreigners with criminal national deportation orders is shown in Figure 1, and the statistical data on Turkish citizens are shown in Table 2 and Figure 2 below.

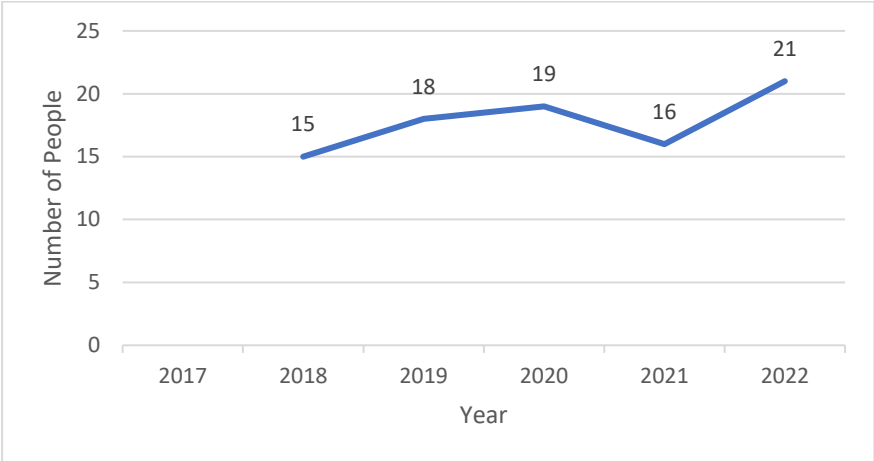
**Figure 1** Foreign nationals: Total number of adults sentenced to deportation, 2017 - 2022



Source: Federal Statistical Office criminal conviction statistics 2024.

As seen in Figure 1, the number of foreigners subject to national deportation orders increased until the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. These numbers declined during the pandemic, but by the end of 2022, they had returned to pre-pandemic levels. While it is not possible to conduct a more comprehensive statistical analysis based on the limited data presented, there has been a recent increase in national deportation orders.

**Figure 2** Turkish nationals: Number of adults sentenced to deportation, 2017 - 2022



Source: Federal Statistical Office criminal conviction statistics 2024.

**Table 3** Number of adults of Turkish nationality convicted with an expulsion order, 2018-2022

Year	Total number of prisoners of Turkish nationality	Turkish persons with B, C, or Ci permit	Other Turkish persons
2018	15	5	10
2019	18	11	7
2020	19	2	17
2021	16	6	10
2022	21	7	14

Source: Federal Statistical Office (FSO) criminal conviction statistics 024.

Note: This table shows the number of adults of Turkish nationality sentenced with a deportation order according to the criminal conviction statistics of the Swiss Federal Statistical Office between 2018 and 2022. The table distinguishes between Turkish citizens with B, C, or Ci residence permits and other Turkish citizens.

As can be seen from the information in Figure 2 and Table 3, the first deportation orders against Turkish citizens were registered in 2018, following the revision of the legal regulations in 2016. The total number of prisoners increased from 15 in 2018 to 21 in 2022, representing an increase of 40% over five years.

This data reveals an increase in the number of deportation orders issued to Turkish citizens in Switzerland. While the differences between individuals with residence permits and other Turkish citizens vary yearly, there is a general upward trend. These findings, which indicate that Turkish citizens, especially those classified in the 'other' category, are more likely to be deported in Switzerland compared to individuals with a residence permit, do not provide sufficient data for a comprehensive statistical analysis but pave the way for a more detailed examination of Switzerland's migration policies and justice system.

*Are the prisoners at the focus of the study a homogeneous group?*

Before conducting a qualitative assessment of the resocialization of Turkish-speaking prisoners who have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentences, it is helpful to focus on this group of prisoners. This detailed look shows that the target group of inmates is not homogeneous. The main distinction

between the two groups is that the first group was born (like Sağlam) or grew up (like Tolga) in Switzerland and only visited Türkiye during vacations. In contrast, the second group came to Switzerland for various reasons (marriage, asylum, etc.) and settled there later.

Individuals born and raised in Switzerland or who came at a young age are more deeply integrated into the Swiss social and cultural structure. Their return to Türkiye may involve cultural, social, and even linguistic difficulties. For this group, Switzerland is perceived as a 'neighborhood' where they feel they belong and have acquired social and cultural capital (Tolga, Pos. 112-113).

On the other hand, some individuals settled in Switzerland later on and spent their childhood or youth in Türkiye. This group is understood to be more familiar with Türkiye's socio-cultural structure and language. However, there are also individuals in this group who, although born and raised in Türkiye, feel discriminated against because of their "Kurdish" identity and, therefore, are unable to integrate culturally, socially, economically, and cognitively into Turkish society.

In conclusion, the people in the focus of the study are heterogeneous<sup>4</sup>. Although they have Turkish citizenship, they experience different daily life practices due to age, economic, social, family, and cultural status, educational level, place of residence before and in Switzerland, social class, and other reasons. In this context, it is essential to underline that each Turkish prisoner has different life practices; therefore, their needs in resocialization may differ. The effects of these differences between the two main groups of Turkish prisoners in Switzerland on resocialization and reintegration are described in the chapter on their reintegration in Türkiye. However, some everyday needs transcend the differences between these two groups of prisoners. For example, despite their differences, the demand for equal treatment with Swiss prisoners in preparation for life after prison is common.

## **5 IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOCIALIZATION IN PRISON**

### **5.1 Implementing the goal of resocialization in prison for Turkish prisoners with criminal deportation orders: four pillars.**

Everyday life in prison is seen as a space of simple, commonplace, repetitive situations. However, it is also a space where social, political, and economic activities emerge, develop, and transform. This area is worth exploring and reflecting on, especially understanding how resocialization measures are implemented for deportees. The aim is to take into account the needs of foreign prisoners in the process of resocialization in order to achieve an equivalent penitentiary system for all prisoners.

The fieldwork conducted through semi-structured in-depth interviews with six inmates in different penitentiary institutions in Switzerland provided valuable insights into resocialization efforts within the Swiss penitentiary system. This chapter discusses the resocialization processes, their impact, and the perspectives that emerged from this crucial aspect of the prison experience. Progression through prison; gradual preparation for release or life "in freedom", work, education, Contact with the outside world, and therapy.

Profit from the space-time regimes concept, the researcher examines how space and time's material and technological aspects affect ex-prisoners' resocialization.

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<sup>4</sup> The details of these characteristics are described in detail in the data collection section, where inmate participants in Swiss prisons are introduced.

### 5.1.1 Progression through prison; gradual preparation for release or life "in freedom."

Article 75(1) of the SCC states, "The penal system shall encourage the social behavior of the prisoner, in particular a life free from punishment. As far as possible, the penal system should be appropriate to the general living conditions, provide for the care of the prisoner, counteract the harmful consequences of deprivation of liberty, and consider the protection of the general public, prison staff, and other prisoners". As can be seen, the legal framework does not refer to any nationality or nationality. This means that the same treatment criteria for reintegration in the Swiss Criminal Code (SCC) apply to persons who are to be deported but who do not have their place of residence in Switzerland. Adopting the idea of gradual reintegration into independent life, Switzerland achieves this through a penitentiary system consisting of various institutions and instruments (Federal Department of Justice, 2010).

This chapter examines how sentence planning is carried out for Turkish ex-offenders who are to be deported from Switzerland, the actors involved in this process, whether they can benefit from Progression through the prison, gradual preparation for release or life "in freedom," and how these institutional structures and processes affect individual experiences.

Article 75 (3) of the SCC stipulates that an **individual sentence management plan** must be drawn up for each prisoner and recognizes it as a central tool for promoting their resocialization. The actor responsible for drawing up this execution plan is the prison concerned. On the other hand, the overall execution planning is the responsibility of the penitentiary institution. However, during the execution of a prison sentence, many different actors are involved in the execution planning process. They can have a decisive influence on the preparation of the execution plan. This makes prison planning an inter-institutional planning process, i.e., an interdisciplinary planning process for the entire prison sentence, from entry into prison to the end of the sentence or, in the case of the granting of parole, the end of the probation period. In addition to the prison, the cantonal enforcement authority responsible for executing the sentence is primarily involved throughout the process. For asylum seekers, such as the participating prisoners Hassan and Moussa, the responsible immigration or migration office, which decides on the asylum decision, is an essential basis for subsequent decisions on execution planning. Another critical factor is the court's decision on deportation, which forms the basis of the study. As described in the introduction, from 2016 onwards, the court decided whether a prisoner must leave Switzerland after serving his or her sentence at the beginning of the sentence execution process. (Maybe the remark should be made that the Swiss Court does not have any room for maneuver when it comes to Switzerland's Mandatory expulsion, according to Art. 66a of the Swiss Criminal Code.) These general descriptions illustrate the dynamic nature of prison planning on the one hand and the influence of various actors on the other. Essentially, **the individual sentence management plan** is linked to the concept of progression, which allows us to understand how the step progressions in the Swiss Criminal Code are operationalized. How are these progressions applied to **foreigners, including Turkish prisoners, with legally binding deportation orders?**

The Swiss penitentiary system aims to promote the social behavior of prisoners, in particular, their ability to live free from punishment (Article 75 SCC). However, the experience of Turkish prisoners in taking advantage of the relaxation of the execution of the sentence in the Criminal Code (involves easing the regime for the deprivation of liberty, in particular utilizing a transfer to an open institution, the granting of release on temporary license, the authorization of day release employment or of external accommodation and the granting of parole according to Art. 75a paragraph 2) differs from prisoners whose life after release is centered in Switzerland. In practice, before the start of each prison sentence, the prison authorities are faced with the critical question of whether the offender should be sent to a closed prison or directly to an open prison. The penitentiary authorities more often send Turkish

prisoners in the focus of the Study to closed institutions and more often refuse to take necessary relaxation of the execution of the sentence steps towards transfer to an open institution, the authorization of day release employment, and external accommodation alternatives. For prisoners, being placed in a closed prison presents several challenges, as daily life in a closed prison is more tightly regulated, and contact with the outside world is more limited than in an open prison. In essence, Turkish prisoners should be prepared, like other prisoners, to regain their freedom through targeted relaxation of the execution of the sentence. The reason for that treatment is the Swiss authorities' assumption that foreign prisoners with an order to leave Switzerland would leave an open institution immediately („Danger of Flight“). There is jurisprudence concerning this in the context of imprisonment in the examination phase, which can be applied 1:1 to the phase after the judgment. In practice, foreign prisoners hardly have been able to get to prison like Witzwil.

In the interview with the experts regarding the staggering of sentences in Switzerland, "You could try prison preparation (staggered relaxation of the execution of the sentence) and also - an important point of discussion - you could allow foreign prisoners. Our concordat guidelines say they do not have the force of law. However, they are binding that if a person is socialized here and has a family or if it is essential for him to take leave and at the same time, it helps him to prepare for his release, he does not keep his passport, and he is willing to leave, then he can be allowed. Furthermore, of course, as part of that leave, he can also organize something; he can go to the consulate or, in some other way, visit his family and see what I will do when I return with them; that is already possible. However, usually for this group, it is closed, and there is no vacation" (Expert - 18, Pos. 21).

Of the Turkish inmates interviewed, only Saglam, born in Switzerland, with residence permit C, is in the open prison. At the same time, the other individuals do not benefit from relaxation of the execution of the sentence despite having many years of experience living in Switzerland, having social, cultural, and business contacts, and having several family members settled in Switzerland. This means that only a limited population of prisoners is allowed direct contact with free life outside prison walls. The main reason for this unequal treatment is that the authorities often assume that they escape risks or do not consider social reintegration necessary and, therefore, avoid reintegration measures (Urwyler, 2020). However, according to the Federal Supreme Court in a 2012 judgment, the possibility of future deportation is "neither the only nor the primary criterion for assessing the risk of flight" (BGer 6B\_577/2011 E. 4.2 of 12.1.2012). There are also sources stating that other criteria should be used in this assessment (Ost-CH, Merkblatt Ausländer, (Note 47), para. 2.). Of course, the risk of escape (Article 77a SCC) is a legitimate criterion for execution planning. Still, on the other hand, if there is no risk of escape or recidivism, people should be housed in open facilities. This follows both from the Swiss Criminal Code (Article 76 SCC) and the constitutional principle of proportionality. However, practice deviates from this principle. An overriding but significant effect in this context is the noticeably increasing tendency of the prison authorities towards a more restrictive prison policy due to political and media pressure and societal expectations (Expert - 5). Here, the "protection of the general public from criminal offenses" is often placed at the center. At the same time, release preparation and resocialization measures are increasingly reduced or affect only certain groups of prisoners. In practice, therefore, daily prison life is characterized more by the idea of detention and security than by the idea of resocialization. However, this conspicuous restriction of relaxation of the execution of the sentence contradicts the principle of resocialization, which requires systematic preparation for life in freedom.

The restrictive tendency described above is not based on the findings of evidence-based academic studies. The tendency can be explained not by the fact that the prison population has become more dangerous or that the risk of recidivism has increased for the group of foreign inmates, but by a particularly prudent use of existing legal instruments.

Unfortunately, the penitentiary system assumed that there was a flight risk for individuals who participated in the Study outside Saglam. Subsequently, they are sent to closed prisons and are less likely to have their sentences commuted than prisoners who will remain in Switzerland after release. In practice, it is understood that the criterion that the prisoner's place of residence after release is Switzerland is a determining factor in the use of Progression through prison, gradual preparation for release, or life "in freedom." The ex-offenders interviewed, who had lived in Switzerland for many years, had good family and relative relations in Switzerland, and had developed business contacts in Switzerland over time, were motivated to return to Switzerland legally after the expiry of the period of prohibition of entry imposed on them. Irrespective of whether or not this will happen, their motivation to return to Switzerland reduces their risk of being sent to an open prison or of escaping during the gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence. This is because they are aware that if they do escape, they will not be able to return to Switzerland after the ban on entry expires. However, all participants hope to maintain their social and economic ties in Switzerland. They see the possibility of a "vacation" (a short visit to Switzerland) offered by the Swiss authorities as a great opportunity to see their families after their return to Türkiye. The cases of Duran, Hasan and Saglam can help to put this in perspective. Duran has over the years visited his family in Switzerland as part of a "vacation" at a time and date deemed appropriate by the Swiss authorities and returned to Türkiye without any problems. Saglam, on the other hand, is serving his sentence in an open prison, benefiting from the gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence. He also states that he is able to make more economic savings with the authorization of day release employment opportunity and plans to turn these earnings into an employment opportunity when he returns to Türkiye, so that he can build an honorable future on his feet without being an economic burden on anyone. A reading of Saglam's testimony and situation gives hope in terms of the goals of resocialization in SCC 75 (1). Furthermore, for the deportable prisoner population, as for all prisoners, access to such relaxation of the execution of the sentence opportunities appears to have a positive impact on preparation for release and reintegration. Saglam did not abuse the open institution, staggered relaxation of the execution of the sentence that were offered to him, he returned from his "leave" and "vacations" without any problems and did not use this opportunity to escape. From Saglam's example, it can be argued that a deportation order is not an automatic incentive to escape. Instead of escaping, Saglam, with the support and guidance of his social worker, is trying to organize his life in Türkiye after his release and, in particular, to take steps to live a life free from punishment. By staying in open prison, he receives the support of his family in Switzerland. Together with his family, he proactively tries to resolve potential challenges in Türkiye, such as military service, housing, employment, etc., before he leaves Switzerland. The social and cultural challenges in Türkiye will be dealt with extensively in Chapter X. Hasan, on the other hand, is in a closed prison and sees it as a great opportunity to take a "vacation" and see his family in Switzerland after going to Türkiye.

At this point, the researcher proposes a change of perspective: Instead of generally assuming that foreign prisoners who are forced to leave Switzerland after completing their sentence are at risk of flight and therefore waiving all prison initiatives **Progression through prison** altogether, the researcher proposes that the decision should be sufficiently concrete, case-by-case examined and justified (Article 84 para. 6 SCC).

One of the relaxations of the execution of the sentence is conditional release. Regarding implementing these decisions, Urwyler's 2020 Study, covering the Swiss cantons of Bern, Fribourg, Lucerne, and Vaud, found that "citizenship" has the greatest influence on the decision to grant conditional release. It argued that the **general tendency of the penitentiary system is to release foreigners with legally binding deportation orders from prison** and deport them from Switzerland without the assistance of probation, usually at the earliest possible date (when they have served 2/3 of their sentence). This

tendency is often used as an enforcement tool to pressure **the foreign prisoner to enforce the legally binding deportation order**. Granting parole only to foreigners to facilitate their departure from Switzerland (Urwyler, 2020, p. 332) but providing no reintegration support for their resocialisation is incompatible with the goal of resocialisation of the Swiss prison system and the spirit of the law. The almost automatic granting of parole only to foreigners with legally binding deportation orders, without any consideration of the living conditions of the individual in Türkiye, without any effort for his/her economic, social, and cognitive reintegration, makes the goal of resocialisation of the penitentiary system dysfunctional.

The paramount impediment within the process of resocialization of these prisoners is that they do not want to leave Switzerland. Even if there is a possibility to be sent to Türkiye and be released after serving 2/3 of the sentence, they do not use this possibility. Instead, they are willing to spend the remaining part of their sentence in prison. When asked why he wanted to serve the complete sentence, the prisoner who spent his childhood and youth in Switzerland emphasizes that he has a large part of his family and social and cultural ties in Switzerland (Veli). Another reason, Ali explains, is that after serving 2/3 of the sentence and before being released early and sent back to Türkiye, the prisoner has to undergo a specialist examination to get an expert opinion that he will not re-offend. In fact, this depends to some extent on the offense committed. For example, in the case of "less serious" crimes such as drug trafficking, the authorities themselves will assess the risk of return. For crimes such as murder, an expert will carry out a review. Nevertheless, Ali thinks it is risky to be examined to get a specialist report "Now there is something like this here. There are psychologists. Men are afraid to go to a psychologist because a psychologist can diagnose you. They can give you a "Verwahrung (indefinite incarceration in English)." You could be locked up for the rest of your life. (...) Now you go, actually you go to relieve your mind. It extinguishes your life, your thing" (Ali, Pos. 2).

Probation is another critical factor in the context of resocialization. This issue has also been the subject of decisions of the German Constitutional Court. The Court pointed out that even convicts sentenced to life imprisonment should have the hope of conditional release (Morgenstern, 2014, p.156; Höffler & Kaspar, 2012). In this sense, while there is a need for a reintegration plan even for persons sentenced to life imprisonment, **foreigners with legally binding deportation orders** do not have the possibility of probation. All individuals who participated in the Study were excluded entirely from probation assistance. The penal enforcement authorities regularly assume that requesting probation assistance for persons who are to be deported after execution would defeat the purpose of this assistance. In these cases, the enforcement authorities do not consider probation outside Switzerland possible. However, the Red Cross seems to have special projects with prisoners outside Switzerland. The main reason for this is that the enforcement authorities cite the fact that the supervision activity of the probation service has no binding effect outside Switzerland. This practice contradicts the principle of equal treatment: Foreign prisoners who must leave Switzerland also have the right to be supported with appropriate and personalized social assistance upon release. Rather than avoiding probation assistance in general, enforcement authorities could extend the scope of the legal mandate for resocialization beyond the state border: Enforcement authorities should seriously consider the possibility of care abroad, initiate appropriate measures (locally) where necessary and appropriate, and accompany prisoners after their release. Indeed, there are promising programs in this regard. The "**Preparation for release inside the prison**" section of the Study will also include promising programs for the target group of the Study in the context of current resocialization, which are being implemented in the Cantons of Zurich, Geneva, and Waadt. With these programs, **foreigners with legally binding deportation orders** are assessed on a case-by-case basis, incorporating a transnational social work perspective, individual-specific needs, and the need for re-socialization. Finally, in theory, the prisoner himself has a certain influence on the

sentence-planning process. The extent to which this influence is exercised **will be elaborated in the following section through the lens of people's perceptions.**

The restrictive application of relaxation of the execution of the sentence **to foreign prisoners with legally binding deportation orders** is contrary to international recommendations and human rights standards. Swiss practice should consider international standards, such as the European Prison Rules and Council of Europe recommendations, which guarantee resocialization measures for all prisoners, regardless of their nationality or residence status. According to the European Prison Rules, foreign nationals have the same right to resocialization as citizens (European Prison Rules, 2023, 37). The Council of Europe's Recommendation on Foreign Prisoners also requires that foreign prisoners be released "promptly and in a manner that facilitates their reintegration into society" (35.1). To this end, prisoners should also be granted "leave of absence and other forms of temporary release [...]" (35.2) and "assistance and support [...] from prison services and probation services" (35.3).

Domestic case law also criticized the current treatment of foreign nationals deprived of their liberty without the right to stay. The Administrative Court of St. Gallen, for example, found it unacceptable that foreign national prisoners who do not remain in Switzerland after their release are generally refused the execution of their prison sentence on the grounds of lack of interest in reintegration. This view "contradicts the legal order of the penitentiary system", according to which there is also a "public interest in the resocialization" of these prisoners, regardless of whether it takes place in Switzerland or abroad. Federal Supreme Court (Federal Supreme Court judgment of January 12, 2012, No. 6B\_577/2011, E. 4.2) supports this argument, emphasizing that Article 75 of the Criminal Code does not limit the purpose of execution to reintegration into Swiss society (Council of Europe, 2018).

Thus, both the Council of Europe and the Swiss courts have stated that foreign prisoners have a legitimate interest in preparing for release and release from prison, thus confirming the principle of equal treatment with "native" prisoners.

The progression system in the Swiss Criminal Code is at the heart of the Swiss model of resocialization and aims to prepare prisoners step by step for their release and life in freedom. This concept is designed for prisoners who will remain in Switzerland after release. Usually, a prisoner with a deportation order is assumed to be a flight risk and is transferred to closed prisons. From this prisoner population, progression steps towards an open prison and a more open correctional regime are only granted to individual prisoners. The progression system rarely applies to them, and they cannot leave prison (Achermann, 2014). The lack of progressive relaxation of the execution of the sentence can make the transition from prison to freedom difficult. Therefore, regardless of whether the place of residence after release will be Switzerland, every prisoner who does not present a concrete risk of escape and recidivism should be gradually prepared for life in freedom during their sentence through relaxation of the execution of the sentence, such as in particular utilizing a transfer to an open institution, the granting of release on the temporary license, the authorization of day release employment or of external accommodation.

## **5.2 Does imprisonment adequately prepare them for life after release?**

After discussing the various actors involved in the rehabilitation plan and their impact, in the next section, the study looks at the stages of prison resocialization covered by the rehabilitation plan, using the lenses of people's practices and people's perceptions to examine what tools used and how they are used. In particular, it examines the resocialization of Turkish prisoners who are to be deported from



Switzerland to Türkiye, and comprehensively analyzes the resocialization efforts in Swiss penitentiary institutions.

"The prison regulations stipulate that a prison plan must be drawn up together with the prisoner. In particular, this plan contains information on the care offered, work, training and further education opportunities, restitution, relations with the outside world and preparations for release." (SCC Article 75 paragraph 3). The first stage, which is also foreseen in the rehabilitation plan, can be called the "the care, work, training and further education opportunities, restitution" *stage, in which* social behavior is developed, how to counteract the harmful consequences of deprivation of liberty is learned, and in particular the skills and abilities necessary to lead a life free from punishment are acquired and practiced. The second is "relations with the outside world." The final stage is the preparation of the concrete reintegration process, in particular, preparations for *release*. Each stages complements the others and gradually shapes the preparation for life after prison. Each of these phases has been enriched with information from interviews with 9 staff members, including the prison director and social workers, by the method of multilevel Institutional Ethnography, and is discussed separately in the following section.

These prison workers are essential in shaping prison conditions and resocializing prisoners within the powers and responsibilities given to them by law. Unfortunately, the eight people willing to participate in the Study cannot represent all prison directors and social workers in all prisons in Switzerland. However, it is essential to get a sense of how staff working in Swiss prisons understand, construct, and implement resocialization in general and what structural changes are on the agenda, in particular, the socialization of prison, which is on the agenda of the 2023 Prison Forum in Switzerland.

The following section contains the detailed opinions of eight experts working in different Swiss prisons, discussing the processes and challenges related to the resocialization of prisoners who will be deported to Türkiye after completing their sentences. Each expert, identified by a unique code (e.g. Expert - 4, Expert - 5), offers their perspective on various aspects of prisoner rehabilitation.

### **5.2.1 The Perspective of Experts in Swiss Prisons: Assessments on the Resocialization of Prisoners with Deportation Orders**

#### *Expert-4*

Expert-4 emphasizes the importance of prisoners' first contact with social services within the first 14 days: "This person I take in stays with me until the end." This starts with an introductory questionnaire to understand the individual needs, abilities, and skills of each prisoner. "This is where resocialization starts. It starts only after they have been here for a few years. First, you need to identify what kind of person they are, what they need, their needs, and where we can support them. Where can we provide support if they go to Switzerland or return to Türkiye?" (Expert - 4, Pos. 16). This is followed by a comprehensive implementation plan to identify the support prisoners will need in Switzerland and when they return to Türkiye. This plan includes educational opportunities such as language training, school and apprenticeship training, and computer courses. "there is always a future perspective because that is part of the work for us; you look at it with them and google with them, the city they are going to, what it looks like now, how things are going there, things like that, it can be very structured," she says of the support. It also focuses on the prospects of prisoners, analyzing both their current situation and their future goals: "In the situation analysis there are different areas: education, family, leisure, addiction..." This covers various aspects of prisoners' rehabilitation process. But Expert-4 also says that "we support these people as much as we can, that they can start something in their hearts. This is primarily in terms

of work and education because we cannot look for a home" (Pos. 43). This means that the things that should be in the individual execution plan are discussed with the person during the execution process, and they think about what they can do in the process. However, the problem is that there is an obstacle that Expert-4 emphasized. The problem is not that the prison does not want to do, does not want to plan, does not want to coordinate the individual's needs, such as house hunting, medical needs, help with debt counseling, etc. The problem is that the Swiss prison authorities do not have an interlocutor in Türkiye, they don't know what to plan. When they release someone to Türkiye, it is like a black box for the prison staff (Expert - 17, Pos. 15).

Finally, the expert's approach is based on regular meetings with prisoners and ensuring their continuous support: "We have a system where prisoners can also contact us." This offers structured and continuous support, focusing on prisoners' needs in resocialization.

#### *Expert - 5*

Expert - 5, focusing in particular on the psychological and social dimensions, shares the observation about the "reluctance" of the individuals targeted by the Work, "Prisoners do not accept for a long time what is going to happen" (...) and "...because they do not want to believe for a long time that it will come to that. (...)" (Pos. 33). "*They do not want to go to therapy either*" (Pos. 33). This shows that they do not want to face the reality of deportation. This hurts their participation in rehabilitation programs. It can be understood that the individual's reluctance to accept the judicial decision to leave Switzerland is one of the barriers to resocialization activities in prison. As for success, "it can only be successful if individuals are genuinely interested in this support in the new situation," (....) "if I can contribute to making it as successful as possible and (...) create as many perspectives as possible, then I am in." (Pos. 65) Thus, he refers to the fact that they support willing individuals wherever they are released.

In order to mitigate the impact of the barrier of reluctance described above, while pointing out that they plan for the prisoner's life in Türkiye after release as early as possible in the prison period, "*...will they be able to get the medication they have to take regularly in their home country? Who will we start building a social network with now so the prisoner can start a crime-free life in Türkiye? Is there an NGO or a state institution that can offer assistance? These questions and more are often a linguistic challenge for our social workers who can provide support. (...) We do not speak the same language as Türkiye, and we do not know the structure in place for released prisoners. We need to learn that too. (.) Then more will be possible. (Expert - 5 -, Pos. 33)*" talks about the need for a "transnational" understanding of social work due to language and structural differences.

"At the end of the day, everything is swift, vague and unclear. (...) Many of these men have debts and relationship problems. Maybe they also have addictions. Or at least problems with alcohol or drugs. This is a challenging starting point. (Expert - 5 -, Pos. 33)"

#### *Expert -6*

Expert -6 sets a starting point for the resocialization process that is more about the importance of daily routines, "they know when to get up in the morning when to have breakfast, when to have lunch, when to take a break from work, what the house rules are, what social interaction means, what it means to be together, what we can offer in their free time, what topics we can discuss. Then, we take it further and leave it to freedom. " (Pos.10). Although they work in different organizations, Expert - 5 emphasizes the same issue, the "reluctance" of the individual, "There are also people here who do not want to do anything with anyone, and we try to mobilize them. However, it is just a matter of weighing whether to leave them alone or whether to talk to these people, but this is dealt with mostly by the psychiatric service and the therapeutic service" (Pos, 88).

"I think the resocialization starts daily. (...) "We accompany detainees on smaller tasks, like learning how to manage their money. Up to long-term perspective work. We accompany them through the process and work on what happens after they leave prison."

For the target group, "We need to support them to ensure they understand certain information. So it can be straightforward: just sharing information and looking at their legal situation. However, the lawyer is the first point of contact. But lawyers, once the case is closed and they have made their decision, are usually no longer in contact with their lawyer.(...) So we support them to clarify some questions to help them plan their future. To know what they can do, what they cannot do. Moreover, we also try to prepare them for the future. Furthermore, depending on the status of the person here. So, there are Swiss, there are non-Swiss, (...) and then there are those who have an illegal status after being tried (...) This also defines the basis of their possibilities for the next steps of their reintegration (Pos, 11).

So how does it work in the prison system, in programs or facilities for resocialization? He begins by referring to "health facilities where prisoners' basic needs can be met" and health workers. "Of course, as everywhere, there are never enough resources." He points out that they produce services within limitations. Regarding the target group, he explains that there are opportunities where "..... there is still a chance to do "Lehre" vocational training..." (...) "it depends on the capacity of the detainee, what kind of work they can do....". "For example, they can work here in a kitchen. We are also thinking of giving them some work certificates. So at least when they get out, they can prove that they have worked. However, there is also the stigma of bringing a certificate from prison. So I think they even consider not putting the prison logo on the certificates in some places." Expert 7 describes individuals' work experience in prison as a resocialization tool that they can use in Türkiye and expresses an effort to avoid the possibility of stigmatization in Türkiye (Pos, 20-21).

Parallel to the health, education, and vocational training activities described above, he refers to his role as a social worker to "support" and "find solutions" and says, "... you know, sometimes relationships with family members are not always easy in this situation, especially when it comes to children when crimes are committed with partners or ex-partners, it becomes very complicated. (...) Because one day they will get out, there will be a need for structures to protect the children, the family or support them as a family." (Expert 7, Pos 23). The "Situation of family members" section examines in detail the individual's "family situation after the deportation decision."

Referring to Hasan, who is his advisor and participated in this study, he said, "...if one has been living in Switzerland for a long time and has a family here, it is a completely different scenario, and it becomes more difficult for detainees to prepare for life after deportation, for example in Türkiye (...) [00:37:31]. [00:37:31] Exactly because their center of life is in Switzerland, their family, their social network, everything is in Switzerland. (.) Moreover, for detainees who came here as children, it is tough, even more difficult when they are two years old, and they do not know anywhere else in Switzerland (...), and it is very stressful for them, and sometimes they become very unstable when they start to realize that this is almost a dead end. The Swiss authorities will close their doors and send them to Türkiye, and there is no coming back from there, or at least for the next 7, 10, or 20 years, depending on how long this revision (sanction imposed on the deportation decision) is. (.) [00:38:31] So, yes, these cases are particularly challenging. (.) Especially when it comes to Türkiye, which is, as you say, unstable but somehow considered stable by Switzerland. However, you know it can change quickly, but deportations are still carried out" (Expert 7, Pos, 37).

Therefore, for example, it is essential for detainees, especially in countries like Türkiye, to know or be informed that there is still a possibility to apply for asylum; the expert emphasizes that "...even if they have been expelled from Switzerland because they committed crimes in Switzerland, as you have already spoken (Hasan), he is my client." (Expert 7, Pos, 37). Recalling that before 2016, he did not work in the prison system, so he did not know what resocialization activities were like, he says: "... after 2016, it is quite clear. "Sending" is pronounced during the trial. So, it is in the judgment. So it is written in black and white. So they come here, they get the sentence, they can read it. Moreover, this is a fact." It gives the impression that after the clarification of the situation, there is an opportunity for the individual to understand the current situation and identify possible needs.

Since he has experience working in different institutions related to Migration Policy in Switzerland, "... I was sensitive to the political situation in Türkiye or how volatile it is, how fast it can change in Türkiye as well." referring to his advisor Hasan "first of all you can be persecuted in Türkiye, so I think it has to be taken seriously. (...) If there is a risk of being persecuted in Türkiye after deportation, the authorities need to check if it is safe to send him back. [00:36:17] That is why I ..., I had to show her the option to claim asylum and accompanied her through this process (.....) I think it is important for them to realize there is a possibility to claim asylum, and then it becomes very complicated" (Pos, 35 - 37).

In conclusion, Expert 7 proactively brings up a proposal such as an "asylum application," which Hasan did not know about when I talked to him, starting from the daily routines in prison, covering the basic needs of the individual such as health, education, and vocational training, contacting the family of the individual and then reviewing the current situation of the individual before his/her release from prison, means that Expert 7 offers a service that requires a holistic "seeing" of the different layers of resocialization in prison. After the four experts who participated in the study and whose narratives above provide us with a brief but sharp look at resocialization in the Swiss penitentiary system, in the following section, the narratives of Experts 8, 15, 18, and 22 contain other findings and findings that differ from the above narratives. The sections that intersect with the narratives of the above experts are not included below. In this way, the Study tries to present a holistic view by identifying the differences and nuances that stand out in practice.

#### *Expert - 8*

Expert - 8 sets the starting point with a short definition, "socialization means their reintegration into society. In our prison, we have a very high percentage of prisoners who have to leave Switzerland (...). This means that we have to prepare them not for society here but for society in their home countries (Pos. 11). With the following observation, confirming the distinction made by the researcher in the first part of the Study, he points out that the target group is not single and homogeneous, but rather two distinctly different groups. Moreover, reintegration into Türkiye "is much easier for people who grew up there, who still have family there, maybe even parents or other relatives. They can communicate with these people (referring to the individual's family members in Türkiye) through their family here or, for example, via Skype". "It is more difficult for the person who is younger, who was born in Switzerland, whose parents are here. Suddenly, you have to go back to your country. Furthermore, he only knew about this country during his vacations. [00:06:28] How can one integrate with a country that one only knows from vacations? What can one know about this country, and what can we contribute? We do not know anything about these countries either. (.) At the most, it could be what he knows from his vacations, but that is not a basis to say to anyone, go back there; everything will be fine because we do not know. (.) If someone stays in Switzerland, the situation is different. Here we know social institutions, social opportunities" (Expert - 8, Pos. 11). She describes how understanding that two distinct groups within the target group shape the practices of resocialization, or not for transnationals.

Expert - 8, while being aware of the current reality, also refers to the activities and efforts that have an impact on positive behavior in prison, as pointed out by the experts above: *"The situation we are in here, or our powerlessness, does not mean that we cannot do anything for the people who have to go back. We can give them tools, we can tell them to go to school, (...) to work, to keep fit. That's all good, but then we let them go, and it does not matter what happens there for Switzerland or the prison."* (Expert - 8, Pos. 59).

The point emphasized by expert 15 is in line with the statements of experts 4 and 5, that planning is started relatively early when the individual enters prison, that it is sensitive to individual characteristics and is analyzed by a team of experts. "You have to say what skills the people concerned need to be able to reintegrate successfully in their home country. Moreover, by bringing these additional organizations and supporting people, we are the link" (Expert-15, Pos. 58). Thus, he points to the role of the experts in the prison as the link for the individual to access transnational support.

He underlines an observation to be used in the Preparation for Prison Exit and Return Counseling section: "People often think that in the end they can still stay here and do not believe that they have to leave," which increases the feeling of "reluctance" to resocialization activities.

"I can understand that very well, but successful reintegration in their home countries is certainly also about people at some point saying, OK, even if I would not have it any other way, I accept this, and I'm going to see if I can do something. I can build something. I can build something good, but other than that, it is very different for each individual, whatever their life situation and relationships" (Expert - 15, Pos. 70). This is an essential issue that the above experts also touch upon. The section of the study on preparation for release from prison revisits this issue together with the return counseling.

#### *Expert - 18*

Expert-18 agrees with the above narratives but notes that "what is important for me, and this key word is digitalization, is that tablets are made available in prisons, and Switzerland is working on this so that prisoners can communicate with their home country before they are released, i.e. during their sentence, so that these connections are preserved" (Expert—18, Pos. 32).

Sharing progressive ideas about digitization and the use of technology in prison essentially provides an important entry point for the policy implication section of the Study. The policy implication section includes "online module training," "free internet-based calls," offers of Skype - video calls for the target group with little or no visitor facilities, for as much time as the visiting time or "Urlaub"- the granting of release on the temporary license used by other inmates. With the use of the possibilities of a changing world comes the perception of security and "...there is a fear in this case." some practitioners "... are afraid that there will be a scandal or something will happen with the tablet. Because if it gets hacked, it can access the internet. (...) However, I think whenever you dare to do something, things can go wrong." Having addressed the security barriers, the expert then emphasizes the potential positive effects that could be achieved through such technology. "... But you give people so many advantages. You are accommodating." he points to the responsible actors in the implementation. "But then it depends on the person who runs the organization" (Expert - 18, Pos. 35-36).

#### *Expert - 22*

Expert-22 is also the social worker responsible for Saglam in the open prison. In contrast to the narratives of the above experts, it offers the opportunity to "see" through the lens of "**people's practices**," an

individual serving his sentence in an open prison but certain to leave Switzerland at the end of his sentence. "The way it is with us (in Open Prison) is that the inmates are allowed to use the computer, say, two or three times a week. They can make applications and phone calls via Skype and interrupt the applications, and they can come quickly every lunch break if they need to check emails and make quick phone calls. (...) It depends a bit on how much time I have because if we have many inmates, I have less time; if we have less, I have more time. (.) However, the re-socialization is actually on my side, I mean, they have to do it themselves, that is why I support them" (Expert - 22, Pos. 94). (...) "They call themselves and then, for example, if they go to an interview, they can get some permission, I mean they go out, they do an interview, and they come back here, it is already possible. (...) You can come and talk to me, if I can help you with a phone call or something, of course. (...) Finally, we also have an application course where you can assemble your CV and application documents. Someone from outside comes once a week for half an hour, and then you get a USB stick, and you can save your application documents there (Expert - 22, Pos. 96-98).

In addition to the general support mechanism related to the open prison, the expert watched with Sağlam, as much as he could find time in addition to his other routine work, a part of the film "Arada", which is ethnographically analyzed in the chapter on challenges in Türkiye of this Study about three protagonists who had to leave Switzerland due to a criminal sentence and "settled" in Türkiye, and allowed him to "see" the process after their release from prison" (Expert - 22, Pos. 90). This film or the "online modular training" proposed later in the Study could pave the way for the individual to prepare for leaving prison, to get acquainted with transnational social support mechanisms, to gain an "insight" into the challenges he/she might potentially face "back home" and to find solutions or seek support pro-actively.

In response to the question about how the socialization process works and whether there are any difficulties faced by a social worker based on Sağlam's example, Expert -22 said: "... Yes, I also find it very difficult, because you can't, if you are looking for a job in Switzerland now, I can't go to look for it and then I can't call and arrange something and talk to this person." When he leaves Switzerland, he explains that Sağlam's father, who is settled in Türkiye, does not accept or even "rejects" Sağlam's arrival, pointing out that the individual will therefore have difficulties even in the emergency accommodation phase in his "homeland". "He doesn't even know if he can stay in the same house with his father, it's just, it gives me something to think about, but unfortunately I can't do anything more, like now, but at the same time this return counselor, he can't always evoke work, right, [00:49:30] so I'm actually trying to support Sağlam, but yeah, not full support right now, I think it's difficult" (Expert - 22, Pos. 86).

Ultimately, she is happy with her referral to repatriation counseling in the context of transnational social work in preparation for release from prison. "...At least what is possible for me, for example, now I have contacted this woman from the return counseling service of the Red Cross, she was even here, and she had a talk with us, and yes, I try to do my best, but I cannot support her, I can only support her with talks or this contact or now I have this contact with her" (Expert - 22, Pos. 84).

Prison staff interviewed agreed that the goal/task of resocialization applies to all prisoners, regardless of whether they remain in Switzerland after release from prison. However, there are different views on how this aim should be implemented. Some emphasize the universal aspect of vocational training, skills development, and educational activities and consider these skills transferable. In this respect, the fact that the prisoner will not be in Switzerland after release is unimportant. On the other hand, other workers are hesitant about the extent to which the activities they offer in prison in the context of re-socialization will be useful to returning prisoners in Türkiye. While they acknowledge that these activities are transferable, they do not address the immediate post-release needs and more resources and time are

needed to learn what measures and skills would be useful and meaningful for Türkiye. (Expert - 5) explains that there are many prisoners of different nationalities in the prison who have to leave Switzerland after release, so it is impossible for him to make an assessment only for Turkish prisoners. (Expert - 4) also emphasizes that when dealing with daily routines it is not possible to focus only on the needs of a specific person.

In their work with foreign prisoners who have to leave Switzerland after their release, the staff involved try to promote re-socialization through individual outreach, as they do for prisoners released to Switzerland. In carrying out these efforts, they encourage the individual to keep in touch with family members and social contacts in Switzerland and Türkiye via Skype or telephone. At the same time, they draw attention to what all experts agree is the most fundamental and challenging problem: Prisoners' intentions and "reluctance" to leave Switzerland. "We have a problem with someone who does not want to leave; as I said before when there is no interest, it is like they disappear, and the only goal is how to get back. It becomes difficult because social services and the prison cannot do anything about it. (Expert - 18, Pos. 21)

For individuals interested in increasing their employment opportunities in Türkiye, they inform them about exit programs such as The International Social Service Switzerland (ISS- Switzerland), The Swiss Red Cross (SRC), JuWe, and Retour5, which extend beyond national borders to facilitate reintegration, support the project development of those who are willing, and connect them with the relevant institution. The "Return counseling" section of the Study explains the scope and operation of these programs by quoting the testimonies of experts from the relevant institutions who participated in the Study.

Following the general understanding above, the first step is the sub-heading of vocational training and work in prison.

### **5.3 Vocational Training and Work in Prison**

The prisoner's work in the penitentiary system is an economic activity in a cost-benefit analysis and a decisive condition of resocialization (Kaiser, 1983, p. 220). Perhaps the most essential part of the prisoner's life on the outside is the acquisition of a profession and the experience of working in prison. Work is part of the prison system and serves the purpose of resocialization. It gives prisoners a structure. It also allows prisoners to earn an income (Article 83 (1) SCC), to save some of it freely (Article 83 (2) SCC), and to buy things. The fees are also the basis for a fresh start after release, as part of the fees are deposited in a blocked account, which can only be accessed after release (Article 83 para. 2 SCC). This also serves the purpose of resocialization because it provides them with a starting capital when released. Thus, the convict may also have the possibility of post-release employment from which he or she can earn a living. Being able to earn a living also strengthens a convict's chances of remaining crime-free on the outside (DeBaun & Roc, 2013; Nagin & Waldfogel, 1995; Clarke & Koch, 1976)

Resocialization efforts to achieve the target imply that persons serving a prison sentence are regularly incapable of leading a crime-free life with social responsibility and that they can acquire this ability in prison. In this respect, the inmate is assumed to need learning and have the ability and willingness to learn (Marić, 2022; Fomin, 2020; Seeman, 1963).

The participation of convicts in rehabilitation activities carried out during their stay in penal execution institutions is very important. Rehabilitation activities enable convicts to utilize their time in the

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<sup>5</sup> RETOUR A project to support the voluntary return of imprisoned persons of foreign origin

institution and constitute a way of acquiring a profession. The most crucial factor that will ensure the effectiveness of the activities is that the convict who has gained a specific professional skill as a result of these activities can work in the public or private sector in a field corresponding to that skill after his/her release.

**Table 4** *Interviewed Inmates: Working Experience, German Language Skills, Participation in Activities, and Post-Release Plans*

Name	Work Experience	German Language Proficiency According to their statements	Activities	Post Evacuation Plan
Ali	He works in the kitchen. He is gaining skills as a cook	Excellent in German - born and raised in Germany.	He participates in physical activities, soccer, guitar, and painting courses.	He plans to open a restaurant after his release.
Veli	He works at Kiosk. Developing social communication skills	Good - Has a language proficiency in Swiss German and is active in commercial life.	He goes to the gym once a week.	He plans to continue operating the kiosk after the evacuation.
Hasan	The packaging does the job	Intermediate - Good level B1	He did not mention physical activities. He takes a language course.	Applying for Asylum.
Musa	It works in the oven	Medium A2 -B1	He walks and exercises.	He is worried about being imprisoned again because of his Kurdish identity and his past in Türkiye.
Ekrem	Growing vegetables and fruit. Gaining experience in logistics	Medium B1	He did not mention time activities.	He plans to work in a logistics company.
Saglam	Outside prison, he works in a metalworking workshop	Excellent in German and speaks Swiss German. Born in Switzerland	He spends time outside the prison.	He plans to work in the metalworking sector, but Kurdish identity concerns.

In the interviews, the prisoners said that social re-socialization activities were available in prison and that they could participate in them. In the following section, each of the interviewed inmates is examined in the context of their practices and perceptions of learning a profession, opportunities to work in prison, experiences of working in prison, social re-socialization programs, and participation in these programs.

#### *Ali*

As a child of immigrant parents in Germany, Ali has German language proficiency, which has enabled him to participate in work and vocational programs in the prison without any problems. He said that because he had no language barrier, he could communicate easily and at a high level with the instructors. Ali works in the prison kitchen. This Work experience covers various tasks from essential food



preparation to more complex kitchen skills. He said that working with various types of food and cooking techniques kept him busy and helped him pass his time in prison quickly and develop a range of skills to open a restaurant after he left prison. After his release, he expressed his desire to explore opportunities in the culinary field, demonstrating that the skills and confidence he gained in prison positively impacted his outlook for the future. Ali's testimony suggests a potential roadmap for post-release employment.

*Veli*

Veli starts by saying, "I work at a Kiosk" (Pos. 1), emphasizing that he had actually been doing this job before prison and had experience running a kiosk. Although he considers this job as an important part of his daily routine, he says, "... I love it. It is a job I know, after all. Being in contact with people is also something I like" (Pos. 7), suggesting that her job at the kiosk not only provides her with a routine, but also a chance to interact with others she cares about. Unlike Ali, Veli does not mention any specific vocational training or leisure-time education programs accessible to him or other prisoners. Instead, Veli's focus is on a program called "Arbeitsexternat - the authorization of day release employment," where prisoners can work outside the prison during certain hours but must return to sleep in prison. However, he argues that this opportunity is rarely offered to foreign nationals who, like him, have to leave Switzerland after finishing their sentence and that there is an inequality in the treatment of Swiss citizens and himself. He sees this as a significant problem in the prison system.

"In the open prison system, you work outside. These have something like a house. You sleep there. Six months. In the first stage, you operate outside of their business. You collect garbage on the street. Alternatively, there is a Verkaufslager outside. The things produced here are sold there. Alternatively, you cut trees in the forest, which is different. However, it's open; you can see your family openly. In a way, you get back to normal. .... After you find a job, you work outside. You are outside for fourteen hours; you must spend eight hours in prison. You work in your own business. Alternatively, they (meaning the open prison administration) find you a job. If you do not cause any trouble, you are home on weekends with your family. This is a great thing. However, they cannot take advantage of it for us. The first reason? You have been ordered to be sent abroad. In that case, you cannot get an ID and do not have a work permit. But not for open prison. Because you work for them, we work here too. I work at KIOSK. I mean, I would rather work at Verkaufslager than here. I can work there too. There is no problem from my point of view (I have the knowledge and competence in German to perform in jobs outside). Yes, there is. However, as I said, there is a cumbersome system. Especially against foreigners, you know, the SVP policy. There is an SVP policy in prisons. The social democrats and the Green Party see it differently. Yes, they do. More people. Lately, there have been a lot of positive developments in terms of socialization" (Veli, Pos. 1).

He argues that prisoners who must leave Switzerland during the rehabilitation process, especially about "Arbeitsexternat- the authorization of day release employment," should also benefit from this opportunity. He says that not all prisoners meet the same conditions and that in order to distinguish between those who are "flight risks" and those who are not, "... They need to select such people a bit. I mean, are we talking about sociologists? Is it a psychologist? Or is it an officer who looks after this? " expresses his perception of the need for more personalized assessments in the prison system.

Veli says that although he is characteristically more critical than other inmates, he has had the opportunity to train himself after his release from prison, especially in language skills, which can be crucial for employment and reintegration into society." However, I see that many people want to get a diploma, especially in German, and I got a German diploma from the Goethe-Institut here. So these

things come to mind. I have a German certificate to help me find a job after I leave. I can guide tourists or work in different jobs in the tourism sector. I have seen many people (referring to ex-offenders who went to Türkiye after their release from prison) doing this." This indicates a general tendency among prisoners to seek training and qualifications that can help them after release.

#### *Hasan*

"I attend English classes. I used to speak English outside, and I also speak German," Hasan says, implying that this language proficiency will be helpful for him in learning a profession. However, unfortunately, "I do packaging work" points out the meaninglessness of this work after prison. Although he does not experience professional satisfaction from this job, he expresses happiness with the money he earns ("I even send money to my daughter every month"). This aspect of earning money and being able to support his family, even at a minimum level, seems to give him a sense of purpose and responsibility.

#### *Musa*

Since Musa has prison experience in both Türkiye and Switzerland, he often makes comparisons in his narrative, which makes him different from the other participants. In this way, we learn insights from the prison experience in two different countries. While in Switzerland, there is a rehabilitative aspect to work in prisons, in Türkiye, she points out the lack of such Work opportunities in prisons. "There is no work in Türkiye, they punish the prisoner once again (in prison) by not letting him work" ("Not being allowed to work is a punishment in itself"), he says, explaining that being able to work even while incarcerated in Switzerland, being able to earn a little money, not having to be grateful to anyone for buying necessities, and being able to send money to his disabled sister in Türkiye made him feel happy. She is happy to be working in a *bakery* in a prison in Switzerland and thinks that she could work in a similar job in Türkiye. He says that this job means employment in Türkiye, but in Switzerland, it means an effective way to spend time away from the prison conditions. He appreciated the learning opportunities in the Swiss prison, including language and vocational skills. Referring in particular to her migrant background, she emphasizes that she did not have sufficient German language skills when she first arrived in Switzerland and that as a result of her lack of German language skills during the asylum process, she was unable to communicate well with the community and experienced social isolation. He stated that if he had been offered vocational training opportunities and German language courses in prison during his asylum period, his life might have taken a different direction, and he might not have been inclined to commit the crime. This highlights the potential of rehabilitation programs to prevent recidivism. He also stated that while participating in work and educational activities in Swiss prisons, he got to know the Swiss culture and learn about Swiss laws thanks to the educational staff, which helped him better understand and adapt to his environment.

Musa differs from the other participants because he has experienced the asylum procedure in Switzerland. Having received a negative response to his refugee application, Musa contrasted his time in the asylum center in Switzerland with his time in prison. He felt that the lack of structure and guidance in the asylum center led him to make poor choices. In contrast, the structured environment, job, and educational opportunities in prison had a more positive impact on him than in prison. His approach to the issue of migration policy was interesting; he emphasized that people need to be offered a perspective in asylum centers. He points out that this perspective can be achieved by providing the individual with educational opportunities and opportunities to acquire the language competencies of their Canton. The right guidance and support can significantly help migrants to integrate and contribute positively to society. He reflected on his past choices and how different opportunities in prison could have changed

the course of his life. Musa seemed to acknowledge his mistakes and used his time in prison to improve himself and prepare for the future.

### *Ekrem*

Ekrem works in the prison garden, growing fruit and vegetables and preparing the produce to be sent to supermarkets. "I work here in the garden, I work in the fruit and vegetable business. The goods that go to Migros go from here." He also gained experience in logistics in prison and thinks that this professional experience will provide employment opportunities in Türkiye after his release. "Working in logistics here is an important job, a company in Türkiye that does this job professionally will understand that I am an experienced staff member." The structured daily routine of working from morning till night has provided him with discipline and seems to have positively impacted his mental health. "I know. You know, I learned order here. I learned the order of work." Comparing work to spending too much time in her cell, she says that working helps her stay mentally active and avoid depression. Through his work he earns money and is financially independent, which he finds very important for his self-esteem and future planning after prison.

### *Saglam*

Saglam seems to be a bit luckier than his fellow inmates in the Study, as he is part of a program called "Arbeitsexternat- the authorisation of day release employment " which Veli describes as unfair treatment, where prisoners can work outside the prison during certain hours, but have to go back and sleep in the prison. This allows him to work outside the prison, earn money, and experience life outside the prison walls. He thinks that his job in a metalworking workshop might make it easier for him to find a job in Türkiye. A letter of reference from the workshop in Switzerland, which he can get from his employer, could indeed be useful in Türkiye. The fact that Saglam's profession is a technical one increases his chances of being employed by Turkish companies operating in the metal sector.

## **5.3.1 Existence of and Participation in Resocialization Programs**

Many prisons offer education and training programs to help prisoners learn new skills or improve existing skills. *Prisons in Switzerland also* offer a variety of programs aimed at resocialization. These include vocational training, language courses, and recreational activities such as sports, music lessons, and computer courses. Such programs can provide the prisoner with basic skills, coping mechanisms, and the necessary short-term housing, medium-term employment, and so on to build a life free from crime, especially after leaving Switzerland. It is, therefore, important for every prisoner, but also for those who have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentence. While the *primary responsibility for designing and implementing these programs in accordance with the cross-border needs of the inmate* lies with the prison administration, the active participation of inmates is equally important (Gissinger-Bosse, 2019). The inmate's participation in these programs can greatly positively influence their readiness to face the challenges they will face when they are sent back to Türkiye, to find solutions for a life away from crime, and to shape the effectiveness of the reintegration process.

One of the biggest concerns regarding the foreign prison population is the ability to speak the official language(s) of the country where they are imprisoned (Martínez-Gómez, 2018, p. 152). Effective oral/written communication between the inmate and the prison administration is a prerequisite for the positive progress of resocialization activities. Language barriers can greatly impact foreign national inmates' relations with the prison administration. All the individuals who participated in the study had been in Switzerland for many years, and during this time, either through education or work, they were observed and confirmed by their testimonies and by their social workers that they had a moderate to

good to very good command of German, even Swiss German. Unfortunately, the level of language proficiency was based on their statements (see Table 6) rather than on objective language test certificates. This language proficiency leads to compliance with prison rules and a positive and strong ability to communicate with prison staff (Boese, 2003, p. 216; Bukowski, 1998, p. 29; Klose 2002, p. 124).

Another opportunity provided by language proficiency can be seen in the participation of Turkish inmates in the activities and programs offered by the Prison Administration. A prerequisite for participation in these programs is the ability to understand the language used. Turkish inmates are, therefore, able to participate in the programs of their choice within the structural capabilities and resources of the prison. Although there is evidence that vocational training programs or cognitive behavioral therapy offered in prison can reduce recidivism after release (McKenzie, 2006), the extent to which these standard programs are adequate for inmates whose post-release life will be centered in Türkiye can be determined by their perceptions.

The experiences of each of the inmates interviewed in relation to the Resocialization Programs and leisure activities are examined in the following section in the context of people`s practices and people`s perceptions. Undoubtedly, each inmate's participation in prison activities and leisure time experience is different, but it plays an important role in resocialization.

Ali explained that he attends soccer matches, which are not only a source of physical exercise but also an opportunity for social interaction. These matches often involve teams from outside the prison and are attended by people from outside the prison, increasing social interaction with the world outside the prison walls. Ali also added that he has access to a gym, which helps him to get physical activity and de-stress, and that regular exercise strengthens both his physical and mental health. In addition to physical activities, Ali also mentioned taking computer courses and participating in music and art activities. Learning and playing the guitar and painting were not only leisure activities, but also served as creative outlets for self-expression and emotional release. She explained that the educators who came to both the music and painting courses were professionals with years of experience and that seeing them come to the prison and give their time to her created a sense of admiration in her and that she was impressed by their "Engagement," which increased her motivation to attend the courses.

The difference between Ali and the other five prisoners was that he was more religious. This gave him some insight into the intercultural activities in the prison. When I asked him what other experiences he had of resocialization and engagement with the outside world beyond sports, art, and music, he said that he participated in cultural celebrations and ceremonies, such as special programs for his religious holidays, which gave him a sense of normality and community connection.

Veli, unlike Ali, chooses to talk about the limited access to prison activities, "I write a petition to participate in an activity, I have an interest in an activity. You wait six months for an answer. Then they say ok you can do it" (Veli), pointing to the long waiting times to participate in activities. He emphasized that these waiting times are too long for prisoners with relatively short sentences like him (around 2 years) and do not serve the goal of re-socialization and that the long waiting time leads to a lack of motivation as a prisoner. Also different from Ali, he emphasizes the limited social interaction with other inmates due to his job by saying, "Because I work in a kiosk, I do not have the same amount of "pause" work breaks and meal breaks as other inmates in daily prison life, so I have less contact with other inmates". "I go to the gym one day a week", and his internet access in prison is "I have one hour of internet every two weeks", implying a desire for more rehabilitative activities to expand the limited use of the internet in prison and that other existing re-socialization activities are limited and insufficient.

Hasan did not specifically mention his involvement in physical activities or sports, but said that he spends his free time attending language courses to improve his English and German language proficiency.

Musa participates in physical activities such as walking or exercise to maintain his mental and physical health in prison. Leisure time in prison was often used for self-reflection. Ekrem does not explicitly mention too many leisure activities. Saglam does not naturally participate in leisure activities in prison as he is able to work outside the prison.

In conclusion, the above section provides insight into the challenges and limitations that inmates participating in the Study face in accessing meaningful employment, professional development, and resocialization program opportunities in Swiss prisons. Prisons offer a variety of programs aimed at resocialization, including vocational training, language courses, and recreational activities. Computer courses play a crucial role in adapting to a digitized outside world. Leisure activities, including sports, music, and painting, should be understood as a differentiating adaptation to the group of prisoners who do not have the right to a vacation: such activities offer opportunities for diversity and opening up to a free life. The stakeholders of any resocialization program implemented in prison include a wide range of professionals involved in the resocialization process, including prison staff, educators, psychologists, and volunteers from outside the institution.

As seen from the examples above, the participants' experiences and levels of interest in experiencing work, vocational, and resocialization programs in the penitentiary system are varied. Although the participants need to participate in these activities in prison, their perspectives on the benefits of these activities are controversial.

Ali and Saglam have better German and Swiss German language skills than the others and are the youngest inmates in terms of age may be one reason for their more positive post-release evaluations. In addition, the fact that Saglam can work outside of prison is significantly different from that of the other inmates. Working in a company outside the prison can make a difference in preparing for life in Türkiye after release and gaining clarity about employment. While Ali and Saglam are aware of their impending departure from Switzerland and are willing and motivated to participate in resocialization programs in the penal system, other participants, although interested in the programs, criticize them for needing a future perspective. In this criticism, Veli mentions that the knowledge and training in existing courses are not applicable in Türkiye. Education or vocational training programs are not designed with an eye to what individuals can use across borders. Vocational training activities should be appropriate to the prisoner's nature in the destination country. It is unrealistic to think that prisoners with a specific intellectual background and education before prison can learn a profession through vocational courses such as folding packages. The main problem here is that the reality of life people face in Türkiye, for example, has never yet been reflected in a Swiss penal institution. The findings suggest that what life will be like after serving a sentence plays almost no role in re-socializing a person who would have lived in Türkiye. Although the participants actively participated in vocational training, the findings showed that their primary goal was to gain economic savings in prison and after release.

Whereas Ali states that participating in the above-mentioned leisure activities provides a break from the monotony of prison life and positively impacts his mental health, Veli describes the inequalities perceived by foreign nationals, in particular compared to Swiss inmates. However, this is more implied in his overall narrative than explicitly stated in a single sentence. The inmates see the fact that none of

the participants, except Saglam, can work outside the prison as a "discrimination" practiced by the penitentiary system.

Another piece of feedback from inmates was that access to re-socialization programs is complex and requires long waiting periods. This may be reasonable for inmates with long prison sentences but may be a long waiting period for inmates like themselves, who are sentenced to several years of deprivation of liberty. Veli also emphasized that waiting periods for enrollment in resocialization programs hurt his plans after prison. The above excerpts from Veli's narrative provide insight into his experiences and perceptions of limited access and inadequate rehabilitative programs and activities.

Although the primary responsibility for the implementation and success of the programs offered in the execution of prison sentences lies with the prison administration, inmates' participation in these programs plays an essential role in their effectiveness. However, since the acquisition of attitudes and skills is necessarily dependent on the willingness of the convicted person to do so, the enforcement regime should be equipped to encourage this willingness. It should not stimulate a feeling of "discrimination". The success of rehabilitation programs depends on the fact that they take into account the reality of the life of the prisoner to be sent to Türkiye, that they are designed and carried out in a manner and quality that preserves the prisoner's self-esteem, and that the prisoner willingly participates in them.

### **5.3.2 Utilization of Free Time - Improvement of Prison Physical Conditions**

It is important for convicts to spend their free time on moral recovery and re-socialization. The deprivation of liberty by punishing people who violate the law and putting them in penal institutions to serve their sentences does not take away their right to life. As it has been emphasized from the very beginning, the principle of execution is not to take revenge and destroy the personality but rather to heal and reintegrate into society. For this reason, it is necessary to eliminate penal institutions' adverse physical and psychological effects on convicts. In this context, I propose to look closely at a promising prison concept in Switzerland.

Although the NV Plus Program (Normalvollzug+) planned for implementation in Pöschwis prison is not directly for prisoners leaving Switzerland, it indirectly includes the Work's target group. It aims to promote their re-socialization through structural measures and appropriate supervision.

"...you need to empower prisoners to care for their own needs. We cook for everyone, we wash for everyone, and everything is cleaned except their cells. (...) Moreover, now get up, have a break, and have lunch; that is the menu. Furthermore, these are not prerequisites. It is like when you have a swimming pool without water, and you say let us learn to swim. ("Environmental mimicry<sup>6</sup>") You all have to do it; come on, and do it with your arms. (...) So we have to do more, (...) first of all, there is a greater need of the individual, people today are also more individualized" (Expert-5, Pos. 41).

(Expert-5) said that the project will increase the number of staff to ensure a more effective interaction between staff and inmates, aiming to provide better care and support to inmates in their daily lives. The project offers each group of inmates their own outdoor space to spend time on the terrace of their building (outdoors) after work in the prison. They will also be able to cook together and organize other

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<sup>6</sup>The concept of "environmental mimicry" implies that resocialization and rehabilitation processes should be personalized to suit the future living conditions of inmates. This requires the development of programs appropriate to different cultural backgrounds, language skills and social norms.

leisure activities. Regular meetings and the guidance of a cooking teacher are also designed to promote social skills and a healthy lifestyle. The program aims to introduce inmates to realistic, healthy, and inexpensive cooking options. It also aims to change the prison subculture and reduce violence. This will be achieved by increasing staff presence and encouraging social interaction. The NV Plus Program is intended to enable the regular prison system to provide offenders with better and more individualized care, thus supporting their reintegration.

Along with vocational training, resocialization programs, and leisure time, maintaining social ties and effective contact with the outside world is another factor necessary for a smooth resocialization process. When it comes to contact with the outside world, the foreign prisoner group clearly has the same time constraints as Swiss prisoners, but this equality only sometimes translates into fair contact with the outside world. The limitations and restrictions faced by the foreign prisoner can hinder the development of the support network needed after release.

#### **5.4 Relations with the outside world**

Contact with the outside world is essential to resocialization (Charles et al., 2023; Durante et al., 2022; Folk et al., 2019; Reddon & Durante, 2019; Martínez & Christian, 2009). Resocialization is also achieved through contact with the outside world.

"If a person has to leave Switzerland after prison, contact with the outside world is non-existent or limited. As a rule, you are in a closed prison. You have no vacation, and you cannot go out. There is nothing outside the prison. They can only have visits or contact by phone or, more recently, by video phone. Personal contact is limited to prison. Inside the institution, you can make phone calls or receive family visits. But you cannot contact others by leaving the institution and joining life outside. There is nothing like that for these people." (Expert - 13)

If the prisoner comes from a group without a big circle in Switzerland, then it is not realistic to talk about the existence of visits. If you have no one in Switzerland or your family lives in Türkiye, you don't get many visits.

Contact with the outside world varies according to the resources and perspectives available in each prison. Contact with the outside world occurs through limited communication channels structured by the prison and based on predetermined rules. To get a closer look at what these rules are, what the specific situation of the inmates is, which actors are involved, legal rights and what can be done to improve the problem, the experiences of each of the interviewed inmates *with* Contact with the outside world in prison are explored in the following section through the lens of people's practices and people's perception.

**Table 5** *Information on the contacts of the interviewed prisoners with the outside world*

Name	Marital Status	Persons and places of contact	Channels, according to frequency of use	Comments
Ali	Single	The nuclear family in Germany	Telephone	He plans to open a restaurant after his release.
Veli	He divorced, has a female partner, and has a child.	His family is in Switzerland.	Telephone, Visit,	Criticizes the lack of relaxation in the execution of the sentence.
Hasan	He divorced and has a child.	The nuclear family in Switzerland	Phone, Visit, Letter	He is looking for ways to communicate more with his daughter.
Musa	Single	Family in Türkiye	Telephone SKYPE	He has not seen his family for years. He said that communicating via Skype made her feel good emotionally and psychologically.
Ekrem	He divorced and has a female partner and has a child	The nuclear family is in Switzerland, His brothers in Türkiye	Telephone Visit	He points to limited opportunities to communicate.
Saglam	Single	His mother and relatives on his mother's side are in Switzerland. Father, uncles, and cousins in Türkiye	Because he works outside the prison, he can see his mother and relatives in Switzerland face to face and those in Türkiye via the Internet whenever he wants.	He is in constant contact with his uncle and nephews in Türkiye in preparation for his release.

Ali said he could Skype video calls with family and friends, although limited in frequency and duration, these calls were invaluable in maintaining relationships and emotional connections. *"You get used to the routine, the scheduled calls, the waiting. (.....) It is never enough, but it is something."* Ali was happy to be able to make regular phone calls, even with time constraints and at a slightly higher cost than in Switzerland. These calls were his primary way of interacting directly and in real time with the outside world. Since Ali's parents live in Germany, it is obviously easier for his family to visit him than for prisoners with family in Türkiye. However, looking deeper through the lens of people's perception, although Ali talked about the value of having his family visit him, he found these visits emotionally draining for him and his mother, especially when saying goodbye to his mother. *"It is difficult, but we manage. The calls and video chats mean everything to me. It's like a lifeline, you know?"* (Ali) stated that he preferred remote communication tools to avoid the emotional intensity of physical visits and the feeling of loneliness after the visit.

Veli, on the other hand, points to the differences in treatment by saying, "If you are Swiss, they put you on "Urlaub"<sup>7</sup> - the granting of release on temporary license vacation and suggests that the perception of

<sup>7</sup>The prisoner shall be granted an appropriate amount of leave to maintain relations with the outside world, to prepare for his release or special reasons, provided his conduct in prison does not conflict with this and there is no risk that he will escape or commit further crimes (Art. 84 para. 6 SCC.)



unfair treatment of non-Swiss prisoners affects their morale and outlook. "When I first came, we were allowed ten minutes daily to use the phone. Ten minutes. Only ten minutes. Ten minutes. Now you can make calls according to the money. If you are calling within the country, it takes half an hour, up to an hour." He states that telephone communication with the outside world is organized depending on financial resources. It can be concluded from these statements that inmates who have to call abroad for phone calls face a higher cost and are, therefore, at a disadvantage compared to inmates who make domestic calls. Regarding internet access, another method of communication, "when I say internet, you can go to Google, you can go to YouTube" (Veli), he explained that his connection to the outside world is limited but possible through specific online platforms.

It is clear from the interviews that the inmate participants with the "father" personality try to maintain intensive relationships, especially with their children. Hasan's situation differs from that of the other two inmates because he prioritizes the family relationship, especially the relationship and communication with his daughter. At the beginning of the interview, Hasan shows the letter from his daughter, saying that he always carries it in his pocket, reads it when he misses his daughter, and emphasizes his emotional connection with her at every opportunity. He even says that after his release, he will leave about 1/3 of the money he had saved in prison to a relative in Switzerland to use for his daughter. The emotional relationship between Hasan and his daughter, on the one hand, makes him feel incomplete and distant from his daughter in prison. Still, on the other hand, it keeps him motivated and engaged in the economically rewarding work in prison. *"I send money (CHF 100) to my daughter more or less every month"*. This statement shows that despite being in prison, his "father" persona is at the forefront, and through this persona, he has established a strong bond with his family. This points to the central role of the family in the process of resocialization. These ties can be read as an essential source of support and motivation for successful reintegration. Another distinctive feature of Hasan is that he tries to learn about his home country through television, saying, "I watch Turkish channels about Türkiye." His focus on family, access to information, and future planning shows Hasan's potential to engage with the world beyond the prison walls and his potential for post-prison resocialization.

Musa's family and social circle live in Türkiye, so he communicates with them primarily by phone, *"I have forty minutes a week for phone calls,"* he says. Since he has no visitors, his prison life is physically and emotionally isolated from the outside world. This information is precious for the section on the characteristics of the prisoners involved in the interview. Because Musa's characterization differs from that of all the other participating prisoners, his "connection to the outside world" is both a consequence and a cause that recreates and perpetuates the vicious circle. It is also difficult to keep family relationships alive under the restrictions of prison life on the outside world contact. Communicating via Skype, which began during Corona, made him feel emotionally and psychologically better after a long time of being able to see and communicate with his family, albeit digitally.

Ekrem attaches great importance to his relationships with his family. He maintains contact with his children and ex-wife and says, *"My child is here, my family is here... My wife and so on, I always talk to them on the phone; they come and go."* This shows that his family remains an integral part of his life despite his imprisonment. He expresses his concern about being separated from his children due to his imprisonment and impending deportation as follows: *"My daughter is also very sad. Dad, do not go. Why are you going? Is there no possibility of staying?"* This emphasizes the emotional pressure of the situation on family relations. While she can maintain contact with her family, Ekrem also points to barriers to communication, such as the cost and limitations of phone calls. *"You can use the phone whenever you want, but only for forty minutes a week,"* he says, pointing to the limited opportunities to maintain relationships.

Saglam 's ability to work outside prison allows him to maintain and develop his contacts with the outside world. He avoids the limitations of phone, and SKYPE calls that other prisoners face. This allows him to contact relatives in Türkiye, especially before he leaves Switzerland, and to have lengthy discussions about housing and employment. Saglam's mother's presence in Switzerland provides moral support for these negotiations. His father lives in Türkiye and is not happy that Saglam is coming to Türkiye and does not want him to stay with him even temporarily. Saglam is in constant contact with his uncle and nephews, so he organized his life in Türkiye before leaving Switzerland.

Based on Saglam's example, according to the Swiss Concordat, persons who must leave Switzerland after completing their sentence can also be transferred to an authorization of day release employment at the end. In the current situation in Switzerland, there is considerable variation between different Concordates in implementing the social rehabilitation of foreign prisoners. The excellent experience with this practice so far can be read as a further indication that a deportation order is by no means an automatic incentive to escape. On the contrary, access to such relaxation of the execution of the sentence opportunities seems to have a positive impact on exit preparation and reintegration, as these individuals can earn more and strengthen their personality by returning to their country of origin "with their heads held high" Thus, in the respective cantons of the Latin Concordat, the authorization of day release employment is not only seen as a means of preparing for departure and reintegrating into the Swiss environment, as it is in the German-speaking part of Switzerland but is also used in the broadest sense to empower, implement and create start-up capital (Achermann, 2014, p.28).

The fact that Saglam has the authorization of day-release employment in prison strengthens his relations with the outside world, thus sending positive signals for re-socialization after release. As in his case, "the authorization of day release employment " has a much more positive effect than the positive effects mentioned in the narratives of other participant prisoners, such as the feeling of temporal acceleration of prison life, the prisoner's experience of a disciplined life, and learning a profession. This allows the prisoner to participate in social and economic life, to relax psychologically, and to organize his life in Türkiye. The secret of his success is that he is less exposed than other prisoners to the prison restrictions that regulate his communication with the outside world. Thus, he can potentially "build a new subject" after prison.

"In Musa's life, the lack of social support both outside and inside the prison walls is an essential factor affecting his ability to resocialize. Musa's experience of his relationship with the outside world while in prison is marked by a sense of isolation, limited communication, difficulties in maintaining relationships, and a sense of disconnection from the outside environment. In contrast, others, despite the prison mentioned above limitations, have stronger relations with the outside world and, consequently, social support than Musa. They use this to cope with the prison difficulties. What the prisoners have in common regarding relations with the outside world is telephone communication. They use phone calls for direct, real-time, and personal contact with family and friends, but the limited time available can prevent deeper conversations and emotional connections. No prisoner explicitly mentioned letters or emails in the interview, but these are standard methods of communication in prisons. If used, they can provide a way to maintain connections, share thoughts in depth, and receive emotional support from loved ones. One possibility for relations with the outside world that is not mentioned is the Vienna Convention, Article 36:1, on relations with the Turkish embassy or consulate. Turkish prisoners in Switzerland prefer to remain anonymous to the Turkish government. This preference, although not directly expressed in the interview transcripts, stems from the concern that their future reintegration into Turkish society - particularly regarding housing, employment, and social acceptance - may be further complicated by government interference upon their return to Türkiye.

### *Taking a holistic view of the interviews*

It seems that during imprisonment, prisoners' relations with the outside world, especially with family and friends, were severely restricted. Maintaining old social relationships and building new ones for life after prison was also an important factor for reintegration and relapse prevention during the transition to freedom. The quality of communication appears to be restricted and regulated. The limited duration and frequency of phone calls and internet access, combined with difficulties securing visitation rights, can be read as compromising the ability to maintain strong social ties. "For those outside the Sağlam, communication is transactional rather than relational and focuses on immediate needs rather than deeper emotional or social connections.

However, all the prisoners interviewed had to leave Switzerland after their release. This means that the barrier to communication with their loved ones in prison takes on a new dimension. This new form of communication disability is described in detail in the section on post-release difficulties. It does so through the lens of prisoners who have left Switzerland and now live in Türkiye.

The following section tries to "see" the conditions of contact with the outside world and the possibilities for improvement in the prisons where the above "subjects" live their experiences. Whereas prisoners were cut off from the outside world as far as possible in the past, contact with the outside world is now encouraged in the sense of positive, unique prevention. It is a prerequisite for social reintegration after serving their sentence that prisoners maintain relations with the outside world and thus participate in the lives of others. For this reason, relations with the outside world can only be prohibited under certain circumstances by Article 84, paragraph 2 SCC and always taking proportionality into account. Suppose foreign prisoners do not receive permission and reports. In that case, visits, Skype calls, introduced after the COVID-19 pandemic, telephone calls, postal correspondence, and access to news such as newspapers, magazines, television, and radio are usually the only ways to have relations with the outside world. It is, therefore, unlikely that new contacts will be made, and it is all the more essential to support foreign prisoners in maintaining existing contacts and ensuring that they have access to information about their home country.

#### **5.4.1 Legal situation and practice**

Article 84 of the Criminal Code states that every prisoner has the right to relations with the outside world. A distinction must be made between contact with friends and family and with privileged groups of people (lawyers, doctors, religious persons). These privileged contacts can be found in Article 84, paragraphs 3 to 5 SCC, and summarized under the term "official contacts". The second group is subject to different regulations. For example, visits by a defense lawyer can be monitored under Article 84, paragraph 4 SCC, but not wiretapped. These privileged or official visits are not the subject of the study and are only mentioned here for the sake of completeness. This study is limited to contact with the social environment (spouse, children, father, mother, and friends), which should be supported and possibly facilitated by the second sentence of Article 84(1).

#### *Visits*

Foreign prisoners, like Swiss prisoners, are generally entitled to five hours per calendar month of visits from relatives, friends, lawyers, doctors, religious officials, diplomatic representatives of the home country, social workers, and repatriation assistants who play an essential role in promoting resocialization.

For the prisoners in the focus of the study (Expert - 7), "I think the prison administration has also become more flexible. For example, if a prisoner has a daughter from Brazil who goes to Switzerland to see him, they will try to find a solution where he can get more than these four hours a month. That prisoner can get more in a few days (Pos. 27)". The initiative provided by the prison administration to meet the relatives of this foreign prisoner may not be valid for all prisons. However, it is meaningful regarding its contribution to developing family relations. Each prison has different practices regarding the conditions and timing of visits: Visits are limited to a maximum of five hours per calendar month. A maximum of four visitors, including minors, is permitted. An adult must accompany minors. The first visit begins 14 days after placement in the institution.

The Federal Court of Justice has ruled that "close relatives" should not be interpreted too narrowly. This primarily refers to family members. However, the consequences of imprisonment extend beyond the nuclear family (wife, husband, parents, and children). Imprisonment also has implications for social relationships with friends and partners, which also fall under the term "close relatives." As relatives often have to travel from far away to visit the prisoner, this often means that the opportunity is not taken. Nevertheless, if relatives decide to take on the (long) journey and the financial burden, this can lead to problems. The visiting times of the institutions, for example, are designed so that visits can take place at regular intervals and are therefore short. Hour of visiting time per week is not enough for relatives or inmates.

#### *Volunteer Visitors*

*Ali and Musa's family live outside Switzerland, so they have no friends or relatives in prison to visit them. Ali has asked the prison authorities to arrange for a volunteer from the region to visit him in order to maintain relations with the outside world and to help him re-socialize:*

".... someone special is coming. I do not know how these people are selected anymore. However, there are volunteers like that. People who do not have guests here. They sit here for an hour. I have one coming, too. A lady comes. Every two weeks, I mean for eight months, more or less. Or six months. She comes every two weeks. She sits here with me for an hour. She talks to me. She is a foreigner, and I do not know her, but she is in Switzerland. There is such a possibility. ***So, not everything is negative in prison.*** ..... Yeah, I said at first that now everyone will have visitors here. It is hard to work here, too. So you have to work... I said everyone will go. They will sit for an hour. They will drink tea and coffee there. That is what I thought in my head. Then I was lucky; these others were usually in their sixties or fifties or something like that. More or less, yes. A small quantity of fun and frolic. We are happy here, thank God."

As in Ali's case, with the prisoner's consent and willingness, the prison administration can also investigate whether there are any Turkish-Kurdish associations or other foreigners in the area who would like to make voluntary visits and help the prisoner maintain relations with the outside world.

***For people like Ali and Musa, who have little or no contact with the outside world, the support of Voluntary Visitors seems meaningful. Besides the concrete example above, the researcher*** proposes to include the ***prisoner's lawyer in the scope of voluntary visitors***. As (Expert - 14), a defense lawyer, emphasizes, the lawyer has a responsibility beyond the mere defense. If the prisoner sees and trusts his lawyer as someone he can confide in. As Ali puts it, ".... I said at the beginning, now everyone will have visitors here. There is also difficulty working here. So you have to work... I said everyone will go. They will sit for an hour. They will drink tea and coffee there. I said I want it too." The visitor who will be idle can spend the hours with his lawyer.

### *Skype and phone calls*

Skype and phone calls are an essential part of the aim of resocialization. They primarily serve to maintain and strengthen the prisoner's social ties. In this way, the prisoner can use Skype and phone calls to work out the return counseling project described above and to deal with other essential aspects of the return after release (e.g. finding an apartment for the first few months, finding a job that will allow him/her to earn a living for the next few months, etc.). The first difficulty is the time zone difference between the prisoner's country and Switzerland. To overcome this problem, the prison administration must provide the necessary and sufficient minimum standards for each case.

The Skype application is used in prisons in the following way: Similar to the visits, the DP is obliged to organize them. An initial registration is required. The initial registration applies to both visits and video calls. It is currently possible to request one hour per calendar month, which can also be divided into two half-hours-videophone times: From 8:15 to 11:00 and from 13:15 to 16:00.

The unique feature of Skype calls is that the distances are canceled, and the prisoner can make a video call with his relatives with whom he has had a Skype conversation, thus having the opportunity to establish more robust communication during the visit. In addition to the many positive effects of video calls, some adverse effects were mentioned by prisoners in academic interviews. The most important of these is that the victim's relatives can see him or her as he or she is in the prison environment. While the design of the interview room can give the impression of a room outside the prison, the mental state of the prisoner is much more recognizable to the relatives in a video interview. Some prisoners see this as a disadvantage.

In Thorberg Prison, each cell is equipped with a telephone from which calls can be made for a maximum of 6 hours. Calls are made by purchasing phone cards, and communication is handled by a single provider called Telio, which provides telephone systems for European prisons. A card costs CHF 20 and lasts about 5.5 hours for calls to landlines in Switzerland. To a Swisscom cell phone 1.24. To other operators 1.18 min. Applications are offered for cell phones, mainly used abroad, and make it possible to bill an international call as a domestic one. E.g.: Opustel or Skype. Regarding telephone calls, there is an unequal situation between those with relatives in Switzerland and those who live outside Switzerland. In general, foreign prisoners are affected by this inequality. Since their families and close relatives usually have relatives outside Switzerland, they need more economic resources to call them for the telephone contact time allocated to each prisoner. However, the income from work in prison is the same for everyone (provided the prisoner is willing to work and has not been disciplined). Since international calls are undoubtedly more expensive for a foreign prisoner who has to make international calls than calls within Switzerland, the question of unequal treatment in telephone calls arises.

### *Correspondence*

The costs of letters and other mail abroad are not covered in prison. This is a particular problem for foreign prisoners. Although there are different types of work in the Swiss prison system and prisoners can receive a wage, the postage for an international mailing can be disadvantageous for foreign prisoners. Letters written in a language the prison staff does not understand can be problematic. Staff check letters for prohibited items, so the language or content is irrelevant. However, the public prosecutor can carefully examine the conversation's content. Working in prison is essential to establishing relations with the outside world. With the money he earns from his work, he can also buy means of communication approved by the prison administration, such as television and radio, to establish relations with the outside world.

### *Access to oral and written media*

Another way of communicating with the outside world is through print and broadcast media in the prisoner's language or country. Under the current prison conditions, prisoners can access print media in their language or at least television channels.

### *Return counseling*

Visits are also necessary for the healthy and effective implementation of return projects offered by organizations such as the International Social Service, the Swiss Red Cross, etc. Unfortunately, these visits are only done in very few prisons or cantons. However, this project is actively implemented in the cantons of Geneva and Zurich, with the canton of Geneva appearing to be particularly active in this respect. In the canton of Geneva, the International Social Service organization is in contact with about 40 new inmates per year to inform them about the support of the re-entry project. These meetings are mainly organized when social workers have identified suitable prisoners for the reintegration project. Candidates who meet the project's requirements are recognized by the social workers in the prison, and the prisoner is informed about the project. The person willing to volunteer for the project and meet the project requirements is interviewed in prison by the international social worker. In this way, the project's scope, purpose, budget, etc., are clarified. Prison visits play an essential role in this. It cannot be denied that this repatriation project can make a necessary contribution to the prisoner being able to start a business or earn a living in their home country. As this is also part of preparing for the prisoner's release from prison, it is dealt with in more detail in the section on "preparing for release from prison."

It is necessary to encourage reflection on what professional stakeholders can do to strengthen social relations, an important factor in reintegration. To this end, in order to strengthen the contact of the prisoner population with the outside world, which is the focus of the Study, the researcher has sought the opinion of the experts involved in the Study, including lawyers and academics, evaluated their proposals and made the following recommendations for the penitentiary system.

## **5.5 Therapy**

Studies that prioritize the therapy and counseling activities of inmates during their incarceration point to the positive effects of these activities in the process of prisoners' re-socialization. Ricciardelli's 2018 study provides evidence of the success of the therapeutic alliance, while Rahmi et al.'s (2018) study finds proof of the role of guidance and counseling activities in promoting psychological well-being, especially for young inmates. Following the work of Tadros et al. (2019), who raised the feasibility of a multicultural family response, Garofalo (2020) identifies the positive effects of family therapy on this process. Collectively, these studies support the idea that treatment and counseling can effectively guide the process of prisoner reintegration.

Of course, the prisoner is the "subject" in this process and therapy and counseling enable the prisoner to mobilize his/her own resources. The healthier the inmate's psychological state, the easier it will be to shape his/her life after execution (Chiclana, et al., 2019; Shuker & Newton, 2008; Wooldredge, 1999). In the interviews, inmates referred to their meetings with their psychologists as therapy. The following section presents the highlights of the inmates' narratives through the lens of Staff's perception.

Hasan mentions attending sessions with psychologists and engaging in activities that help him cope with stress and uncertainty. These sessions seem to contribute positively to his mental health by giving him a space to express his concerns and receive guidance.

Ekrem talks about how psychological counseling helped him to better understand his situation and reflect on his actions: “I go to my psychologist, I tell him everything.” (“I go to my psychologist and tell him everything.”) Ekrem Despite his difficult circumstances, the interviewee shows that he is open to change and personal development. He talks about how he has learned to get along better with other people and avoid conflict: “I learned not to be aggressive.” (“I learned not to be aggressive.”)

With the exception of Hasan and Ekrem, there was no reference to psychological support. Hasan and Ekrem commented that they were positively affected by therapy in the prison system and provided findings that support the literature above

## **5.6 Preparation of Release**

### **5.6.1 Individual Vollzugsplan**

Progress in prison, as discussed in the chapter on gradual preparation for release or “free” life, The Swiss Criminal Code (Art. 75 SCC) establishes social rehabilitation as the main objective of executing sentences. It implements an individual sentence management plan for each inmate to achieve this objective. This plan is vital in social rehabilitation “I believe this should be understood as a minimum standard of human rights” (Expert – 13) and must be drawn up by the prison authorities in consultation with the inmate. The sentence management plan details all the stages of social rehabilitation offered to prison inmates (Progress in prison, work, education, relations with the outside world, preparations for release, and post-release reintegration into society).

Previous chapters have included details about progress in prison, work, education, and relations with the outside world. This chapter looks at the exit readiness opportunities available in the Swiss penitentiary system for prisoners who must leave Switzerland after release, using the lenses of materiality and technology, people’s practices, and perceptions. The individual sentence management plan, to enable offenders to lead a future life without committing crimes in a socially responsible manner, obligates the administration to organize the penal system by the socialization goal. The actors accountable for this process are prison staff, who provide support in preparation for release, mainly finding a place to stay and a job or livelihood. You do this by trying to mimic the outside world as much as possible in the prison and practicing with the inmates how to act in this space without committing more crimes. “It is like when you have a swimming pool with no water, and you say let us learn to swim.” (Expert-5)

### **5.6.2 Preparation for release inside the prison**

In preparation for the target group’s release from prison, two main challenges/obstacles emerge. The first is that the release of the individual to Türkiye is like a “black box” (Expert – 17, Pos. 15) for the prison staff, i.e., they do not even know who the contacts are in Türkiye, where the support systems are, what can be offered. Secondly, “people do not want to” (Expert – 18, Pos. 17), “people do not want to stay there” (Expert – 8, Pos. 17), “they do not want to believe for a long time that it will come to this” (Expert – 5, Pos. 33).

Of course, this is relatively easy if the world portrayed in prison is a world you already know, i.e., the environment just outside the prison, if this is what the prison knows and what is portrayed in the prison. However, the re-socialization in the Swiss penitentiary system is different from the reality of the prisoners' lives in the study's focus. Because they will be sent to Türkiye after their release, these prisoners are sent to a different culture and economic environment from Switzerland. This is one challenge; the other is that they do not want to return to Türkiye.

“Türkiye, I love Türkiye. Living there is one thing. It is possible. That’s my Plan D” Ali, the youngest among them compared to the other individuals, says that although he loves Türkiye, he does not want to go to Türkiye, implying that it is not among his first plans (Ali, Pos. 2). Veli says “... I have been here for twenty years, I do not have anything about Türkiye. What am I going to do in Türkiye now?” ..... “It is not that easy to adapt there. Yes, it is. Our mentality has changed. Many things have changed. Of course. Our world view has changed” (Veli, Pos. 5). He criticizes his unwillingness to go to Türkiye by listing his arguments. Musa’s situation is very different from the other inmates, because when he is sent to Türkiye he will go straight to prison. “Me too, for example, he scared me the most, at first he scared me the most. It is the same now, for example. So now the worst case scenario is that I go to Türkiye. When I go to Türkiye, let me tell you for example. I have no hope of getting out. One, two I will leave the prison. I have no hope of living. I know who is in prison” (.....). “If they send me, they will send me. I’m not saying they can’t send me, they can knock me out, put me in a package and send me. They will definitely send me. They make a shape. They knock me out and send me. They will send it like a package. But there is a life-threatening danger in Türkiye. Let alone life-threatening. Beyond that, how should I put it? As soon as I go to Türkiye, I have a life sentence. So it is uncertain what will happen to me” (Musa, Pos. 1). In Ekrem’s narrative, there is a reference to his feeling of “alienation” from Türkiye, from which he has been separated for many years, and the “community pressure” he is likely to experience when he returns to Türkiye. “Uncertainty and anxiety, what am I going to do in Türkiye? I’ve been here for twenty-one years, I’ve been here for twenty years, what am I going to do in Türkiye, what am I going to tell people, what am I going to tell my family? I have a child here. My child cannot come with me” (Ekrem, Pos. 1). Ekrem’s feeling of “alienation” and fear of “community pressure” are the reasons why he does not want to return to Türkiye. Sağlam, who was born and raised in Switzerland, describes his connection with Switzerland as “(in Switzerland) ...I have my grandmother, my mother, yes, I was born” (Sağlam, Pos. 130). (....) “I did not come to this city 5 years ago or 10 years ago. I was born here. Normally I should have a Swiss passport” (Sağlam, Pos. 150). His following words summarize why he does not want to go to Türkiye. “..... my father lives there (in Türkiye), I have only been there on vacation. And yes, I really don’t know anything about it, I don’t know” (Sağlam, Pos. 14). “..... I cannot even speak my own language properly, I don’t even know the places, the cities. I have been to Türkiye three times in my life (Sağlam, Pos. 132). It is also very difficult for these people to carry out resocialization in a targeted way. The penitentiary system faces these two challenges in the initial situation.

The interviewee, Hasan, who is older than the others, came to Switzerland from Türkiye through marriage, later separated from his first partner and lived with someone else, has children from both partnerships, has localized family members in Türkiye and his family members support him and he is willing to return. However, his only reservation is that since he is not married to his current partner, he will not be able to come to Switzerland to see his children.

“I have no eyes here. I wanted to leave before. I mean, I don’t have eyes here anyway. I wanted to leave before, on my own accord, in two thousand eighteen. All hell broke loose here. My ex-wife said, “Did you come here for money? I was offered a job in Türkiye at that time. I had no problem then. There is no problem at all. There is such a situation, good salaries in Istanbul. (ex-husband) “Well, you are like this and that, the child’s morale is difficult, I mean, it broke down for a week”. His mother said, “I wouldn’t spare my child. “ (.....) “I was talking before I went to prison. Let me see my daughter grow up, for four or five more years. Then I will go. Then I will leave, I mean I miss Türkiye. I was living in a nice place in Türkiye (Hasan, Pos. 1).

Expert-7, referring to Hasan, his advisor and participant in this Study, said, “...if the person has been living in Switzerland for a long time and has a family here, it is a completely different scenario and it



becomes more difficult for detainees to prepare for a life after deportation, for example in Türkiye. (.) [00:37:31] Exactly because their center of life is in Switzerland, their family, their social network, everything is in Switzerland. (.) And for detainees who came here as children it is especially difficult, even more difficult when they are two years old and they don't know anywhere else in Switzerland (Pos, 37).

“The situation of a young Turk who has to leave Switzerland is very important, I mean he is going to be deported from the country, there is a deportation order against him and with him, when you have plans, it is very difficult to arouse this motivation that finally you want to start a new life in your own country, and then in a second step you can look at how to organize it, you can already prepare something. But the biggest obstacle is that people don't want to; in fact the only thing they want is to go back (to Switzerland) because, in such cases, they were born here, this is their home, and then it is tough to make a plan with them, if you do not want to be in Istanbul, what are you going to do in Istanbul? This is not a motivation, and the first step is to awaken it, to deal with it, to accept it, and to think concretely what I can do and what is realistic. And then, of course, if someone wants this, you can contact the organizations that provide transnational support” (Expert-18, Pos. 17).

The release of the above individuals to Türkiye, who are generally not “willing” to leave prison, is like a “black box” for the prison staff. “It is not that the prison does not want to do it, does not want to plan it. The problem is that they do not have an interlocutor (in Türkiye), they do not know what to plan (Expert-17, Pos, 15). When they release someone to Switzerland, the institutions, interlocutors, and tools needed to resocialize the individual are ready.

Unfortunately, the Swiss penitentiary system does not know the reality of the lives of these people who will live in Türkiye. The findings from the prison visits and the testimonies of the inmates and experts interviewed show that the reality of life that people face in Türkiye is not yet reflected at all in a Swiss penitentiary. What life will be like after serving a sentence plays almost no role in the resocialization of a person living in Türkiye today. This means that the reality of life for prisoners returned to Türkiye is given relatively little attention in the preparations for release.

Expert – 13 describes the situation after evacuation as follows:

“When the execution in Switzerland is over, it is clear where the person (staying in Switzerland) will go. I think this will give you the opportunity to prepare more for life in this country. Maybe you can think about what skills you can teach in education and what job you can realistically find there. (...) Maybe you also get to know the social system and prepare people where they can go for social counseling or psychiatric support. This is already prepared in prison.”

The researcher asked what the Swiss penitentiary system does to prepare for the release of this group of prisoners who have to leave Switzerland after their release and who have not been in Türkiye for years or even decades,

“The Swiss legal system does not deal with this issue at all. It is not regulated at all. Alternatively, it only says that all prisoners must be prepared for life after release from prison. It follows that people not staying in Switzerland must also be prepared for life after release. The prison system must now implement what this means. Of course, it has to have contact with these countries, and it has to have a certain knowledge of these countries (...). But I think we can already understand that this preparation is a right. If the aim is resocialization, then preparation for release is part of it. For everyone, not only for those who will live in Switzerland. [Today,

we suddenly realize that many prisoners are unprepared because we don't know how it will be there. (...) We need to integrate it more into the prison system. We need social workers who know how to find a house in Türkiye, how to register for social security, or the options to go to the hospital. We need this knowledge; we need to transfer it. (...)"

It is clear from this account that there is a lack of knowledge about the situation of resocialization in Türkiye, which leads to the fact that preparation for release is practically non-existent. Today, there is almost no preparation *for release* inside the prison. Swiss prisoners are prepared for parole; foreign prisoners are not. The lack of pre-deportation preparation is a significant shortcoming in the penitentiary system. Research in penal reform (Achermann, 2014) shows that preparing prisoners for life after release, especially in a different cultural or national context, is crucial for successful resocialization.

The gap between the prisoner's experience in Türkiye and the opportunities for exit preparation in the Swiss prison system must be bridged. While social workers are available to help prisoners prepare for release or to manage risks, this support does not extend beyond the borders of Switzerland. Prisoners interviewed have reached their release date without their resettlement needs being met or even attempted. Prisoners are awaiting release without having resolved their debts or having a place to stay (even temporary accommodation) when sent to Türkiye. Prisoners have not been helped to find jobs in Türkiye and have not been shown examples of transfer to specialized educational or training resources in Türkiye. The counselors available are well-intentioned and willing to help, but unfortunately, they do not have knowledge of the re-socialization situation in Türkiye.

Preparing for a life in Türkiye, a country they have not lived in for a long time. How can a professional network be created to best prepare for evacuation and reintegration? "If the state says that there is a deportation order, from an ethical point of view you can say that the state is also responsible for ensuring that the person gets there, that there is a network. In other words, if it is a state sanction, the state is also responsible for ensuring that it is carried out in a way that respects human rights" (Expert – 17, Pos. 27). In this case, post-release networking is not only an obligation to resocialize but also to shape and organize the deportation proportionately. This does not mean simply sending the person back to Türkiye and not caring about what he or she does. It really means helping this person to start and continue to live a life free from crime (entry point). The researcher thinks it would be worth exploring in some way to think about what programs foreign prisoners can do for themselves in prison. What might these programs be, with a strong emphasis on early contact with Türkiye, from where they will be deported?

All beginnings are difficult. Low-threshold access to information, motivation, and resettlement counseling for resocialization in Türkiye is key to helping foreign prisoners find their way and settle faster. "If anyone is interested in employment opportunities in Türkiye in preparation for release and wants to "... you can get in touch with organizations providing transnational support" (Expert-18, Pos. 17). "... this resocialization work does not stop at the border, it is international" (Expert-18, Pos. 21). For this purpose, a professional network "Return Consultancy" could be created for the best preparation of exit preparations and post-evacuation reintegration in Türkiye.

Perspective and return counseling aims to "transnationalize" exit preparations, taking them beyond national borders. In the Cantons of Bern, Geneva, Waadt, and Zürich, various initiatives to facilitate return for the individual can be seen in prison practice through the Swiss Red Cross (SRC – Canton of Berne), Prison and reintegration (JuWe), International Social Service-Switzerland (ISS-Switzerland) Canton of Zürich and Etablissements de la plaine de l'Orbe (EPO – Canton Waadt). However, such activities are exceptional because they are financed from the Cantons' own budgets. Expert 7 emphasizes this point: "First of all, this is Switzerland; everything is different in each canton. (.) Bern

is quite far ahead compared to the other cantons when creating some perspective and supporting prisoners after their release. I think Zurich is moving quite fast; Geneva is way ahead. But in Bern, we are lucky to have the Swiss Red Cross.” (Expert 7, Pos 15). Moreover, engagement is often time-consuming and difficult. It depends on factors such as the personal commitment of the person in charge, their communication skills, and their knowledge of the country of origin.

To understand how reintegration is supported across national borders for the target group of individuals, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 3 experts from the above-mentioned institutions: JuWe and ISS-Switzerland. The following section invites you to take a closer look at return counseling, to learn its scope, functioning, aims, and limitations through the experts’ accounts. So what does it do? Concretely? How does it help?

### 5.6.3 Return Consultancy

The question is also whether Switzerland is liable even under Article 75 para. 1 SCC is on the basis that Switzerland continues to care for foreigners released from the penitentiary system after their release or transfers this care function to a local organization in their home country that supports them financially or with staff.

Foreign nationals deported from the country are often left to fend for themselves after release. “We are here to complement what the state is doing for people returning to their home countries, no matter what status they have,” says Expert-21 on the scope of this counseling (Pos. 3). While it is desirable for counseling agencies to be interested in people having return assistance in their home countries, return counseling can only be initiated if people coming out of prison are willing and able to do so. The expert explained that “we start with the person, we try to build with the person. So the project is linked to the skills and aspirations of the person” (Expert – 21, Pos. 17).

The primary objective is to internationalize evacuation preparation and aftercare efforts, to give the evacuee an “entry point” and “perspective” for an “upright” and “dignified” return. It is to establish an international network of contacts that can be used to help people with the first challenges they are likely to face in Türkiye and thus sustain their reintegration into Turkish society. This “also means addressing fears and anxieties in a professionally run social services prison” (Expert – 17, Pos. 41). This could, for example, give people the opportunity to start a self-employed business before release and to have contact with the staff of the transnational support organization in preparation for their release from prison. In this context, it is desirable that the individual expresses his/her wish to be involved in the project at an early stage and that contacts with the relevant organization are established as early as possible (Achermann & Hostettler, 2006: p.32 32).

#### *The International Social Service Switzerland (ISS Switzerland)*

Expert – 21, which works for International Social Work with a Swiss branch in Geneva, in 2011 they started working with two prisons, one in Geneva and one in the Canton of Vaux, marking the beginning of this support service (Pos. 3). Institutionally, “we have an official network ..... This consists of 120 countries. We also have an unofficial network. So, for example, our partner organizations in Türkiye also have partner organizations that help us to realize these projects. So our network is much bigger than these 120 authorities.” (Expert – 16, Pos. 16). Regarding the scope of the program, “restart Geneva actually has 40 people entering the project every year, it doesn’t mean that all of them go to the end of the process. (...) But I would say that roughly half of the people have implemented a project in a year” (Expert – 21, Pos. 41).

They describe the basic idea of the repatriation service as offering real support for people, helping them to reintegrate into their country and creating perspectives by taking back the role of the main actor in their lives (Expert – 21, Pos. 3). Indeed, the program wants to reach the point where it is a standard that people who had to go from prison to their homeland have the opportunity to rebuild their lives. Expert – 16 explained that “... our partners usually do social work, which means helping them to find their own solutions, guiding them, coaching people. So, you need information, you need to know how to do this or that, you need to know how to order some products you need for your shop, or you need to pay taxes and you do not know how to do it. Moreover, that is how they will support people. This always helps you to help yourself” (Expert – 16, Pos. 56).

To questions about the functioning of the support program: “Since 2018, we have had a mandate agreement with the Canton (...) I work for the Canton for the mandate, so it is called a relaunch. The relaunch is this cooperation between the state, Canton, and our organization with a mandate” (Expert – 21, Pos. 5). In this cooperation, ISS-CH coordinates the work on the ground, the Canton and the Swiss state pay for the work and the project that the partner (the non-governmental organization working on behalf of ISS-CH in Türkiye) does in Türkiye. The idea is to use ISS-CH’s existing international professional network and experience. “You show something, you show the state that it works, and then the state is expected to take it over. And that is exactly what we are doing” (Expert – 21, Pos. 9).

The expert explains how the restart program in Geneva identifies and reaches out to potential participants within the correctional facility in Geneva and the process of their inclusion in the program:

“... every Canton is different because every Canton works differently. But then, between us and the Canton, we set the criteria for the people we can support. Once these criteria are set, the social workers are the ones who are in direct contact with these people. So the social worker looks at people who fit all these criteria and gives them a brochure. With this brochure they can request an information session. So we go there, we talk to the person and we start the process. Then we start talking about the project, we talk about the budget. And we continue until the end of the project. Also one important thing, depending on how much money the person has in prison, the person has to contribute to the project. And at the end of the sentence, when the person comes back, he gets a financial agreement that we will support them for that amount of money that we gave the contact details of the partner (meaning the NGO that ISS-CH works with in Türkiye) and a few explanations. And then when the person comes back, he has this document, he calls his partner and starts implementing. But one very important thing is that they never receive the money (physically themselves). The partner (the NGO in Türkiye) is also responsible for the financial side. So, once we have the whole budget where everything is clear for me, we send all the money to the partner, we send the money to the partner most of the time in two steps. For example, if they open a grocery store, the partner part that can go and buy what is needed to pay the rent, to pay the rent for a few months, to pay this and that. And then we make sure that the money is well allocated” (Expert – 21, Pos. 10-11).

When people leave Switzerland, the logistical aspects of their repatriation are managed by the Swiss authorities. Flight arrangements, legal paperwork and liaison with authorities in their home countries are the responsibility of these Swiss authorities. Expert-16 notes that once people land in their country of origin, dealing with them is handed over to their partners. “...there have been projects in the past where people have said “if I land in my country, I haven’t been to my country for many years and I am afraid that people will do something to me. (.) In such cases our partners go and pick them up from the airport and look for a place to stay for the next days. This is also part of the project” (Expert – 16, Pos.

41-42) This approach serves the purpose of providing safety and support for people during the return process.

Transnational social support is also sensitive enough not to cause “stigmatization”. ISS-CH has not offered programs in the prison field for many years. Therefore, the partner organizations in Türkiye do not know where the people involved in the project from Switzerland come from and in what concept. They do not know if they are illegal in Switzerland, if they are seeking asylum or if they come from prison. This information is not shared with partners in Türkiye. “This is actually, you know, looking into the future, not into the past. So this is our standard. That is why we never tell people outside our organization where they come from” (Expert-16, Pos. 17-18).

As with any project, this project has its limitations. One of these limitations is related to people with psychiatric illnesses, because when they want to participate in the program, the project cannot support them because the project partners in their country of origin cannot support them medically (Expert-16, Pos. 58).

ISS’s Expert-21 points to the multi-faceted benefits of the repatriation program as a valuable tool for social workers to help people prepare for their return to society. The program has been praised for its comprehensive approach, which offers significant advantages not only in terms of financial, but also in terms of rehabilitation support. The program is described as a ‘win-win-win’ scenario that benefits people, social workers, prisons, the canton and society at large, both in Switzerland and Türkiye. “...it helps society because when people go back to their country, if they run a small grocery shop instead of committing crimes, their recidivism rate will decrease, their risk of returning to Switzerland will decrease” (Expert-21, Pos. 47). This innovative program encourages people released from prison to contribute economically to the project, providing a support mechanism in which the individual takes an active role. This holistic approach represents a progressive step forward in prison rehabilitation and highlights the importance of multi-actor support in facilitating successful reintegration into society. (Expert-21, Pos. 5)

#### *Corrections and Rehabilitation – The Canton of Zurich*

The expert working for the pilot project on return orientation and assistance in enforcing sanctions in Zurich underlines the collaborative approach to the project’s success, saying that it is a pilot project that will run until the end of 2025. “*The Cantonal Social Welfare Office, the Zurich Immigration Office and Corrections and Rehabilitation (JuWe), the prisons, are three offices that designed or sponsored the pilot project...*” (Expert – 11, Pos. 6-7). This multidisciplinary approach is designed to cover three essential aspects of resocialization – social assistance, migration, and reintegration. “*I can also see that in our project, JuWe says that they see the resocialization of all prisoners under Article 75 as their main task, but not much is done for those who leave Switzerland (which often happens after two-thirds). Moreover, with this project, they want to counteract that*” (Expert-11, Pos. 22).

Expert – 11 explains how the project process works with an example: “Cooperation with the social welfare office and the immigration office makes sense, but the tasks of the immigration office and the social welfare office are mainly to ensure that people leave Switzerland after their detention is over. There is a cooperation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Social Welfare Office, so that some prisoners draw up a business plan after their detention and receive money so that they can build something after they return. One example: Someone went back to Iraq and therefore was able to set up a project with a local NGO” (Expert-11, Pos. 30-31). This time the same expert also talks about the inter-agency distribution of tasks and how the three institutions work in synchronization with

each other: “At the moment, however, only a few people can benefit from this project, which is funded by the Immigration Office and the Social Welfare Office. And it is given to so-called “hard-to-implement” people. In other words, the Immigration Office says that we are paying for the project for people who we would otherwise not be able to repatriate without their cooperation. That is the situation at the moment and it is understandable, I will leave it like that because that is the mandate of the Immigration Office. They have no mandate to resocialize. Their mandate is that anyone who does not have a valid residence permit must leave Switzerland. And the Immigration Office has to ensure that. The Social Welfare Office has a similar interest to the immigration office. When people without a residence permit are released from custody, they cannot find accommodation and many of them are in need of emergency assistance. Because they are in Switzerland illegally. And the social welfare office finances emergency aid. This means they also have the task of convincing those who cannot be repatriated to leave in some way. Juwe is also interested in resocialization, they all have their own mission and they do the project together (Expert – 11, Pos. 33-37)

The Expert -11 also talks about the limitations and “what is promising?” aspects of the project and the goal: “Regardless of whether the immigration office can deport a person or not. Juwe will now try to extend the funding to others (those who are not difficult to deport), which means that in the near future everyone who has to leave Switzerland will receive such projects with SSI or IOM. At the moment this project is limited only to this group of people in difficult situations. However, they need to expand the funding so that everyone who has to leave Switzerland has the opportunity to receive assistance and the project assistance will then really be support for resocialization abroad” (Expert – 11, Pos. 44-45).

A common limitation of both of the above programs is that when leaving prison, people are not motivated to return because they do not physically receive the money directly. “They believe that the project money will not be paid to them. In connection with this return-oriented implementation planning, you also need to pay attention to motivation. You have to motivate people to some extent so that they understand the purpose of leaving and have a perspective in their country of origin. (...) If you tell them that they can keep the money and take it as a loan, that is also a motivation. If this is not guaranteed it is more difficult (Expert – 23, Pos, 21).

Another challenge is paying for people’s flight back to their home country out of the project money. Experts emphasize that deductions in this area also hurt people’s motivation to return. This could be considered as a potential area for improvement and it may be preferable not to deduct the airfare from the project budget.

Return counseling can be seen as a “lighthouse project” (Expert-17, Pos. 23). It advocates a practice that is highly respectful and at the same time highly targeted and meaningful. Individuals can become aware of an achievable alternative. This is a system that starts to provide support to people before they leave Switzerland and then, when they are forced to leave Switzerland, encourages their reintegration into Turkish society. Particularly in the case of foreign offenders who have not benefited from suspended or commuted sentences and have therefore not been able to learn or test how to cope with freedom, it would be important in light of the goal of resocialization for Switzerland to continue to take care of the persons concerned after their release from prison, or at least to provide someone to help them with the first difficulties they will face in reintegration.

In the literature, reentry counseling can be related to **the Good-lives-Model (GLM)**, which aims to create solutions based on people’s strengths for long-term change. Offenders need opportunities for better lives (Ward & Fortune, 2016). This opportunity is offered through reentry counseling. This counseling supports people by developing their knowledge and practical capacities in an existing occupation within a project that will facilitate their employment in their home country as the best way

to achieve their expectations of resocialization in Türkiye. Counseling emphasizes the need for a detailed consideration of the individual’s capacities, which is in line with the model’s goal of discovering the individual’s strengths and enabling them to participate actively in the resocialization process through their abilities actively (Barnao et al., 2016; Ward & Willis, 2016). Through this Counseling, a process of building the individual’s capacity to prepare for release from prison is initiated. This building process allows for a holistic reconstruction of the self, which is the goal of GLM (Ward, et al., 2007; Ward & Heffernan, 2017 ).

As a result, by implementing this project, people learn to mobilize their resources and become “subjects” of a project that allows for self-employment in their country, thus creating an “entry point” for life without punishment in their country. Preparing these people and creating an “entry point” “... does not make the problem go away, but it prepares itself a little more” (Expert-11, Pos. 116). Given these positive effects, it is desirable that the Cantons are interested in this return assistance.

### 5.7 “Clarity” on Deportation from the perspective of foreign prisoners

In the following, we focus on Turkish prisoners’ perspectives on resocialization after the new “clarity” in the legal regulation 2016. How do they interpret the judicial deportation order against them, and in particular, how do they perceive its impact on their resocialization? Moreover, how does this assessment differ according to their situation? Compared to the previous chapters, a different structure has been chosen here: The chapter concludes with typologies of Ali, Veli, Hasan, Musa, Ekrem, Musa, Ekrem, and Saglam, who participated in the study and who were included in the previous chapters, summarizing their different attitudes towards the contribution of resocialization.

#### *The Impact of Clarity on Deportation on Prisoners’ Resocialization*

In contrast to the legal environment before 2016, inmates learn about the certainty of their deportation simultaneously with their sentence. One of this study’s most important results is the nuanced understanding of how the “certainty of **deportation**” shapes inmates’ perceptions of resocialization.

**Table 6** *Participants’(Inmates) perception of legal clarity on deportation.*

Perception Type	Ali	Veli	Hasan	Musa	Ekrem	Saglam
Positive / Facilitative	x	x	x	x	x	x
Negative / Challenging						

As shown in Table 6, respondents’ perceptions of the new legal “clarity” situation were found to be positive and facilitative for their resocialization. To understand what positive and facilitative effects it had on their resocialization, the post-2016 legal “clarity” environment was based on six semi-structured interviews with participants. The following section presents the findings from these interviews through conceptual content analysis.

#### *Mental Preparation and Acceptance*

Prior knowledge of the deportation gives the participants time to mentally prepare for their departure to Türkiye, which makes it easier for them to accept the decision.

The researcher finds traces of this observation in Ekrem’s discourse. Ekrem mentions that he initially suffered from depression after receiving the news of his deportation. This indicates the psychological stress associated with the uncertainty and difficulties of reintegration in Türkiye for an individual who

does not want to leave Switzerland. Ekrem describes his emotional state and adaptation strategies as follows: “Uncertainty and anxiety, anxiety, what am I going to do in Türkiye? I’ve been here for twenty years. What am I going to do in Türkiye? What am I going to tell the people? What am I going to tell my family? I have a child here. My child cannot come with me. (....) At first, when this decision comes, when it is finalized, you get depressed for a few weeks. I mean, this is also normal. I mean, my child is here, and my family is here. Yes. However, then you have nothing else to do. You have to. When you make a problem here, it can have worse consequences. Nevertheless, you try to get used to it. I got used to it. I got used to it” (Ekrem, Pos. 1). This shows that the news that he would be deported because he had a family and a life in Switzerland initially caused depression, but later he accepted his situation. As it can be understood from Ekrem’s statements, the initial shock and depression gradually give way to acceptance and a kind of psychological preparation. This is also true for Moses. “I mean, you are forced to accept it. You cannot do anything about it anyway” (Musa, Pos. 1). Veli’s evaluation is slightly more detailed than the others. “When you look at it psychologically, of course you always experience it after that. You are always discussing it in your head. In that respect, it will take some time to accept being gone. It will take time. In the meantime, you will argue with yourself. Why did I do this wrong? Was it worth it? I do not know, blah, blah, but as a result, I mean, because what I mean is this. As a result, I think it makes more sense to know beforehand” (Veli, Pos. 5). This mental change can enable individuals to plan life after release with a clear perspective.

#### *Psychological Counseling and Preparation*

People try to overcome the disappointment they feel when they first learn about the decision with the support of the prison psychologist. Ekrem, one of the participants whose deportation was inevitable, was more inclined to seek and benefit from psychological counseling over time. He explains that thanks to the psychological support in prison, he was cured of his depression, that he developed a positive relationship with the officials in the psychological support unit, and that whenever he felt he was having psychological problems, he went to the psychologist. “Here, I go to my psychologist, I tell everything. I go from time to time. I go once every four or five months” (Ekrem, Pos. 1). Musa makes a similar assessment. “I mean, you just have to accept it. You cannot do anything anyway. (...) If I do not know, a psychology, I received psychological support for two years during that period, not that it did not help” (Musa, Pos. 1).

From the above narratives, it follows that even if a person does not have the right to stay in Switzerland because of a criminal conviction, he or she can get out of depression or minimize psychological problems by accessing psychological support in prison. Through this counseling, people can cope with the emotional and psychological challenges of deportation and resocialization. It can also be meaningful for the individual to experience that psychological support can benefit them if they need it in their post-release life.

#### *Building Support Networks*

Prisoners who realize they will return to Türkiye start reaching out to family and friends in their homeland and strengthening their ties with them. This can be crucial for emotional support and practical help after release. “... you try to establish a connection. In Türkiye, you try to find work, I don’t know, family, relatives, some support, because there is no extra support in Türkiye, you know. When you go there is no extra support (from the Turkish state)” (Veli, Pos. 5). Sağlam says “...then I can also contact my uncle because he has been working at Migros for how long and he is a store manager at Migros” (Sağlam, Pos. 68), and expresses that he is trying to establish contacts about employment in Türkiye. Ekrem mentions that he is in contact with his two brothers in Türkiye who can support him. As Veli,



Saglam, and Ekrem state, discussing plans with family members about potential business ventures or employment opportunities can be read as a positive effect of “clarity” regarding re-socialization.

### *Planning for the Future*

As various psychological theories suggest, uncertainty can be more distressing than a negative certainty. Cognitive Dissonance Theory, proposed by Leon Festinger in 1957, suggests that individuals experience discomfort when confronted with conflicting beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors. Another is Avoidance of Uncertainty (Ellsberg Paradox), a phenomenon in decision theory where people prefer known negative certainties to unknown risks (uncertainties).

As prisoners realize their time in Switzerland is limited, they start to make concrete plans for their life in Türkiye. This legal “clarity” can help to reflect on plans and future life goals, even if there is no prospect of remaining in Switzerland. These plans may include setting goals, identifying potential employment opportunities, and even making small savings for life after release, as one interviewee, Ekrem, plans to do. On the other hand, Ali has a more superficial assessment of planning, but he is happy to have the opportunity to make preparations. “At least a preliminary plan can be made, at least a little bit, if not a lot. Preparations can be made” (Ali, Pos. 2). Although the parent generally had a critical perspective on the issues discussed in the interview, he said, “From my point of view, it is positive to know this. I mean, it is important in terms of building the future” (...) “Even if this is the worst case, at least you are making a plan” (Veli, Pos. 5). The following conclusion can also be drawn here: Individuals who start planning for the future naturally increase their communication with the outside world. “I can prepare the people at home; it would not be nice for them. . . For my mom, she is in the first place. My father is willing to go to Türkiye. She does not want to go to Türkiye.” (Inmate -1 Ali , Pos. 2). The findings suggest that the legal environment of ‘clarity’ after 2016 helped participants to work on real plans and life goals for the future, even though they were unlikely to stay in Switzerland.

### *Legal and Administrative Preparation*

Knowing in advance that they will be deported may make it easier for participants to find a solution that suits their personal situation in a matter such as “compulsory military service”, which is one of the legal and administrative problems related to their return. In the next section, while analyzing the difficulties in Türkiye, Tolga explains how this process turned into a problem through the narratives of a participant who had to leave Switzerland after his sentence due to a judicial sentence and settled in Türkiye. In fact, the fact that young people in particular have not fulfilled their compulsory military service in Türkiye creates a series of problems that start at the airport in Türkiye.

Consequently, while the certainty of deportation brings its challenges, it also provides an opportunity for inmates to be comprehensively prepared for their resocialization and reintegration in Türkiye, and thus has the potential to help a smoother transition. However, the fact that the participants know that they will be deported does not mean that there are re-socialization programs that are not designed with the specific needs of this group of inmates in mind. The exit preparation section of the study identifies the need for these programs based on the testimonies of inmates, experts working in prisons, and experts outside prisons. While it is now clear that Türkiye will be the place where the ex-offender will live after release, there is still uncertainty about how the preparation for life in Türkiye will be managed. Tolga, who left Switzerland with the decision of criminal deportation and was in Türkiye at the time of the interviews, stated that he was not fully informed and prepared for the difficulties he would face after his deportation (such as compulsory military service) and that he did not receive information and guidance from the Swiss penitentiary system about his future after his release, which led to anxiety and uncertainty about his re-socialization. However, if the reality of life that people released from Switzerland face in

Türkiye were reflected in the Swiss penitentiary system, it could have results that are in line with the finding of Bosworth and Kellezi (2017) that a prisoner's perception of concrete and near-future equal opportunities for resocialization is positively related to the success of that prisoner's resocialization.

The situation summarized by the target group presents an interesting paradox. On the one hand, the certainty of the deportation decision provides clarity and reduces the stress factors related to uncertainty faced by prisoners. On the other hand, the certainty of deportation to Türkiye, where the ex-prisoner has little or no previous life experience, brings with it difficulties of re-entry and re-socialization. This finding is supported by Veli's statement "But I have been here for twenty years, I have nothing to do with Türkiye. What am I going to do in Türkiye now" (Veli, Pos. 5). The next section will introduce these challenges in detail.

Knowing that they will be deported allows prisoners to mentally prepare, make plans and even start contacting their relatives in Türkiye. Removing one of the question marks about their future can reduce a layer of stress.

Also, knowing that people will be deported could theoretically lead them to start connecting with support systems in Türkiye. Unfortunately, in practice they do not want to connect with support systems in Türkiye. While the most important reason for this is the danger of being stigmatized by the Turkish authorities, the next reason is that they do not know which support system to trust in Türkiye, and the second reason is that they do not know exactly what mechanisms are available. At this stage, as a first step, they are expected to rely on the international support mechanisms described in the previous section and can apply for repatriation counseling at an early stage.

In essence, the individuals interviewed from the target group have a tendency to be content to have avoided unpredictability and uncertainty. They agree that the certainty of the decision to leave Switzerland provides a clear framework to shape their lives after release from prison, to make decisions and anticipate potential outcomes, even if they feel that this decision will trigger a negative process against them. However, the impending reality of deportation to Türkiye, a country they do not know well enough, a country they are "strangers" to, even though citizenship ties bind them, can negatively affect their capacity to re-socialize and lead to "reluctance," especially when coupled with their perception that they are not prepared for this transition. This reluctance may be partly because the deportation decision, which is a consequence of the legal situation after 2016, has also harmed people's daily lives in prison. Hearing the voices of those affected by this decision and knowing how this decision is seen and perceived from their perspective can provide a more holistic view of people's resocialization.

### **5.7.1 Reflection on the Deportation Decision**

Through the lenses of people's practice, perception and **their social embeddedness**, we see how people perceive the decision to deport and how they are affected by its consequences. The following section presents participants' perceptions and interpretations of the deportation decision, where the legal framework, practices in prisons and personal experiences of prisoners intersect.

All of the prisoners interviewed criticize the current deportation decision and its impact on their current situation in prison. They point to the marked differences in treatment between Swiss citizens and foreigners in the prison system and how this affects their access to programs that facilitate reintegration into society and opportunities for the granting of parole.

Participants observe significant differences in treatment between themselves and Swiss citizens. This inequality significantly affects opportunities for resocialization, which Veli describes as feeling “punished three times”: “First punishment. I received the same punishment as everyone else, the same for me as for the Swiss, say five years. (Second) I was deported. And I cannot benefit from any of the “Lockerungen” (gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence) in prison. So we are punished three times” (Veli, Pos. 1).

Similarly, in his testimony, Musa explains the practical repercussions of the deportation decision through an example, reflecting his perceived sense of injustice and frustration. “Because here, for example, now the Swiss do this, you know, the Swiss prisoner is more certain to go from here. After serving two-thirds of his sentence, he goes to open prison for one-third. From there, they can benefit from other re-socialization opportunities in the penal system. This is not how the system works for foreign prisoners. It is “Double Strafe,” double punishment” (Musa, Pos. 1). It can be inferred from these statements that Musa feels isolated and possibly discriminated against within the penitentiary system because he is not a Swiss citizen. This feeling can potentially negatively affect people’s perspectives on post-release reintegration into society.

In their narratives, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly, they criticize the penal execution system's approach to them. The researcher, who has compiled some of these criticisms below, tries to convey them as they are, trying to preserve the integrity of meaning without changing the statements of those affected. In this way, the perceptions of those affected are expected to be understood more emphatically.

“You know, in order to become a solid member of society again, you need to get out of this prison environment and do something outside, at least with two policemen with you. I mean, for two and a half years, we have only been seeing life outside through this little window, and this is even worse. In Germany, at least before, the bus had a window like this so we could look outside. Here, they put you in a dog cage, in the car, in the back. That is how they take you outside. From here to another prison, to prison. To the court. Directly from the court to there. So for us outside, it is more difficult for foreigners. For those here, at least they have the opportunity to go to – (permission to leave the prison for a temporary time)” (Ali, Pos. 2).

“So for others, at least they can get this Urlaub – the granting of release on temporary license this and that. Yes. Of course, it’s problematic. When I say problem, that is the main thing. I mean, you don’t give the man the opportunity to breathe here (Ali, Pos. 2). “The state should treat us in a race-neutral way according to the law. Justice should not be a custom. There should be a raceless justice (Musa, Pos. 1). Socializing with too many people is unnecessary. Open prison or Urlaub a – (permission to leave the prison temporarily), you don’t go out for a day like this, you don’t see your children, you don’t see your family. It is very, very difficult unless you are Swiss. You will be abroad anyway. There is no such very important reason for your socialization here. This is the worst thing I have seen in this prison. They don’t put much effort into socialization. They don’t want to give an effort. Has a Swiss automatically served one-third of his sentence? If he hasn’t committed a particularly serious offense, he will get opportunities. One third. It starts after one third. . Let’s say he gets six years. Towards the end of the second year he starts going to Urlaub. Once or twice a month if he hasn’t done anything. He goes to an open prison if you have not done anything. He continues his normal life there. Then External work out of prison (Arbeitsexternat- the authorization of day release employment) in the form of working outside. However, for foreigners, these are very, very rare things. This is the biggest

problem. Everyone has this problem here too” (Veli, Pos. 1). “So re-socialization works differently for them; it works differently for us” (Veli, Pos. 11).

“If I made a mistake, I corrected it. I corrected it by working for the state. I thought about these things. Why can a state and a person be so bad? (...) I know these laws, but I didn’t know it was like this. (referring here to the municipality where he lived before prison) I’ll tell you, it’s like this in XXX. If you did it anywhere else, I would have been out already. I mean, I would not be inside right now” (Hasan, Pos. 1).

The fact that they will leave Switzerland after serving their sentences, and that their social ties and networks will remain in Switzerland, raises concerns about their reintegration in Türkiye. For example, they feel that the lack of transnational resocialization opportunities hinders their social embeddedness both in the prison community as they prepare for release and in the post-release community as they prepare for reintegration. When they return to Türkiye, they face difficulties in re-establishing social ties or building new ones. Without a solid social network, they remain isolated, making it difficult for them to integrate into Turkish society. These challenges are detailed in the Study’s Challenges in Türkiye section. This lack of embeddedness can be particularly challenging for Sağlam who have spent significant time away from Türkiye.

Another significant impact of this decision is on access to the granting of parole opportunities. Regarding the fact that in some Cantons foreigners who have to leave Switzerland after their sentence are automatically released after 2/3 of their sentence, the participants express their inability to benefit from post-prison support mechanisms in the context of resocialization and their expectation of transnational social support (Veli, Pos. 1).

**Table 7** Description of the Participants according to their Life Span in Switzerland (Ratio)

Evaluation Criteria	Ali	Veli	Hasan	Musa	Ekrem	Saglam
Ratio (Length of stay in Switzerland in years / His Age)	0.03	0.46	0.36	0.28	0.43	1

Note: To protect the participants' anonymity and make a more meaningful statistical comparison, the researcher calculated a ratio number for each participant by proportioning his years in Switzerland to his age.

As seen in Table 7 above, the critical point of view toward the deportation penalty seems to be a common characteristic of all inmates. In fact, as in the case of Veli and Ekrem, this critical point of view directly correlates with the duration of the individual’s life in Switzerland. In other words, the longer the prisoner has lived in Switzerland, the more his/her critical attitude towards the punishment tends to increase. The only exception can be seen in the case of Sağlam, who, unlike the other individuals, was born in Switzerland and, therefore, has a high ratio. Although Sağlam is also critical of the deportation decision, he stays in an open prison and benefits from prison initiatives, so he is not as critical as Veli and Ekrem.

To better understand the participants' emotional distress during their resocialization experiences, the following section examines the personality traits of the current interviewees, building on the typology used by Achermann (2009) but going outside the framework of those typologies.

## 5.7.2 Characteristics of Prisoners

Based on Ackherman's (2009) character titles (Optimist: Benefactor, Critic: Autonomy, Pessimist: Suffering, Indifferent: Wait and see, benefiting equals), the Study realized that the character content he identified, while meaningful, did not correspond precisely to the character typologies of the people participating in the present Study. It became clear that each participant deserved a separate character study. Therefore, the Study reinterpreted the titles and contents describing character typologies to discover the current participants' character typologies and identify each individual has typology. In this way, the study can also understand whether there are significant differences between the typologies of individuals. The typology of individuals summarizes the individual's attitudes in the context of resocialization. It relates them to their goals after release, their self-image, their relations with the outside world, their spatial and temporal orientation, their evaluation of the tools available for resocialization, and their expectations from them.

**Table 8** *Characteristics of Prisoners*

Name	Ratio	Marital Status	Childbearing status	Employment status before imprisonment
Ali	0.03	Single	-	Worked in Temporary Jobs
Veli	0.46	Divorced, has a female partner	He has two children	Kiosk was operating
Hasan	0.36	Divorced	He has a child	Gastronomy
Musa	0.28	Single	-	No work permit
Ekrem	0.43	Divorced, has a female partner	He has two children	Warehouse / Warehouse clerk
Saglam	1	Single	-	Metalworks

*Ali*

Ali has characteristics can be categorized as “**optimistic: beneficiary**” type. He has German language proficiency, especially as he was born in Germany and spent his childhood and youth in Germany. Thus, he can actively participate in the prison system's vocational, educational, social, artistic, sports, and religious activities. He was even proactive in engaging with the prison administration, asking them to arrange for “volunteer visitors” so that visiting hours would not be empty so that he could have a visitor during visiting hours and not feel psychologically alone. This characterizes people who see this as a chance for a fresh start. They know their mistakes and strive for an independent life without committing further crimes. They expect the prison system to support and empower them in this endeavor. Interviewee Ali shows insight into his actions and talks about plans for the future, although they have not yet fully materialized. He shows interest in using the resources available in prison to improve his situation, such as learning skills and participating in various activities. This indicates a positive attitude and a desire to improve, typical of the “optimistic” type. Ali also talks about being separated from his family and the difficulties this brings. However, he seems to accept these difficulties as part of the

process and is optimistic about a better future. This attitude reflects the characteristics of the ‘optimistic’ type, which focuses on actively shaping daily life in prison and maintains a fundamentally positive attitude despite the difficulties. In general, despite being critical of the current deportation sentence and the inability to benefit from the gradual relaxation of the execution of the punishment of prison as a result of the sentence, the interviewee Ali displays an optimistic and forward-looking attitude, which leads him to be categorized as an “optimistic: benefit” type.

#### *Veli*

Veli’s point of view and expressions show that she falls into the **“Critical: Autonomy”** category in many ways. The Veli expresses open criticism of the prison system. He speaks about the difficulties and injustices he experiences as a foreign prisoner, in particular in terms of opportunities for resocialization and differences in treatment between Swiss and foreign prisoners. He stresses that the penitentiary system is not adapted to the resocialization needs of foreign prisoners and that people like him need individualized programs to prepare for release. Even if the correctional system is not fully adapted to his needs, Veli seems to accept that he must actively work on his resocialization.

Demonstrates a deep awareness of the need for resocialization but appears frustrated by the limited options and resources available to him/her. Demonstrates a high degree of personal responsibility and independence. Despite perceived injustices, he/she actively seeks ways to improve his/her situation and plans to use his/her legal options. The inmate thinks critically about the system and his/her situation. He is aware of the problems in the prison system and expresses himself reflectively and consciously. Despite his critical attitude towards the system, he shows an awareness of his future and the need to prepare for life after release. Veli does not seem to have communication problems as he is proficient in German, so he can effectively communicate his concerns and views. Her reaction to the penal system shows both adaptation and resistance. He adapts by following the rules but also resists by being critical and defending his rights.

#### *Hasan*

Hasan’s situation is related to the type **“Optimistic: Beneficiary”** type, taking into account the additional nuances in the wording, the researcher explains how Hasan fits this type as follows. Hasan’s reflection on his past and his active participation in rehabilitation efforts, such as learning the language and continuing regular work in prison, shows a strong fit with the “Optimistic” type. He is aware of his past mistakes and is focused on personal development and rehabilitation. This is evident in her testimony about maintaining contact with her child and her efforts to prepare for life after release. Despite the significant challenges of deportation and separation from his child, Hasan continues to have a positive outlook on his future. Expressing a sense of hope and optimism characteristic of the “optimistic” type, he sees the prison experience as a chance for personal growth and a new beginning. Hasan attaches great importance to his relationship with his child and his social connections inside and outside the prison. His focus on preserving and strengthening family ties indicates someone who values personal relationships as a cornerstone for a better future and aligns with the “Optimistic” approach. Hasan shows resilience and adaptability, key characteristics of the “Optimistic” type. Despite the limitations of the prison he is in, he demonstrates a remarkable ability to adapt to the circumstances and make the most of the opportunities offered, such as vocational training, education, and leisure activities. His statements reveal a proactive approach to planning for the future. He talks about his abilities, his efforts to improve his situation while in prison, and his post-release plans, even if he is deported. In order to realize these plans, he says that he will need the support of his brothers and sisters in Türkiye and is trying to shape this support by communicating with them. Unfortunately, he hopes to be able to use more

communication channels for these meetings. This farsighted mindset aligns with the “Optimistic” type, which focuses on using the prison experience as an opportunity for growth and development. Although he is implicitly critical of his current deportation sentence and his inability to benefit from the gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence as a result of his sentence, ultimately, Hasan’s self-awareness, focus on rehabilitation, optimistic outlook despite the challenges, strong family ties, resilience, and proactive future planning strongly align him with the “Optimistic: benefit” category. He seems to see his incarceration not only as a punishment but an opportunity for personal growth and a stepping stone to a better future.

#### *Musa*

Based on his experiences and testimonies, Musa most closely fits into the category of “**Critical: Autonomy**” category. He emphasizes that he is sorry for the crimes he committed in Switzerland, that he is aware of his mistakes, but that the difficulties he experienced in the asylum system in Switzerland also affected him negatively. He builds a critical personality by saying that the decision to deport him is an injustice because as a Kurd he will be subjected to even greater discrimination if he is sent to Türkiye. This analysis is based on the difficulties he identifies in the asylum process due to external factors such as not having a work permit, not being offered adequate integration opportunities, and internal factors such as being introduced to a criminal environment, drug addiction, etc., and how his experiences and perceptions categorize him as “Critical: Autonomy”.

#### *Ekrem*

Based on Ekrem’s detailed statements in the interview transcript, it is seen that “**Critical: Autonomy**” based on his detailed statements in the interview transcript. Ekrem shows a strong sense of self-responsibility and independence. He talks about his plans to start his own business after his release in Türkiye and how he tried to develop and prepare himself in prison. This attitude fits the characteristics of the ‘autonomy’ type, which emphasizes individual autonomy. Ekrem expresses his concerns about the support and opportunities available in the prison system. He talks about how he uses his time to develop himself, but also shows skepticism about whether current prison activities will employ his release. This reflects the typical attitude of the ‘critic’ who looks critically at the penal system and actively seeks ways to improve their situation. Unlike the optimistic or apathetic types, Ekrem seems to have realistic and concrete plans for his future. He talks about the challenges that await him and his plans to start a new life in Türkiye, which indicates a reflective and proactive attitude. Ekrem has no obvious communication difficulties in German. He talks openly about his experiences and plans with his social worker and psychologist, which shows that he can communicate well and express his thoughts clearly. Ekrem takes an active interest in his/her situation and reflects on mistakes and opportunities for improvement.

Overall, his statements show that he adopts a critical and self-responsible attitude towards his situation in prison and his future resocialization. He seems to be aware that he needs to actively work on his situation to be successful after his release and make a realistic assessment of his future.

#### *Saglam*

The final assessment, this time for the participant “Saglam,” was based on the typology’s criteria, such as attitude towards the prison, self-image, behavior in prison, future orientation, and expectations from the prison system. “Solid” is an attitude in line with the “**Optimistic: Beneficiary**” type. He admits his mistakes and sees his incarceration as a stage in his life that he has to overcome. He/she has a sense of

responsibility for his/her actions and a desire to make the most of his/her time in prison for a better future. “Saglam” does not articulate a detailed plan for his post-release life and is aware of being “rejected” by his father, but he shows a general optimism about his prospects and communicates with his uncle rather than his father. Despite these difficulties, he talks about going to Türkiye, the challenges he might face and his aspirations to get a job or possibly continue his education. This mindset towards the future is characteristic of the ‘Optimistic’ type. ‘Solid’ shows a relationship with existing resourcing for resocialization by talking about interactions with a social worker and the Red Cross. This suggests that he expects the prison system to help him resocialize, which is also a characteristic of the ‘Optimistic’ type. His “solid” background and plans to reside in Türkiye after deportation are in line with the definition of the ‘Optimistic’ typology, where the prisoner’s country of origin and future residence are important factors. Saglam, born in Switzerland with this optimistic perspective, finds it difficult to understand the current deportation sentence and criticizes the fact that he will be sent to Türkiye, a country he only knows from vacations and where he feels “alien”.

However, prior to his deportation from Switzerland to Türkiye, Saglam, unlike the other participants, was in open prison and in contact with the outside world as much as possible. This situation facilitates his preparations for the post-prison period. An element of his optimistic typology is that he retains the hope that he will be able to come back to Switzerland after completing his sentence. This reflects a resilient and hopeful outlook towards life after release and is characteristic of the ‘Optimist’ type in the typology of foreign prisoners.

In conclusion, the comparison of the typologies of the six participants proves the heterogeneity of the Turkish inmates in the Swiss penitentiary system, which was emphasized at the beginning of the Study. There is a difference in the typology of Saglam, Veli and Ekrem, who lived in Switzerland for a long time before serving their sentences. Veli and Ekrem exhibit “Critical: Autonomous” while Saglam shows “Optimistic: Beneficiary” characteristic. The main reasons for this can be listed as the fact that Saglam is in an open prison, that he has face-to-face contact with his mother and close relatives, that he plans his life after his release relatively better than the other participants, and that he works outside the prison in Switzerland and earns a higher income than the others. Working in a company outside the prison has the potential to make a difference in terms of preparing for life after release in Türkiye and gaining clarity about employment. Of course, other factors, both personal and environmental, may also play a role in Saglam’s optimism.

One difference in the assessment of resocialization is Hasan’s typology. Hasan exhibits the “Optimistic: Beneficiary” because he has only one child, he is supported by his ex-wife and his child despite his separation from his wife, he does not want to be separated from his child, and therefore he applied for asylum and wants to live with his daughter in Switzerland, and he is supported by his two brothers in Türkiye.



**Table 9** Description of the Participants According to their German Language Level

Evaluation Criteria	Ali	Veli	Hasan	Musa	Ekrem	Saglam
Participant Typology	“Optimistic: Beneficial”	“Critical: Autonomy”	“Optimistic: Beneficial”	“Critical: Autonomy”	“Critical: Autonomy”	“Optimistic: Beneficial”
German Language Proficiency	Excellent – born and raised in Germany.	Good	Intermediate – Good level B1	Medium A2 -B1	Medium B1	Excellent – in German and Swiss German.

Note: The above information is based on the Self-Declaration of the participants.

As shown in Table 9 above, Ali, born in Germany, and Saglam, born in Switzerland, have better knowledge of German and Swiss German than the others. They are also the youngest inmates in terms of age, which may be one reason for their more positive post-release evaluations.

The literature has shown that “Optimistic: benefiting” inmates are better able to cope with the opportunities and disappointments that are often encountered after incarceration (LeBel et al., 2008). Individuals like Ali, Hasan, and Saglam who have a positive mindset before release from prison may be open to change and receptive to situations that facilitate change. Therefore, a forward-looking, optimistic attitude may be a catalyzing factor that facilitates resocialization.

Knowing the typologies that emerge from these personality analyses can be useful for future reforms and research in the field of prisoner resocialization. For example, knowledge of the typologies, taken together with the expert critique of prisoners’ reluctance in the previous chapters, should give an idea of what might be needed to increase people’s motivation in prison and in preparation for release

## 5.8 Chapter Summary

Objective: This article extends the burgeoning literature on offenders’ self-perceptions by exploring prisoners’ self-perceptions. Their perceptions as they prepare to leave prison and return to society. Research on the impact of incarceration on recidivism suggests the need to focus on possible mechanisms at the individual level that may influence prisoners’ perceptions of their lives after release from prison. In particular, the role of prison experiences in offending patterns after prisoners’ release from prison requires attention to perceptions and lived experiences. Experiences of individuals. The data for this study were obtained from semi-structured interviews with 7 men, 6 of whom were in prison in Switzerland. One of them had to leave Switzerland after finishing his sentence and was living in Türkiye at the time of the interview.

The Turkish prisoners who participated in the study are not a homogeneous ‘monolithic’ group but rather complex sub-groups of individuals with many characteristics: individuals who were born in Switzerland (as in the case of the participant Saglam) or who spent their childhood and adolescence can be in the open penitentiary system, whereas individuals who came to Switzerland by any means (refugee application, marriage, etc.) and most of their family members live in Türkiye cannot benefit from the gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence.) and the majority of their family members live in Türkiye cannot benefit from the gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence. This shows a significant difference between the two groups in terms of their experiences of resocialization in the Swiss penitentiary system.

For some of the inmates in the target group (Musa), prison exacerbated many of the significant social and economic disadvantages they experienced before going to prison. In contrast, for others, it was a chance to face the consequences of their crime. All of the individuals in the target group are in prison for a drug-related offense. Therefore, they see prison as a means to distance themselves from the drug-related environment. However, although they have the clarity of knowing the deportation decision against them, they have no information about resettlement and rehabilitation in Türkiye after prison. Despite the clarity of knowing that they will be deported from Switzerland, there is still ambiguity/uncertainty about how they will reintegrate into society in Türkiye. Turkish Inmates who have deportation decisions need encouragement and future perspective. More specifically they need support for ‘resettlement’ in Turkish society and to be introduced to institutions where they can “receive appropriate rehabilitation services”.

The findings suggest that German language proficiency, family support, and having children and a good relationship with their children encourage participation in in-prison resocialization activities and increase optimism about life after prison. This study suggests that correctional policies that facilitate family support, increase contact with the outside world, and provide transnational counseling for return may be important in increasing the willingness to resocialize among participants upon release from prison.

Not being able to benefit from gradual prison access leads to participants feeling discriminated against and “reluctance” to participate in programs such as return counseling prior to release from prison. However, it is thought that this “reluctance” could be reduced if, instead of automatic escape risk assessments, decisions are made based on an analysis of people’s individual circumstances, rather than an automatic risk of escape assessment. In this way, people will have more contact with the outside world and will be able to plan their return to Türkiye more easily and comprehensively. At the same time, they will be protected from the stress and anxiety caused by uncertainty about integration into Turkish society.

In conclusion, understanding these aspects of resocialization efforts provides a valuable framework for analyzing the challenges and opportunities faced by deported Turkish prisoners. This framework not only highlights the importance of institutional support in the reintegration process but also raises questions about the complexities of returning to a homeland that is no longer entirely familiar. This chapter lays the groundwork for answering the questions of how deported Turkish prisoners make the transition from the Swiss penitentiary system to the process of reintegration into Turkish society and what challenges they face in Türkiye, using the lens of the goal of human resocialization.

## **6 CHALLENGES AND COPING STRATEGIES OF TURKISH PRISONERS’ FAMILIES**

“...you have to look at the whole problem from a broader perspective. So it is not only the men who are deported but this grief and the fact that it affects the whole family of acquaintances. (...) Swiss society suffers from such fates, which are not properly accompanied or re-socialized on a larger scale than the deportees themselves in Türkiye. It always has an impact on people living in Switzerland. (Expert – 1, Pos. 35)

This section of the paper presents an analysis of how the family members of Turkish prisoners are coping with the consequences of the judicial deportation of the prisoner. In doing so, the researcher refers to Condry and Minson's (2021) article discussing the effects of the incarceration of relatives on families and applies their proposed concept of 'symbiotic harms' to the analysis of the lived experiences of family

members of Turkish prisoners facing judicial deportation. Condry and Minson "define negative effects that flow through the interdependencies of intimate associations such as kin relationships. The characteristics of these harms can be more fully described by a term encompassing their relational, mutual, non-linear, agentic, and heterogeneous properties." (p. 548). When a person commits an offense and is punished, this affects the offender and his/her family. This negative impact on the family results from the offender's punishment, even though this is not a direct purpose of the punishment (p.552). Similarly, as Maruna (2016: 100) emphasized, it is impossible to isolate punishment as practiced in most societies to a single individual when we are all interconnected in families (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2013), communities (Clear, 2009), and societies (Patillo et al., 2004).

In this context, the researcher analyses the symbiotic harms that judicial deportation decisions of prisoners create on families. The research helps to understand the wider impact of these decisions by detailing how these harms are reciprocal, relational, and heterogeneous and how family members cope with them, facing both the individual and social consequences of the prisoner's deportation.

According to the findings of the interviews, "... the family is very seriously affected. The family is the most affected. It is a big thing for people to be abroad rather than serving a sentence here. Especially those who have been here for many years. This is the biggest punishment. This is the biggest punishment. I mean, people do not think that I will serve one more year here. They do not discuss that; they talk about what I will do after I get out and what problems I will have" (Veli, Pos. 12).

## **6.1 Relational**

Individuals in the participants' nuclear family (mother, father, spouse/partner, child) experience broader harm resulting from the judicial deportation decision. Regarding the relational perspective, Smart (2007) argues that family relationships are intertwined and embedded "on a material, emotional and metaphorical level" (p. 45). This is because the relationship does not simply end when the deportee leaves Switzerland.

How will the family situation be assessed when a deportation order is issued? After the sentence, it is necessary to assess the status of the residence permit of the convicted person and his or her dependent family members. If the convicted person's spouse and children depend on a residence permit and the convicted person is deported, this may affect their right to stay in Switzerland. However, if family members have been living in Switzerland for a long time and are well-integrated, they can obtain an independent residence permit. The cantonal immigration authorities manage the decision-making process and can have different consequences depending on their situation (Expert - 10, Pos. 36-40).

In the initial situation, "...I think this is the main question. Will the whole family be deported or only the convicted person? Furthermore, or yes, only one person or the whole family has to leave? Moreover, if only one person has to go, what will the rest of the family decide? Will they stay, or will they decide to join the other person? I think it is a tough situation that creates a lot of pressure. (...) Either you have to leave or decide, do I join that person or not? We already know that prison sentences are a big test for a relationship. (.) So, in any case, the relationship may not continue during that period. (...) Yes, but then if he adds the situation that I have to leave because you did something wrong, [01:04:02] I think that equals and our children have to leave because you did something wrong, right? So that could be quite complicated. (.....) Yes, then there could be situations like in Arada, hoping that you can come back. Five years we have to survive for five years, and then I will try to go back. (.) Is it possible or not, I think that is the question" (Expert - 2, Pos. 61-64).

Summarising the enormous pressure that deportation decisions put on family members, Expert-2 raises the question of whether the deportation process affects the whole family and not only the prisoner. The decision presents a problematic situation in which the rest of the family must decide what to do, whether the rest must leave the country with the prisoner or only the prisoner must leave. This poses a significant test on relationships and raises the question of whether it is fair that family members, including children, are faced with the necessity to leave because of the prisoner's actions. There is also the question of whether the prisoner can live in the hope that he or she will be able to return to the family after a certain time. This is a starting point that further complicates family decision-making, the possibility of continuing relationships and the difficulties faced by family members.

"...is that you must look at the whole problem from a broader perspective. So it is not just the men who are deported, but this grief and the fact that it affects the whole family of acquaintances. Duran's family, for example, is still in great pain. (...) Everyone is suffering. The Swiss woman who has Duran's son and does not know how to deal with him also suffers. (...) [01:04:14] Duran continues sending money. So he suffers. Swiss society suffers from such fates, which are not properly accompanied or re-socialised on a larger scale than the deportees themselves in Türkiye. It always has an impact on people living in Switzerland. (Expert - 1, Pos. 35).

As Expert 1 explains, family relationships are affected by the deportation decision not only economically, but also socially and emotionally. He also points out how the deportation affects not only Duran but also his wife, his child, their social environment, and even Switzerland. The difficulties experienced by Duran's family are not only economic losses or physical separation but also emotional and psychological devastation. Moreover, the situation of Duran's Swiss female partner, who maintains a relationship with his son, points to the complex personal and social dynamics created by deportation. This shows how relationships between people from different cultural and social backgrounds become entrenched in society after the deportation decision and do not only affect the nuclear family. In parallel, the impact of deportations on Swiss society should not be underestimated. In cases where Swiss society does not support the reintegration of deported individuals in Türkiye, as in the case of Duran, the liminal situation Duran lives in Türkiye affects his partner in Switzerland economically, socially, and emotionally, but also has the potential to affect the psychological and personality development of his child. It would be ambitious to say that these difficulties experienced by Duran's nuclear family in Switzerland will not lead to the destruction of the social fabric in Switzerland. Therefore, if deportees are not reintegrated or adequately supported in Türkiye, the difficulties mentioned above and harms may become even more pronounced.

In parallel, the experience of Hasan's daughter can help understand the adaptation process of individuals and families in difficult situations. When her daughter first came to the detention center to see Hasan, her child's psychological state deteriorated, but when she was transferred to a closed prison and visited her father again, she adapted to the situation, and her psychological state partially improved. Hasan said that his daughter received psychological support after this first visit and that his ex-wife moved to another canton of Switzerland with his daughter at the same time, which affected his child's psychology, that she became more isolated, more attached to her father in prison and even wanted to leave her mother's side and live with her father if he remained in Switzerland after the end of his prison sentence (Hasan, P. 17). Hasan's daughter's story illustrates the emotional difficulties experienced by family members, especially children, following a decision to deport a man, and helps us to understand the multidimensional and lasting impact of deportation decisions on family structures.

Another example of how relationships do not simply end when the deportee leaves Switzerland is when Mustafa goes to visit his child in Switzerland for the first time in years after the deportation decision,

even though he has not seen his child for years, as he realizes in the film, "Just a son" (implying that although he cannot see him, he has a biological father with whom he is related by blood and that his longing and love is rekindled when he sees him, even though he was not there during his development), which is an indication that despite geographical distance and separation, relationships do not or cannot simply end. Although the researcher did not have the opportunity to interview Mustafa's son, the literature suggests that the emotional impact on a child growing up without a father can last a lifetime (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2014).

"as he says in the film, he took off his rucksack. He doesn't want to fight anymore; he wants to run free now. However, that also means that you suppress too much. You have an adult son, a past in Switzerland, and feelings about your home, all repressed. You say you are here now, but that makes a lot of things easier. You accept being here now, but you repress the trauma. You realize too late that the trauma will come back. (...) Three months ago she was in Switzerland for the first time with her son. It was very important for her to go back and see all these places again and have the opportunity to travel between these two inner worlds again" (Expert-1, Pos. 15).

## 6.2 Mutual

Fundamentally, the relationship between individuals with deportation orders and their families is based on mutual interaction: the individual's experiences affect the family, and the family's experiences affect the individual, and this is a continuous process of negotiation (Condry & Minson, 2021: p. 549). Veli's narratives overlap with this 'reciprocal' situation.

"...I have a workplace. I have many employees. My sister, my wife are trying to run it. . But they have much trouble. They cannot be like me" (Parent, Pos. 4). "Apart from that, I try to do something about my own business, such as receiving papers, etc. I try to help (he helps his wife and sister because he follows the work related to the Kiosk outside with her at the moment). When these phone calls get longer, I call my customers, I have contact with them. So I don't have much going on in these matters" (Pos. 12).

Veli's partner and sister continue to run the kiosk in his absence because it is the family's source of income. However, it is not easy and these two women, who have no previous experience in running a kiosk, face difficulties in managing the business. As a result, Veli is trying to use his limited phone call privileges in prison to continue his business activities and his family's financial livelihood by placing orders for the kiosk and continuing his legitimate business dealings.

## 6.3 Non-linear

Symbiotic harms do not proceed in a one-way, straight line. When a family member is subjected to a deportation order, this affects relatives differently and intensifies depending on the person, time, and place (Condry & Minson, 2021, p. 550). It is possible to see that the damage to the family changes according to time and situation in Duran's relations with his family living in Switzerland. Duran's child establishes a relationship with the 'father' character over the internet and sees his father on a limited visit to Türkiye every year. Duran's wife raises her child with a distant 'father', and the relationship frays daily. The time difference between the two countries symbolizes not only a time difference. It also emphasizes the democratic, social, and legal differences between them. The relationships of families in this situation are too intricate and complex to be managed only over the Internet.

"She gets very upset. Yes. My daughter is distraught, too. Dad, do not go. Why are you going, don't you have anything like staying? I told you, I have to lie. Yes. I am telling my daughter

that it is not certain if you will stay here. It is not certain that I am going. I mean, do not let her get upset until she gets out. I understand. I mean, she is working, she has courses right now, they should not affect them” (Ekrem, Pos. 12).

Ekrem's quote above shows that the emotional intensity experienced by family members, especially children, in the face of their father's decision to leave Switzerland is different from other family members. It appears that symbiotic harm may be of a different intensity in children, in this case, a girl, compared to other family members. This example helps us to understand how the deportation decision against Ekrem had an emotional impact on her daughter and how this impact may differ in a non-linear way depending on the person and her age. Furthermore, the way the daughter coped with Ekrem's punishment, expressing her feelings verbally and in writing (letters), and sometimes sending pictures to her father, is an example of a positive coping strategy and may help to increase the child's resilience.

## 6.4 Agentic

his concept represents an 'agentic' approach where family members are seen as active participants in the deportation process rather than passive victims. In this case, family members actively manage relationships and strategies to minimize harm and cope with the challenges of the process (Comfort, 2008; Shapiro & Schwartz, 2001; Walsh, 1996, p, 265). Issues such as relationship building, vulnerability and resilience, and building resilience are essential in this process (Condry & Minson, 2021, p. 551).

A good example of this concept can be seen in the case of Tolga, whose family members - his mother, father, sister, and ex-girlfriend - formed an important support network following his deportation decision. They undertook tasks such as transferring money to Türkiye to meet Tolga's economic needs, solving his emergency accommodation problem, and providing the necessary moral and medical support for him to stop using drugs. They also actively fulfilled roles such as arranging accommodation with Tolga's relatives in Türkiye and managing relations between him and his relatives. In this way, family members proactively responded to the problems that arose during Tolga's deportation process and effectively built cooperation to minimize harm.

In another example of reintegration, Uzman-10, a lawyer, summarises the active role played by the wife of a deported man in his economic reintegration in his home country: "for example, I am representing a family now, the woman works 100%, the children are looked after by the grandparents, the husband is away and she supports him financially because he is [trying to integrate] in his home country." [00:49:25]: This is also exceptional support for later socialization. [00:49:32]: Yes, absolutely, and also for financial reasons, they decided that he should stay here, not go with them, because he said, I can help you much better if I am in Switzerland and I work 100%; I have education, I did KV, I do not earn badly, I should stay here. Exactly, this is exceptional support. However, as I said, every case is different, and the family does not permanently lose the right of residence. [That is also possible" (Expert - 10, Pos. 40-43). This woman's case shows a situation where she stays in Switzerland to work and provide economic support to her husband for his reintegration.

Again, an essential feature of the "agentic" concept is that some family members are more vulnerable to this harm than others (Condry & Minson, 2021, p. 551). An example of this can be seen in how Ali's elderly parents were affected by the decision and in Ali's strategy to help them cope. "Well, of course, they had a hard time at first. Of course. However, if you do not talk about your problems too much If you tell them that you are always fine, my parents relax. Yes. They can cope more easily in this situation" (Ali, Pos. 2). The men's narratives above show that the deportation process affects some family members differently than others, especially children, partners, and older family members. Children's psychology

can be severely damaged by separation and instability. Partners and elderly family members also appear to be vulnerable due to a lack of emotional and material sources of support.

## 6.5 Heterogeneous

Like Turkish prisoners facing deportation, their families are not homogenous, and recent studies in the literature point to the diversity of families in similar processes (Foster & Hagan, 2015; Murray et al., 2014). One way to understand the differences in these experiences is to distinguish between the factors that influence them and how these factors vary (Condry & Minson, 2021: p. 551).

For example, certain factors may increase or decrease the impact of the deportation punishment on the family, including "family resilience, gender, ethnicity, or outside support" (p. 551). This can be seen in the reaction of Saglam's father. His father does not want his son to come to Türkiye and even "refuses" to do so, as Saglam explains that his father is ashamed of him and, therefore, does not want him to come with him. "Only my father is in Türkiye, but I have no connection with him. He does not want me to come because he wants me to come. To be honest, he says to go wherever you want" (Saglam, Pos. 64).

In this process, Saglam's mother, who lives in Switzerland, plays an active role in solving his problems and shows coping behavior different from that of her husband in Türkiye. As Saglam's mother has knowledge and awareness of the difficulties her son may face in Türkiye after his deportation process, she helps him to cope with the challenges of his reintegration in Türkiye, such as finding family support mechanisms for emergency shelter, finding trusted relatives (cousins) to guide him, which fits both the concept of "Agentic" and "Heterogeneous." Saglam's mother's knowledge and awareness can be traced back to the "clarity" that emerged after 2016 due to the new legal regulation on deportation decisions. Because of this clarity, Saglam's time in prison marks an active reintegration process in which potential difficulties regarding his reintegration in Türkiye are recognized, and his mother seeks solutions.

Not all prisoners' families are the same, and even the status and legal status of the same prisoner's second union and the child of that union can be different. From Ekrem's account of his second wife and her child, it is clear that his partner and child are protected by the Swiss state (Gemeinde) and receive psychiatric support. Ekrem's son lives in a care home, and the state meets all his needs. The local municipality supports the family. His second wife has no residence permit in the country, but the state gave them a chance because they have a child. A two to three-year therapy program has been arranged for the second wife and her child to assess whether the mother can take care of the child. Ekrem is glad that his child will grow up here, under the protection of the state, and that they will not have to return to Türkiye. He thinks they will find better social support in Switzerland (Ekrem, Pos. 14).

"...They are here. They are currently under protection by the state. They have psychiatric treatment by the state. There is a care home for my child, my son. They are staying there. The state provides for all their needs. (And who provides for their livelihood and how?) Gemeinde provides for them. It also provides their livelihood. (...) He will receive therapy for two years and three years. Is she able to be a good mother to the child? So far, everything is fine. It is very good, so at least my child will grow up here for good. Yes. She does not want to come to Türkiye with me. (...) Nevertheless, I can only come here once a year on leave. My sister is here for a month. I stay with my sister. She comes to stay with me and the children. I mean, I can come once a year. There is such a right" (Ekrem, Pos. 14).

Social service specialists help family members' resistance and resilience against the above-mentioned damaging effects. "... as a social worker we try to support and find solutions, you know, sometimes relationships with family members are not always easy in this situation" (Expert 7, Pos. 23). Social workers have an essential role to play in finding solutions and support to the difficulties faced by families

after the deportation decision, as they can provide a supportive and solution-oriented approach, especially in cases where children are involved, where relationships between partners or with former partners are complicated as a result of the offense. In this context, child protection services are critical to inform families about their functioning and role and support their organization. Social workers are also attentive to protecting the rights of parents in prison, in particular, their right to see and have access to their children. (Expert 7, Pos 23).

"We work a lot with detainees, and yes, it is always difficult to fully understand the situation time, so what I appreciate the most is that, for example, the mothers of the partner children keep in touch with me and keep me bit updated about the situation that might be happening. I can try to get the picture of the situation and try to support all family members in the best way, and yes, but it is a complex situation" (Expert - 7, Pos. 40-41).

One role of social workers is to provide information about the deportation process and the difficulties that can be encountered afterward, and by providing information and raising awareness about deportation, they help family members to manage difficulties and develop effective strategies. However, this may not always mean complete problem-solving. "If they have problems, yes, for example, if they have such a problem if the father has been repatriated to Türkiye or to any other country, then they have problems finding a solution for the children, maintaining contact, and everything. Then they can contact our main labor department to do that if they want. That does not happen very often. (Expert - 21, Pos. 24-27).

## **6.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter aimed to explore the nature and depth of the effects of the judicial deportation order on the family members of Turkish prisoners. It examined how families cope with these adverse effects. As a result, judicial deportation orders can have an impact on the primary relationships of Turkish prisoners - spouse/partner, children, parents, family, and social environment. However, this negative impact on the family is not a direct aim of the sentence, 'symbiotic harms' show relational, reciprocal, non-linear, transactional, and heterogeneous characteristics as a result of the offender's punishment (Condry & Minson, 2021, p 548).

Among the families' strategies to cope with the above-mentioned difficulties, access to resources, information and awareness, emotional, social, and economic support by the family, and finally, developing "positive coping strategies" were identified. Access to resources is seen in the form of receiving support from local authorities for Ekrem's wife and child and psychiatric support for his child, information and awareness raising is provided by social workers, and emotional, social and economic support or information sharing by the family (Wallace et al., 2016) is seen in solving the economic and emergency shelter needs of Sağlam and Tolga's family, and finally, positive coping strategies are observed in Ekrem's daughter expressing her feelings through pictures, letters and words.

## **7 REINTEGRATING INTO THE HOMELAND AFTER RELEASE**

In order to fully understand the impact of legal "clarity" about deportation on resocialization, the previous sections analyzed interviews with six inmates in the Swiss penitentiary system. These analyses provided insight into the experiences of resocialization in the Swiss penitentiary system of six inmates who knew they were going to be deported. *This insight covers the prisoner's process before release, including preparation for release from prison, vocational training, behavioral therapies, and post-release planning.* True to the motto "out of sight, out of mind", Switzerland has also done its job at that point. The Swiss authorities no longer influence whether the offender proves himself in his home



country. It should be enough that the released offender can no longer enter Switzerland, at least for a specific time (Baechtold, 2009). The following section shifts the lens to the post-prison period and discusses the process of their reintegration into Turkish society, where they need to be re-socialized.

This chapter thoroughly examines the reintegration processes of individuals who have lived in Switzerland for many years but could not obtain citizenship and had to return to Türkiye after completing their sentences. In particular, the research examines in detail how these individuals adapt to their 'homeland' and the challenges they face in this process. Based on the concept of embeddedness defined by Van Houte and Davids (van Houte & Davids, 2008), the study identifies the main actors in the reintegration process of deported persons in Türkiye and the starting point. It also reveals the multidimensional structure of the reintegration process by examining the various stages of integration and individual practices at these stages through the film "ARADA - Exiled to A Foreign Homeland". Furthermore, it aims to reveal the phenomenon of "settlement identity" with its spatial dimensions by identifying where the 're-entry' of individuals into Turkish society takes place. It presents a detailed analysis of reintegration processes through the concept of embeddedness, which encompasses the economic, social, and psychological dimensions Van Houte and Davids identified. At the end of this chapter, there is a section summarizing the research findings and listing them under headings, which allows the reader to quickly and effectively understand the main conclusions of the research.

*The reintegration of the people in the focus of this study into society in Türkiye is a gradual and comprehensive process.*

This chapter takes a phased and comprehensive approach to reintegrating ex-offenders in Türkiye. First, it covers the release of individuals and the initial settlement phase, which emphasizes meeting basic needs such as housing, employment, and access to social support systems. The second stage involves socio-economic reintegration, addressing job and training opportunities, vocational skills development, and financial stability. The final stage concerns psychological reintegration and includes individuals' sense of psychological security, building solid relationships with family and community, rebuilding social networks, participation in cultural activities, and social cohesion. It is emphasized that each stage of reintegration is critical for the successful reintegration of the individual into society, and the importance of considering economic, social, and psychological dimensions together is emphasized.

The study draws heavily on van Houte and Davids' (van Houte & Davids, 2008) concept of embeddedness to answer the central research question of this chapter, "*How do ex-offenders integrate into Turkish society after being expelled?*". The concept of embeddedness was first introduced in 1985 by Granovetter, who used it mainly in institutional economics to measure trust as part of social networks that are important for the success of institutional transactions (Ruben et al. Granovetter argues that the amount or extent of individual relationships within social networks impacts access to resources such as trust, expectations, norms, and social capital (Stamm, 2006, p. 16). Davids and van Houte (2008:173) refer to this sustainability as the process of mixed embeddedness. Embeddedness is a multidimensional concept that deals with negotiating an individual's position in society and how a sense of belonging and participation in a community emerges (van Houte & Davids 2008:1414). Van Houte and Davids divide this embeddedness into three levels: economic, social, and psychological (mental) dimensions: "[...] the biggest challenges people face when they return are gaining trust and respect from social networks, developing a sense of belonging, and establishing an independent and sustainable livelihood" (van Houte & Davids, 2008:1414). According to van Houte and Davids (2008:1414), these three dimensions are interconnected and influence each other. Therefore, in order to understand the reintegration process in Türkiye, the study uses van Houte and Davids' concept of "Embeddedness", which considers that return

is sustainable when the people at the focus of the study are (re)embedded in society at the economic, social, and psychological levels.

At the outset, it may be helpful to recognize the actors involved in the reintegration process in Türkiye. In this process, it is the people deported to Türkiye who are - should be - the "subjects" of reintegration. The other actors are the family members of the deported people in Türkiye or Switzerland who support them, other people who were similarly deported from Switzerland, and the individuals who make up the society in Türkiye that they are trying to integrate into. First, it is necessary to "hear" the people who are the "subjects" of reintegration in Türkiye and their experiences. For this purpose, we conducted an online interview with Tolga, who was deported to Türkiye from Switzerland. Tolga was born in Istanbul, his family immigrated to Switzerland when he was one year old and he attended kindergarten, primary school, high school, vocational school, and further education. He is a person who was accused of a crime he allegedly committed and because he could not prove his innocence, he was introduced to the Swiss penitentiary system, then he was sentenced to four years of imprisonment and after serving three years of this sentence in prison, he had to leave Switzerland and settled in Türkiye.

It is also possible to find some details about Tolga's social environment before he entered the penal system in his own words. "I already come from X (he says where he lives in Switzerland). X is predominantly foreign population. There are many, many foreigners. Canton XX" (Tolga, Pos. 9), he states that people with a migrant background predominantly inhabit his place of residence. Tolga's statements help us to get an idea about his social environment in Switzerland before his involvement in the penitentiary system. In the following words, he describes how this social environment shaped and led him to crime. "At a young age, I started drugs very early myself. Of course that has an effect. I mean, why I got into these things? I started at the age of thirteen and so on. Of course, the environment also has an effect. I mean, I have other friends from the same village or the same city. They have never been involved in that kind of work. That (referring to the social environment) is one factor. Then the second is that nobody believes in me. I used to say at a younger age. I was going to the doctor. My back hurts, my back hurts, my back hurts. So I finished my (Lehre - vocational education) and my (car mechanic) vocational education. I tried to work after my profession, but I could not. I did business (by opening his own business he means a shop selling weed). It did not work out—my own mistakes. I know. After that, I tried again. Because of my back, I can work anywhere for a month at most. Then my back hurts very badly. I was quitting. My father and my mother both said it would not work like this. I was telling my mom and dad that my back hurt. That is why I cannot work, no, you are lazy, and so on. "*Pressure*" *pressure pressure pressure*. "Pressure from the family". "Pressure from society". "Pressure from my girlfriend at the time." I cannot do this, I cannot do that, a lot, of course, the bills I could not pay accumulated. It went up to eighty thousand francs or something like that. Because of that pressure" (Tolga, Pos. 10).

In addition to the online interview, he is also an ethnographic observer of the documentary film "ARADA - VERBANNT IN EINE FREMDE HEIMAT," which depicts the post-prison life of 3 (three) main characters (Mustafa, Vedat, and Duran) who were sentenced to deportation from Switzerland and took an active role in this film project. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with an expert who had the opportunity to meet face-to-face with many people deported from Switzerland and to learn directly from them about the process that deported people face in Türkiye. The researcher evaluates the interviews with Tolga and the expert and the ethnographic observations from the movie "In Between" to reveal the people's initial situation in Türkiye, their reintegration process, and the salient aspects of this process.

Within the scope of this study, the individual and space are considered as two elements that affect each other and the use of space is considered a factor in re-socialization. Assuming that space is a part of the resocialization process since the individuals who make up the society live in a social environment, one-on-one interviews with the participating individuals and their narratives were examined using the conceptual content analysis technique, and the data obtained were interpreted using MaxQda software. The study argues that space-time can provide a valuable metaphor for interpreting the resocialization process of ex-offenders in Türkiye in conjunction with van Houte and Davids' concept of "Embeddedness". "Space-time regimes organize people according to and through space and time. They can be comprehended through their materiality and technology, people's practices, people's perceptions, and their social embeddedness."

## **7.1 Starting Point**

The process of prisoners' readjustment to social life after release from prison defines "the process of managing the transition from the status of 'incarcerated criminal' to that of 'released ex-offender'" (Travis, 2000: 1). The literature refers to the post-release phase as the second half of resocialization (Maelicke, 2023: 93). Theoretically, upon release, the pre-prison identity of the convicted individual is transformed and the individual is freed from the 'convict' status. The situation is more complicated for the group in the focus of this study. Those who come to Türkiye after completing their sentences from Switzerland are no longer "convicts." However, they do not feel completely "free" at the starting point as they experience being a stranger to Turkish society and not belonging to it.

Based on the data obtained from Expert-1, who has been observing and researching in Türkiye for almost 2 years, there are two basic starting positions of the reintegration process in Türkiye. The first position applies to those who see the period in Swiss prison as an opportunity for re-socialization and rehabilitation in Türkiye. They recognize that they cannot remain in Switzerland and are motivated to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to start a new life in Türkiye. The second position consists of those who are "clear" about leaving Switzerland but lack the motivation to leave prison. However, irrespective of the people's motivation in both starting positions, the reality of life they face in Türkiye is not yet reflected in a Swiss prison. In the current situation, what life will be like after serving a sentence plays almost no role in the resocialization of a person who lives in Türkiye today. The reality of the life of a person who returns to Türkiye is relatively little taken into account in the Swiss penitentiary system. Expert-1 contributes to this issue with his impressions. "I have met a few people who have worked in prisons, who also work in psychological services (...), you have clients in prison who have been deported, and they are there to prepare people, but they have no idea how to prepare people because they do not know (what to tell). However, they are very interested because they want to help people. Still, they have no expertise (on Türkiye), so this (pre-release re-socialization support in prison) is completely missing" (Expert - 1, Pos. 17).

In parallel with the findings of Expert-1, the researcher's face-to-face interviews with experts working in Swiss prisons revealed that the lack of pre-release resocialization support in prison is not due to the unwillingness of the prison staff. On the contrary, experts stated that the existence and capacity of transnational social support mechanisms should be increased. People who do not receive this transnational support find it difficult to integrate into Türkiye. (The next section elaborates on these challenges.) They do not know how the skills and experiences they acquired in Switzerland will affect their lives in Türkiye, and this uncertainty affects them negatively. Expert-1 also emphasizes that these people lack psychological and legal support and, therefore, struggle independently. Resocialization in such situations is not only about adapting to a new environment but also involves overcoming psychological barriers, rebuilding social networks, and ensuring economic stability in an unfamiliar

context. In this context, Expert - 1 was quoted as saying: "The question is how do you integrate after deportation? Of course it is tough because, on the one hand, you think you are back "home," but culturally, it is very different" (Expert - 1, Pos. 15), which draws attention to learning how the reintegration process takes place in Türkiye.

## 7.2 Parallel Lives

Parallel Lives helps to explore the gradual nature of the reintegration process of people deported from Switzerland to Türkiye by looking at their reintegration process in Türkiye through the lenses of space and time regimes. What are the stages of reintegration processes in Türkiye, and how do people experience this gradual process? The ethnographic analysis of the film *Arada* draws on the realities of three different characters' lives to show their reintegration experiences in Türkiye through the **lens of people's practices**. The researcher enriches this ethnographic analysis with the findings of Expert-1. "In the beginning, as a deportee, you feel like you are returning to your roots. This was also the case for Duran in the movie; he had not been to Türkiye for a long time. Duran realized that Türkiye was not as bad as the Kurdish diaspora portrayed it. He thought that he could have fun in Türkiye and wanted to return to his family (in Switzerland), but that he might return soon anyway. This experience can lead you to hope that maybe you will feel free when you go back (to Switzerland)" (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). At this stage, it is worth noting that people whose center of life is Switzerland who were born in Switzerland or who have lived in Switzerland since childhood experience this phase differently from the example chosen by Expert-1, who experience Türkiye not as a return to their roots but as a departure from their roots. Tolga's narrative is a concrete example of this experience. "After this decision came. After that, a great sadness. I will have to "leave" my girlfriend. I will "leave" my family. (...) My siblings, my friends, the environment, the culture Switzerland gave me, and many others. (This) made me very, very sad. It was challenging to accept leaving there (Switzerland) (Pos. 73).

The second stage, **reflected through the lens of People's practices**, "...in this stage, first of all, whoever is fighting. You realize that you cannot go back; you miss Switzerland, and you fight for it. (.....) [00:24:15] With the arrival of social pressure "community pressure" ("Mahalle baskısı" in Turkish) you stagnate, you isolate yourself, you find it difficult to make new acquaintances, you do not want to build anything..." (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). The researcher conceptualizes this stage described by Expert-1, which he calls "the arrival of social pressure," as "community pressure." Community pressure is described with examples in the next section under a heading when describing the difficulties people face in reintegrating into Türkiye. "With Swiss friends, Swiss food, (working) in Swiss call centers, you build **your "parallel world"** with Switzerland. Tolga's narrative also coincides with this stage. "A friend of mine who I was in the same prison in Switzerland is named XXX. I coincidentally met him at the same thing, at the call center. After that, we decided to move to a house. (...) I moved to the same house with my friend from Switzerland. Another person from Switzerland joined us, and it was the same one. Deported. There were three people deported from Switzerland. "We found each other". Nevertheless, this is Switzerland; this proves we could not break away from Switzerland; we found each other again. Exactly, but again, in an "isolated" way, I mean, as Turks, we still do not fit in Türkiye with this mentality. I mean, we are a bit "outsiders" (Tolga, Pos. 86). The concept of a "parallel world" is also concretely understood in Tolga's statements. "...the three of us were finding that Swiss environment, Switzerland again at home. In our own home. We did not go out; we lived in isolation. (...) we moved from home to work, from work to home (...) we moved here a few times, always with the same friends. Then, we became four people from three (Tolga, Pos. 87).

In this second phase, people experience "You idealize your former homeland (Switzerland), you try to go back, you pay money for lawyers, maybe you have to deal with the Swiss bureaucracy all the time

because of the legal fees. It is very tiring; you struggle to return, but it also prevents you from "coming to Türkiye." So Vedat's suitcase is still ready; he never unpacked it. He does not want to get to know Turks (he still feels like a foreigner in Türkiye)" (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). The repatriation process is quite tiring and challenging, which makes it difficult for individuals to adapt to Türkiye. For example, Vedat's situation is typical; his suitcase is packed and unpacked, which shows that he still feels like a foreigner in Türkiye and does not want to meet Turkish society. At this process stage, Vedat has been living in Türkiye for years. He has worked and achieved economic independence, but the call center where he works is a Swiss-based call center; he speaks Swiss German for hours from his home in Istanbul to support customers on the phone, and he spends his summer holidays with his Swiss girlfriend. Although physically in Türkiye, Vedat lives in a parallel world as if he has not left Switzerland.

"The third stage, the stage that Mustafa has been in for a long time, Mustafa went through the first and second stages. He came, yes, and at some point, he realized, okay, this is not a vacation anymore; I am here now. [00:25:22] You are still fighting to go back, but as he says in the movie, he took off his backpack at some point. He does not want to fight anymore; he wants to run free" (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). This also means Mustafa repressed too much of his experiences in Switzerland. "(...) You have an adult son, a past in Switzerland, and repressed feelings about your home. Now you say you are here, and that makes many things easier. (....) Now, you accept being here, but you have to repress the trauma. You realize late that the trauma will come back. Moreover, you cut all the old connections (in Switzerland)." (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). It was not easy for Mustafa to reach this third stage; it took a long time. The beginning of the journey to this stage can be read as a period of struggling to return to Switzerland, then a period of repressing his experiences in Switzerland, and then a period of accepting (that he was living in Türkiye) and reaching the journey's destination. Having passed through these stages, Mustafa "...has been "in Türkiye" for a long time, and is now better off. Nevertheless, somehow, it took a long time (to reach this stage). (...) Three months ago, he was in Switzerland for the first time with his son (in Switzerland). It was essential for her to come back and see all these places again and have the opportunity to travel between these two inner worlds again" (Expert - 1, Pos. 15).

The stages outlined above attempt to make sense of the reintegration process in Türkiye. One of the study's limitations was reaching out to people in Türkiye, and the consent of the people reached to be interviewed. Some people who reached out did not want to be part of this study. Therefore, it would be an ambitious assessment to say that the reintegration process consisted only of the above stages. However, it is essential to provide a framework.

Continuing to look through the lens of "the practices of people," the last example given by Expert-11 shows that a completely different process can be experienced from the three stages above. "I met a man named Mr. X, who is now back in Switzerland. [00:54:03] His survival strategy in Türkiye was to avoid contact with other exiles. He was living in Antalya and realized this was not good for him. In Antalya, he had contact with mostly Swiss, Europeans and Americans. This was good for him. His wife was Swiss and worked in a Swiss community. They could get excellent legal information (...) He (his wife) is also an expert (working in a municipality in Switzerland). This was good for Mr. X, and it worked for him. It does not work for others (...) (Expert - 1, Pos. 25). Tolga's narrative below helps to gain more insight into the reintegration process in Türkiye for people in the same situation that Tolga knows but who did not want to participate in the interview invitation of the study.

"What can I say after I got out of prison? I was lucky that my parents supported me. Even though I stayed with relatives, I was fortunate that they (my parents) supported me (economically). Some people may not be lucky. For them, I mean, there are people I know. It is very difficult, tough. (...) I know some people. Suppose there is no support for that socialization (family support, substance abuse treatment,

and correctional programs) in Türkiye. In that case, it is tough (he says the word by prolonging it. In this way, he emphasizes how difficult the period is) they can experience a difficult period. There are even some who have died. Some are involved in this business. Some want to escape to Europe by illegal means now and then. Some are still trying. They got stuck somewhere (a reference to the liminal state) and fell into those situations because they did not receive support there (family or social environment in Türkiye). Thank God I was not in that situation; I am not. I had support from my family, but some did not. It would be perfect if such an institution (a mechanism) in Türkiye (providing re-socialization support). It can be life-changing for some people. Maybe there is not one; I do not know; I have not researched it, but I think it does not work properly even if there is one. I mean, if there is one. However, it is a critical issue. It would be perfect" (Tolga, Pos. 1).

In line with the findings of McKenzie (2006), Tolga shows that in the reintegration process in Türkiye, correctional programs that focus on behavioral change, including substance abuse treatment and cognitive restructuring, may be more effective than programs that focus on practical changes, such as employment or housing (McKenzie, 2006). He says that the support of his family and relatives helped him overcome the difficulties of finding housing and employment and made his release and initial resettlement easier. However, not everyone receives such support from their families, especially those who do not have access to correctional programs, such as substance abuse treatment and cognitive therapy, which can face severe problems in prison. He says that due to these difficulties, some of them choose illegal paths (such as using drugs again and getting in contact with criminal structures linked to drugs) and even lose their lives. Tolga explains that people in a 'liminal' situation during their stay in Türkiye cannot escape this situation and try to go to Europe illegally. These people, who find themselves in a situation in Türkiye where they do not feel they belong, have difficulties adapting to life in Türkiye. This situation may push some of them to go to Europe illegally. It is understood that an effective local or transnational support system in Türkiye can be "life-changing" for such individuals. Tolga believes existing systems are inadequate or non-existent and points to the need for support mechanisms in Türkiye to include them. Since their inclusion in support mechanisms in Türkiye risks being stigmatized by the Turkish state, the researcher suggests that transnational outreach organized by ISS and SRC and implemented by human rights-respecting partner organizations (NGOs) in Türkiye would be more appropriate.

### **7.3 Location and Residence in Türkiye**

In the previous section, the reintegration of the research focus into Türkiye was discussed as a general process; in this section, the 're-entry' into Turkish society is described. The researcher aims to reveal the spatial dimensions of the 'settlement identity' of some participants' re-entry into Turkish society and the 'first entry' for those born in Switzerland or who had experienced socialization in Swiss society as children.

Understanding the relationship between the concepts of settlement and identity is fundamental to examining the experiences of individuals who have had to leave Switzerland and are trying to integrate into Türkiye. The concept of 'settlement identity', as defined by Feldman (1990), examines the psychological ties that individuals form with different living spaces. In this context, researchers such as Ahrons (2007) have drawn attention to the long-term impact of family dynamics on individuals. For example, Massey (1986) examined the settlement process of Mexican immigrants in the US and emphasized the role of socioeconomic ties in this process. Similarly, Framo (1976) examined the impact of families of origin on individuals' existing family structures and relationships. These studies show that settlement is a physical location and a social and psychological process. In this context, the researcher aims to examine the three spatial stages - Initial Settlement: Settling with Family Members, Shared

apartment, and Getting used to independent living - of individuals leaving Switzerland and experiencing settlement processes in Türkiye through the concept of 'settlement identity'.

Initial Settlement: Settling in with Family Members covers the first stage when people, after leaving Switzerland, meet and start living with their family members in Türkiye. Second, Shared apartment. This heading covers the transitional period when people leave their relatives, start living independently, and look for jobs. The last spatial stage is Getting used to independent living. This heading refers to the process in which individuals who have achieved economic reintegration settle into living spaces that they deem appropriate for themselves in the social reintegration stage and choose according to their preferences and needs.

Research in the literature has generally focused on the neighborhoods where prisoners settle after their release. For example, some studies such as (Clear, 2009; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006; Lynch & Sabol, 2001) have drawn attention to this issue. These studies have provided important information about the residential neighborhoods of ex-prisoners. However, these studies provide less information on which areas ex-prisoners re-enter and how they relate to these areas after their release from prison. This gap is significant for understanding the reintegration processes of persons returning to Türkiye after criminal deportation from Switzerland. This is because they face different social and spatial conditions in Türkiye than in Switzerland, which reshape their living spaces and social relations. The study explores ways of knowing and strategically organizing how individual reentry processes unfold over time and in different spaces in the community of these people in Türkiye. Thus, the researcher emphasizes the importance of paying attention to "space" and "residence" in shaping the desired transnational and local level social support for the reintegration of the individuals in the focus of the study in Türkiye.

### **7.3.1.1 Navigating Initial Accommodation Needs: Family Support for Deported Ex-Offenders**

Individuals returning to Türkiye are supported by their families in Türkiye to meet their temporary emergency shelter needs. Distant or close relatives provide essential support to solve the problem of emergency accommodation in Türkiye. For example, Tolga says, "At first, I was staying with relatives. At that time, the house I was staying in now did not exist. I was staying with relatives, which is not a good thing. Of course, you are with your relatives. Now, they did not have money either. I did not have money either. They do not want to disappoint me, but they still have difficulties. Because it is obvious. I went through that. I stayed with relatives for two months. Then I went to military service. My relatives took care of me for two months. My parents sent as much money as they could. We did not have much money in Switzerland. I had such a difficult situation " (Tolga, Pos. 80).

According to Hasan's testimony, who is currently in prison in Switzerland, he believes his relatives in Türkiye can help him with his residence. However, he also recognizes that relatives struggle with their families and changing circumstances. "..... people inevitably think like this. Either he is going to his hometown. Nevertheless, there is no such thing as his hometown, his brother, who has been here for over twenty years. A few years would be okay. Twenty years have passed. Huh. I was twenty-twenty-four when I arrived. My peers and my friends from back then. None of them will be there when I leave. My family, I had two brothers. It was a brotherhood when I came, but they each have their own family when I return. I cannot go and stay in their house. I cannot. I cannot tell them; help me. I mean, I have to find a way on my own" (Ekrem, Pos. 1). Sağlam's situation is similar; although his father rejected him, he is accepted by his uncle and nephews and plans to settle with them.

Economic support usually comes from family members in Switzerland. According to Tolga, financial support is also provided to relatives who help with residence. In addition, while finding a job, various companies or shops in different professional fields are visited with the support of relatives. These visits can be defined as a kind of 'nepotism', which is called 'Vitamin B' in Switzerland. However, education or vocational training opportunities are usually not on the agenda, as the host family members expect the individual to find a job and become independent as soon as possible. Social contact is almost non-existent except for family members. The main reason for this is the lack of trust that the individual trying to integrate in Türkiye has in people and institutions in Türkiye. The statements of Sağlam, "because I do not trust anyone" (Pos. 58), and Tolga, "...I do not want to integrate into a sick society" (Pos. 115) support this situation. Naturally, the Turkish of these individuals, who were born in Switzerland or have lived there from a very young age, clearly shows that they come from abroad. This can be interpreted as them being more vulnerable and open to economic and psychological abuse by some segments of society.

The role of family and social support is visible in Tolga's narrative. "I was always getting support from my family, in everything" (Pos. 30). After his deportation, he relied heavily on his family. The presence or absence of a support network can significantly influence one's status regarding resocialization. In Tolga's case, his family's support in Türkiye may have provided some solace, but lacking a more expansive, professional support network is seen as a shortcoming.

Most people of Turkish origin who have stayed in Switzerland for a long time and then had to return to Türkiye rarely come from big cities like Istanbul. These people mostly come from provincial regions such as Elbistan, Maraş, Denizli (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). When these individuals arrive in Türkiye after their release from prison, they are usually first welcomed by their relatives such as uncles or cousins and go with them to their villages. They spend a few weeks or months there but realize that job opportunities are limited and living with relatives becomes more complex. This causes tensions between them, so they try to move to big cities where they can find work. This process marks an essential process of adaptation and transition for these individuals returning to Türkiye, both spatially and socially (Pos. 15).

"...they realize that living with their relatives becomes more difficult over time. This situation causes tensions between them..." (Expert-1, Pos. 15). As it can be understood from these statements, the participants who face "community pressure" during the first compulsory residence process experience spatial exclusion and therefore have to change their first place of residence next to their families. In Tolga's case, "compulsory military service" and, in the cases of others, "finding a job in the big city" usually act as catalysts for this change. Those who can achieve some degree of financial stability by finding a temporary or permanent job move on to the second stage in the spatial context in Türkiye.

### **7.3.1.2 "Shared apartment<sup>8</sup>"**

"They mostly go to Istanbul because there are jobs in call centers and because of the language, it is usually the only job where they can get a decent wage because they can speak good Swiss German; otherwise their Turkish is usually not good enough for an office job, it is not the Turkish that is known in society. (...) [00:19:54] And they can speak excellent High German or Swiss German, which helps them to find jobs in call centers like XX (in Switzerland)" (Expert-1, Pos. 15). In big cities, they have a better chance of finding a job, both because of their linguistic skills and their experience in Switzerland.

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<sup>8</sup> "Wohngemeinschaft", everyone gets a room in the apartment and shares bathroom+kitchen+toilet facilities. WGs are actually more expensive than regular apartments, but they are cheaper because the rent is split.



After being unemployed for about four months following his military service, "I found a call center job in Istanbul. After that, I never left the call center until now" (Pos. 80). However, the section on employment below explains in detail what kind of job applications he made before finding this job.

The Swiss experience allows them to find each other in a metropolis of 20 million people like Istanbul. "...here (referring to Istanbul) you meet other people, (other ex-offenders who had to leave Switzerland) (...) then you meet each other and you get together and this is extremely important on the one hand because you have people to talk to, the Turkish state is not there, the Swiss state is not there anymore" (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). Tolga has experienced what Expert-1 describes, and describes it as follows: "... A friend of mine, XXX, who I was in the same prison in Switzerland. I met him at the same thing, at the call center, by chance. After that, we decided to move to a house. (...) I moved to the same house with my friend from Switzerland. Another person from Switzerland joined us, and it was the same one. Deported. There were three people deported from Switzerland. "We found each other". However, this is Switzerland; this is the proof that we could not break away from Switzerland; we found each other again. Exactly, but again, in an "isolated" way; I mean, as Turks, we still do not fit in Türkiye with this mentality. We are a bit "outsiders." (Tolga, Pos. 86).

As a positive aspect of the liminal process, individuals forced to leave Switzerland with a criminal deportation order form a social circle with others in a similar situation. The unity of fate and the desire to find common ground can lead to forming friendships. Friendship relationships that are viewed as people who share the same fate lead to a feeling of trust and distrust. The main reason for forming an environment of trust is that they live on a common ground (Goffman, 2016, p. 69). This new social environment creates shared living spaces. For example, these individuals leave their residences next to their relatives and rent an apartment together, establishing an everyday life. In the process, they start working in jobs that provide temporary income while continuing to look for more permanent and economically advantageous job opportunities. Within this small community, individuals strive to provide each other with both social and economic support. However, this support mechanism is not professionally structured and does not directly target reintegration into Türkiye. Some individuals, such as Duran, seek ways to reunite with their partner and child who remain in Switzerland. Reuniting with their family sometimes takes legal and sometimes illegal routes. This prevents Duran from starting his reintegration in Türkiye.

"...I knew many people. For me, it was an experience in Istanbul, on the Anatolian side, where Mr. X, one of the people on the list, lived, but he lived with Mr. Y and Tolga, two other exiles. Furthermore, they had their own "*community of destiny*" (Expert - 1, Pos. 11), there. So they actually "*built*" what the Swiss or the Turkish state could not. (...) [00:11:24] A place where you can exchange ideas, where you know that the other person understands you. Moreover, they only spoke Swiss German there" (...) because they were out of sight, out of mind, forgotten" (Pos. 11).

They formed their fateful community in Türkiye and bonded with each other by speaking Swiss German. On the other hand, Expert - 1 points out that these individuals who have started to live together are not easy people; they constantly quarrel with each other and, in some cases, completely cut off contact with other people. Such difficulties make it difficult for them to adapt to society and build effective relationships. "On the other hand, these people are problematic because they are not professionals (in the field of reintegration into society), and all of them are vulnerable in this field (having spent many years in a closed prison and then leaving Switzerland and suffering from depression and psychological sensitivity) and often have personality problems, including arguments or separation. [00:20:58] So I have met people who argue all the time and no longer have contact with this or that person; I can say that they are not easy individuals" (Expert-1, Pos. 15). It is understood that this second period of

residence has both the same and different problems for everyone. "You live with each other; everyone has the same and different problems" (Expert-1, Pos. 25). As, in Duran's case, how individuals face problems and find solutions are not the same. "After all, that friend named X married someone in Germany. She went to Germany. Y is somewhere in Antalya. Z is in Germany again. Furthermore, I moved to XXX district in Istanbul (Tolga, Pos. 87).

### **7.3.1.3 Getting used to independent living**

When individuals find a permanent job, they gain economic independence. This means that the reintegration process's economic dimension is complete, creating a general sense of relief. For example, Mustafa settled in a smaller city or town and seemed to have achieved social reintegration after economic reintegration. Others, however, have not yet completed the process of social reintegration. Tolga summarizes this situation by saying, "Society is sick..." (Pos. 115).

Regarding daily life and social interaction within this spatial phase, Tolga found a suitable apartment in Istanbul and started living with his mother from Switzerland. This shows continued family support but also implies a kind of social control by the family. Tolga works in a call center for about 8 hours a day and can work overtime up to 10 hours. This intensive work schedule and the fact that he works for a Swiss company and moves according to the Swiss time zone suggests that Tolga leads a Swiss-oriented life, far from Turkish society in terms of 'space-time regimes.' The fact that Tolga speaks Swiss German even though he is in Türkiye and works from home causes him to have limited interaction with Turkish society and to feel that he lives in Switzerland mentally. Tolga states that he misses his time in Switzerland and supports this with the following statement: "I cannot get used to it, brother. I miss Switzerland" (Tolga, Pos. 118). He maintains this connection by vacationing with his ex-girlfriend from Switzerland during the summer months. This shows that Tolga is not socially integrated into Turkish society and can be interpreted as living in loneliness and isolation (Pos. 118-119).

In terms of social ties and cultural activities within this spatial context, Mustafa's experiences come to the fore. Mustafa lives in a smaller Anatolian town with his wife and children, whom he married in Türkiye. Mustafa is different from the others because he is older, has a child with his ex-wife in Switzerland, and suffers guilt about not having enough contact with his child in Switzerland. Mustafa is more of a Turkish nationalist than the others; he organizes military funerals and wears a military uniform, reflecting his nationalist character. Although he gives the impression of being socially re-integrated when he prepares to go to Switzerland on leave to see his child, he reveals that he has always been waiting for this opportunity; However, he was excited as if he was going to his "homeland," visiting his ex-wife, his children, and Switzerland and then returning to Türkiye, it seems that he was never socially and mentally integrated into Türkiye, even though he thought that he was socially integrated into Türkiye.

## **7.4 Employment and Economic Reintegration**

Their regular employment is the most crucial tool in ensuring ex-offenders reintegrate into society. Especially considering that unemployment is a factor that triggers crime, its importance can be better understood. Since the people in the focus of the study will be integrated into Türkiye, the literature on employment in Türkiye has been examined. Dönmezer (1975, p. 306) found that individuals with low socio-economic status are more prone to commit crimes than individuals with high socio-economic status. Darcan (2015, p. 48) also states that unemployment is one of the most critical factors that lead individuals to commit crimes and that individuals who are prone to commit crimes are mainly among the unemployed. Ex-offenders' inability to be employed after their release increases the possibility of

isolation from society, the gradual weakening of social relations, and the possibility of recidivism (Darcan, 2015, p. 52). In this direction, ignoring the economic factors that push individuals to crime and the continuation of the current situation after the release of the individual causes crime to be prevented. It would not be wrong to say that the high rate of recidivism can prevent the resocialization of the individual to a great extent. In this section, the working lives and experiences of the people who are the research's focus are analyzed to understand their social reintegration processes. For this purpose, a semi-structured interview was conducted with the participants to learn about their experiences of working life in Türkiye after their release from Switzerland.

Once they have served their sentences and regained their freedom, they want to work a suitable job to sustain their lives. In the literature, one of the barriers to finding a job is the rules on disclosing criminal records. However, for people focused on their work, it is out of the question that their criminal record in Switzerland will be known to employers in Türkiye. In practice, the Swiss government is not obliged to disclose and inform the Turkish authorities about the convictions of ex-offenders sent from Switzerland. Therefore, information on crimes committed in Switzerland is not included in Turkish judicial records. Theoretically, the status of an individual as an "ex-offender" does not negatively affect their employment as it is not known to the Turkish labor market (unless they express it and inform the state).

Tolga's opportunity for economic reintegration in Türkiye and other ex-offenders in similar situations is that there is no official record of his time in prison in Switzerland in the Turkish judicial system. However, here they face a different challenge. This is the obligation to do military service. The relevance of the military obligation to finding a job is as follows. If, as in Tolga's case, the ex-offender wants to be exempted from compulsory military service, he can be exempted by providing information about his criminal sentence in Switzerland. Therefore, the individual experiences a tension between being exempted from compulsory military service and experiencing difficulties in economic reintegration. In Tolganin's example, being exempted from compulsory military service is seen as a choice. In order to be exempted from military service, Tolga submitted to the Turkish authorities his criminal record in Switzerland and the expert report on him as "prone to crime."

Although individuals have access to essential resources such as food, clothing and shelter, and social support from close family members, they face several employment challenges in everyday life, as exemplified below. The most prominent challenge in Tolga's narratives is the process of economic reintegration. It is understood that Tolga has difficulties finding a job due to gaps in his CV, his relatively low proficiency in the Turkish language and his lack of experience in working life in Türkiye.

"First of all, we went and asked for a car mechanic. I went to Renault. I went there with my cousin Hakan Abi. Nevertheless, the salary they offered me there was so low that (if I had started working at this car repair shop. The salary they offered me) would not be enough for anything." (Pos. 82). "I was unemployed for four months. It did not work there, either. After all, my parents did not do anything. I did not ask them because I was bored to send money. Send money, send money. I looked for all kinds of jobs. I went to a water supplier; I went to a gas station. With this waist (he says this by emphasizing the problem in his waist). However, there was no work, no work there" (...) "I found the call center job in Istanbul. After that, I have not left the call center until now" (Pos. 80) In Türkiye, I got into economic, that is, financial order. Once you know German, there are always jobs in call centers in Türkiye. Moreover, the salaries are not bad (Pos. 86).

Tolga struggles to find a job that suits his skills and experience. Thanks to his knowledge of the German language, he started working in a call center after about a year, including his military service. Tolga's

difficulties in finding a suitable job ended when he started working in a call center serving Swiss clients. Although family members meant well, they failed to identify what strengths individuals like Tolga have for the labor market. This means that deportees need a professional support mechanism to find a job that matches their skills and experience. Tolga says that he was economically integrated into Türkiye, but he did so without any institutional or official support other than his family. Tolga's information on his economic reintegration includes his own assessment of the "Psychological Expert Report" given to him by an expert psychologist in Switzerland and the fact that he has not been involved in any crime since his release from prison.

"I have no criminal record in Türkiye, no crime. I have no debt. So I've been labelled as something: Tolga is not a social person. Tolga is asocial. I think maybe we will go into those issues further. I think the opposite. I was told "A psychological expert report", that is, I met with a psychologist there (referring to the penitentiary system in Switzerland). The man interviewed me for forty-five minutes. That's all. Forty-five minutes later it was as if he predicted my whole life. Here Tolga said, "One hundred per cent, in five years he will commit another crime. This man will never work". I was given such a "stamp" (...) years have passed and I have no crime, no debt. (...) I have been fully integrated into business life. On my own, I mean, I received no support in Switzerland or Türkiye. "Zero" support." (Tolga, Pos. 1).

Veli has built his career in Switzerland and returning to Türkiye means starting all over again. "But I have been here for twenty years, I have nothing to do with Türkiye. What am I going to do in Türkiye now" (Veli, Pos. 10). He talks about his work and working life in Switzerland and emphasizes the contrast with what awaits him in Türkiye. It is not that easy to adapt there. Yes, it is. Our mentality has changed. Many things have changed. Yes, of course. Our worldview has changed. (Inmate - 2 Parent, Pos. 10)

Ekrem expresses his concerns about financial insecurity after his return to Türkiye. He mentions that he may have around 10,000 Swiss francs as start-up capital, but he is not sure if this will be enough to build a new life in Türkiye. Ekrem talks about financial uncertainties: "The money I can get after I get out of here... I don't have any other income in Türkiye." ("The money I can get after I get out of prison... This is my only income in Türkiye."). This highlights the difficulties they may experience in economic readjustment in Türkiye, in contrast to those who remain in Switzerland and have better access to job opportunities and financial support.

As a result of the analysis, participants indicated that they were able to find a job within approximately one year after their release. However, the above findings, derived from the experiences of different people during this one year, may be valuable for those who want to develop policies on this issue. It seems possible to draw the following conclusion from the above findings. Finding work and achieving economic stability can be a major obstacle, especially without existing local work experience or connections. In the context of the "center of life" of reintegration, the interviewees, even though they are returning to their home country, have adopted Swiss culture during their long years away from their country. The situation is more difficult for those who were born in Switzerland or came to Switzerland as children. This is because they only visit Türkiye as tourists, recognize it as a foreign country and do not feel that they belong to Turkish culture. In this case, they experience reintegration into a "place" (Türkiye) that they perceive as "foreign" for themselves and perceived as "foreign" by Turkish society.

## 7.5 The impact of the "Life Center" owned by individuals on their reintegration experiences in Türkiye

In terms of experiencing reintegration into Türkiye, there is a difference between people whose center of life is Switzerland and those whose center of life in Türkiye.

It has already been mentioned in the previous sections that the Turkish prison population in Swiss prisons is not a homogeneous and 'monolithic' group, but consists of complex subgroups with many characteristics. The most prominent of these differences is between those who were born in Switzerland (such as Sağlam) or spent their childhood and adolescence in Switzerland (such as Tolga) and only see Türkiye during their vacations and define themselves as "tourists" in Türkiye, and those who came to Switzerland through various means (refugee applications, marriage, etc.) and settled in Switzerland. There is also a marked difference between these two different groups in terms of reintegration into Turkish society and rehabilitation. Awareness of this significant difference between the two groups of Turkish prisoners in Swiss prisons is important for the design and implementation of resocialization policies. This issue is discussed again in the policy recommendations section under the subheading of modular online education recommendations.

The difference between the two groups is expressed by Expert-1, who interviewed various individuals from these groups in Türkiye for the purpose of documentation film study: "So the important thing is that it always has a lot to do with how long and how tightly socialized a person is in Switzerland. And there is only a difference of a few years. So I would say that it makes a difference whether a person came to Switzerland at the age of one or six. It makes an even bigger difference whether a person comes to Switzerland at the age of six or 13. You develop the first 80 percent of your character in the first five years" (Expert - 1, Pos. 25). This means that people who settle in Switzerland through marriage or asylum have spent their childhood and youth in Türkiye and as a result know the reality of the socio-cultural structure in Türkiye. "In other words, going back to Türkiye (for those who spent their childhood and youth in Türkiye) is much less problematic. Of course, you have taken a lot from Switzerland, but it (the years spent in Türkiye) makes such a difference that somehow you have grown up in a country that already has a language, culture, and etiquette. And actually, it makes people do more, it makes it easier to go back to Türkiye for a few years. I noticed these differences (between these two groups) in people," (Expert - 1, Pos. 25).

Among Turkish prisoners in Swiss prisons, those who were born in Switzerland or spent their childhood and youth in Switzerland have a Swiss-centered social network, cultural background, human capital and social capital. The other group is still largely connected to Türkiye. Therefore, those whose center of life is Türkiye (Hasan is a partial example of this group due to the support of his older brothers) may be more advantageous in integrating into Turkish society than those whose center of life is Switzerland with the support of their existing human and social capital when they come to Türkiye. On the other hand, the situation for those living in Switzerland (Sağlam and Tolga) is not so bright in terms of reintegration into Turkish society.

"Because I couldn't leave Switzerland, because I learned the value of Switzerland there (in prison), I wish I had known its value before. (...) When I was going to Türkiye, I motivated myself again. I said to myself Tolga, you are going to Türkiye. You are not going to hell, I thought to myself at the time (Burda laughs here, this implies an implicit meaning; at the time I was motivating myself that you are not going to hell, but now I realize that it is not easy to integrate in Türkiye). Somehow you will get back on your feet, there is no problem in Türkiye. Don't trouble yourself. So I motivated myself again. I came to Türkiye. Then the "regrets" continued. Actually, *I am still being punished in Türkiye*, the

*punishment is still not over. This deportation is very bad. (...) I am still being punished in Türkiye* (Tolga, Pos. 74). "Now I am in Istanbul. (...) I work in a call center, but it is connected to Switzerland. Always connected to Switzerland. Either Germany or Switzerland, I couldn't break away from Switzerland. I guess I won't be able to. This is how my life goes on. I don't have any criminal offense in Türkiye, I mean I don't have any crime. I have no debts" (Tolga, Pos. 5)

In the interview with Tolga, when asked what the differences are between people like him who were in Switzerland at a young age and people who came later and were deported, Tolga replied: "There are very, very big differences. (He repeats the word "very" twice with an elongation. This gives the impression that it is used to point out the obvious and significant difference). First of all, those who come later, well, they will never understand Switzerland. I mean, maybe years later, if they stay (in Switzerland) as long as I did, they will be able to understand Switzerland. The difference between us and them is that those people have fewer difficulties here (in Türkiye) after being deported. Moreover, they grew up here. This place, I mean, if I exaggerate, Türkiye is his "neighborhood." Türkiye is not mine. My "neighborhood" is Switzerland. That is the difference. There is also a difference in culture. There is a difference between Turkish culture and Swiss culture. I know both, I know both, but (...) I care much more about Swiss civilization. Very, very much. The difference is huge, the difference in education. It's massive. I did not know that. I did not know that before, that is it. I think that Türkiye or some people (in Türkiye) are so uneducated, should I say passive to the uncultured? Very bad. That is the difference. I mean, that is the difference between those in Türkiye who went to Switzerland later or those who grew up in Switzerland and then were deported" (Tolga, Pos. 112-113).

Tolga's views on the differences between those who went to Switzerland at a young age and those who went later and were deported reveal an essential cultural and social adaptation difference. Tolga speaks emphatically on this issue, saying, "There are very, very big differences," expressing the significant and essential differences. There is a profound difference between those who, like Tolga, grew up in Switzerland at a young age and those who came later and were deported. First, Tolga emphasizes that newcomers cannot fully comprehend Switzerland and that this understanding is only possible after staying there for many years. He also notes differences in the difficulties these groups experience in Türkiye; the later arrivals face fewer difficulties in Türkiye, and Türkiye is a more familiar place. In contrast, for those who went to Switzerland at a young age, Türkiye is perceived as a foreign and unfamiliar place. Tolga, Switzerland, is close and familiar enough to be described as a 'neighborhood,' while Türkiye is a distant and unfamiliar place. Tolga also emphasizes the difference in culture. When describing the difference between Swiss and Turkish cultures, he explains that he cares more about Swiss culture and civilization. He expresses his disappointment with the level of education and cultural awareness of some people in Türkiye. Tolga's statements clearly illustrate the differences between individuals who grew up in Switzerland and were subsequently deported and those who moved to Türkiye or grew up in Switzerland and were deported.

Parallel to Tolga's narrative, Expert-1 emphasizes that the process of socialization and reintegration in Türkiye depends on how long and what kind of socialization process individuals have gone through in Switzerland.

Mustafa's living in a relatively small settlement, his religious-nationalist personality appearance, having marriage and children in Türkiye, and having a living space in Türkiye before going to Switzerland seem to have facilitated his economic and social reintegration into Türkiye. Mustafa is also clearly not affected by "community pressure" due to his cultural adaptation. In the film, the fact that his suitcase is ready when he comes to Switzerland on leave to see his child in Switzerland can be interpreted as Mustafa has not lost his "fatherly" feelings towards his child in Switzerland, that he has social and psychological ties

in Switzerland and that he still hopes to return to Switzerland. This can be interpreted as Mustafa not fully integrated into Türkiye on a psychological (mental) level.

As a result, while those who spent their childhood and youth in Switzerland need basic information on speaking and understanding Turkish, social sensitivities in Türkiye, cultural variables, cultural differences between cities, etc., those who later moved to Switzerland for reasons such as marriage, asylum, etc. may be offered training and support focusing on employment opportunities rather than basic information. Of course, these assessments should be determined with the individuals' participation, based on what they need and designed by the targeted "entry point" for reintegration in Türkiye. The entry point means identifying the city for permanent residence, occupation, whether to continue education and other personal reintegration needs.

## **7.6 Chapter Summary**

### *Spatial Findings of the Study on Reintegration in Türkiye*

Based on the findings, it is possible to interpret the three-stage spatial process experienced by individuals trying to integrate in Türkiye after their release from prison in Switzerland in a way comparable to the concept of 'vertical mobility' of prisoners within the prison. 'Vertical mobility', as outlined by Turner and Peters (2017), refers to the change in mobility and social dynamics of individuals in confined spaces such as prisons. Similarly, the socialization processes experienced by individuals returning to Türkiye can also be considered a form of 'vertical mobility' by having different experiences in different spaces, while being fixed within Turkish society.

In this study, the process of transition from Swiss prison to Turkish society is considered as 'horizontal mobility', but the concept of 'vertical mobility' (changes at different social and spatial levels) is also used for the process of resocialization in Türkiye. For example, these individuals first move in with their families, then move on their own (Together with the release cohort), and finally gain economic and social independence and experience adaptation to a completely different social environment. Each stage represents different social interactions, spatial changes, and personal development. These processes show that individuals move through different social strata within Turkish society and that these mobilities play a vital role in the processes of resocialization and adaptation.

In conclusion, linking the concept of 'vertical mobility' to the experiences of individuals returning from Switzerland and going through different spatial and social stages in Türkiye helps us to better understand the complexity and multidimensionality of this process. This approach also has the potential to delve deeper into the challenges and opportunities that individuals face in these processes. In this way, it is possible to go beyond the traditional 'horizontal mobility' perspective and consider these individuals' social and spatial reintegration processes in a broader framework.

The data of this study shows that in the initial stages of reentry, the tangible financial support provided by the family is essential. However, since these residences are usually in small settlements, over time, the community members in that neighborhood (location) exert "community pressure" on the individual and the individual moves to a new residence and share the new residence with friends who were similarly deported from Switzerland and are trying to integrate in Türkiye.

The experiences of people deported to Türkiye and forced to leave Switzerland in their second residency reflect the situation they face in their social reintegration and identity formation processes. The accounts of Expert - 1 and ex-prisoner Tolga show that these individuals isolate themselves from Turkish society

in big cities like Istanbul. This isolation has led them to come together with people from the same background and form their own "community of destiny" (Expert - 1, Pos. 11). Expert 1's observations and Tolga's personal experiences shed light on how these groups have built an atmosphere of solidarity and understanding that the Swiss and Turkish governments have been unable to provide. This reveals that these ex-offenders living in Istanbul have created a social structure that supports each other by rallying around their cultural and linguistic ties and where Swiss German is widely spoken in these communities. These communities are coping with the challenges of being both 'invisible' and forgotten, supporting each other in the process and developing a sense of belonging.

In the study, an important finding was obtained regarding the social reintegration process of individuals who successfully realized economic reintegration. In the social reintegration phase, these individuals settle in the living spaces they deem appropriate in line with their preferences and needs. This process shows that after gaining economic independence, individuals choose spaces aligned with their personal preferences and lifestyles, deepening social reintegration for Mustafa and isolation for Tolga. This reveals the extent to which individuals' social and spatial preferences are liberated after economic reintegration and how these preferences are reflected in the reintegration processes.

#### *The Starting Position of Reintegration in Türkiye*

In theory, prisoners are expected to assimilate their responsibilities and act accordingly, following the established norms of prison life. However, it is often impossible for prisoners to step outside the daily routines of prison life and make independent decisions. Constantly subject to decisions made by others, prisoners find themselves faced with the challenge of reconstructing their identity and becoming active participants in this new process when they are released. Those in the focus of the study often do not benefit from the gradual relaxation of the execution of the sentence and cannot, therefore, live 'free' lives independently when they return to Türkiye after completing their sentences. As a result, these individuals remain passive and strongly dependent on their families during their reintegration process in Türkiye.

## **8 UNDERSTANDING THE CHALLENGES OF REINTEGRATING EX-PRISONERS INTO TURKISH SOCIETY SUCCESSFULLY**

This chapter documents the challenges faced by those who have had to leave Switzerland after serving their sentence in their reintegration into Turkish society in four dimensions: individual, family, community and state. These dimensions are not strictly separated from each other, sometimes a challenge in one dimension (cultural adaptation) can be a catalyst for another (community pressure - "community pressure"), and there are challenges such as addiction and substance abuse, health, language barrier, etc., which are known to exist and are experienced at every stage of the process. As in the previous chapters, the researcher's effort to emphasize the stages is also present in this chapter. Of course, as mentioned above, some challenges are spread throughout the process, and it may not be possible to attribute them to a single stage. Nevertheless, in listing the challenges, the researcher has mentioned, as far as possible, the first challenges to emerge in the process, such as "going for compulsory military service" and "the urgent need for shelter". For this purpose, the challenges are listed as follows: Compulsory military service, Language barrier, Housing, Difficulty of cultural adaptation - Liminality, community pressure and social isolation, Relations with family, Employment, addiction and substance abuse, Health, Lack of professional and reliable Social Support services.



## 8.1 Military Service Legal and Administrative Issues

After leaving Switzerland, an individual may face some legal and bureaucratic challenges in Türkiye. One of the most important of these is "compulsory military service". This difficulty appears in the very first minutes of the individual's arrival in Türkiye, during the passport control at the airport.

"...they saw me after I entered the plane. After that they let me go, but this time I did not know that in Türkiye. The police in Türkiye picked me up at the airport, from the plane. I mean, I didn't know either; no one said anything. At the airport, I was about to get out of the plane. The staff there, the stewardesses, said to wait. You will be the last one out. I said OK. Then the police came and took me from inside. They handcuffed me again, and then we went to the airport without seeing anyone. I do not have my cell phone. Relatives are waiting outside, but they do not know. They do not know I am not coming. How did he do it? My cousin XXX, my brother, to be more precise. He came and found us at the police station. At the police station, they told me. We will send you to military service because I do not have military service. My cousin's brother XXX took care of it there. After that, they gave me two months. Two months later, I went to military service" (Tolga, Pos. 68-69).

In the interview with Tolga, when Tolga first came to Türkiye after his imprisonment, he was detained even before he left the airport because he had not completed his compulsory military service. However, for people who came to Switzerland after their youth, compulsory military service is a duty they most probably completed in Türkiye during their youth. Even if he did not fulfill this duty, he would not be detained at the airport as Tolga was by making a pre-application<sup>9</sup> to the Turkish Consulates, as he knows or should know that this could be a problem when he comes to Türkiye.

"Then I had a tough situation in the army. I am thirty-one years old, and the guys next to me are nineteen, twenty-year-old kids. The commanders shouted and so on, and I was already going completely against them. I could not get along with anyone there. It was a challenging situation. My Turkish is even worse than it is now. I cannot talk to anyone because they are all young; we do not fit together, our views, our understanding, nothing fits, we completely do not fit. I had a tough time there" (Tolga, Pos. 80).

"They made me work hard in the military, too; they were stubborn, and I was stubborn. They were stubborn, and I was stubborn. Then, that psychologist's report, from the psychologist in Switzerland, worked. "I have a psychologist's report about me. It says in the report that I am asocial, I have a degree of psychopathy, and so on. The commander said, "Then bring that report. I bought it. I put it in front of him; the military officer said okay. We do not need a soldier like you. They finished it. After about six months my military service ended. But I hope they won't use it badly later. Until now, I have not experienced any negativity because of that report I gave to the military" (Tolga, Pos. 71).

Tolga's statements emphasize the adaptation problems and difficulties he experienced during his compulsory military service. The researcher explains Tolga's difficulties with the experience of

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<sup>9</sup> Those who wish to benefit from the postponement abroad for the first time apply to the Turkish Consulates in person with the documents specified in the Regulation on Postponement Procedures Abroad, or in person or by mail for subsequent postponements. <https://www.msb.gov.tr/Askeralma/icerik/yurt-disi-erteleme-islemleri>

compulsory military service with the liminality concept presented at the study's beginning. After living in Switzerland for a long time, Tolga returned to Türkiye and had to participate in military service. This process is an interim period for him; he is only in the second month of his arrival in Türkiye. He is influenced by the culture he acquired in Switzerland. However, military service is an environment in which the views and understanding he acquired in Swiss culture are almost opposed to those he acquired, where a culture of extreme discipline and obedience prevails, and individual identity is ignored. Furthermore, Tolga is considerably older than individuals who usually enlist in the army (18 is the conscription age). The difficulties he experiences during his military service reflect this liminal situation.

The identity and role conflicts Tolga experienced during his military service experience are typical of liminality. His statements such as "I was going opposite to them," "I did not get along with anyone," and "we do not fit with the young people" show the incompatibility between two different social structures and age groups. The psychological report that helped Tolga to leave military service provided a formal description of his incompatibility with his current social role and identity, and ultimately enabled him to leave military service. Tolga's military experience, when considered through the concept of liminality, helps better understand the difficulties individuals experience when transitioning between social structures and the identity transformations in this process (Turner, 1969).

"...many of them also face the fact that when they go to Türkiye or are deported, they are picked up by the state at the airport because of their "compulsory military service." (...) [00:50:44] Or they can pay money and postpone it. Most of them do not have much to do with the state. (...) Duran, for example. He was always afraid of being conscripted and doing 12 months (of) military service and then definitely not being able to see his family. He was also afraid that because of the war in Syria, he would have to fight there as a Kurd" (Expert - 1, Pos. 25).

From the above statements about Duran's experience, the challenge of "compulsory military service" encountered at the very first stage of returning to Türkiye is seen as Duran's fear of being conscripted and having to fight as a Kurd in the war in Syria. This concern can be read as a concrete example of the conflict between personal identity and social role, showing how Duran's Kurdish identity affects his reintegration into Turkish society. This shows the deepening of the liminal situation experienced by the people in the focus of the study, especially those who are Kurdish, in the transition between their social situation in Switzerland and Türkiye.

Drawing on the above examples, the study shows that the liminality of deported individuals in the process of social reintegration is shaped not only by cultural and social factors but also by legal and state-related factors. The study concludes that it is vital to consider the concept of liminality from a broader perspective and to understand the diversity and complexity of individuals' experiences during these transitional periods.

## **8.2 Turkish Language Deficiency Among Ex-Offenders Returning to Türkiye**

The fact that the people at the focus of the study are fluent in one of Switzerland's official languages is a benefit for reintegration in Swiss prisons but a challenge for reintegration into the Turkish community because they are not fluent in Turkish and do not speak it enough for the community to understand. "There is also the language. You can immediately tell whether someone grew up in Switzerland or not. Of course, some people do not speak Turkish; that is one thing that is even more difficult for them. However, even if someone speaks Turkish, you can tell when their ancestors, their parents, came from a village in the Kurdish region of Türkiye. They say yes, this is not the Turkish of a child, or when Duran gets into a taxi at the airport, the taxi driver turns around and says, hey, what are you talking about?"

Which mountain are you from, which language do you speak? So you understand that it is the mountain Turkish of a farmer" (Expert-1, Pos. 19).

The frequent use of German words in the statements of the individuals in the study can be considered a clear indication that these individuals came from outside Türkiye. This situation has remarkable consequences for social interactions. Society asks these individuals about their lives in Switzerland and focuses mainly on their work and earnings. The research shows that when individuals are perceived to be unable to achieve a satisfactory financial situation in the eyes of society, they are labeled as "failures," and this perception leads to "community pressure" over time. This process increases the difficulties individuals of foreign origin face trying to reintegrate into society, especially after their release from prison. These findings show that the reintegration process of deported individuals is not only limited to economic and cultural dimensions but is also shaped by social perceptions and expectations.

Since Expert-1 had the opportunity to meet people from the focus group in Türkiye for a long time, he could listen to their narratives and observe the people in this group himself. He exemplifies the problematic impact of being unable to speak Turkish like the people in Türkiye on their resocialization in Türkiye. "...it makes reintegration difficult. Also, with all the codes of body language, everything you talk about socializing and getting to know women, for example, there is a completely different idea of dating. [00:34:02] (You meet a woman) You get to know each other, and then (you have to keep the relationship serious and by social rules) you have to be formal, or you have to be careful (about the relationship with women), they do not know all this, and they think they know it. Maybe they know it from women of Turkish origin in Switzerland, but that is something else. So many points make re-socialization very difficult" (Expert - 1, Pos. 19). In this quote, both language proficiency and cultural differences are emphasized in order to socialize with the opposite sex, and this is defined as an obstacle to resocialization in Türkiye. The people at the focus of the study do not know that there are specific unwritten rules for socializing with female friends in Türkiye. They may have heard about some of these social rules from their female friends of Turkish or Kurdish origin in Switzerland. However, this knowledge is insufficient for them to regulate their relationships in Türkiye. Since they do not know enough about the social rules for dealing with women in Türkiye, they touch points of tension in social relations. To put it more clearly, they do not know that they have to act within the boundaries set by society in their relations with their female friends. As a result, they both experience difficulties in their relationships with their female friends and face the "community pressure" of their neighborhood.

### **8.3 Housing Challenges: Navigating Accommodation Difficulties**

If I did not have my relatives, who knows? I do not know what would have happened. Where would I have stayed? I have no idea (Tolga, Pos. 93).

Perhaps the most pressing issue prisoners face in Türkiye after their release is housing. All returning prisoners who participated in the research could stay with their families, and those awaiting release plan to stay in contact with their families and receive their support.

Although the immediate housing needs of the ex-prisoners in the focus of the study are met by their families, the literature has shown that prisoners without stable housing are more likely to return to prison (Bryan, 2023; Metraux & Culhane, 2004). Contact with family members in Türkiye should be increased, as their families often meet their immediate housing needs. This also highlights the importance of increasing individuals' contact with the outside world during their incarceration in Switzerland through internet-based free phone calls, SKYPE, and similar online communication channels, thereby nurturing and maintaining family ties in Türkiye.

Participants in the Swiss study who had experienced the reintegration process in Türkiye believe that having a stable place to live is essential for successful reentry. In pre-release interviews, inmates stated that they relied on the support of family and relatives in Türkiye and did not know if there were any support mechanisms.

All returned prisoners lived with family members and close relatives for the first few months after release. About a year after release, they lived in a shared apartment with others who had been criminally deported from Switzerland. Usually, those who found a permanent job and married left this shared apartment. Expert-1 states that when they arrived in Türkiye, they usually went to rural areas where their families lived. However, they had to move to big cities, especially Istanbul, due to a lack of job opportunities and family tensions.

The interview reveals the importance of social networks (family and friends with similar backgrounds) that offer emotional and practical support in reintegration. For the study's target group, friends and family (human and social capital) help with immediate housing needs, but not as systematically as the support that people who did not have to leave Switzerland have in Switzerland. Unfortunately, the institutional reintegration support provided in Switzerland is amateurish in Türkiye, relying on the personal efforts of family members.

Unfortunately, no housing options have been identified for prisoners not staying with family or friends. Without this support, they either turn to drug use and trafficking or try to smuggle themselves to Europe, as Tolga describes below. "I was lucky; I mean, I was fortunate that my parents were supportive; even though I was staying with relatives, I was fortunate that they were also supportive. Some people may not be lucky. For them, I mean, there are people I know. It is tough and challenging. (...) I know some people. (...) There are even people who died. Some people are in this business again. Some want to escape to Europe now and then by illegal means. There are still some who try. His head, his head is stuck somewhere" (Tolga, Pos. 121).

#### **8.4 Cultural adaptability - Liminality**

The situation summarized by the target group presents an interesting paradox. On the one hand, the certainty of the deportation decision provides clarity and reduces the stress factors related to the uncertainty faced by prisoners. On the other hand, the certainty of deportation to a country where the ex-prisoner may have little or no previous life experience brings with it a series of challenges related to re-entry and re-socialization, which are described in this chapter.

"Because, as a problem, people inevitably think like this. Either he is going to his hometown. *‘However, there is no such thing as his hometown.’* Brother, let me tell you, ‘twenty years have passed here’. Brother, it is okay if it is a few years. Twenty years have passed. I was twenty-four years old when I arrived. None of my peers or friends will be there when I leave. My family, I had two brothers. When I came, we were brothers (we only had a relationship as brothers), but when I returned, they had a separate family. I cannot go and stay in their house. I cannot. I cannot tell them, help me. I mean, I have to find a way on my own" (Ekrem, Pos. 1).

Ekrem has been living in Switzerland for twenty years, meaning he has spent most of his life in a different cultural and social context. Being separated from his homeland for such a long time can lead to uprooting and losing his cultural identity. The statement "I have been here for twenty years" shows how settled he has become in Switzerland. Returning to a country that may now seem foreign may be a

great challenge for him. Ekrem knows that he has not seen Türkiye for twenty years and is unsure what awaits him there. The Türkiye he left may have changed significantly, making it difficult for him to adapt to the current social and economic reality. These factors suggest that Ekrem's reintegration into Turkish society will be a complex and potentially difficult process involving emotional and practical challenges.

Resocialization involves adapting to a new social environment and learning the norms and values of that society. However, Veli and Ekrem's long separation from Türkiye and settled life in Switzerland may complicate this process. "So it is not that easy to adapt there. Yes, it is. Our mentality has changed. Many things have changed. Of course. Our world view has changed" (Veli, Pos. 5). "Either you will try to establish an order from it again, or it is a place I do not know at all" (Ekrem, Pos. 1). "Because I do not have a life anywhere else" (Veli, Pos. 12).

The psychology of displacement is a complex and multifaceted issue. Palmary (2018) emphasizes the role of psychology in creating the socio-political conditions of migration, which can be particularly challenging for individuals forced to relocate. Collen (2006) explores the experiential method in psychology that can be applied to understand the psychological impact of being sent to an unwanted place. Finally, Furukawa (1997) highlights the emotional distress experienced by international students during the readjustment process, suggesting that factors such as personality traits, coping styles, and social support can significantly influence mental health in such situations. In parallel, the lack of a reliable and professional social support mechanism in Türkiye is also identified as a challenge in the following section of the study.

Tolga, who was interviewed on the Turkish side of resocialization, identifies herself with Swiss culture, significantly affecting her perception of resocialization. He expresses a strong sense of cultural alienation following his deportation to Türkiye, a country to which he legally belongs but from which he is culturally alienated. "My neighborhood is Switzerland." (My neighborhood is Switzerland.) This statement underlines his deep cultural connection with Switzerland rather than Türkiye. Tolga's struggle for identity is one of the main themes. Since he grew up in Switzerland, he identifies himself more with Swiss culture. When he is deported to Türkiye, to which he is legally bound but culturally distant, this displacement causes him to experience problems of cultural identity and belonging. Tolga's narrative offers an intriguing example of liminality in the context of ex-prisoners deported from Switzerland to Türkiye. In the conceptual framework presented in the first part of the paper, liminality, a term coined by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep and further developed by Victor Turner, helps to make sense of the disorientation and uncertainty experienced during the transition between two different cultural or social situations. Tolga's experience summarizes the feeling of being 'in-between' between two worlds: the structured life within the Swiss prison system and the 'free life' in Türkiye.

The first finding from Tolga's narrative was the deep-rooted experience of cultural displacement he experienced upon leaving Switzerland and the identity crisis he faced in Türkiye. Having spent almost all of his life in Switzerland before experiencing the penal system, Tolga's deportation to Türkiye, a country he hardly identified with, emphasizes the incompatibility between his Swiss cultural identity and the Türkiye in which he was forced to reside. This situation required reflection on the concept of 'liminality' in an anthropological framework. he was no longer a prisoner between two worlds because he had completed his sentence in Switzerland. Nevertheless, since he did not fully belong to Türkiye, he was not a free individual in the complete sense of the word. The fact that Tolga experienced social isolation in Türkiye after his deportation supported the study's findings. Given his limited interaction with Turkish society, he emphasized that he preferred to build his social circle mostly with other deportees from Switzerland. furthermore, his spatial experience of living in a shared apartment with

deportees reflects a broader theme of alienation that deported individuals often experience. This also aligns with the anthropological understanding of "otherness," where individuals are seen as strangers in their "homeland." (Western and Pettit, 2010).

The liminal situation associated with such a significant life change affects the ability to adapt to and relate to the new environment. This disconnect leads to difficulties in understanding and adapting to Turkish society's existing cultural, social, and even linguistic aspects.

## 8.5 Stigmatization

"For example, once I showed the movie in Türkiye, they immediately said, why are you showing it? These are Turks who lived abroad and then they create problems abroad, it is a shame for Türkiye, then they come here, and now they are sad, but they all make money somehow, what should we look at them? So, there is a small quantity of stigmatization of criminals; they all look alike, and this is a slightly different group. In other words, people who say it is difficult to have close relationships with them because they often have to lie. Then they cannot say, yes, I lived in Switzerland, I did not live in Türkiye, I wanted to live in Switzerland, but I had to come back here because I was a criminal. [00:32:42] So, on the one hand, I was a criminal, and I had to, I did not want to go to Türkiye; I had to leave. So it is a bit like being unpatriotic; it is twofold: you are also a source of shame because you are a criminal. In other words, it makes it difficult to get to know or approach people, such as foreigners (Expert - 1, Pos. 19).

Expert -1 vividly depicts, through the lens of "practices of people," the experience of "stigmatization" in Türkiye, which complicates reintegration and is often highlighted in the literature. The above excerpt "shows" the impact of stigmatization on reintegration by pointing out different dimensions of stigmatization that people experience in Türkiye through concrete examples. Firstly, society stigmatizes in the classical sense by referring to the criminal status of these people abroad. In the second dimension, there is an element of national pride and cultural shame intertwined with stigmatization. As the quote suggests, individuals in Turkish society feel ashamed that their citizens are involved in criminal activities abroad. This further increases the stigmatization of individuals in society, making it more difficult for people they perceive as ex-criminals to reintegrate into Turkish society. This is because they are seen not only as criminals who have broken the law but also as people who have damaged Türkiye's reputation abroad. As a result, people in the focus of the study, who are aware of these sensitivities in society, may tend to hide or lie about their past in their relationships, mainly their reasons for leaving Switzerland. This makes it difficult for them to build new relationships or maintain old ones, creating tension between the desire to be honest and the fear of being judged or ostracized. After this example of stigmatization at the individual level, the above quote refers to a new dimension of stigmatization where the theme of "patriotism" is mentioned. People who commit crimes in Switzerland embarrass individuals in Turkish society, and, on top of that, do not want to return to Türkiye but come to Türkiye because they have no other choice, they are also stigmatized for not being "patriotic." Therefore, people have to prove that they are "patriotic" in order to reintegrate. All the above-mentioned dimensions of stigmatization are experienced in society in different forms and severity and turn into social isolation. In addition to the stigmatization that usually occurs in a broader social framework, individuals who constitute the main focus of the research are also subjected to "community pressure" applied by a small segment of society on a more local scale. While stigmatization includes the negative labels and prejudices created about individuals or groups in society, community pressure refers to the pressure on individuals to conform to the norms and values established in their neighborhood or community. The individuals in the study experienced such pressures, especially during the initial and emergency shelter stages, in the presence of their relatives. This pressure manifests as destructive criticism by neighbors

or community members against individuals' behaviors, beliefs, clothing styles, or life choices. This highlights the diversity of social challenges that individuals face in the process of social reintegration and the impact of these challenges on individual identity and freedom. These findings illustrate the complexity of community pressure and stigmatization in the social reintegration processes of deported individuals, which go beyond purely economic or cultural dimensions but are also shaped by societal perceptions and expectations. The following section introduces the challenges related to "community pressure," a social pressure that is more local and felt in everyday life.

## **8.6 Community Pressure**

It is understood that one of the difficulties faced by the focus group in their reintegration into Türkiye is "community pressure." A person who has spent any time in prison is permanently 'outside' the usual social system (Douglas, 1966, p. 121). Especially those who have been separated from Türkiye for a long time, which is easily understood even by the difference in their Turkish at the first encounter, adopt a lifestyle based on Swiss culture rather than Turkish culture, which causes them to experience problems in local communities at the neighborhood level.

"They come to Türkiye, it could be an uncle or a cousin, they pick them up, and they go to the village they came from, they stay there for a few weeks, maybe a few months, they realize that there is no work, gradually they realize that being with their relatives is not so good anymore, there is tension, and then they need to go somewhere where there is work, and that is usually a big city" (Expert -1, Pos. 15). The fact that individuals returning to Türkiye are usually welcomed by a relative - uncle or cousin - and go to the village or city they came from constitutes the initial stage of their reintegration process. Expert-1's statements that "being with relatives is not so good anymore" and "nervousness" provide important clues about how community pressure is felt in daily life.

The curiosity of members of the Turkish community living in small towns and cities towards individuals coming from Switzerland and their past in Switzerland turns into an increasing intrusion into private life over time. This curiosity causes personal questions to increase and become more personalized over time. Individuals returning to Türkiye are forced to give detailed answers as to why they are in Türkiye, and the information obtained can be turned into criticism, advice, and suggestions by relatives and neighbors. The fact that these individuals are culturally different - such as the way they dress, the way they speak, the words they use, and their daily habits - makes such interventions even more pronounced and often has adverse psychological effects. This analysis shows how cultural differences and societal expectations are essential in integrating deported individuals into society. This process involves not only economic or legal aspects but also deep social and psychological dynamics.

The community pressure mentioned in the research, especially by Ekrem, highlights the difficulties individuals face returning to Türkiye in their reintegration process. Ekrem's statements, such as "He went there, did not achieve anything and came back with 'zero'" show that the perception of failure formed within the local community is an essential factor that makes the reintegration process difficult, especially for individuals who return to Türkiye after an extended stay abroad. The fact that these individuals have not been able to accumulate economic savings leads them to be perceived as "unsuccessful" by society, and this perception is further deepened by close neighbors and friends in the neighborhood. In this process, individuals in the neighborhood start to question why the returnees cannot earn money and ask detailed questions such as "What did you do that you cannot earn money?". These questions are almost like an accounting of the years spent abroad and may include assumptions that these people may have committed crimes in Switzerland. Based on this information, social exclusion is shaped by the perception of economic failure and speculation about the activities and behaviors of

individuals abroad. This reveals that the social exclusion processes of deported individuals are closely related not only to economic failure but also to community pressure, social speculations, and assumptions. This analysis highlights how individuals' social and cultural reintegration depends on general standards of success, expectations and judgments in society.

In line with Mary Douglas' (1966: 121) studies on stigmatization, the stigmatization and community pressure that the individuals participating in the research are exposed to at the social level cause them to experience social exclusion. One of the most concrete indicators of this exclusion is their change of residence. This was observed as spatial changes in their first settlements in Türkiye. As Tolga stated in his testimony, it is understood that this spatial change took place due to "community pressure." This situation reveals the difficulties of individuals in the process of social acceptance and reintegration. It emphasizes that social exclusion is not limited to economic or cultural factors but is also shaped by social norms and expectations. In this context, it demonstrates the complexity of the concept of "community pressure" in the reintegration process of deported individuals. This process goes beyond material or legal dimensions and includes social and psychological dynamics. This analysis makes clear how the social and cultural reintegration of individuals is influenced by the degree to which they conform to the general standards of success and expectations in society.

## **8.7 Findings**

### **8.7.1 Social Isolation and the Study's Findings on Relations with Society**

According to De Haas (2005), the reintegration potential of forced returnees depends on the political, economic, and exceptionally social aspects of the environment to which they return (2005:1281). This framework analyzed the experiences of the participants who returned to Türkiye after leaving Switzerland. The study revealed that although the participants achieved economic reintegration in Türkiye, which they considered their homeland, they could not complete social, cultural, and cognitive reintegration. The participants expressed feeling alienated and excluded and defined this situation with the terms "Thrownness" or "Thrown."

Mustafa's experiences are notable in terms of social ties and cultural activities. Unlike the other participants, Mustafa lives with his family in Türkiye. Mustafa, who exhibits a nationalist identity, experiences feelings of guilt for not being able to establish an adequate relationship with his child in Switzerland, indicating a sense of identity divided between Switzerland and Türkiye. Although Mustafa's social reintegration in Türkiye appears to be successful on the surface, his desire to return to Switzerland and his bicultural lifestyle show that he is not fully integrated into any society. This shows that the reintegration processes of deported individuals go beyond the physical and economic dimensions and involve deeper individual and cultural dynamics.

Within the scope of the study, Tolga's experiences shed light on the reintegration processes of individuals deported to Türkiye. Tolga expresses that although he has gained economic freedom, he has serious reservations about socially integrating into Turkish society. These reservations, combined with Tolga's criticisms of social dynamics and interpersonal relations, which he defines as "society is sick", show that the reintegration process is not limited to economic independence. Tolga's views reveal that the mere attainment of financial stability by deported individuals is not enough for them to fully integrate into society.

"It's very difficult, I mean, this is my point of view. This goes to other issues, but "society is sick". The society is sick. I cannot adapt to this society, to a sick society. I mean, it's not only



Türkiye, the society in Switzerland is sick too. But not this sick. So if that's what asociality is, then I'm asocial, yes. I would love to. I don't want to adapt to the society here (he spells the whole sentence and emphasizes each syllable, which indicates that emphasizes how intensely he feels and thinks). That's it. society is really sick in front of my eyes. People who have adapted to this society, who have adapted very well, are automatically sick in my eyes. I don't want to be integrated into a sick society. I can go and work, and pay my taxes, no problem. I pay my bills, I do the necessary things. But I don't necessarily want to be socialized into this society. If they call it asociality, then I am asocial Brother” (Tolga, Pos. 115).

Tolga's statements about "society being sick" and "asociality" contain a deep criticism of the social structure in Türkiye and the position of individuals within this structure. His observations emphasize the tendency of individuals living in Türkiye to hold radical views and the polarized nature of society. Tolga states that he does not feel comfortable in this social framework and therefore prefers to stay away from society. This shows that the reintegration process involves not only material or professional dimensions but also individuals' relations with social norms and values. Tolga's experiences help us understand how reintegration is a multi-layered and complex process and how individuals' adaptation to society interacts with their own identities and values.

"The more I stay away from society, the more comfortable I feel. (Laughs) I mean, I live on my own. By myself, I'm usually at home. I rarely go out of the house. I have a little dog. I go out with them. That's it. And the reason is that in Türkiye, there is no balance. There is no one who goes to the middle. They are either radical religious or radical atheist. Radical. I don't know, what is it called? Nationalist. Isn't there a middle balance? Be normal. A middle ground, Abi, everything is radical here. It's really bad. Well, it's radical Freiheit. You want Freiheit, but don't force it on everyone. You live your life. These are problems. In Türkiye, I see it as a problem, economically and so on, of course, they are, but that's a completely different issue. It's a completely different issue. like this” (Tolga, Pos. 117).

When the reintegration experience of the protagonists of the movie "Arada" and Tolga in Türkiye is analyzed holistically, it is observed that these people have an reintegration process consisting of three stages: First, return to Türkiye and idealization of the old homeland (Switzerland); second, confrontation and struggle with the reality of not being able to return; and third, isolation, difficulty in establishing new relationships and idealization of the old homeland (Switzerland). In this process, most individuals struggle to return to Switzerland, but these efforts hinder their reintegration in Türkiye. The experience of isolation in the third stage does not seem to be practiced by the immediate family members of the people at the focus of the study but rather by those with whom they interact at the neighborhood and community level. Meanwhile, participants also felt that there is a societal prejudice against those who have come from "Europe" and have not been able to accumulate economic savings. Finally, participants also emphasized that they are not aware of any efforts and policies of the Turkish state towards ex-prisoners.

### **8.7.2 Findings of the Study on Families and Reintegration**

The impact of incarceration and deportation on children and families is significant (Halsey, 2007, p. 1247) and, in many ways, difficult to measure. The findings on the families and reintegration processes of the people in the study highlight the profound effects of incarceration and deportation on families and children. These findings significantly impact participants' family structure, financial responsibilities, business relationships, and emotional ties. Particularly among those leaving Switzerland, such as Veli,

Hasan, and Ekrem, and those returning to Türkiye after long periods of separation, such as Duran and Mustafa, family difficulties have been observed to increase (Harper et al., 2021; Travis et al., 2005).

One of these difficulties is that they try to be a "father" to their children in Switzerland, usually through the Internet. For these people, being a "father" in Türkiye for their children in Switzerland means being "apart" and "far away." Mustafa and Duran are deprived of the 'vital and creative' (Halsey, 2007, p. 1247) effect that the identity of fatherhood offers in the name of re-socialization. This is because they are physically separated from their children and see them only through the internet and limited visits. Therefore, they find it challenging to invest positively in their children's lives and do not have the opportunity for normal social participation as a father. This hinders their social transformation after prison, and they do not have the opportunity to become productive members of society through their relationship with their children. A fatherly relationship established over the Internet does not include his child's participation in his activities in Switzerland. "Internet fatherhood" is unfortunately closed to participation, acceptance, and reintegration into Turkish society.

The study shows that individuals who had to leave Switzerland usually lived there long enough to establish a life in Switzerland. For those with family and friends in Switzerland, being deprived of these social ties and "re-entering" a society they no longer recognize because they left Türkiye long ago poses a two-dimensional challenge. People deported due to criminal sanctions are prohibited from re-entering Switzerland. Therefore, they often use the Internet to contact their relatives in Switzerland. There are limited occasions when family members in Switzerland visit them, but this intensity of contact is insufficient, and problems arise over time.

The study shows that during their incarceration in Switzerland, prisoners were able to nurture family ties in Türkiye by increasing their contact with the outside world through free internet-based phone calls, Skype, and other online communication channels. Furthermore, projects such as the "renovation of the visitor area" in a prison in Zurich have significantly contributed to reducing the negative impact on families and children. Despite these positive findings, given the situation of Ali and Musa, who have no family members in Switzerland, and the difficulties they face, it is clear that they do not receive any personal visits from their families.

Most inmates who participated in the study expressed great trust in their families for emotional and financial support after release. The case of Tolga, for example, provides evidence to support this proposition. Tolga's close family relationships and strong support from both family members and his girlfriend helped him quit drug use in Türkiye after his release. "...At that time, I wanted to be with my girlfriend, I wanted to start a new life, a new family. These motivated me" (Tolga, Pos. 56). "My family, my girlfriend, my future, I would not want to stay in Switzerland" (Tolga, Pos. 58). This suggests that strong family support can reduce the likelihood of recidivism. This finding is in line with recent research (Darcın, 2014; diZerega & Verdone, 2011; Shapiro & Schwartz, 2001; Sullivan et al., 2002; Visher, 2007) that suggests that strengthening the family network and maintaining supportive family contact can improve resocialization outcomes for both family members and inmates.

This research also focused on the differences between participants' expectations before and after release. This study of Turkish-speaking male<sup>10</sup> prisoners compares different people's views on pre-release and post-release. While this is a limitation, it makes it possible to understand fulfilling expectations in the pre- and post-release period. The findings show that expectations of work and money were unmet primarily but that housing and family support helped to bridge the gap. In particular, participants rated

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<sup>10</sup> Since only men participated in the study, only male-centered needs could be analyzed.

family support, emergency housing support, and limited opportunities to find a job through their means as essential factors contributing to their economic reintegration process in Türkiye. These results emphasize the critical importance of the family's role in prisoners' reintegration process.

### **8.7.3 Findings of the Study on Employment and Reentry**

As a result of the interviews, "employment" is one of the issues that people have difficulties with after release. The most important means for people to participate in social life and live without being dependent on others is to have a job and a profession and earn a regular income. Tolga had difficulties in finding a job due to gaps in his CV, his relatively low proficiency in the Turkish language and his lack of experience in working life in Türkiye. In fact, it would not be misleading to think that these difficulties may also include people who were born in Switzerland or spent their childhood in Switzerland and have relatively little contact with Türkiye and their family members in Türkiye. When Tolga talks about the difficulties of being unemployed in Türkiye, he emphasizes the difficulties he experienced two months after leaving one job until he found another. "...then I was unemployed here for a while. Unemployment here (he makes a püffffff sound with his mouth, which is considered a body language gesture used in Türkiye to rate how bad the unemployment experience is) is terrible. It is not very long. We were unemployed for two months, but we had no money from anywhere, However, we found a job again (Tolga, Pos. 87). Based on this narrative, it may be possible to compare how individuals who have never found a job or who have somehow lost their jobs may be in difficulty.

Prisoners who find a job after release are not required to have a full-time or stable job. Participants could find employment within about a year of release, including military service (military service ranges from about 6 to 12 months, depending on the person's educational background), and all were working full-time at the time of the employment interview. One of the most important barriers to employment for these people is "compulsory military service." This is often seen as a barrier faced by people born or raised in Switzerland. This is because newcomers usually come to Switzerland in their youth (between the ages of 18 and 20) after completing their compulsory military service.

Participants aim to find and keep a job. The findings show that employment is associated with higher German language proficiency, and higher wages are earned by people with higher German language proficiency. As in Tolga's case, individuals with higher German language proficiency, who are usually born in Switzerland or spent their childhood in Switzerland, can easily find jobs in tourism and call centers and earn relatively higher wages than those who choose a more agricultural occupation such as Mustafa. However, those who return to Türkiye as "ex-felons" who went to Switzerland later (through refugee application, marriage, etc.) can integrate into the Turkish labor market more easily, even if they work in relatively lower-paid jobs than those who were born or spent their childhood in Switzerland (Expert - 1, Pos. 25, and Mustafa's case). Easy economic reintegration into the labor market does not automatically mean reintegration into society. Even though the individual who finds a job spends the liminal experience as active and productive, as in Tolga's case, it is focused on survival and stability; it does not facilitate social and cultural relations, i.e. the job does not provide a direct experience of re-socialization when there is no contact with individuals in the Turkish society in the structure of the job found. On the other hand, the job may offer Mustafa more opportunities for socialization.

A similar finding for both groups is that the professional connections and social relationships that can lead to legal employment in Türkiye after release primarily depend on their families. This implies that the social and professional capital of family members in Türkiye can directly affect the likelihood of the focus of the people in the study being employed in Türkiye after release. It seems possible to draw the following conclusion from this observation. Finding a job and achieving economic stability can be a

significant obstacle for these people, especially those without family and local connections. In line with Lösel's (2012) finding that "employment, housing, and financial problems ... are related not only to a lack of material resources but also to a lack of social resources, such as the quality of family relationships and contacts during incarceration" (Lösel, 2012, p. 12), this study emphasizes the importance of social context in overcoming "difficulties" such as unemployment and housing instability. It, therefore, highlights the importance of the penitentiary system expanding the availability and duration of online contact options in prisons to increase family relationships before release, as emphasized in the section on "relations with the outside world."

A positive finding of the study is that employers in Türkiye do not have access to information about these individuals being ex-offenders (unless the individuals themselves tell them). Therefore, for the people the study's focus, the general reluctance of employers to hire, which is often cited in the literature (Harry et al., 2004; Travis et al., 2014), was not encountered.

Finding and maintaining employment can reduce recidivism. In line with the findings in the literature, participants stated that they had not committed any crimes, including drug use, smuggling, violent crimes, and property crimes, during the time they were employed and working regularly. However, the following statements of Tolga, a witness to the events, provide important clues: "I was lucky, I mean, I was fortunate that my parents supported me, even though I stayed with relatives. Some people may not be lucky. For them, I mean, there are people I know. It is tough and challenging. (...) I know some people. (...) There are even some who died. Some people are in this business again. Some want to escape to Europe now and then by illegal means. There are still those who try. Their heads are stuck somewhere (Tolga, Pos. 121). Within the study's limitations, these statements reveal that some refused to be interviewed, as well as those who agreed to be interviewed, and their situation is even more challenging. In terms of the participants' opinions and knowledge about the employment-oriented resocialization activities and policies carried out for them in Türkiye, there is a great "mistrust" towards the state institutions in Türkiye. Moreover, the participants do not have legal information about the employment of ex-offenders in Türkiye. They assume that they will face stigmatization in exchange for such information. This assumption is not an unfounded and empty concern. The concerns of ex-offenders are realistic, especially given the unchanged political repressive authoritarian climate in Türkiye after the 2023 elections. However, there is still a need to establish impartial support mechanisms based on mutual respect for human rights through judicial cooperation agreements between NGOs or states. People can access more information about employment through institutions or organizations that do not stigmatize the people at the focus of this study and prioritize human rights. The information we are referring to here is the social support and employment opportunities offered to people released from the penal system in Türkiye. However, it is worth noting that the resocialization opportunities offered by Türkiye are not at the desired level and are not sufficient for individuals released from prison in Türkiye.

Finally, it may be advisable for future work to explore more detailed employment-related issues by documenting both the pre-release expectations and the post-release work experiences of the same inmates (as a unit of analysis) who were the focus of the study.

#### **8.7.4 Findings of the Study Related to Substance Use and Reentry**

The participants in the study had been imprisoned for a variety of offenses, including drug use and trafficking. The research shows that prisoners with a history of drug use can access treatment programs in prison and can benefit positively from regular attendance. However, they do not appear to have access to an appropriate ongoing treatment program when they return to Türkiye. This highlights the importance of ensuring continuity of treatment services for drug addicts. These findings should be seen

as an essential point of attention for international policy-making bodies aiming to reduce international drug use. The limited access of prisoners to treatment in the post-release period necessitates a review of policies and practices in this area. In this context, ensuring that individuals released from prison have access to continuous and effective treatment services during their reintegration into society brings international cooperation and policy development efforts in this field to the forefront.

The findings of the study are unfortunately limited to the self-reports of the individuals who participated but provide an insight into their experiences with drugs. While it has been noted in the literature that substance use among ex-prisoners poses significant challenges to the reentry process, it is encouraging that participants in this study reported that they had stopped using substances. This finding is in line with the literature that participants in the prison system are optimistic about their ability to remain drug and crime-free upon release (Darcan, & Ozkan, 2014; Visher et al., 2009; Yahner et al., 2008; La Vigne et al., 2009), but more research is needed on how they stop using substances and what factors influence their decision to do so.

Tolga says that he was aware of the need to distance himself from drugs before he went to prison. "No, I was aware at the time. I knew I was exaggerating. I knew I was exaggerating. I mean, I knew that this had to come to an end. I was already thinking, I need to go to something. I need to get treatment. I was there. I was in those thoughts. What kind of lesson, maybe it may seem like a trivial lesson to you now, but it has a very, very big value for me" (Tolga, Pos. 109). Tolga says that he could think and make decisions more healthily after he stopped using drugs. "As I said, my motivation was great. Also, after you quit that thing, your thoughts change completely. You think healthier. Very, very much, of course, with its effect. You would not believe it if I told you. You are a completely different person. I mean completely different. You become a completely different person" (Tolga, Pos. 66). When asked whether his relationship with his circle of friends in Switzerland continues. "Very few people. Very few people. I don't see the others. I don't see them on purpose. They are still on the same path, they are on the same road" (Tolga, Pos. 106-107).

Participants Ali, Hasan, Sağlam, and Tolga identified drug use as the leading cause of many of the problems they experienced in the past and during the interview. Ali, Hasan, Sağlam, and Tolga drew attention to the problems caused by their drug use. All four people cited drug use as the cause of one or more of their family, relationship, employment, legal, or financial problems. It is understood from the implicit or explicit statements of all participants that they experienced problems in their relationships as a result of their drug use.

Those with a history of substance use and those who start using substances after release are at high risk of re-offending and joining organized criminal groups involved in drug trafficking. Due to the study's limitations, it was impossible to interview every individual deported to Türkiye. However, Tolga was able to share information about people in similar situations in Türkiye after his release: "...I mean, there are people I know. It is challenging, tough. (...) I know some people. (...) There are even people who have died. Some people are in this business (substance use or smuggling)" (Pos. 1). The information obtained by Expert-1 from the people he interviewed and the observations he made during the preparations for the production of the movie "In Between" also point to the magnitude of this risk.

### **8.7.5 Findings of the Study on Health and Reentry**

"...Well, I think I need to elaborate a bit more because I have met many people. I also want to say that, despite all the traumas, the three protagonists in the film were quite lucky, they all have problems, they all have traumas, but I have met people with psychological, terrible psychological problems, (...) for

example, one of them is Mr. X, he had psychosis (...), he is now in a psychiatric clinic (...), he had a big trauma that he could never cope with" (Expert -1, Pos. 15). Expert-1 describes Duran, Vedat and Mustafa as "lucky" despite their trauma and health problems. These three experiences reflect only a part of the psychological problems faced by other people in similar situations, which can be interpreted to mean that other people may face much more complex and challenging psychological experiences. This can be observed in the case of "Mr. X suffering from psychosis," mentioned by Expert 1. Such severe cases illustrate the magnitude of the devastating effects of trauma on human life.

Like the three protagonists in the film, the participants in the study can be characterized as 'lucky' because of their access to health support and treatment in prison. Access to health care in prison played an important role in helping participants cope with their psychological trauma and kick their drug habits, and it still does for those in prison. However, Hammett et al.'s (2001) study in the United States of America shows that not only is in-prison support not sufficient for the successful reintegration of inmates into society, but also that ongoing health care and social support mechanisms are vital in the post-release period: "discharge planning, community linkages, and continuity of care; adherence to treatment regimens; availability of housing; quick access to benefit programs; and the particular needs of dually and triply diagnosed individuals." In this context, the participants' lives in Türkiye after their release from prison parallel these shortcomings highlighted by Hammett et al. The lack of guaranteed health care after leaving Switzerland is a significant concern for many released prisoners. Tolga stated that he and others he observed in a similar situation needed help to obtain healthcare after release.

The prison experts who participated in the research emphasized that ex-offenders who have to leave Switzerland after completing their sentence are not able to plan and prepare to meet their post-release health needs. They do not know which institutions and organizations they can turn to in Türkiye, which is a barrier to continuity of care for ex-prisoners. Experts providing international social support services, on the other hand, emphasized that they are not sure whether the people the focus of the research, especially those with serious health needs and on medication, will be able to receive similar health services in Türkiye. They also identified the lack of access to health services as a major problem, as international organizations such as ISS and SRC cannot provide the health services described above through their partners in Türkiye. This can be interpreted as an indication that people's access to prescription medicines in Türkiye can be interrupted and that they are at risk of relapse.

None of the returnees had health insurance in Türkiye. The study found that they did not have health insurance until their first job after their release. Until their first job, they had limited access to health services by applying to local District Governorships and, unfortunately, did not have access to private health support for the therapeutic purposes mentioned above.

## **8.8 A neutral point of contact**

There is no support mechanism for the reintegration of prisoners after they leave prison in Switzerland and are deported to Türkiye. There is transnational but limited support, partly provided by the Swiss International Social Service (ISS) and the Swiss Red Cross SRC as part of the repatriation support I described in the previous sections. However, this support does not cover all foreign prisoners in Switzerland. It is only available for a few people deemed "eligible". For post-release reintegration in Türkiye, a reliable social support mechanism is needed, as described above. The paper argues that the lack of such a social support mechanism is a major challenge for ex-prisoners and that such a support mechanism could potentially prevent or mitigate the challenges described above.

In the interview with Tolga, who was deported to Türkiye, he talks about his need for social support after his release. "What can I say after I got out of prison? I was lucky. I mean, I was fortunate that my parents supported me; even though I stayed with relatives, they also supported me. Some people may not be lucky. For them, I mean, there are people I know. It is very difficult, very difficult (...). If they don't have that socialization support, they can have a very (Emphasis) difficult time in Türkiye. There are even people who have died. There are those who want to escape to Europe illegally every now and then. Some are still trying. His head is stuck somewhere (liminal). He fell into those situations because he did not receive support there (in Türkiye). Thank God I was not in that situation, I am not, I received support from my family, it would be perfect if there were such an institution in Türkiye (for others). For some people, life can be "life-changing". Maybe there is not one, I do not know, I haven't researched it, but even if there is one, I think it does not work properly, I mean, I think. I mean, even if there is one. But it is a very important issue. It would be very good (Tolga, Pos. 121). People who are homeless, unemployed, unsupported, and released from prison pending deportation may have to live for a few weeks with only the budget they have saved from their work in prison, which is quickly depleted. The possibility to apply for state assistance is not available in Türkiye. This is an example of how the transition to freedom can feel "wounded," "flawed," or "imperfect."

***"There is absolutely no neutral point of contact*** (...), but also simply mental health care, because people are so *battered*, it is a very different world. You often become very *isolated* because you can't share some things with other people. [00:22:00] You can talk about it with your acquaintances *who share the same fate*, but you must always be careful when you say everything. (...) However, I think you need people who can talk to you about it and give you more professional instructions or advice on how to deal with it, not as friends but also as a family. (...) (Expert - 1, Pos. 15). How or where can ex-prisoners who do not have friends or family to fulfill the role of reintegration in Türkiye find this resocialization support?

That is why it is vital that there is a contact point, a person, and that the Turkish state or NGOs in Türkiye, in cooperation with Switzerland, help to set this up. This support should be more comprehensive than the support offered in preparation for the exit, especially for people experiencing the abovementioned difficulties. So they can initially inform people about the possibilities and perhaps the obligations. "It is not just about feeling welcome, and it is about feeling taken care of" (Expert - 1, Pos. 33). They are also not fully aware of their legal rights and obligations in Türkiye. The differences in the legal systems between Switzerland and Türkiye compound this lack of knowledge. Deportees do not know how to navigate the Turkish legal system or their rights in this context. This has a direct and complicating effect on reintegration, as in the case of military service.

"I think when there is so much uncertainty, pain, ambiguity, and cultural issues, it is also important to have people who know both viewpoints and experience. (.) I also agree with the problem of cooperation with the Turkish state because often, it is said that this person will return, but they have to go directly to the army. How good is the cooperation between Türkiye and Switzerland? It has to do a little with what it means for Switzerland. Do you have to join the army? What opportunities do you have there? Can you be prepared for that? What are the chances that you don't have to go? Is there an opportunity to pay for military service? [01:01:40] All these points would make more sense from a Swiss perspective. Nevertheless, of course, this is probably more a way of working with NGOs in Türkiye. Of course. Because, as I see it, the Turkish state is the last priority. Then, the question arises of who the Swiss state can work with. However, as I see it, they also have to ensure that the prisoners in Swiss prisons are empowered and re-socialized. So they have to find a solution (...) (24 seconds pause) (Expert - 1, Pos. 33).

In the interview, Tolga's account parallels Expert-1's narrative, pointing to the lack of structured resocialization or reintegration programs for deportees in Türkiye. "If I did not have my relatives, who knows? I do not know what would have happened. Where would I have stayed? I have no idea." (Tolga, Pos. 93) "...I did not get help. Maybe I am entitled to it. I do not know, I did not investigate" (Pos. 93) The assessment presented above emphasizes the need for comprehensive support and preparation for the post-release life of prisoners. The lack of social support mechanisms, coupled with individuals' fear of social and political stigmatization in Türkiye, significantly reduces their motivation for reintegration. Even if individuals want to participate in the existing social reintegration system in Türkiye, the question arises as to whether they have access to these systems. The lack of adequate reintegration support increases the challenges faced by individuals and their families and makes it difficult for them to adapt to their new environment. This can lead to a cycle that increases the risk of individuals being deprived of their economic, social, and health rights."

## **8.9 Identification of challenges**

Even though the prisoner participated in some re-socialization programs with various strategies during the prison process and was sent back to his "homeland" after his release, the adaptation processes of individuals who came to Switzerland at a young age and grew up there differ from those who came to Switzerland at an older age. Those who were born in Switzerland or spent their childhood in Switzerland have more difficulty than other prisoners in readjusting to social life in Türkiye. In the case of Tolga, who spent three years in prison in Switzerland after living in Switzerland for 33 years, the cultural and social ties of the individual in Switzerland increase in direct proportion to the duration of his/her stay in Switzerland and the adaptation to social life in Türkiye becomes more difficult for this individual. From this evaluation, it can be concluded that individuals who came to Switzerland at a young age and were socialized there were likely to experience more adaptation difficulties upon their return to Türkiye.

The fact that Tolga has spent three years in a closed environment away from social life means that he is unaware of social, cultural, etc. changes in Türkiye. The lack of transnational support in line with the reality of life in Türkiye during his release from prison also profoundly affects the individual's participation in social life. Tolga's narratives also include the first two months of his arrival in Türkiye, his compulsory military service, and "... after the military service, I had difficulties, and then I had difficulties for a very long time. I still do, but the difficulties at that time were worse" (Tolga, Pos. 80). It is understood that the difficulties experienced when first arriving in the country can have more lasting effects.

As the study reveals, the participants find the pre-release re-socialization activities in Türkiye inadequate. If they do not have the limited return support provided by ISS-Swiss or SRC, they cannot find any support in Türkiye after their release. Therefore, it is crucial to carry out various activities that consider the expectations of offenders in this regard. The elimination of difficulties encountered in the field of employment is especially significant for the social reintegration of convicts. In this regard, there is a need for individualized prison release preparation that considers the reality of life in Türkiye during the prison process. This would increase the likelihood that after release, the person would be better equipped to be employed in Türkiye in line with the skills he/she has developed in prison. To this end, the last section proposes an online training module on using technology for transnational social support in prison.

## **8.10 Chapter Summary**

Each prisoner is unique, and although they are sent back to their "homeland" upon release from prison, they face a unique and changing set of challenges in Türkiye. This section of the study provides an



essential resource for understanding the reintegration challenges faced by ex-offenders who returned to Türkiye as a result of deportation. In the light of the participants' descriptions, it was observed that they face challenges such as compulsory military service, language barrier, housing, cultural adaptation difficulties - liminality, community pressure and social isolation, family relations, employment, addiction, and substance abuse, health, lack of professional and reliable social support services.

This chapter focuses on the challenges of resocialization in Türkiye for Turkish prisoners deported from Switzerland. The three most prominent themes in the post-release narratives of those who have returned to Türkiye are 'cultural identity and reintegration,' finding a 'permanent job,' and 'social relations and social isolation.' In particular, it was sharply conveyed that these people, who had lived in Switzerland for many years, not only had no knowledge of the existing social support mechanisms in Türkiye but also had no trust in Turkish state institutions.

Contrary to the findings of Baldry et al. (2006), Tolga's post-prison experience in Türkiye suggests that the problem of emergency housing instability was largely absent. Upon his return to Türkiye, his initial and immediate housing needs were met with the support of family members. For the first few months, living with established family members in Türkiye met the need for permanent accommodation. Later on, they came together economically and socially with others who had gone through similar processes due to the criminal deportation order from Switzerland to Türkiye and rented shared apartments. This constituted the second stage of the post-eviction housing process. The transition to permanent accommodation occurred concurrently with the finding of permanent jobs, as permanent job opportunities brought with them the possibility of permanent accommodation.

The reason for these different results from the literature on shelter can be interpreted as the limited number of participants in the study and the relatively small population of people in the focus of the study. Family relationships were seen to provide important material and emotional resources. Based on the participants' narratives, it was found that family members in both Switzerland and Türkiye had not been imprisoned and that the participants did not have an addiction to drugs, which was the type of crime they committed. The findings on family support are in line with studies in the literature (e.g., Shapiro & Schwartz, 2001; Visher, 2007; Visher et al., 2010; diZerega & Verdone, 2011), where the quality of family and kin relationships and the support provided by families both before and after release were highly rated. Although it was previously confirmed that they would leave Switzerland after 2016, the uncertainty about their future in Türkiye is a significant obstacle affecting their readiness to re-socialize. Moreover, when they arrive in Türkiye, they do not feel "free" due to cultural adaptation difficulties, are subjected to "community pressure" and experience social isolation. The discussion underlines these prisoners' different experiences and backgrounds and highlights the need for individualized approaches in their resocialization process. The experts involved in the study emphasize that the resocialization of deported individuals is not a homogeneous process and is influenced by various factors, including cultural background and individual circumstances. The study suggests that deportees' specific experiences and needs need to be further explored and studied to assist their reintegration effectively.

The target group who have to leave Switzerland experience a discrepancy between their goals and hopes on the one hand, and the real possibilities on the other, with a very high probability of being disappointed." This makes it challenging to start a life free from crime in Türkiye. In addition, it requires an assessment of how living conditions in Türkiye, increased official control, and other autocratic repressive factors may adversely affect the target group's demands for such re-socialization. This study identifies the challenges deported individuals face in Türkiye while encouraging the questioning of social perceptions and policies in Türkiye.

The findings of the study may require us to rethink how we should support prisoners' reentry and reintegration into society, how they should receive legal and social support services, and how they should prepare for their future after deportation. According to Expert-1 and Tolga, most study participants are relatively less vulnerable to challenges in the reintegration process. Therefore, as the researcher learned from the statements of Expert-1 and Tolga, taking into account the information of those who were not reached by the study and possibly had more negative experiences plays a vital role in shaping future strategies. Although the researcher is hesitant whether these results are sufficient for large-scale changes in the system due to the limited number of participants interviewed, it does not seem excessive for the researcher to offer comprehensive recommendations in the next chapter to the question "How can their resocialization continue to be supported, as it is for ex-offenders who remain in Switzerland?".

## **9 HOW COULD PRISONERS FACING DEPORTATION RECEIVE EQUITABLE TREATMENT CONCERNING RESOCIALIZATION?**

"Another important thing to say is that you have to look at the whole problem from a broader perspective. So it's not just the men who are deported, it's the grief and the fact that it actually affects the whole family. Duran's family, for example, is still in great pain. I think Vedat's is too. Vedat also has a kind of depression. (...) Now it is flying away. Thank you very much. I think it also has something to do with the fact that he was alone and did not get any help, but he didn't ask for help and wasn't informed in some way. (...) Everyone is suffering. The Swiss woman who has Duran's son and doesn't know how to deal with him also suffers. (...) [01:04:14] Duran keeps sending money. So he suffers. Swiss society suffers from such fates, which are not properly accompanied or resocialized, on a larger scale than the deportees in Türkiye. It always has an impact on people living in Switzerland. So I think it's relatively important to say that. So it would also be in the interest of the deportees in Türkiye to have contact points where they can talk about some things that they cannot discuss with their families, for example, because it's traumatic. (...) Yes, so what else? [01:05:20]: Absolutely and I think really a little bit more sensitization to the points (.....) that this is a punishment, I mean the extent of the punishment. You need to be aware of that, it's a harsh reality, but you need to be aware of that, hey, the judge said you're going to be deported for five years, but it's very possible that you won't be able to go back if this and that doesn't happen. You have to be more prepared for the reality. And yet you should only show possibilities and opportunities" (Expert - 1, Pos. 35-37).

The deported Turkish-speaking prisoners, although they do not have Swiss citizenship, have relatively long experience of living in Switzerland; some were even born in Switzerland and embraced and respected Swiss cultural values. When they have to return to Türkiye, they face severe challenges in terms of language, finding a job, social networks, and cultural integration. As an equitable society, Switzerland should ensure that this group of inmates receives fair treatment similar to the opportunities for resocialization provided to the group of inmates who will remain in Switzerland after completing their sentences, in line with the goal of resocialization in Article 75 of the Criminal Code.

People who are deprived of their liberty and have a legally binding criminal deportation order need to be resocialized as much as people who can lawfully remain in Switzerland at the end of their sentence. How can this re-socialization be guaranteed for prisoners who have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentence when the penal system is standardized and consistent and, in practice, designed only for people who will remain in Switzerland after their release?

This chapter examines whether possible solutions exist even though foreigners in prison are not a homogeneous group. Therefore, the following section presents options to give foreign prisoners the same access to resocialization measures as Swiss prisoners.

## 9.1 What conclusions and recommendations does the study formulate?

For foreign criminals unlikely to remain in Switzerland, measures should be as effective as possible in the home country, and prospects for return should be developed. What could these programs be, with a strong emphasis on early contact with the country of deportation, Türkiye? Based on various insights from interviews with experts in the field, a comprehensive set of policy recommendations can be formulated to strengthen the resocialization of deported prisoners. These recommendations integrate principles of institutional anthropology, criminology, and transnational studies. The recommendations seek to address challenges and draw upon opportunities highlighted in the narratives of these experts.

Although there are different aspects of the so-called deportation initiative, introduced after 2016, that should be criticized, they are within the scope of the current study. What is on the agenda of the study is the early "certainty" or "clarity" brought by the aforementioned policy. The new criminal deportation procedure has the advantage that the persons. The focus of the study know earlier than under previous provisions of the Aliens Act whether they will have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentence. *While the certainty of deportation reduces the stress and complications of uncertainty, it also introduces a new set of challenges related to re-entry and re-socialization in a potentially unfamiliar environment. To prepare them for deportation, a holistic approach that considers not only legal but also cultural, social, and psychological aspects would be helpful.* This early "certainty" or "clarity" has the potential to facilitate preparation for release and for resocialization. In order to make the most effective use of this potential and, in individual cases, to enable people to establish a space of social acceptance in their home country, the researcher proposes a number of recommendations.

The recommendations include:

- Relaxation of the execution of the sentence,
- Transition management suitable for the target group,
- Representation of the reality of life in Türkiye in Swiss prisons,
- Online education module recommendation as a re-socialization strategy,
- Use of technology,
- Compensation options,
- Online participation in diploma programs in Türkiye,
- Transnational probation services,
- Support for legal questions,
- Peer support mechanism,
- Execution of sentences imposed in Switzerland in Turkish penal institutions,
- Practical solutions toolbox.

## 9.2 Relaxation of the execution of the sentence

Turkish prisoners were asked what they thought they needed to prepare for release and reintegrate in their home country after release. In light of the findings, relaxation of the execution of the sentence come first. The most vital needs are applying for jobs that fit the realities in Türkiye or having start-up capital to start their own business.

In penal systems, prisoners should be afforded equal rights and responsibilities regardless of nationality or residence status. As Baechtold (2000, p. 260) notes, the principle of equality of rights envisages that

all prisoners should have "broadly similar burdens and opportunities." However, the findings of this study suggest that when it comes to foreign prisoners benefiting from progressive openings in the penal system (bei Lockerungen im Freiheitsentzug, wie namentlich bei der Gewährung von Urlaub<sup>11</sup>), the security goals of the prison are prioritized over the goals of their resocialization. Underlying this tendency is the "abscond," the risk that foreign inmates will abuse the rehabilitation assistance provided to them and "run away."

This is a realistic risk and one that should not be ignored. However, it is a sensitive issue that needs to be considered on a case-by-case basis for each prisoner ordered to be deported. Where, despite careful case-by-case assessment, the escape risk is confirmed, using electronic ankle bracelets may be considered an option. Of course, the risk of escape must be considered, but in interviews with participants, it was clear that each prisoner's risk of escape and danger to the community is different. In terms of escape risk, it can be assumed that inmates born in Switzerland or who spent their childhood and youth in Switzerland and considered to have adopted the Swiss culture are less risky. The researcher attributes the low risk of escape to the fact that prisoners in this group want to return to Switzerland legally once the return ban is lifted. When prisoners in this group go to Türkiye, they have a more complex integration process than prisoners whose center of life is Türkiye, and they want to return to Switzerland legally when the return ban is lifted. The tendency of prisoners in this group to return to Switzerland requires them to establish a trust-based relationship with institutions and organizations in Switzerland, especially immigration authorities, especially in the pre-release period. This motivation to return can be read as reducing their risk of escape.

The researcher proposes that a case-by-case assessment should focus on the prisoner concerned when considering the gradual opening up of the penitentiary system. By the relevant legislation (Article 75a paragraph 3 of the SCC: Public danger is assumed if there is a risk that the prisoner will escape and commit another offense that seriously impairs the physical, psychological, or sexual integrity of another person), it is recommended that both escape and danger to society be assessed and, to the extent possible, that the gradual openings in the penitentiary system (bei Lockerungen im Freiheitsentzug, wie namentlich bei der Gewährung von Urlaub) can be beneficial for the re-socialization of the individual. This is especially true for the prisoners mentioned above, whose center of life "home" is in Switzerland. Gradual openings in the penitentiary system may be necessary for these inmates to apply for housing, employment, and compulsory military service necessary for their integration in Türkiye, to get in touch with support mechanisms where they can learn about their rights and responsibilities in Türkiye, to have more contact with their relatives in Türkiye and to organize their life in Türkiye with them.

### **9.3 Transition management appropriate for the target group**

In general, Turkish prisoners with no prospect of remaining in Switzerland present themselves as a very heterogeneous target group. However, due to capacity constraints, the prison can only be expected to develop a specific reintegration program for some of the foreign prisoners represented in the prison. However, by recognizing the different needs of foreign prisoners and adapting its resocialization policy accordingly, the Swiss prison system is expected to promote a more inclusive and effective rehabilitation environment for all individuals under its care. The current approach to resocialization in the Swiss penitentiary system has undoubtedly made progress in meeting the rehabilitation needs of prisoners. However, this goal does not yet seem to have been achieved, especially in preparation for release, where

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<sup>11</sup> Such initiatives are not aimed at reintegration into Switzerland, but are rather seen as a means to prepare inmates for life in general, to enable them to establish social contacts outside prison and to escape from closed prison conditions.

there appears to be unequal treatment between Swiss and foreign prisoners, as preparation for release is almost exclusively oriented toward life in Switzerland. However, Baechtold (2000) argues that the penitentiary system must adapt to the changing population situation, such as the group at the center of the study (p. 268).

#### **9.4 Representation of the reality of life in Türkiye in a Swiss prison**

Re-socialization in prison aims to prepare prisoners for life as free individuals, as part of society, and as free from crime. However, the "community," an essential component of the "two-way process" of reintegration, may differ depending on cultural norms and values. The dynamics of each society may vary, as well as the capacity and method of "welcoming" the ex-prisoner. For Turkish prisoners who are aware of their deportation, the target society for re-socialization is not Switzerland but Türkiye. This cultural change necessitates a reassessment of the objectives and methods of re-socialization programs. The values, norms, and expectations embedded in Turkish society differ from those in Switzerland, affecting how inmates are prepared for their eventual release and reintegration.

In his study, Werth said that more individualization in penal system practices for resocialization can help prepare these people for life after leaving prison. This is because it makes resocialization programs more helpful to them. It is essential to try to see what is suitable for each person's goal of resocialization, what the conditions are, what the context is, and what the possibilities are (Werth, 2012, pp. 329-346). The study emphasizes that it is imperative and necessary to have a willingness on the Swiss side to make some assessments. This approach requires carefully assessing individual circumstances, history, needs, and potential for reintegration into society. "...and this would be a counter-example to the position that there is no need to subject foreign prisoners who are already going to be deported to implementation planning. In other words, you try to use everything available" (Expert-19).

A comprehensive and individualized approach considering the prisoner's unique background, skills, and needs is crucial for effective rehabilitation and reintegration. This approach should address practical reintegration needs, such as employment, and provide cultural and psychological support to help individuals overcome the complexities of re-entering a society that may no longer feel like home. In the cases of the individuals at the focus of the study, the process of resocialization is not only about adapting to a new environment (and perhaps was never really "home") but also involves overcoming psychological barriers, rebuilding social networks, and achieving economic stability in an unfamiliar context so that the Swiss prison system can better prepare inmates for a triumphant return to society following their specific context and potential.

#### **9.5 Online Education Module Recommendation as a Re-socialization Strategy**

"...I think it is crucial to have people who have some experience, can say something, and can prepare people for what this means. (.) [00:30:17] Maybe you can point to opportunities, what you can do, so that every person does not have to gain all this experience individually so that you know exactly, I have this job, I have this place, I have these opportunities because this is completely missing. Moreover, if you can prepare people better, you will have much fewer problems like psychological depression, debt, crime, or people trying to re-enter Switzerland illegally. So you can control many essential things because, as I said, people have no idea, so the workers have no idea how to prepare people because they do not know socially or culturally. (.) (Expert - 1, Pos. 17) If this gap during the transition from prison in Switzerland to Türkiye is so important and needs to be closed, why don't we use the opportunities of digitalization and the available online internet possibilities by creating an online training module for the necessary re-socialization of the inmates? This section proposes a modular online training program to implement the above observation.

The challenges of starting a new life after leaving Switzerland and the psychological, economic, and social difficulties potentially encountered in this process were examined in the previous chapter. These difficulties may hinder the successful reintegration of the individual into Turkish society. However, information and guidance from experienced people are critical in overcoming these challenges. From a Swiss perspective and proposed through online digital modular training in Switzerland, the aim is to offer this knowledge and experience to ex-prisoners returning to Türkiye to be better informed and prepared. Therefore, digitization as a reintegration tool can serve to facilitate re-socialization through training modules with the advantage of lower costs. In parallel to this, there are studies in the literature that present positive findings on digital prison rehabilitation (Zivanai and Gilbert Mahlangu, 2022: 10; Dolezal, Supe, & Nisevic, 2022, p. 1484; Foster et al. 2022:22; Reisdorf, & DeCook, 2018; Farley et al., 2015, p. 437).

"For example, Türkiye could somehow create a training program in Turkish, so you could somehow create an online module for all the institutions around the world that could be done in Turkish and have some content that when they are released from prison or when they return to Türkiye, they should register here and there. They can get social support here and there and so on. I think many people among the deportees do not know how things work in Türkiye, right? They have lived in Switzerland for a very long time and do not know what they are doing" (Expert - 17, Pos. 15).

The module provides a wide range of information, from job opportunities and social reintegration strategies to psychological support resources and legal counseling services. In particular, it focuses on how education and skills acquired in Switzerland can be utilized in the Turkish job market, as this is an essential step for individuals to realize their potential and make a fresh start. The training module also provides information and contacts that individuals can use in their daily life if they have to return from Switzerland to Türkiye, including how to prepare for this transition in the early stages, especially psychologically, and how to raise awareness of their options and rights after deportation, as well as information on language courses to improve their Turkish language proficiency, what they need to do to work in areas where they have a good chance of finding a job, such as tour guiding, interpreting services and German teaching, and the legal certificates or procedures required for such jobs, It may be advisable to provide information about the significant legal differences between Switzerland and Türkiye (renting a house, setting up a business, getting married), cultural differences that need to be taken into consideration in current life, information about cultural adaptation, authorities to contact for child custody, names and authorities of institutions for social support, and of course the rights people have to access social rights and programs to help them mentally prepare for their return to their country. This way, individuals can understand their opportunities and how to proceed before returning to Türkiye. This preparedness minimizes the challenges they are likely to face when they arrive in Türkiye, allowing them to integrate into society more quickly and effectively. The online module supports individuals in preparing for their new life by equipping them with concrete information and strategies instead of just waiting in hope.

This training module should be developed based on interviews with experts and field research. It should be presented in an easily accessible platform with interactive learning elements, where users can progress at their own pace. The training module aims to better prepare individuals for their new life after leaving Switzerland and guide them in successfully integrating into society.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this online training module will make a valuable contribution to helping ex-prisoners returning from Switzerland to Türkiye to be aware and prepared for the challenges they may face, supporting them, and facilitating their social reintegration process. This module will help

increase the number of individual success stories and can positively contribute to the social reintegration process in general. When designed with current changes and opportunities in the labor market, modular online prison programs can help inmates acquire relevant skills and adapt to new employment opportunities.

## **9.6 Use of Technology**

Convicts use technology in prisons mainly to communicate with their families. Secondly, convicts and detainees who continue their education and training have limited use of the computers available in prison. The prison system's structure creates many barriers to meaningful contact. The fact that foreign inmates are less likely to be visited by their families, who are living in Türkiye, suggests that using technology in prisons is more rational and reasonable.

The place of technology in prisons is often associated with tools for security. However, using technology in prison is also an essential factor for re-socialization. It increases its visibility (Cullen, 2001; Gurusami, 2018; McDougall et al., 2017; McDougall & Pearson, 2020; McKay, 2022; Rantanen et al., 2021; Reisdorf et al., 2021; Reisdorf & DeCook, 2018; Reisdorf & Jewkes, 2016; Taugerbeck et al., 2019; Toreld et al., 2018; Steene & Knight, 2017). According to Saettler, technology "refers to any practical art using scientific knowledge" (1968, p. 5). Technology transforms science into an applied art of production, service, and transportation.

Internet access and use are essential to help prisoners prepare for release by arranging for housing, employment, and other needs in Türkiye. It also increases the prisoner's ability to be informed about social changes and developments in Türkiye. In the first half of the twentieth century, prison institutions needed to catch up with businesses and other government agencies in the adoption of new technologies. A clear and overriding concern of people in prisons is the safety of the prison staff, prisoners, and detainees. The best way to do this is to reduce the possibility of dangerous and critical prison situations. Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can make prisons safer, as well as prisoners and staff. New and innovative technologies can improve the efficiency of penitentiary institutions.

The inclusion of intelligent technologies, which have started to be used among the methods of improvement and re-socialization in the penal execution process, and systems by the modern execution understanding that keep up with the digital transformation can also be promising for foreign prisoners. The Multi-Media Device (MMC), which is described as intelligent technologies in the cabinets to be placed in the common areas of the prison, can include voice and video call applications as well as petition, canteen orders, e-doctor, and online payment, library book request, e-letter, and Penal Execution Institution communication applications. In the MMC, the Video Call Booth has frosted glass that prevents the inside from being seen from the outside; the door can be locked from the inside. It is possible for an officer to open it with a key from the outside, and by having a camera system in the cabin, the conversation records of the people who make video calls can be monitored simultaneously by the penal execution institution officials in terms of physical security. The cabin may have an emergency button to call authorized personnel.

The most important aspect of this proposal is the video call system. In addition, it is thought that the fact that the interview can be carried out by video can create a different feeling of experience for the prisoners. This situation will have positive psychological and sociological consequences on the re-socialization of the prisoner. Although video calling is practiced in some prisons in Switzerland, it is thought that by making it widespread, it will provide benefits in terms of re-socialization and planning life after release for those who cannot be visited by their families.

The human factor and personal contact are missing in this and previous online education module sections on digitalization and technological opportunities. "Of course, you can do some blended learning as we do here at the university; you can always create some content digitally, and then they can listen and watch, but I think personal contact is always significant" (Expert-17, Pos. 17). Support related to personal contact can be found under the following headings: support for legal questions, transnational outreach, and peer support.

## **9.7 Complimentary options in the Prison System and Equalization of Opportunities after Release**

This proposal provides individual indicators for possible adjustments and reparations to make the prison system and post-release opportunities comparable for all prisoners.

The disadvantages experienced by foreign prisoners in prison can be overcome through complimentary measures, such as telephone calls, internet use, and visits are elaborated below, and their reintegration into society is facilitated. In this way, "material equality in the treatment of foreign prisoners should be sought so that the overall balance of all rights and obligations of prisoners results in comparable burdens and opportunities" (Baechtold, 2000, p. 260). Differences in treatment between foreign and Swiss inmates must be compensated so that both groups have a similar chance of resocialization. These methods of complimentary offer suggestions as to what differences should be made in the execution of sentences for foreign nationals. On the other hand, some Swiss citizens have disadvantages, for example, due to family members living abroad. It is, therefore, important that reparation measures are not dependent on nationality and that each situation is considered individually so that the most effective resocialization efforts can be targeted. Any possible discrimination that the prisoner may experience upon entry into prison should be identified, and remedial measures should be included in the implementation plan.

As the foreign prisoners in the study are not a homogeneous group, differentiation in individual cases is unavoidable. Therefore, proposing simple, all-encompassing measures to improve the target group's relations with the outside world is impossible. However, there are several ways to minimize inequality in terms of relations with the outside world when implementing the goal of resocialization in prisons. This may require prison staff to find a solution tailored to each prisoner's situation. This section will examine whether there are possible solutions even though foreigners in prison are not a homogeneous group. Therefore, possibilities are presented to ensure that foreign prisoners in jail have the same access to contact with the outside world as Swiss prisoners. In this way, it may be possible to overcome the disadvantages that the foreign target groups in prison have in terms of relations with the outside world and thus promote the resocialization of prisoners belonging to the target group.

### **9.7.1 Telephone calls**

To avoid discrimination against the target group of foreigners when making telephone calls from prison, the researcher proposes, for example, to distribute the same number of time-limited cards free of charge to all prisoners, regardless of whether they are foreigners or nationals. This would allow all prisoners equal and free access to phone calls outside Switzerland, which can vary greatly depending on the country they are calling from, regardless of the cost.

Another challenge associated with telephone calls is the situation of prisoners who want to speak to relatives abroad who may be in a different time zone than Switzerland. This could be solved by



organizing more flexible telephone contact times in prison, especially for the target group that cannot prepare for life after release in Switzerland. Contact with the outside world through telephone calls positively affects the reintegration of offenders (Durante et al., 2022). If the prison implements the two practices proposed above, the target group of prisoners will be treated equally with other prisoners.

### **9.7.2 Internet use**

With the rapid advancement of digitalization, many essential services and transactions are conducted through online platforms. From health education to job applications to shopping, digitalization has become an indispensable part of our time. Therefore, to keep pace with this digital age, prisoners may be required to have access to the Internet under specific controls.

As Trechsel and Aebersold, who conducted research in Swiss prisons, state in their study, Internet access is seen as a tool to support prisoners' social reintegration into the outside world (2021). It benefits basic needs such as participating in distance learning programs, learning new skills, or applying for a job. Internet access in prisons, although not necessarily permanent and easily accessible, is one way of helping prisoners manage their lives after prison and maintain contact with the outside world. It should be clear that Internet use in prisons, like any new technology, raises security concerns. However, it is desirable that prison administrators are not driven solely by security concerns but minimize security concerns, assess the individual risk potential of current inmates, and make decisions appropriate to each case's circumstances.

### **9.7.3 Visits**

Article 84 para. One sentence 2 SCC calls for the "facilitation" of contact with close persons, particularly because it can positively affect the resocialization of prisoners. Foreign prisoners, who form the target group of the study, have fewer visitors than Swiss prisoners. This can be interpreted as indicating a lack of contact with the outside world. To minimize this disadvantage, one might expect the prison administration to take the initiative and perhaps encourage the relatives of foreign prisoners to visit the prisoner as often as possible. (Expert-7, Pos. 27). Significantly, the longer the foreign prisoner's sentence lasts, the greater the need for this support.

The more time the foreign prisoners can spend with their family or relatives outside Switzerland, the more this can positively affect their resocialization process (Timofeeva, 2019; Brunton-smith, 2016; McCarty & Brunton-Smith, 2017; Martínez & Christian, 2009; Naser & La Vigne, 2006). Prisoners naturally need the support of the prison administration or staff in organizing these visits. For example, a family visit to Switzerland may require visa requirements and expensive travel costs. The prison administration could first prepare a letter to the Swiss embassy in the country of origin to facilitate obtaining a visa for the prisoner's relatives preparing to visit Switzerland. The prison administration can also allow the prisoner to accumulate the monthly visiting times. This ensures a better quality of visits, especially for visitors from abroad or far away. If visits from abroad are not possible, offering additional Skype opportunities when visiting times are not used would allow prisoners to communicate with their families more frequently. This can alleviate prisoners' isolation and strengthen relationships with their loved ones. Consequently, strengthening prisoners' relationships with their families can contribute to their rehabilitation process and is essential in maintaining family bonds. This will have a positive impact on the prisoners' resocialization process.

In order to avoid the disadvantages mentioned above for the prisoners targeted by the study, the aim should be to plan the designed interventions taking into account the concrete and individual situation of the prisoner. It is not only the target group of prisoners confronted with the abovementioned difficulties.

Similar challenges also arise for Swiss nationals who have family or relatives abroad. Therefore, each prisoner's situation must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. This will ensure that the time spent in prison contributes to the person's resocialization.

For prisoners, relationships with the outside world are crucial to re-socialization and treatment. These contacts are vital for both the prisoners and their families. Personal contacts serve as a bridge for prisoners to maintain relationships with their partners, children, and friends as they continue their lives outside prison. Through visits and written audio or video communication, prisoners can maintain their role as parents, spouses, or friends in their social environment. Evidence-based studies in the literature suggest that prisoners who can return to a social environment away from crime and maintain positive relationships are less likely to re-offend (Visher et al., 2004; Visher et al., 2009; Orrick et al., 2011; Brunton-Smith & McCarthy, 2016; Beijersbergen et al., 2015; Atkin-Plunk, & Armstrong, 2018; Yasrebi-de Kom, et al., 2023). Therefore, time in prison should be used as efficiently as possible to positively influence and support the prisoner's return to society.

The external contact situation of foreign nationals, the focus of this study, does not appear to be satisfactory regarding the general objective of the Swiss penal system. Compared to prisoners who remain in Switzerland after serving their sentence, foreign nationals have little access to essential resocialization measures from the outset. Although the target group will be deported from Switzerland, every prisoner has the right to achieve the "resocialization" goal, referred to in the Swiss Penal Code.

It should be remembered that investment in re-socialization supports the fight against crime in both Swiss and Turkish societies in the sense that it serves international crime prevention in the long term, can have a positive downward impact on the prisoner's recidivism rate, and that every prisoner has the right to a life without punishment.

The convict, whose ties with life outside are not severed and who harbors hopes for that life, will adapt more quickly after being released (Visher & O'connell, 2012; Goodstein, 1979). In this sense, it is necessary to provide maximum convenience to the relatives of convicts during their visits and significantly improve transportation facilities. In this context, constructing a new visiting section in Pöschwies Correctional Facility seems to be a meaningful development.

(Expert-5) talks about a project in Pöschwies Correctional Facility that considers visitors' needs. Through this project, he redefines the needs of the relatives of inmates who can receive visitors as a group whose material and psychological needs are prioritized. In particular, he speaks of a tendency to pay more attention to the needs of children. This structural change is understood to be positive in terms of better information, extended visiting hours, family-friendly rooms, and better quality communication for both inmates and visitors.

(Expert-5), While giving details of the project, he does not hide his excitement at the prospect of meaningfully touching the lives of inmates and their relatives, especially the children, and says that the project will go beyond the current prison limitations and provide a "normalization." *"When you see downstairs today ..... where you can climb the wall and slide and really interact more with the child, the father, and mother are sitting at the table, and the child is sitting across from them, and then you can say yes and now tell me something, the child does not want to talk. Either the child does not want to talk, or he feels under pressure because of the environment. When this project was realized, maybe it would be better if the father could move with the child and then play with the ball or some other toy with the child"* (Expert - 5, Pos. 47). Designed especially with children in mind, the project promises an indoor play area of approximately sixty square meters. This space should allow children to relieve stress

and interact more naturally with their fathers. The project's claim to success is that it has been prepared with scientific support. This project can be read as a concrete example of how new standards and progressive structural changes can be made by reviewing the possibilities in the light of the scientific knowledge that re-socialization needs.

## 9.8 Online Participation in Diploma Programs in Türkiye

Prisoners participate in various prison education programs to prevent recidivism during their sentence and ensure their survival after release. In addition to these programs, if the individual wishes, they may participate in external educational offers, including distance education, such as the existing secondary -high school - higher education (external education module) for prisoners in Türkiye. Entrance exams are not required for secondary and high school education, while there is an exam requirement for higher education. University entrance and open education faculty exams can be taken through SKYPE or exam booklets sent through the Embassy. Although participation in these trainings from abroad has not been practiced so far, it seems theoretically possible. The individual would be able to attend digitally recorded lectures via the Internet (the existing recorded course content available to prisoners in Türkiye) and then could take exams organized by the authorities of the relevant educational institution in Türkiye via SKYPE or could take the exam after returning to Türkiye. In addition to the educational options that require physical presence, as a natural consequence of being in a closed institution, any inmate who wants to develop his/her material and moral assets can benefit from these opportunities. With this application, even though the person is a prisoner in Switzerland, he/she is not separated from the general education system in Türkiye. He/she can continue the education he/she has been pursuing in the Swiss penitentiary in Türkiye after his/her release without any loss of rights.

## 9.9 Transnational Social Support

"If you are deported from the country, you will likely be conditionally released. But this does not mean that you will receive probation assistance in your home country" (Expert-17, Pos. 35).

The support system for prisoners should not end with release. The resocialization process needs mentors and friends to guide the person released from prison in Switzerland to become a law-abiding, pro-social citizen in Türkiye. Without friends or family to fulfill this role, how or where can ex-prisoners find such mentors? Earlier in the paper, the ISS-Switzerland, SRC, and Ju-We initiatives to "transnationalize" exit preparation, i.e., to take it beyond national borders, were described in prison practice. "Such projects are always outstanding and are the individual cases where they can help. In Hindelbank prison, a woman received so much help from the International Red Cross that she could open a shop in her own country. She was pleased and grateful; for her, it was the end of the road. It might have changed her life for the better. It changed it. However, these are individuals; we need a structure that works for everybody. (...) Nevertheless, it is still, of course, great that there are these lighthouse projects. This is, of course, great" (Expert-17, Pos. 23). For those in the focus of the study, post-deportation services in Türkiye often depend on a private commitment or contact with a local aid organization, but this, in turn, depends on the voluntary cooperation of the person concerned. In some cases, even if preparations for deportation are made, the most important element is often missing: *a link to the support system in the community*. The previous section, "A neutral point of contact," emphasizes the need for this (Expert - 1, Pos. 25).

It is not enough to support the convict in Switzerland before his/her release (some reintegration programs, etc.); he/she should also be supported in Türkiye after his/her release and monitored in terms of his/her participation in social life. Expert-17 emphasizes that when the state decides to deport someone, it must do so fairly and justly. This does not mean simply sending the person to another

country and letting whatever happens to him/her happen. It means providing the deported person with the necessary support and assistance to enable him or her to survive in the new place and to continue to live in good conditions (Pos. 29). In other words, the state's deportation decisions should take into account the basic needs and human rights of the deportees, and should include providing them with an environment in which they can adapt in their new place. In line with this view, the researcher proposes follow-up care after parole (after completing two-thirds or half of their sentence) from the execution of sentences and measures in Switzerland, which has not been realized so far abroad, and points to the need for a transnational network of probation services in order to offer probation assistance after parole and to monitor compliance with the directives. This proposal is intended to ease the burden on the penal system in Switzerland and, simultaneously, help victims who feel doubly penalized by the deportation from the country imposed by criminal law in addition to imprisonment.

At this stage, it would be desirable for Switzerland to adopt an innovative approach in its policies towards deported foreign nationals. In particular, to support those at the study's focus, Switzerland could integrate probation benefits into the return process of these individuals, providing them with the necessary assistance for their reintegration into society (in Türkiye). "...Actually, for everybody, but also foreigners, it would be essential to create a good support structure in the place where they are released so that they are not in such a vacuum because they are released from prison, but they know where they live, they know where they work, they have social contacts, social relationships. They can also get psychological support if they want. This is all voluntary" (Expert-17, Pos. 13). This support is particularly crucial for offenders introduced in the study who are released directly from prison and have no experience of reintegration into society. By establishing an international network of contacts that can assist them in the post-release process, Switzerland can help them meet their basic needs, such as employment and housing. In this process, Swiss penitentiary institutions can also support the successful reintegration of released individuals, such as using the time spent in prison and establishing contact with future caregivers. By providing this support and establishing an international network of contacts, the Swiss Federal Ministry of Justice is expected to support the reintegration of foreign offenders and to play a proactive role in this process as an example for other countries.

Switzerland can realize this support in two ways. First, through the Swiss Ministry of Justice's judicial cooperation with the Turkish state (e.g., Bechthold, 2014), and second, through the cooperation of penitentiary institutions with the International Social Service Switzerland or the Swiss Red Cross. Knowing the support method for individuals after release in Türkiye may be helpful if you wish to contact the Turkish state through the first method. Protection boards have been established for prisoners released from prisons in Türkiye. Protection boards<sup>12</sup> were established within the scope of Law No. 5402 on Probation in order to prevent recidivism and to compensate the damages of those who have been harmed by crime. The protection board aims to assist convicts released from penal institutions, prevent them from re-offending, minimize the effects and consequences of crime, and reintegrate convicts released into society. Unfortunately, the target group of the study cannot benefit from the support activities of these protection boards. The researcher recommends involving Swiss experts in reforming the penal system in Türkiye or a study visit by Swiss experts to see whether these Protection Boards' functioning and practices align with human rights. There should be a guarantee from the Turkish authorities that in a possible cooperation process, people who are likely to be sent from Switzerland will be treated in the same way as other people who receive support from the protection boards. Perhaps at this stage, a follow-up mechanism or regular visits of ex-offenders in Türkiye by an official from Switzerland once a year could be proposed. In this way, prisoners who must leave Switzerland could be

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<sup>12</sup> For more comprehensive and detailed information, please visit (<http://www.cte.adalet.gov.tr/Home/SayfaDetay/koruma-kurullari> Date of Access: 02.04.2023).

told they can be contacted and coordinated with these institutions. The cost of these efforts is only necessary once for the coordination, and the financial and humanitarian benefits are significant. A point that can be criticized is the fact that Switzerland has a diverse prisoner population other than Turkish prisoners—considering the population of prisoners to be deported in Switzerland. Their home countries and the priorities of Switzerland's penitentiary policy, this cooperation mechanism could be developed with any country with which a cooperation worthy of human rights and dignity could be established.

Another way is to cooperate with local organizations in Türkiye through ISS-Swiss and SRC. One example is socialization projects such as the "Retour" project in Switzerland. This project helps foreign inmates build a successful life in their home country by providing emergency housing and employment support to those released for one year, based on a project prepared by the inmate. The researcher welcomes the increased cooperation between probation services and aid organizations in the home country, such as ISS-Swiss and SRC. If inmates who have served two-thirds of their sentences could be provided with repatriation support by ISS or SRC and have the correct information and contact points in their home country, perhaps some of them would not have to worry about reintegration in their home country and would not have a liminal or relatively easy adaptation process from prison life in Switzerland to a free life in Türkiye.

The Swiss authorities (Cantons) could support such projects and make the necessary legislative arrangements at the cantonal level to make them feasible in every canton in Switzerland and to increase their capacity (health support or cooperation with health institutions, permanent housing, and employment, psychological support, coping with cultural transition and identity issues, etc.). This means that the budget for the remaining one-third of the sentence of a person who leaves Switzerland after serving two-thirds of his/her sentence can be used for transnational social support, such as repatriation support. This would provide the economic resources for transnational social support.

However, if after completing 2/3 of their sentence, ISS or SRC could provide them with repatriation support that they could apply in their country of origin, and if they had the correct information and contact points in their country of origin, maybe some of them would not have to worry about reintegration in their country of origin and would not have a liminal or relatively easy adaptation process from prison life in Switzerland to a free life in Türkiye.

## **9.10 Support for Legal Questions**

Prisoners who need legal assistance could be guaranteed more consistent legal representation after the criminal proceedings. "...in practice, we defense lawyers mostly deal with prisoners until the trial, most prisoners in this area, if they confess, are released early, so, of course, these questions also arise about socialization (...) in criminal law, you have to say that it is largely unexplored by normal lawyers in Switzerland. There are very few lawyers specializing exclusively in prison law. This is partly because disciplinary proceedings in the penitentiary system are, in my experience, very few uncoerced administrative matters. So people no longer have to be defended. They cannot get a lawyer in prison when they need one. As a result, from my point of view, very few lawyers work in this area in the penitentiary system after criminal proceedings. Moreover, one of the first things that Switzerland could improve in this regard would be to more consistently guarantee post-trial legal representation for prisoners who are in prison and need it" (Expert - 14, Pos. 9).

The findings suggest that there also needs to be a kind of sensitization about the possibilities for return. Honest sensitization, because most people in the interviews said, "...the court said five years entry ban, I will stay for five years, then I can go back" (Expert - 14, Pos. 9), but it is much more than that. Those

who have returned to Türkiye realize this slowly; some of them find out very late because they say that after some time, they have to wait in Türkiye, and they do not know whether they can return to Switzerland. When they call the immigration office, they say they do not get enough information. This means that it is essential to have some legal support, in other words, to know what their situation means, whether they have the right or entitlement to return, and, if so, what that option is.

### **9.11 Peer Support**

At the beginning of their reintegration into Türkiye, the people in the research focus usually establish relationships with their relatives, and their urgent needs are met by their relatives. However, after meeting their immediate needs, individuals often do not have much in common with their relatives and feel the need to continue their socialization journey on their own. At this point, contact with individuals who came to Türkiye before them for similar reasons and achieved relatively economic socialization can be a catalyst for their re-socialization (Expert - 1, Pos. 17). For real and lasting resocialization, ex-offenders who had to leave Switzerland due to a judicial deportation order and settled in Türkiye can, if they wish, support those who were previously sent to Türkiye due to a judicial deportation order. Maruna and LeBel (2003) offer a parallel perspective to this proposal. "Creative reparation" involves making amends for one's wrongdoing by working to help others, especially other prisoners or those at risk of incarceration". (Maruna & LeBel, 2009a:58). This proposal is based on Ward and Brown's offender rehabilitation model, the Good Lives Model (GLM). The researcher sees this model as relevant to the concept of the study. According to this model, resocialization should focus on improving the well-being of people who have completed their sentences in Switzerland by helping them gain knowledge and skills so that they can integrate more easily in Türkiye and lead a better life in Türkiye by staying away from crime (Ward & Brown, 2006). In this way, within the framework of the Good Lives Model, people who provide resocialization support to newcomers who had left Switzerland for similar reasons in previous years contribute to their resocialization processes.

Those providing this support can also do so by setting up an NGO or joining an existing NGO. This way, ex-offenders can work as project partners with ISS-Swiss and SRC. Those who understand the sensitivity of the reintegration situation in Türkiye and who have had to leave Switzerland in the past can mentor others in a similar situation at the beginning of the reintegration process in Türkiye. The Swiss prison system is also likely to receive feedback from this guidance. The knowledge gained by ex-convicts offering reintegration support and passed on to newcomers can also be gained by the Swiss prison system and passed on to those who will have to leave Switzerland. Another feedback method could include a short film of the experiences of people providing reintegration support as part of the online modular reintegration support training suggested above. Which activities or programs were practical? What experiences did they gain in terms of employment and vocation? Are there any support mechanisms in Türkiye they can apply to? What rights and obligations do they have? The experiences of people deported to Türkiye will provide an interactive flow of information to the penitentiary system.

Despite the potential positive effects of the proposal, there is also the possibility of adverse outcomes. This is because ex-offenders' reunification may lead to positive communication between them. However, it may also lead to various disadvantages, such as recidivism and adverse effects on each other. First of all, potential risks can be minimized by finding people who have at least completed their economic reintegration in Türkiye after leaving Switzerland, who have not been involved in any criminal activity, and who are motivated to participate in this support activity, and by making good use of their current reintegration processes. Another challenge is to find the human and economic resources to organize all these activities. In order to provide this resource, the study recommends that for those who

wish to return to Türkiye after serving two-thirds of their sentence, a portion of the budget allocated for the execution of the remaining sentences should be used for such transnational activities.

## **9.12 Execution of sentences imposed in Switzerland in Turkish penal institutions**

This chapter examines the transfer of the people at the focus of the Study to Türkiye, after (conditional) release, for at least partial execution of their sentences, under the European Convention of March 21, 1983 on the Transfer of Convicted Persons.<sup>13</sup> It explores the current situation in Switzerland, what is possible and not, the challenges (such as human rights, ethical or inter-country differences in practice), and ways forward. The aim is to present the variability in the transfer of criminals between Switzerland and Türkiye and the current conditions, possibilities, and limitations in this field. In this way, the aim is to help to understand the topic with relevant information better.

Under a takeover agreement, it usually works: The countries involved commit to taking back their nationals. For example, under an agreement with Switzerland, people can be transferred to Türkiye and imprisoned there after serving half their sentence. After serving two-thirds, they are released from a prison in their home country. This possibility, which has also found a place in the literature to ease the financial and spatial burden on Switzerland (Andrea et al., 2016, p. 103), is based on the understanding that by outsourcing the execution, the prisoner's prison sentence will be served in his/her home country and will be reintegrated into society upon release from prison, thus supporting the prisoner's re-socialization.

Concerning the current situation in Switzerland, the legal "clarity" after 2016 means that deportation from Switzerland can be initiated earlier than in the legal situation before 2016. However, the process is quite cumbersome. By their very nature, international proceedings are protracted, and there is often a high likelihood that the relevant sentence will have already been served by the time the verdicts are finalized and the proceedings are completed. In addition, it is incomparably evident that the prison conditions in Switzerland are superior to those in Türkiye. In this context, it is understandable that convicted individuals prefer to serve their sentences in Switzerland. Moreover, Türkiye has ratified the

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<sup>13</sup> Convention on the Transfer of Convicted Persons. Signed in Strasbourg on March 21, 1983. Ratified by the Bundestag on June 18, 1987. Swiss instrument of ratification deposited on January 15, 1988. Entered into force for Switzerland on 1 May 1988 (status 5 May 2020) and Additional Protocol to the Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons. Signed in Strasbourg on December 18, 1997.

Additional Protocol to the Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons of December 18, 1997 (CP UvPUe, SR 0.343.1), but excludes the application of Art. 3.141516

One of the findings of Rütscbe's (2015) expert opinion on the execution of Swiss sentences in foreign penal institutions is as follows: "The execution of sentences in third countries is fundamentally incompatible with the fundamental rights of prisoners guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and international human rights treaties. The legislator is, therefore, not authorized to introduce the execution of sentences in third countries by creating corresponding legal bases. This is subject to cases in which the execution of a sentence in a third country exceptionally promises better resocialization and is, therefore, in the interests of the sentenced person; in this case, the sentenced person must consent to the execution of the sentence in the third country. In such cases, a treaty subject to a referendum would be required" (p.33).

The researcher wonders whether reintegration would be more effective for convicted persons to go to Türkiye after serving part of their sentence and completing the rest there. If the convicted person is willing to do so and it is believed to be in his/her best interest, completing the sentence in Türkiye may be advisable. However, while the legal basis exists, there are several cases where Türkiye has been found unjust by the European Court of Human Rights for human rights violations in its current criminal proceedings and prison conditions. As Türkiye has not yet implemented these judgments, there are severe doubts that convicts will be better resocialized or treated with dignity in prisons. The interests of the convicted person cannot be assessed independently of Türkiye's current human rights record. In this context, the proposal for convicted persons to serve part of their sentences in Türkiye requires a critical assessment given the current human rights situation in the country. Although the transfer of Turkish criminals convicted in Switzerland to their home country during the execution of their sentence is offered as an alternative to serving a sentence in Switzerland followed by deportation to Türkiye, this is

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#### 14 Art. 3 Sentenced persons subject to expulsion or deportation

(1) At the request of the sentencing State, the executing State may, subject to the provisions of this Article, consent to the transfer of a sentenced person without his consent if the sentence imposed on that person or an administrative decision taken as a result of that sentence contains an expulsion or deportation order or any other measure on the basis of which that person will not be permitted to remain in the territory of the sentencing State after release from custody.

(2) The executing State shall not give its consent within the meaning of paragraph 1 without taking into account the opinion of the sentenced person.

(3) For the purposes of applying this Article, the sentencing State shall provide the executing State with the following information:

a) a statement indicating the sentenced person's views on his or her intended transfer; and

b) a copy of the expulsion or deportation order or any other order which has the effect that the sentenced person may not remain in the territory of the sentencing State after release from custody.

(4) A person transferred under this Article may not be prosecuted, tried, detained for the purpose of execution of a sentence or detention order<sup>5</sup> or subjected to any other restriction of his or her personal liberty for an offense committed before the transfer other than the offense giving rise to the sentence to be enforced,

a) if the sentencing State so authorizes; to this end, a request shall be made, accompanied by all relevant documents and a judicial record of all statements made by the sentenced person. Permission shall be granted if the offense for which extradition is requested could give rise to extradition under the law of the sentencing State or if extradition would be precluded solely on account of the severity of the sentence;

b) if the sentenced person, although having had the opportunity to do so, has not left the territory of the executing State within 45 days of his final release or if he has returned there after leaving that territory.

(5) Without prejudice to paragraph 4 of this article, the executing State may take such measures, including proceedings in absentia, as may be necessary under its law to interrupt the limitation period.

6. any Contracting State may, by a declaration addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, notify that it will not take over the enforcement of penalties under the conditions described in this Article.

15 <https://www.bj.admin.ch/bj/de/home/sicherheit/rechtshilfe/strafsachen/ueberstellung-verurteilte.html#-2132710760>

16 <https://www.fedlex.admin.ch/eli/cc/2004/648/de>



unlikely to be implemented, given the fact that the human rights situation in Türkiye does not meet universal standards and in particular if the offenders to be transferred are of Kurdish origin or have political disagreements with the Turkish government.

### 9.13 Practical Solutions Toolbox

Under this heading, four simple suggestions have been compiled that, if implemented, would benefit the cause of re-socialization.

The labor market has changed significantly thanks to the expansion of home-office job opportunities after COVID-19. This change can be an essential opportunity for the re-socialization of ex-convicts in Türkiye, which is the focus of this study. Inmates can realize this opportunity by exploring and applying for jobs such as call centers and online customer consultancies that work with Swiss German. They can also get support from social workers in writing CVs and motivational letters to increase their chances of acceptance. When they return to Türkiye, having a job can give them a fast and positive start to their post-prison life. Despite the difficulties of leaving Switzerland, being in Türkiye as a working individual is an essential start for the individual's psychological, social, and economic reintegration. In terms of the psychological dimension, the individual enjoys the peace of mind of not being dependent on anyone in Türkiye, including family members, by meeting his/her own economic needs. On the other hand, thanks to the Swiss German he has learned, he can justify all the years he/she spent in Europe by saying that he/she has not wasted his/her time in Switzerland and that he/she is working.

The reality of life in Türkiye for Tolga and other ex-offenders, as described in the section of the study on experiences of reintegration back to Türkiye, is given relatively little attention in vocational training and education activities in Switzerland. Therefore, projects could be developed to make it easier for these inmates to get jobs when they go to Türkiye. One of the first programs that comes to mind is an internationally recognized certificate program for this prisoner population in at least one of the official languages spoken in Switzerland. This would make it easier for the prisoners to find a job in tourism when they leave Switzerland. The prisoner could also be a potential employee for companies in Switzerland that need call center personnel.

In Germany, "foreign counselors" are appointed to deal with and mediate with prisoners. (Fieseler, 2004; Filsinger et al., 1995). Similar to this practice, a proposal could be developed for the individuals at the focus of the study in Switzerland. This could be implemented through a series of SKYPE meetings with "cultural mediators" to plan for reintegration in Türkiye before release from prison. The meeting means that when planning the release of the individual, the individual, his/her social worker, a cultural mediator, and a family member who is qualified and motivated to support the individual's reintegration into Türkiye meet via Skype to plan the release process together. In this meeting, the steps needed for the individual's reintegration into society are discussed, cultural and social needs are considered, and how support systems can be provided can be evaluated together.

Another deficiency identified in the study is the *inability of ex-convicts and their relatives to organize themselves through non-governmental organizations*. Although some associations are established by ex-convicts in Türkiye, it is not easy for ex-convicts deported from Switzerland to be aware of these associations and communicate with them. These associations are expected to be more inclusive and to operate effectively. Considering that civil society organizations are the most effective way to unite people on a specific issue, the importance of ex-convicts acting together under the roof of an association will be understood. It can be said that their organization will be effective, especially in bringing the problems encountered in social life to the agenda and conveying the demands on this issue to the state.

This chapter has formulated a comprehensive set of policy recommendations to support the resocialization process of Turkish-speaking prisoners deported from Switzerland. These individuals, who have lived in Switzerland for a long time, some of whom were even born in this country, face severe challenges in terms of language, employment, social networks, and cultural reintegration upon their return to Türkiye. As an equitable society, it is emphasized that Switzerland should provide fair treatment to these prisoners, similar to the opportunities for resocialization offered to groups of prisoners who will remain in Switzerland after completing their sentences.

The recommendations integrate the principles of institutional anthropology, criminology, and transnational studies to strengthen the resocialization of deported prisoners. These recommendations include representation of the reality of life in Türkiye in Swiss prisons, gradual prison openings, targeted transition management, online education modules, use of technology, compensation options, online participation in diploma programs in Türkiye, transnational probation services, support for legal questions and peer support mechanisms.

In particular, for foreign ex-prisoners who have had to leave Switzerland, it is emphasized that, by the principle of legal equality, differentiated conditions and, where necessary, compensatory measures should be applied according to the prisoners' situation. Baechtold (2000) and other experts' work, based on the fact that foreign prisoners may be disadvantaged by their structurally different situations, highlights the importance of taking extraordinary measures to compensate for these differences to offer everyone a fair chance of resocialization.

In conclusion, this chapter aims to improve deportees' reintegration outcomes through recommendations such as developing bilateral agreements between Switzerland and Türkiye, individualized care and support practices, cultural competence training, and international cooperation. These recommendations provide a roadmap for governments and organizations to ensure deportees' triumphant return to society and reduce the likelihood of recidivism.

## **10 DISCUSSION**

After 2016, to understand how the changing legal environment and the certainty of expulsion orders may affect resocialization efforts, this study presents findings on the following research questions related to the resocialization of Turkish prisoners who had to leave Switzerland after serving their sentences. (1) Who are the Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penal system? (2) How is the resocialization goal implemented for Turkish prisoners with a pronounced expulsion? (3) How do the relatives of these prisoners deal with the expulsion? (4) How do ex-offenders integrate into Turkish society after being expelled? (5) What challenges do they encounter? (6) How could their resocialization be supported, as would be the case for ex-offenders who remain in Switzerland?

### **10.1 Who are the Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penal system?**

Turkish prisoners in Switzerland are not homogeneous but a mosaic of complex sub-groups characterized by diversity. This diversity stems from differences in the origins of the prisoners, their connections with Switzerland, and their sense of belonging to Türkiye. However, they may be divided into two main groups; on the one hand, some individuals were born in Switzerland or spent most of their childhood and youth there, and they visit Türkiye only during vacation periods and therefore view Türkiye more as a "tourist." These individuals have developed identities shaped within the Swiss culture and social structure; their understanding of life and social structure in Türkiye is limited to impressions gained during vacation rather than concrete experiences. On the other hand, some individuals came to Switzerland as adults for various reasons (e.g., to seek asylum for marriage), and most of their families

continue to live in Türkiye. This group has established stronger familial and cultural ties with Türkiye and has experienced different challenges adapting to Switzerland.

Both groups present different perspectives and challenges regarding living in Switzerland and the social reintegration processes. While individuals in the first group are more integrated into Switzerland's social and cultural structure, they may experience difficulties adapting to Türkiye's social structure and living conditions. On the other hand, for the second group, the adaptation process to Switzerland may be a struggle to preserve familial and cultural ties. In contrast, strong ties with Türkiye may provide certain advantages in returning to Türkiye.

In any case, for both groups, it is suggested that resocialization strategies should be tailored according to the personal experiences and needs of individuals. Prison does not produce 'homogeneous effects' (Foucault, 1977, p. 202). Prisoners experience, manage, and resist power in a variety of ways, depending on factors such as family ties, histories of drug use, and past relationships with authority (Kolind, 2015; Stojkovic, 1984). It is important to remember that this group of prisoners, defined at the policy level as people of a particular ethnic origin, is not homogeneous. Since the target group of this study is not a homogeneous community, it would be better to avoid totalitarian judgments and policies in resocializing this group.

## **10.2 How is the resocialization goal implemented for Turkish prisoners with a deportation order?**

Through semi-structured interviews with Turkish inmates under deportation orders, experts working in the penitentiary system, and experts from Switzerland working outside the penitentiary system, this research has shown that individual differences characterize people's experiences of resocialization in prison. In particular, it draws attention to the different experiences of inmates in the penitentiary system between those born and raised in Switzerland and those who came to Switzerland later in life. Prisoners who have lived in Switzerland for a long time have more opportunities to benefit from the penitentiary system, while for the other group, these opportunities are limited. German language proficiency is an essential factor.

Resocialization and rehabilitation activities in the penal execution system are an essential tool that can ensure that they can use the time they spend in prison effectively, that the person can overcome the liminal period most lightly after release, and that the person can integrate into social life after release (Valentovičová & Jasiński 2021; Balafoutas et al., 2020; Fomin, 2020; Ferariu, 2019; Shu-hu, 2015). In this respect, the fact that all of the participants stated that there are rehabilitation activities in prison and that they participate in these activities can be interpreted as a desire to reintegrate into society. In this respect, it is assumed that the prisoner requires learning and has the ability and desire to learn. In their comments on their participation in rehabilitation activities, they stated that they only saw these activities as a means of spending time in prison because they thought that these activities did not have enough impact on their work and social life in Türkiye after their release. As a result of these findings, the hypothesis discussed at the beginning of the study that there is an insufficient level of re-socialization activities to ensure the social reintegration of individuals in the penitentiary system is confirmed. The living conditions in the penitentiary system and their impact on the inmate should be designed to increase the chances of social reintegration in Türkiye.

The effectiveness of existing rehabilitation activities, the extent to which prisoners are informed about these activities, and whether the education received in the institution is effective in finding a job after release should also be assessed. Previous research emphasizes that work-related activities in the

penitentiary system are about the quality of employment rather than the quantity; therefore, if work in prison is only work and not meaningful experiences that can lead to employment in post-release Türkiye, it is doubtful to what extent such activities can contribute to economic reintegration in post-release Türkiye. Research on the impact of in-prison education programs on post-release outcomes is mixed (Phipps et al., 1999; Steurer & Smith, 2003; Wilson et al., 2000). On the other hand, it also depends on the willingness and volition of the inmate to take advantage of the offers made by the prison for a social learning process to gain social competence.

The findings showed that the use of technology for communication with the outside world in the penitentiary system (SKYPE and internet access) positively affected the re-socialization of Turkish prisoners who, after serving their sentences in Switzerland, had to return to their homeland Türkiye, where they had perhaps not lived for many years. Musa's narrative is an excellent example of how the use of technology in prisons touches the prisoner's life and perspective in order to understand the emotional and psychological healing effect of SKYPE, which allows a person who has not seen any of his family members for almost five years to see them in the comfort of the living room of his home. The use of technology in the penal system has a life-changing and transformative effect, especially for the "subject" at the center of the study; SKYPE expresses depths far beyond its daily use, such as "reaching the unreachable," "seeing," "missing," "finding morale."

From Saglam's experience, being able to work outside prison can contribute to the holistic rehabilitation of prisoners, plays a vital role in psychological well-being and post-prison life planning, and provides a compelling opportunity for effective re-socialization in combination with other positive activities offered by the prison system for re-socialization (vocational training, communication with the outside world via SKYPE, etc.). While it is unlikely that the opportunity to work outside prison will be available to all prisoners, it is worth noting the positive resocialization effect it can have for those deemed suitable, subject to individual risk assessment by the prison authorities.

All of them see prison as an opportunity to distance themselves from the drug-related environment. However, although they know they will be deported from Switzerland, they do not have enough information about the resettlement and rehabilitation process in Türkiye. This demonstrates that deported inmates face severe uncertainties in the process of resocialization, aligning with the findings of Romashov and Bryleva (2019).

The study reveals that German language proficiency, family support, and relationships with children encourage participation in in-prison resocialization activities. These findings underline the importance of rehabilitation policies that provide transnational counseling for return and aim to increase family support and contact with the outside world. On the other hand, the inmates' inability to benefit from gradual openings leads them to feel discriminated against, and the penitentiary system does not motivate them positively toward their resocialization.

Although the equal treatment of foreign nationals and Swiss citizens in the penitentiary system is affirmed in principle, unequal treatment is observed in practice when it comes to preparations for departure, as preparations for release are almost exclusively oriented toward life in Switzerland. The fact that Turkish prisoners will leave Switzerland after completing their sentence is seen as a significant difference from Swiss prisoners when it comes to preparation for release, and in particular, the legal presumption regarding parole. The prognosis distinction to be made for Turkish prisoners depends on information about life in Türkiye, which is often not reliably collected, so the relevant decisions sometimes seem arbitrary. In this context, it may be considered that the de facto unconditional parole of

a foreigner to his/her home country may lead to unequal treatment, as highlighted by O’Nions (2020) and Sing Bhui (2007), this time to the detriment of Swiss prisoners.

**10.3 How do the relatives of these prisoners deal with the deportation?**

The findings show that psychological and social support is needed for families who remain in Switzerland. This support could take the form of psychological counseling and social services, primarily to ensure the well-being of children affected by separation, as outlined by Inglin, Hornung, and Bergstraesser (2011).

**10.4 How do ex-offenders integrate into Turkish society after being deported?**

This study interprets the three different spaces experienced by individuals trying to integrate in Türkiye after their release from prison in Switzerland and the three different social structures within these spaces, similar to the concept of 'vertical mobility' of prisoners within prisons. 'Vertical mobility,' as outlined by Turner and Peters (2017), refers to individuals' shifting mobility and social dynamics in confined spaces such as prisons. Similarly, the socialization processes experienced by individuals returning to Türkiye, while constant within Turkish society, are generally experienced in three different spaces, as seen in **Table 12**.

**Table 10** *Spatial Experiences of Individuals in the Reintegration Process in Türkiye*

Space	Where is it?	With whom	Space Type
Space I	Anatolian town	Together with relatives	First and immediate employment
Space II	In a metropolitan-sized city like Istanbul	With prison friends	Apartment sharing
Space III	Own subjective preferences	Own subjective preferences	Own subjective preferences

Space I can be defined as the living spaces in Anatolian towns with relatively low population density, shaped based on kinship relations and organized to meet compulsory and emergency employment needs. These spaces function as social structures where individuals carry out their economic activities in an integrated manner with family ties and local communities and where social solidarity and mutual assistance gain importance. The first space involves living with relatives and engaging in joint economic activities as a starting point for improving individuals' living conditions. However, this social structure refers to the process that cannot continue for a long time with the emergence of neighborhood pressure. 'Neighborhood pressure' emerges as a necessity that pushes the individual to seek and discover the second space.

Space II is an example of a social structuring based on the shared prison experience between individuals who had to leave Switzerland under similar circumstances in a large-scale urban environment such as Istanbul, a metropolitan city, and the second spaces that emerged in the form of apartment sharing. This structuring involves rebuilding social ties and reinforcing a sense of spatial belonging, where individual and collective living spaces are reorganized to build a network of solidarity and support between people with shared backgrounds and experiences. This type of social structure represents a community model that brings together individuals with similar life stories within the complex social fabric of metropolitan cities, supported by specific social ties and networks.

Space III represents an escape from the obligation to conform to the cultural norms of society and neighborhood pressure for individuals who have achieved economic autonomy and have chosen a metropolitan city like Istanbul based on their individual preferences. These individuals generally prefer to live in large apartment complexes where the traditional pressures and expectations of the neighborhood are not felt. These living spaces allow individuals to create their own spaces of freedom, away from social norms and cultural adaptation problems, and to maintain their private lives in line with their value judgments and preferences. Within the 'diversity' of the metropolis, this social structure creates a space of freedom and authenticity where individuals can freely express their identities, free from social expectations. Thus, the third space can be defined as where personal boundaries and freedoms are redefined, enabling individuals to live under their physical and social preferences, away from society and the traditional neighborhood structure. The mobility or transition between these three spaces and social structures described above can be considered a kind of 'vertical mobility.'

In this study, the transition from prison in Switzerland to society in Türkiye is considered 'horizontal mobility.' However, resocialization in Türkiye also involves 'vertical mobility' (changes at different social and spatial levels). Each space represents different social interactions, spatial changes, and personal developments. These processes indicate that individuals move through different social strata within Turkish society and that such mobility plays a vital role in resocialization and adaptation.

In conclusion, linking the concept of 'vertical mobility' to the experiences of individuals returning from Switzerland and going through different spatial and social stages in Türkiye helps us better understand the reintegration in Türkiye. This approach also has the potential to delve deeper into the challenges and opportunities that individuals face in these processes. In this way, it is possible to go beyond the traditional perspective of 'horizontal mobility' and evaluate these individuals' social and spatial reintegration processes in a broader framework.

The data of this study shows that in the initial stages of re-entry, the tangible financial support provided by the family is essential. However, since these residences are usually in small settlements, over time, the community members in that neighborhood (location) put "neighborhood pressure" on the individual, and the individual moves to a new residence and share the new residence with friends who were similarly deported from Switzerland and are trying to integrate in Türkiye.

Those deported to Türkiye and those forced to leave Switzerland have been observed to experience isolation in big cities, distancing themselves from Turkish society and forming their own "community of destiny" (Expert - 1, Pos. 11). The experiences of Tolga, an expert and ex-prisoner, reveal that these groups have created support and understanding among themselves that Switzerland and Türkiye did not provide; that these individuals in Istanbul have built social structures around their cultural and linguistic ties, that Swiss German is widely used in these communities, and that they have developed a sense of belonging by supporting each other.

In the study, an important finding was obtained regarding the social reintegration process of individuals who successfully realized economic reintegration. In the social reintegration stage, these individuals settle in the appropriate living spaces (Space III) in line with their preferences and needs. This process shows that after gaining economic independence, individuals choose spaces aligned with their personal preferences and lifestyles, deepening social reintegration for Mustafa and isolation for Tolga. This reveals the extent to which individuals' social and spatial preferences are liberated after the completion of economic reintegration and how these preferences are reflected in the reintegration processes, consistent with McGregor & McConnachie's (1995) research emphasizing the influence of macroeconomic forces in isolating disadvantaged individuals.

### **10.4.1 Findings of the Study on the Starting Position of Reintegration in Türkiye**

Prisoners are expected to assimilate their responsibilities and act according to the established norms in prison (Ugelvik & Damsa, 2018; Bosworth, 2007). However, it is often impossible for prisoners to step outside the daily routines of prison life and make independent decisions. Constantly subject to decisions made by others, prisoners find themselves faced with the challenge of reconstructing their identities and being active participants in this new process when they are released. Those in the focus of the study often do not benefit from the gradual opening of prisons and cannot, therefore, live 'free' lives independently when they return to Türkiye after completing their sentences. As a result, these individuals remain passive and strongly dependent on their families during their reintegration process in Türkiye.

Another finding that helps to understand the starting position is the state of 'liminality,' which manifests through internal feelings of exclusion, alienation, and loneliness 'heard' in Tolga's narratives and creates external boundaries around the individual. Liminality is experienced in Türkiye as not being able to fit in, not being able to belong to society, no longer being a prisoner in Switzerland, and not being a completely free individual in Türkiye. Although, at first, the local population is unaware that these individuals have committed crimes in Switzerland, they consider returning to Türkiye after living in Switzerland for many years without any economic gain as a 'failure' and declare them 'unsuccessful.' Within a short period, public curiosity grows, and as a result, public pressure builds when the public learns that these people have committed crimes in Switzerland; they consider them 'unpatriotic' and an embarrassment to the Turkish community for being (former) criminals in Switzerland.

### **10.5 What challenges do they encounter?**

An in-depth examination of the resocialization challenges faced by Turkish prisoners deported from Switzerland in Türkiye reveals that these individuals face significant barriers in a variety of areas, including language barriers, housing issues, cultural adaptation difficulties, neighborhood pressure, social isolation, family relationships, finding employment, addiction, and access to health care. They reported having insufficient knowledge about existing social support mechanisms in Türkiye and low trust in state institutions. However, it is emphasized that family support emerges as an essential material and emotional resource and that the support provided by family members upon return to Türkiye plays a critical role in meeting initial and immediate shelter needs.

This study provides a comprehensive perspective on understanding and supporting the challenges deported individuals face in their resocialization processes. The challenges that deportees face in terms of cultural identity and adaptation, finding permanent employment and community relations, and social isolation suggest the need for individualized approaches to resocialization processes. This is particularly true for individuals who have lived in Switzerland for many years. While there are still some significant problems with the resocialization of foreign prisoners who have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentences, there is a glimmer of hope in how academic outcomes are assessed. Almost all of the interviewed experts called for re-evaluating traditional evaluation criteria and developing a more holistic, "individualized" approach that values the quality rather than the volume of resocialization. In the literature, Werth (2012) found a similar result in his study, stating that more individualization in the resocialization practices of the penitentiary system can help these individuals prepare for life after release from prison.

This ethnographic study underlines the need for comprehensive policies that support the resocialization and reintegration of deported ex-convicts. There is a clear gap in services that address individuals'

economic, social, and cultural needs in Tolga's situation in Türkiye. Policies need to focus on creating pathways to employment, providing access to mental health services, facilitating community reintegration programs, and offering legal assistance to overcome the challenges of resettlement, as also suggested by Henry et al. (2016) and Purnima & Ochocka (2004) emphasizing the need for legislative and policy changes to promote employment. These efforts require a rethinking of how to prepare for their future after deportation. They also highlight the need for individualized approaches beyond Switzerland's borders in their resocialization process, underlining the different experiences and backgrounds of deported individuals.

### **10.6 How could their resocialization continue to be supported, as would be the case for ex-offenders who remain in Switzerland?**

Drawing on Baechtold's (2000) work and Wicker's (2002, p. 233) ethnological reflections, the researcher concludes that Switzerland should provide "qualitatively equal treatment" (Baechtold, 2000, p. 259) similar to the resocialization opportunities offered to prisoners who remain in Switzerland after completing their sentences and emphasizes the need for the Swiss penal system to adapt to the needs of a changing prisoner population. He proposes various strategies to approach this goal. These strategies include representation of the reality of life in Türkiye in Swiss prisons, gradual prison openings, transition management appropriate to the target group, online education modules, use of technology, compensation options, online participation in diploma programs in Türkiye, transnational probation services, support for legal questions and peer support mechanisms. For Turkish ex-offenders who cannot remain in Switzerland, these recommendations aim to develop activities that will impact their reintegration in Türkiye and their prospects after returning to Türkiye.

The study's findings highlight the need to integrate pre- and post-release planning and support in line with the literature (Hamilton & Belenko, 2016; Belenko, 2006; Borzycki & Baldry, 2003). Indeed, with the new legislation, "clarity," in 2016, the individual sentence plan in Switzerland addresses resocialization at the beginning of the prison process. However, it has become clear that the Swiss penitentiary system does not consider the difficulties of re-socialization and the reality of life in Türkiye after the completion of the sentence. To compensate for this, the study argues that 'transnational' (Achermann, 2014, p. 44; Achermann & Hostettler, 2004; Wicker, 2002, p. 233) resocialization structures between Switzerland and Türkiye through digital learning programs and networking should place great emphasis on establishing early connections for prisoners, who will be deported after completed their sentence. These structures can also serve as a model for relations with other countries. It is welcome that Switzerland has taken a leading role in resocialization, setting an example of how such structures can be developed in Europe. It would also be advisable to professionally address people's fears and anxieties in prison, expand social services, and develop cultural reintegration programs for deportees. These recommendations imply a comprehensive support system that would contribute to the resocialization of prisoners and prepare them for the challenges they will face after deportation. This support system can facilitate foreign inmates' cultural and emotional guidance, as Visher and Travis emphasized (2011).

The findings highlight that the new legal "clarity" introduced after 2016 allows prisoners to know earlier whether they will have to leave Switzerland after serving their sentence. It emphasizes the importance of a holistic approach to providing economic, social, and cultural support through transnational social support. The process of reintegration into society requires a ritual of readmission of ex-prisoners (Naylor, 2011: 79). Just as organizations such as ISS-Swiss, SRC, and Ju-We create employment opportunities in the target country of reintegration through "Retour" and similar projects, transnational social support services offer ritual spaces and resources for the people in the focus of the study to move



out of their 'liminal' state and make a new start, i.e. to move into a 'liminoid' state, as described in the findings of the baseline study on reintegration in Türkiye. Transnational social support services advance building economic reintegration through rituals, such as discussions about the employment project with the Turkish partners of the organizations mentioned above. These rituals help to develop a relationship of openness, reciprocity, and trust between the individual and the organization within the employment project and embody the employment-based reintegration of the participants. Rituals can help transform liminality into an active transitional period of 'liminoid,' but this process depends on sociocultural resources. For example, Tolga's feeding and taking out the dog reflects his search for companionship and activity in the outside world as he tries to change his prison life. This is a way of coping with loneliness after release from prison. However, the lack of social and cultural resources and the presence of neighborhood pressure can further reinforce the lines of exclusion, as seen in the experiences of individuals who feel excluded.

The study recommends Wormith et al.'s (2007) collaborative model, which supports multiple organizations working together after prison release. (Roberts et al., 2004). In this way, deported prisoners can be supported by social service agencies, parole officers, and social workers in both Switzerland and Türkiye, at the request of the prisoner himself, in order to effectively re-socialize them and provide them with the necessary assistance according to their needs. If the ex-offender does not trust the authorities in Türkiye, he/she can seek support from transnational social support organizations such as ISS-Swiss, SRC, and Ju-We.

Moreover, reintegration requires an extensive, pro-social network of friends, active family relationships, ritual forms of social acceptance, and institutional support. In this context, the expansion of transnational social support services beyond employment and economic reintegration is critical for the successful reintegration of ex-prisoners. The study recommends increasing peer support and the economic and human resources of the organizations providing transnational social services and their partners (NGOs) in Türkiye. It is suggested that the financial resources needed could be provided by using the budget allocated for the remaining one-third of those sent to Türkiye after serving two-thirds of their sentence in Switzerland. In this way, ex-convicts reluctant to return to Türkiye can be provided with transnational social support for their economic, social, and cultural reintegration, thus ensuring a "dignified" return and increasing their motivation to return.

In addition, the findings of the study point to a challenge in providing transnational resocialization support to people who have had to leave Switzerland: Barriers to cooperation and coordination in the provision of transnational social support services. In the context of transnational social support, ISS-Switzerland's partners (NGOs) in Türkiye are located in different regions of Türkiye, and each region has its own organizations. Without a good communication network between these organizations, it can be difficult for Switzerland to cooperate with them. Switzerland has a similar situation, with 26 different cantons and the autonomous authority of each canton over the penitentiary institutions within it, which seems to make transnational cooperation and adequate support difficult.

In conclusion, this discussion chapter presents a comprehensive set of strategies to support the resocialization process of deported Turkish-speaking inmates. In cooperation with relevant parties in both Switzerland and Türkiye, these strategies aim to ensure their successful reintegration into society and reduce the likelihood of recidivism. The findings reveal that integrating deported individuals in Türkiye is not only a legal issue but also involves social, cultural, and psychological dimensions and, therefore, requires a multifaceted approach. These recommendations provide an essential roadmap for relevant policymakers, practitioners, and civil society organizations and have the potential to facilitate the successful resocialization of deported prisoners to society.

## 11 CONCLUSION

This study has begun to explore the process of resocialization of Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penitentiary system, with a focus on those facing deportation after serving their sentences. Initially framed in the context of the Swiss Criminal Code and the principle of equal treatment, this research explored how resocialization as a correctional objective affects the situation of foreign prisoners, especially those from Türkiye, who, according to the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2021) constitute 2.2% of the prison population. Given the unique position of Turkish prisoners, who are not EU citizens and therefore do not benefit from the Free Movement of Persons Agreement between Switzerland and the EU, and their different cultural and religious identities, this study revealed nuanced challenges and opportunities in the process of resocialization.

The research addressed six key issues ranging from the identification and understanding of Turkish prisoners in the Swiss penitentiary system, the implementation of the goal of resocialization in the penitentiary system for those whose deportation is imminent, the situation of their core families after such deportation decisions; the reintegration experiences of ex-offenders in Turkish society; the challenges they face; and how their resocialization can be supported in a similar way to former prisoners remaining in Switzerland. These issues required a critical and in-depth examination of correctional practices, experiences in Switzerland, and living conditions in Türkiye through a qualitative, multi-sited ethnological lens.

The challenges faced by those who had to leave Switzerland and reintegrate into Turkish society were examined in four main dimensions: the individual, the family, the community, and the state. Within each of these dimensions, the research reveals a complex structure in which the challenges individuals face are intertwined. At times, one challenge (e.g., cultural adaptation) can be a trigger for another (e.g., neighborhood pressure). This part of the research documents the general challenges encountered at each stage of the process, such as language barriers, housing problems, social isolation, cultural adaptation difficulties, family relationships, employment, addiction and substance abuse, health problems, and lack of professional and reliable social support services, as well as the challenges that arise first in the process, such as compulsory military service and the need for emergency accommodation. This study makes a scientific contribution by comprehensively documenting the challenges faced by individuals who had to leave Switzerland to reintegrate into Turkish society. It also provides essential insights for developing interventions and policies to overcome these challenges.

By integrating technological approaches into the process of resocialization, the Swiss penal system can, in particular, promote the use of modern means of communication, such as video telephony, to keep inmates in touch with their families and social circles and, through an online training module, enhance the reintegration of inmates in the country of destination before their release from prison. It can also develop specific strategies and policies for inmates living outside Switzerland after release by increasing intercultural competence and adapting to changing demographics. This approach, the study argues, would support the resocialization process of inmates and increase social cohesion in Switzerland and Türkiye in general, thus contributing to international peace and tranquility.

This study illuminates essential insights into the resocialization journey of Turkish prisoners facing deportation. It highlights the differences in the implementation of resocialization strategies, underlining the importance of individualized and culturally sensitive approaches that consider the unique backgrounds of foreign prisoners and the reality of life in Türkiye. The findings underscore the critical role of early clarity on deportation in shaping resocialization measures and the need for a robust social service support system that extends beyond the Swiss borders to facilitate a smoother reintegration into

Turkish society. This proposed shift in perspective seeks to extend rehabilitation and reintegration efforts beyond national borders, recognizing that resocialization is not only a local issue but also has a transnational and international dimension. Such an approach offers an inclusive and empathetic perspective that minimizes the challenges individuals face upon release from prison and supports their more successful reintegration into society. This is a critical step for individual recovery and development and for building a safer and more solidary society.

Awareness needs to be raised that the rehabilitation and easy reintegration of ex-offenders into Turkish society will benefit both Turkish and Swiss societies. Their rehabilitation is essential for establishing universal human rights (Baechtold, 2001) and international security. Switzerland's pioneering role in the economic and social reintegration of Turkish prisoners in their own country would set an example for other European states. In this way, Switzerland's transnational social work practices will reinforce Switzerland's visionary role in the penitentiary field.

Through its in-depth analysis, this research contributes to the broader discourse on penal reform and advocates for policies that ensure all prisoners, regardless of their national origin or post-release destination, receive "qualitatively equivalent imprisonment" (Baechtold, 2000, p. 259) and effective resocialization (Achermann, 2008; Achermann & Hostettler, 2006).

### **11.1 The strengths and limitations of the research**

This study contributes to the literature on resocialization in Switzerland by examining, through empirical data collection, the experiences of Turkish-speaking inmates facing deportation orders in Swiss prisons and those who have already been forcibly repatriated to Türkiye. The study introduces the concept of neighborhood pressure to the Swiss literature by examining the reintegration processes of its focal persons in Türkiye through a close lens. Thus, it 'shows' the difficulties people face in Türkiye after their release from prison, as well as their reintegration processes, spatial stages, and social structures. With this knowledge, it generates concrete suggestions on supporting their resocialization, as is the case for ex-offenders who remain in Switzerland after completing their sentences. This makes the study interesting for legal and social scientists and equally relevant for theorists and practitioners.

The multi-sited ethnography methodology of this study allowed the researcher to conduct fieldwork in both Switzerland and Türkiye and to examine the interactions and relationships in these spaces. In this way, the researcher was able to carefully and comprehensively answer the research questions in the study by gaining a closer understanding of the resocialization process of Turkish prisoners and developing recommendations. The empirical data provided by the study offers a significant added value to official statistics, which so far allow only limited explanations about the resocialization of foreign prisoners with legally binding criminal deportation orders. Content analysis from extensive face-to-face interviews, which require much effort, provides additional information and makes for an interesting analytical assessment.

Another strength of this research is that the researcher has emphasized the subjective experiences and opinions of ex-offenders in Türkiye, inmates in Switzerland, and experts inside and outside the penitentiary system without taking sides in the resocialization process in both Switzerland and Türkiye while adhering to the principle of objectivity. The researcher takes advantage of this diversity to conduct a comprehensive evaluation and analysis process, treating the perspectives that participants bring to the table as of equal value. This diversity manifests as a depth and richness of knowledge after thirty separate interviews. This characteristic of the research enables different views and approaches to be brought to the table, this information to be evaluated, and practical solutions to be developed. Impartiality allows

the researcher to objectively evaluate all perspectives and present this information for the benefit of society. Therefore, this study has the potential to offer different and innovative approaches to the challenges faced by scientific research. It proposes an online training module as a resocialization strategy. This proposal aims to enable inmates to gain relatively early knowledge about the reality of life in Türkiye before their release from prison and to become 'subjects' of their reintegration process by changing their disadvantaged family-dependent position at the beginning of their post-prison reintegration in Türkiye.

## **11.2 To what extent are the results generalizable and transferable to other contexts?**

This question points to a frequently mentioned weakness of qualitative research: difficulty generalizing the results. The number of cases in this qualitative research does not include all Turkish prisoners who had to leave Switzerland after completing their sentence. Having collected data only through an interview study with seven ex-prisoners and a film ethnography with three protagonists of the movie "Arada," the researcher does not claim that the descriptive results are valid for all the Turkish citizens under deportation orders. However, it is certainly possible to develop a causal model that can be tested on a larger sample (Mayring, 2007). Transferring the results of the analysis to other contexts is also possible in principle but requires justification: the contexts should be compared, and it should be reasonably justified why the results can be transferred.

Due to the nature of qualitative research, the findings are only valid for the study participants. The focus on people from Türkiye as the population of prisoners and ex-prisoners and the sample of ten ex-prisoners, including those in the film, eight experts in prison, twelve experts outside prison, and three transnational social workers, limits the generalizability of the findings. This is a small study of a prison population in which more than seventy percent do not hold a Swiss passport, and approximately fifty countries are represented.

Nevertheless, the results of this study can be used as a basis for future studies on this topic, which makes it essential. Due to the hard-to-reach nature of the participant group, no distinction could be made in terms of various variables such as gender, types of offenses, years of imprisonment, and the institution where the sentence was served. On the other hand, rehabilitation activities may improve or decline according to the years spent in prison. The fact that these differentiations could not be revealed in the study constitutes another limitation.

## **11.3 Future Research**

Two main recommendations for future research can be offered. The first is investigating and implementing an online training module as a method that can contribute to developing individuals' social reintegration skills while in the Swiss penal system. This method should be designed and tested as a pilot project in order to support inmates to gain a better understanding and make concrete plans about the countries they will live in after completing their sentence. It aims to make an essential contribution to supporting the reintegration process of prisoners by equipping them with the necessary knowledge and skills to prepare them for their future life in their "homeland."

Future studies could assess how living conditions in Türkiye, increased official control, and other autocratic oppressive factors may (negatively) affect the target group's demands for such resocialization. In parallel, when the perceived failure of reintegration processes is considered as a failure of the system or program rather than of the prisoners themselves (Rose, 2000, p. 331), how can individuals, especially those who have achieved economic freedom in Türkiye like Tolga, be connected to a 'moral community'?

that refuses to include them? The question is still unanswered and could be explored further. This would be an essential step towards supporting and ensuring the successful reintegration of individuals in resocialization into society.

#### **11.4 In conclusion . . .**

It is observed that most of the Turkish inmates interviewed in the Swiss penitentiary system have already had a weak or incomplete socialization (Musa's example shows it very clearly) in terms of social and legal order in their previous lives. It seems complicated to overcome this lack of socialization through (re)socialization in the correctional system. Executing a prison sentence is often only an attempt to complete socialization - substitute socialization (Schüler-Springorum, 1969, p. 166; Müller-Dietz, 1967, p. 294). The prison should, therefore, offer the most comprehensive and differentiated socialization possible depending on the needs of the individual prisoner (Steinbeisser, 1973, p. 47; Cornel, 2023b, pp. 41-43). For this group, who have to return to their country after serving their prison sentence, substitute socialization measures (transnational social work) are needed prior to and after release. As Expert-1 and other experts have pointed out, the importance of people who understand the Swiss and Turkish systems well and can act as a bridge between the two countries comes to the fore. Former prisoners must be given a realistic and honest assessment of how they could adapt to Türkiye and what challenges they will likely face. This assessment should also cover social reintegration and assistance issues and ensure that individuals are prepared for their new life in Türkiye. This approach should provide a mix of support to meet their social and legal needs.

## 12 Bibliography

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## ANNEX – 1

**Table 11** *Codes and sources*

Code	Actor group	Category of Expert	Data type
Expert 1	Film Producer and ex-prisoner`s friend	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 2	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 3	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Ali	Inmate	Inmate	Interview
Veli	Inmate	Inmate	Interview
Expert 4	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Expert 5	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Expert 6	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Hasan	Inmate	Inmate	Interview
Expert 7	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Musa	Inmate	Inmate	Interview
Ekrem	Inmate	Inmate	Interview
Expert 8	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Expert 9	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 10	Lawyer	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 11	Transnational Social Worker	Transnational Social Worker	Interview
Expert 12	Former Prosecutor	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 13	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 14	Lawyer	community-based experts	Interview
Tolga	Ex-prisoner	Ex-prisoner	Online - Interview
Expert 15	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Expert 16	Transnational Social Worker	Transnational Social Worker	Interview
Expert 17	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 18	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Expert 19	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 20	Lawyer	community-based experts	Interview
Expert 21	Transnational Social Worker	Transnational Social Worker	Interview
Expert 22	Prison Employee	in-prison expert	Interview
Saglam	Inmate	Inmate	Interview
Expert 23	Academician	community-based experts	Interview
Duran	Ex-prisoner	The Protagonist	Film ethnography
Vedat	Ex-prisoner	The Protagonist	Film ethnography
Mustafa	Ex-prisoner	The Protagonist	Film ethnography



**Table 12** *Project Goals, Data Types, and Research Approach*

Project Goals, Data Types, and Research Approach		
Specific Goal	Data Type	Operationalization
Individual Perspective (micro level) Who are the Turkish prisoners in the Swiss criminal justice system, and how is the country's re-socialization goal implemented for Turkish prisoners who have a judicial expulsion order?	<p>Documents:</p> <p>(1) Files from prisons (i.e., prisoners' individual sentence plans; Art. 75 para. 3 SCC).</p> <p>(2) Statistical data (i.e., Swiss prison statistics).</p> <p>(3) Annual reports on the relevant institutions.</p> <p>(4) Laws, regulations, guidelines, house rules, and so on pertaining to prisons and prisoners.</p> <p>Observations:</p> <p>(1) Female and male foreign prisoners in Switzerland.</p> <p>(2) Female and male foreign ex-prisoners in Switzerland.</p> <p>(3) Female and male foreign ex-prisoners in</p>	<p>The first specific goal of the project is to answer the following questions by using relevant documents, observations, and interviews.</p> <p><b>Literature and document analysis.</b> Both are used to describe and explore the resocialization of prisoners.</p> <p><b>Observation.</b> The researcher observed the study participants while they were incarcerated and (online) after they had been deported.</p> <p><b>Interviews.</b> The goal of this research at the <i>micro level</i> is to interview individuals in the following groups to obtain the information specified:</p> <p>(1) <b>Life history interview with Turkish prisoners inside prison (group - t1).</b> The researcher asked the prisoners about their resocialization experience, their current situation, and their future expectations for their remaining time in prison.</p>  <p>(2) <b>Life history interview with Turkish prisoners after their deportation (group – t2).</b> Using multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 2012), the researcher used new forms of communication (e.g., online) to ask the deported prisoners about their resocialization experience, their current situation, and their future expectations for life back in Türkiye.</p>  <p>(3) <b>Interviews with criminal justice experts and prison employees.</b> These interviews are intended to help the researcher better understand the results of similar studies described in the literature</p>



	<p>Türkiye.</p> <p>Interviews: Data collection in prison by means of interviews with:</p> <p>(1) Female and male foreign prisoners.</p> <p>(2) Female and male foreign ex-prisoners in Switzerland.</p> <p>(3) Female and male foreign ex-prisoners living in Türkiye.</p> <p>(4) Interviews with criminal justice experts.</p> <p>(5) Interviews with prison employees.</p>	<p>review and to shed more light on what the researcher learned during the prisoner interviews. The researcher explores (a) What is the situation of prisoners with a national expulsion order who are released from the criminal justice system without being able to be deported (because, for example, they lack the necessary documents or they face an acute threat to their life in their country of origin)? and (b) How could these prisoners' legal position or residence status be improved so that they can regain a perspective on life?</p> <p><b>Content Analysis.</b> The researcher applied qualitative content analysis to determine the reality of prisoner resocialization based on the prisoner-interviews dataset.</p>
<p>Family Perspective (meso level) How the relevant family members of Turkish prisoners' cope with the consequences of the prisoner's judicial expulsion order?</p>	<p>Observations: The relevant family members of foreign prisoners.</p> <p>Interviews: Data collection was done through interviews with friends and social workers concerned about foreign prisoners in Switzerland.</p>	<p>The researcher analyzed the literature to explore family perspectives on foreign prisoners.</p> <p><b>Observations:</b> The researcher observed the situations of relevant family members of foreign prisoners after a national expulsion order for the foreign prisoners.</p> <p><b>Interviews:</b> The goal of this research at the <i>meso level</i> is to answer the following question: How is the life of a convicted person's family organized when it is clear that the convicted person and possibly the entire family have to leave Switzerland after the prisoner's sentence ends?</p> <p><b>Content Analysis:</b> The researcher applied qualitative content analysis to explore how the relevant family members of foreign prisoners cope with the consequences of a national expulsion order based on the friend and social worker interviews dataset.</p>
<p>Transnational Perspective (macro level)</p>	<p>Interviews: Data collection in Switzerland and Türkiye by means of interviews with multiple officials in the criminal justice system who</p>	<p>Being deported from the Switzerland catapults Turkish prisoners into a state of liminality in which they are betwixt and between the existence of two transitional periods (Van Gennep, 1960). The first period is from Switzerland to Türkiye; the second period is back in Türkiye, which lacks a suitable resocialization process for these individuals. To mitigate this state of liminality for foreign</p>

<p>How can Turkish ex-prisoners who are expelled from Switzerland after serving their sentence be reintegrated into society and not return to a life of crime or radicalization, as provided for in Article 75 of the Swiss Criminal Code?</p>	<p>are responsible for the resocialization of foreign prisoners, such as (1) criminal justice experts, (2) prison employees, (3) cantonal prison authorities, (4) nongovernmental organization workers, (5) researchers, (6) forensic psychiatrists, (7) prison religious officials, and (8) prison staff responsible for prisoner education, training, and so on.</p>	<p>deportees, new approaches to resocialization that enable pending deportees to prepare for life back in their home country, must be developed. For example, transnational social work appears to be helpful in preparing or enabling deportees to live a crime-free life in their home country (Richter, 2010).</p> <p><b>Interviews:</b> The goal of this research at <i>macro level</i> is to answer following questions based on the information obtained from interviews of the partners named in Data Type column at left: (1) To what extent can a discussion about transnationality benefit the resocialization of Turkish prisoners? (2) What are the prerequisites for successful transnational resocialization? (3) What new forms of cooperation with authorities and agencies in prisoners' home countries appear to be helpful or necessary for preparing or enabling deported prisoners to live a crime-free life in their home country? and (4) How should Switzerland's sentence-enforcement policies be modified to enable foreign prisoners who are deported to achieve successful resocialization and not return to a life of crime?</p> <p><b>Content Analysis:</b> The researcher applied qualitative content analysis of the partner-interviews dataset to explore how the resocialization goal of the Swiss Criminal Code should be implemented for foreign prisoners who are expelled from Switzerland after serving their sentence.</p>
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