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Reading Discourses in Documentary Cinema Truth: An Analysis of Discourse Through Michel Foucault's Understanding of "Dispositif"

Belgesel Sinema Gerçeğinde Söylemleri Okumak: Michel Foucault'nun "Dispositif" Anlayışı Üzerinden Söylem Analizi

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Abstract: Focusing on the concept of "dispositif," introduced by philosopher and sociologist Michel Foucault, the study aims to determine how reality is reflected in documentaries regarding the sociocultural infrastructure of the "dispositif." The methodology employed discourse analysis, which attempts to determine the meanings conveyed by conversations and written texts. According to the findings of the study, which examined the documentary series "Inside The World's Toughest Prisons," the "dispositive" in the documentary stems from sociological, psychological, economic, cultural, moral, political, and religious infrastructures. Furthermore, the documentary series' discourses reveal similar and different realities regarding the social functioning of prisons in various countries, concluding that discourses are highly effective in conveying reality.

Keywords: Documentary Truth, Michel Foucault, Dispositif, Discourse Analysis, Inside The World's Toughest Prisons.

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Öz: Çalışma, filozof ve sosyolog Michel Foucault'nun ortaya koyduğu "dispositive" kavramına odaklanarak belgeselerde "dispositive"nin sosyo-kültürel altyapısına dair nasıl bir gerçeklik yansıtıldığını tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Metodolojide, konuşmaların ve yazılı metinlerin hangi anlama işaret ettiğini belirlemeye çalışan söylem analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Dünyanın En Zorlu Hapishaneleri belgesel serisinin ele alındığı çalışmanın bulgularına göre, belgeselde "dispositive"e, sosyolojik, psikolojik, ekonomik, kültürel, ahlâki, siyasi ve dini altyapılar kaynaklık etmektedir. Ayrıca belgesel serisi söylemlerinde çeşitli ülkelerin hapishanelerindeki toplumsal işleyişe yönelik benzer ve farklı gerçeklerin ortaya çıkarıldığı, dolayısıyla belgesel sinemanın gerçeği aktarmasında söylemlerin oldukça etkili olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Belgesel Gerçekliği, Michel Foucault, Dispositif, Söylem Analizi, Dünyanın En Zorlu Hapishaneleri.

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1. Introduction

Considering the explanations about the position of truth in documentaries, it is stated that the relationship between documentary and truth depends on a number of elements. These elements include subject matter, audience experiences, perceptions, cinematography or the director's point of view. At this point, the study assumes that the discourses in documentary cinema may also be among these elements and bases its analysis in this direction on the examples of Deleuze, who defines "the real" as "what actually happens today in a factory, in a school, in a barracks, in a prison, in a police station" (Foucault, 2011a: 37) and Foucault (2011a: 106), who examines the positions and actions of powers "entirely in real practices". While Foucault considers mental hospitals and prisons as real practices in which different individual and social characteristics take place and accepts that these institutions contain "orders" of power that encompass certain elements (Keskin, 2014: 21).

Whereas the concept of "dispositif" that Foucault uses refers to a social structure or rather to an apparatus that is the result of strategies carried out by power (Revel, 2012: 64). Foucault (2011a: 119), who states that this apparatus contains a number of elements, considers the network of relations that can be established between elements as "dispositifs" and states that "dispositifs" have a strategic importance for certain functions such as providing, developing, preventing, balancing and using power (Keskin, 2014: 18). According to Hamann et al. (2019: 60, 61), Foucault's concept of "dispositif" is a starting point for understanding and conceptualizing the power, inequality and other contexts between linguistic expressions and social institutions, as well as a concept that is academically quite suitable for explaining social dynamics. This study, which aims to reveal the role of discourses in documentaries within this concept, is considered significant and distinct from other academic studies in that it reveals both the nature of the concept of "dispositive" and the dynamics of discourses within documentaries. Furthermore, it is believed that this study can provide various perspectives for academic studies conducted in both visual and audio broadcast channels.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Elements of the Connection Between Documentary Cinema and Reality

The relationship between documentary cinema and reality depends on the interaction of certain elements specific to both reality and documentary. For example, according to Musburger (2007: 139), the human being interacting with his/her environment sees the reality of the interaction in the documentary. Similarly, Beattie bases the documentary reality on the real history of humanity. According to Beattie (2004: 10), it is not always possible to observe social phenomena. Documentary represents this observable reality with its own possibilities. According to Rotha (2000), documentary cinema try to take issues of national importance and place them on the movie screen without using fictional stories or glamorous actors. Therefore, documentary, whose method of conveying reality differs from fiction, is valuable not only for the individual but also for society. In addition to all these, according to Ulutak (1988: 3), if a documentary contains a truth, it is a success and the success of a documentary depends on the reality of the subject and the credibility of reality because people determine their perception of reality according to their own living conditions.

In the relationship between documentary cinema and reality, elements specific to documentary are evaluated from various angles. According to Nichols (2021: 85), what the documentary, which tries to reveal the truth with its artistic aspect, tries to show behind the claim of reality is the element of evidence. The documentary cinema presents the reality with the evidence it obtains through the perspective and interpretation of the one who wants to reveal that reality (Akbulut, 2018: 86). Coles also draws attention to the evidentiary element of the documentary and according to Coles (1997: 5), the documentary cinema is an important document, i.e. evidence, with the equipment it uses (camera, sound, archival photographs or video footage) and its narrative structure.

One of the important elements to be mentioned in the relationship between documentary cinema and reality is cinematography. Cereci (2022: 40, 41), who accepts that documentary is a genre that shows reality, attributes documentary reality to the use of cinematographic tools. According to Akbulut (2018: 86), who states that the documentary producer/director should be free to choose the most functional cinematography, these choices made freely on the subject help the documentary maker to reveal his/her views, to express his/her creativity and thus to present his/her own reality. According to Aufderheide (2007: 25), the reality dimension of any documentary emerges through the filmmaker's narrative presentation style. At this point, the reality that narratively developed presentation styles will reveal for the documentary's subject, director, or audience may differ. For example, documentary narratives in the classical sense—such as the descriptive style, which aims to inform through visuals, the poetic style, dominated by visual associations, the observational style, which conveys observations, the reflective style, which allows the audience to see behind the scenes of the documentary process, and the participatory style, which includes the presenter, producer, or director (Buckland, 2018; Nichols, 2017)—can reveal different situations within the same reality or different truths from the same situation. The crucial issue at this stage is deciding which narrative format to convey. Of course, in today's context, the new opportunities brought about by digitalization cannot be ignored in making this decision. Because it's safe to say that documentary narratives have reached new narrative dimensions by adapting to the innovations brought about by digitalization. For example, these documentaries include interactive documentaries (i-docs), which are produced using digital media and in which viewers become active actors within the documentary (Toprak, 2022: 196), web documentaries (web-docs), interactive documentaries designed for online presentation (Ocak, 2022: 12), and desktop documentaries, which allow for simultaneous video creation and presentation (Kiss, 2021: 99, Lee, 2023: 597). These documentaries are considered formally distinct genres and have sparked various discussions around diverse themes, such as creative tools, narrative structures, and varying user roles in revealing the truth (Yurtseven, 2022: 244).

2.2. The Prison Phenomenon in Historical, Qualitative and Foucauldian Understanding

Prison, considered the mirror of a society and the image of culture, derives from humanity's primitive and brutal expressions of violence and is integrated with the concept of punishment (Demirtaş, 2004: 11). Punishment is "a sanction imposed in response to a crime, defined as typical, unlawful, and flawed human behaviour" (Özbek, 2019b: 37). Although the purpose of punishment has changed and become more moderate depending on the civilizational level of societies throughout history, punishment has generally been implemented according to two perspectives. The first is punishment imposed for past wrongdoing, and the other is punishment imposed because it will benefit society in the future (Doğan, 2009: 16). Throughout history, voluntary exile, the expulsion of the perpetrator from society or the return of the victim to his or her family, retribution, and subsequent punishments restricting freedom have been implemented (Artuk & Alşahin, 2015: 147). The history of punishments restricting freedom is also intertwined with the history of prisons (Demirtaş, 2004: 3).

In the modern sense, the prison, a tool for detaining criminals, punishing criminals, or rehabilitating them, is said to have been first opened for men in Amsterdam between 1595 and 1596 (Demirtaş, 2004: 13; Kızmaz, 2007, Saygılı, 2004: 179). In the first half of the 16th century, the purpose of punishment in prisons was to administer physical and life-threatening punishments, while in the second half, punishments that restricted freedom for a specific period were implemented. In the 18th century, imprisonment and prisons began to attract attention. During this period, American and European scholars began to question the structure of society, the individual's position within society, and the methods of punishing criminals. The first reforms in correctional facilities were implemented during this period, when prisons were overcrowded and mismanaged, brutal corporal punishment was used, and crime was on the rise (Artuk & Alşahin, 2015: 147). However, the situation in prisons in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was still bleak (Demirtaş, 2004: 15). In the 20th century, efforts to reintegrate education and social life in prisons became prominent (Özbek, 2019a: 7).

Over time, Western society has come to believe that the primary purpose of punishment is reformation, paralleling the directly proportional relationship between crime and punishment applied to the offender. Various execution systems have been developed to achieve this goal. These systems include the mass imprisonment system, in which no distinction is made between offenders and where people from diverse groups with different physical, mental, and emotional structures are held together; the isolation system, in which prisoners are kept alone in a single cell day and night and are controlled by religion and work; the silence system, which combines the advantages of both systems to eliminate the drawbacks of community and solitary confinement, leaving prisoners alone at night and working in workshops during the day for a pittance, without being allowed to communicate with each other; the good behavior system, in which prisoners are given positive marks for good and reformatory behavior in their daily lives and negative marks for bad behavior; the panopticon system, in which the monitored person cannot see the monitor and never knows when they are being monitored; After the criminal's sentence is finalized, they are kept under surveillance for a certain period. Their reasons for committing the crime, their character, family, behavior towards other inmates and prison staff, work ability, and spiritual state are assessed. Based on this information, their group is determined for execution, and they are then subjected to systems such as observation and classification (Uyanik, 2017: 93-102). Michel Foucault, while examining the practices through which these prison systems change and develop within a holistic structure, points to the existence of a structure essentially dominated by power relations. According to Foucault, power produces life experiences through medicine or psychology and subjects individuals to processes of objectification. It does this through practices implemented through institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals, and schools. With a society that is monitored, controlled, and disciplined within the logic of confinement, new technologies of power are produced, and prisons provide a suitable environment for this. While the ruling power controls communication processes in prisons within the framework of its own conditions and needs, difficulties experienced in communication practices lead to power conflict (Özsoy, 2018). Of course, this is not the only situation. In his work *Surveiller et Punir, Naissance de la Prison*, Foucault (1992) also examines the situations caused by submissive bodies, activities, organizations, hierarchies, and emotions in prisons and clarifies the functioning of prison systems.

2.3. "Dispositif" and Its Heterogeneous Elements in the Discourse of Michel Foucault

Foucault begins to use "dispositif" as a substitute for a concept that he includes as "episteme" in many of his works (Revel, 2012: 66). According to Foucault (2011a: 122), the "episteme" is not only the result of the aggregation of various utterances conveyed by various expert opinions, but also "the set of relations between the sciences that can be discovered, for a given epoch, when they are analyzed at the level of discursive orders" (Foucault, 1999: 245). Moreover, for Foucault (2011a: 122, 123), episteme is a kind of "dispositif" that makes it possible to distinguish the scientific from the non-scientific, but the "dispositif", which is separate from the "episteme", is a strategy focused on power and knowledge. At this point, Keskin (2014: 19), states that powers render people obedient and docile through the "dispositif", while Gambetti (2012: 29) states that the "dispositif" contains a number of elements consisting of facts and that social relations are managed by establishing a balance between these elements.

Foucault does not clearly define the concept of "dispositif" but gives a general information about the concept as follows:

What I am trying to explain with this concept is, first of all, a completely heterogeneous whole consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific utterances, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions, that is, everything that has been said as well as unsaid. The dispositif is composed of these elements, and the dispositif itself is determined by the network of relations that can be established between these elements (Foucault, 2011a: 119).

Foucault (2011a, p. 119) states that the "dispositive" appears in the form of a network of relationships that can occur between these elements and continues her explanations of the concept as follows:

The dispositif is the manipulation of power relations in a specific direction; it is a calculated, rational form of intervention. This manipulation and intervention sometimes aims to ensure the development of power relations in a certain direction, sometimes to obstruct them, and sometimes to stabilize and transform them to one's own advantage. Therefore, the dispositif always exists within the framework of a power game. However, it also points to the rules that constrain our ways of knowing. The dispositif gives shape to knowledge, but knowledge, in turn, does not refrain from shaping the dispositif. Ah, that's what the dispositif is: the strategies of power relations that not only rely on certain forms of knowing but also underpin these forms of knowing (Agamben, 2012, p. 15).

According to Agamben (2012, pp. 16-20), who suggests that certain philosophical ideas may underlie Foucault's views on the concept of "dispositif," Hegel is one of the originators of these ideas. The common ground between Hegel and Foucault is "positivity." According to Hegel, "positivity," or "positive religion," is the form of religion, of which there are two types, imposed on individuals by rules, beliefs, and rituals imposed on individuals by other individuals or institutions. The other type of religion is "natural religion," which emerges through the intervention of human reason. For Hegel, "positive religion," or "positivity," is an obstacle to human freedom. According to Agamben, this "historical element," imposed by an external power on humans who bear the burden of rules, customs, and institutions and adopted by individuals in their worlds of belief and emotion, is what Hegel calls "positivity." In this vein, Foucault's own problematic is the relationship between the "historical element" imposed on the individual—institutions, subjectivation processes, and sets of rules that emerge from the concretization of power relations. Within this framework, Foucault attempts to reveal the concrete forms that positivities, or dispositivities, take within power relations and mechanisms.

Agamben (2012, pp. 15, 16) emphasizes three points regarding the "dispositif," in line with Foucault's explanations:

- A multiple whole, whether linguistic or non-linguistic, is conceived in the mind and includes elements such as discourse, institution, structure, law, police measure, philosophical proposition, etc. in each method. The network woven between these elements is the dispositif.
- The functions of the dispositif emerge concretely; these functions have strategic importance and emerge within the framework of power relations.
- In this form, the dispositif emerges from the interaction between power relations and cognition relations.

In these explanations by both Foucault and Agamben, linguistic and non-linguistic elements are at the forefront. Foucault's concept of "dispositive" expresses both a linguistic and non-linguistic perspective. This concept reveals the nexus of power and knowledge that reflects institutional constraints on the processes of interpreting the linguistic and non-linguistic. When considering linguistic elements, studies that reference the concept of "dispositive" generally distinguish between, on the one hand, the meso- and macro-societal levels that provide the institutional and social structures that emerge through discourses, and, on the other, the micro-level upon which discourses are built (Scholz, 2019, p. 8).

Up to this point, it's possible to say that Foucault's concept of "dispositive" refers to the aspect of the governing relations between society and power that encompasses what is not said as much as what is said. Of course, to make this situation more understandable, the heterogeneous elements that constitute the "dispositive"—discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions—need further examination.

Based on Foucault's definition of "dispositif," it is useful to first address the concept of discourse. Discourse, derived from the Latin verb "to run back and forth," means "to discuss, converse, or converse about a topic" (Duman, 2018, p. 9). The word discourse is defined in *Petit Robert* as "the verbal expression of thought" (Günay, 2018, p. 21), while Kocaman (2009, p. 6) states that discourse means "language, argument, form of expression, point of view, ideology, doctrine, style, and, furthermore, individual language."

Özüdoğru (2016, p. 11) states that discourse is frequently cited, particularly in linguistic studies, but that discourse cannot be limited solely to linguistics. Dijk (2003, p. 58) also states that the meaning of discourse cannot be limited to the meaning of the words within it. Discourses can hold various meanings, whether on a topic, theme, or global context, thus representing important information. Similarly, Fairclough (2003, p. 174) also notes that discourses can represent social structures within different practices. When it comes to the point of difference, Sözen (2017, p. 10), who states that every discourse expressed constructs a reality, also underlines that discourses created with different language practices will present different realities and puts forward the view that acquiring information, providing power and establishing authority are the functions of discourses created through language. Foucault, on the other hand, while examining how discourse is formed and changes in his studies of language, states that discourse is a reality based on complexity, composed of knowledge and systems, rooted in social practices, and ultimately conceptualized as a language system (Bircan, 2016, pp. 88, 89). According to Foucault (1987, p. 24), who argues that discourse is the linguistic equivalent of the articulation between knowledge and power (Revel, 2012, p. 115), discourse is a power that is contested and attempted to be obtained, including discussions or pressure mechanisms. In this case, it is possible to view discourse as a mechanism where an interaction between knowledge and power takes place, where certain power-oriented conflicts can occur, and to argue that this mechanism finds its counterpart within the linguistic system.

A significant aspect of Foucault's research on discourse is that it introduces a discourse analysis method that will shed light, particularly on social science research. Discourse analysis attempts to determine the meanings that conversations and written texts convey (Sancar, 2005, p. 584). However, in the discourse analysis Foucault (2011a, p. 184) prefers in his work, what he aims to achieve is not the meaning of the discourses themselves, but rather the "function that can be attributed to the discourse being uttered at that moment." From this perspective, it's possible to consider that the functional aspect of discourses suggests that the reality in documentary films is questionable.

Institution, another element of the "dispositif," is defined by Türkkahraman (2009, p. 26) as "methods and ways of doing things in an orderly, continuous, and rule-abiding manner." Şeker and Bulduklu (2018, p. 28) define it as "structures established to meet a social need." A sociological examination reveals that institutions are established to meet social needs such as health, education, religion, housing, security, and so on. Regardless of their purpose, specialization, continuity, and rules are important (Türkkahraman, 2009, p. 27). Furthermore, when examined sociologically, institutions are divided into two categories: general institutions, which regulate the behavior of all people in areas such as religion, morality, the market, or law; and specific institutions, which regulate the behavior of business lines or subgroups (Demir, 2005).

According to North (1990, p. 3), whose explanations of institutions are notable, institutions are "the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction." According to Boliari and Topyan (2007, p. 2), the key point in North's definition is constraints, and these constraints can be formal contracts, codes of conduct, or imposition-oriented rules of behavior, as well as informal ones. According to Foucault (2011a, p. 123), an institution is "generally all types of learned behavior that are more or less constrained. Anything that functions as a system of constraints in a society and is not an utterance—in short, the entire non-discursive realm at the societal level—is an institution." According to Foucault, through institutions and power mechanisms, forces that may cause exclusion in society can be applied, people can be exiled or imprisoned, activities can be carried out to destroy a certain group or actions can be taken to cause epidemics (Sat, 2019: 59).

Before addressing the characteristics of architectural structures among the elements of "dispositif," it is necessary to define the concept of structure. A structure is an above-ground or underground facility that is constructed by combining certain materials with certain construction techniques to meet certain needs (Demirarslan, vd. 2023: 4). According to Kuban (2016, pp. 11, 13), who views structure as an act of architecture, the act of building, at its simplest and most general level, is the production of objects of all sizes—in other words, the creation of a visible material environment. An architectural act of building

involves creating a form appropriate to the desired purpose and the structure that will sustain this form, using the most appropriate materials and construction techniques to serve this purpose. Most structures consist of multiple interconnected spaces that serve multiple functions. Therefore, people feel the need to move from one space to another. Therefore, appropriate spaces must be constructed to direct movement from one area to another. This function, called the “circulation function,” is a function that depends on the consideration of utility (Roth, 2006, p. 33).

Of course, many aspects of architectural structures can be addressed at the physical and social levels, but the focus here is on Foucault's perspective on architectural structure. In his work, *The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault (1992, p. 37), while examining the French penal system, draws attention to the pressures imposed on bodies kept in closed architectural structures. According to Foucault, there is a direct relationship between spatial architecture and power in the formation of these pressures (Öztürk, 2012, p. 136). According to Foucault (1992, pp. 177, 178, 216), within this relationship, architecture serves the functions of disciplining society, such as surveillance, interfering with people's behavior, suppressing communications that could result in danger, and obedience to power. Foucault (2011b, p. 135) notes that the architectural form Jeremy Bentham referred to as the Panopticon (watch-house), which enables everyone to be kept under surveillance, is effective in fulfilling such functions. According to Bentham (2008, pp. 12, 13), the architectural forms of all institutions can keep those within them under surveillance, resulting in those under surveillance being forced to monitor themselves. The tighter the surveillance, the more effectively the institution fulfills its function.

Another element in Foucault's understanding of “dispositif” is regulatory decisions, but in order to understand regulatory decisions, the concept of law must first be explained. In legal terminology, law is defined as “a general, permanent and abstract rule of law enacted by the legislature in writing and under this name; law” (Yılmaz E. , 1986: 787). According to Foucault (2014: 143), who states that powers are always designed as laws or prohibitions, a new model of power emerges in the modern period (Koloş, 2015: 6). This model of power, which Foucault (2007: 103) calls biopower, is that instead of killing bodies, the power keeps them alive by managing them in accordance with its own interests (Koloş, 2015: 288). According to Foucault, there are two situations within the understanding of biopower. The first of these is anatomy-politics and the other is biopolitics. Anatomy-politics sees the body as a machine, disciplines it, enables the body's abilities and powers to emerge, and shapes the body in a disciplined manner (Koloş, 2015: 268, 269). Bio-politics, which focuses on regulation, is linked to the sexual and biological aspects of individuals (Göksel, 2012: 353). The foremost function of biopolitics is to balance the population (Foucault, 2002: 252). Therefore, according to Foucault (2011c: 238), the body as a place of recording events is as important as birth, death and situations that can affect life span (Foucault, 2007: 103). According to Foucault (2007: 103), all this requires a series of responsibilities and interventions, which is the biopolitics of the population and for which regulatory control pathways are needed.

The concept of administration, which is equivalent to the concept of management, means “an organization established for the realization of a certain purpose or a planned human activity carried out to achieve this purpose” (as cited in Gözler & Kaplan, 2018: 9). According to Foucault, measures can be taken administratively that can change according to the circumstances. For example, confining people in certain classifications to prisons, asylums or hospitals against the danger of rebellion related to economic and human problems (Foucault, 2011b: 12), resorting to surveillance techniques by considering the risks of a prisoner's recidivism or aiming to correct deviance (Foucault, 2013: 9; Revel, 2012: 44), the creation of hospitals to protect healthy people against disease (Foucault, 2006: 64), or the adoption of certain legal regulations against problems in the division of inheritance by the rich (Foucault, 2012: 121) are administrative measures.

Scientific utterances, another element of the “dispositif”, should first be analyzed under the concept of “utterance”. According to Foucault, “utterance” is not a proposition, sentence or speech act (Deleuze, 1985). The “utterance” must first be considered as an event (Bert, 2020: 10; Eksen, 2012: xiii; Foucault, 1999: 41). The “utterance”, that is, the event, occupies a place in a social space and in a historical process (Bert, 2020: 10) and enables the construction of the meaningful by creating a network of rules (Aras, 2023: 187). In this case, it is possible to see the “scientific utterances” expressed by Foucault (Çelebi, 2013), who sees science

as an extension of power that serves to control and imprison people rather than liberate them, as a set of events that are thought to be meaningful as a result of a network of rules that serve to control and imprison people.

Finally, we come to examine what philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions are in Foucauldian understanding. According to Foucault (2014), the interaction between subject and power is at the root of people's philosophical actions. Similarly, Foucault locates morality in the relationship between subject and power. According to Foucault (2011a: 25), the Western world, together with Christianity, introduced new techniques on sexual morality and new mechanisms of power were produced with these techniques. Of course, there is not only a mechanism of power in the sense of the state in terms of moral regulations. As a father, husband or older brother, we can also talk about the existence of a male power that needs to be shaped towards women under a masculine morality (Foucault, 2007: 136). Foucault, who argues that charity is also decisive in subject and power relations, states that the fact that the churches carried out charitable works for the mentally ill in the Middle Ages added prestige to the churches (Koloş, 2015: 193). This is an indication of the impact of the relationship between charity and religious power on society.

As understood, the dispositif described by Foucault, consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, and philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions, is an order that exists within a social system, becomes operational through physical interventions, and affects both the physical and mental existence of the individual. How such an order becomes operational on individuals confined behind closed doors and what its effects on individuals might be opens the door to examining the subject from different perspectives. In this regard, it was considered that documentary cinema, by its very nature, could approach the subject from a different angle and reveal the dynamics of the "dispositive" through its own narrative language, and an effort was made in this direction.

3. Aim and Methodology

This study, which examines the role of discourses in documentaries, centers on the concept of "dispositive" defined by Michel Foucault as "Discourses are a completely heterogeneous whole composed of institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific discourses; philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions." Based on documentary cinema discourses, it aims to determine how reality is reflected in the socio-cultural infrastructure of this heterogeneous whole.

3.1. Research Questions

1. Which elements of the "dispositif" are included in the discourses in the documentary?
2. Who conveys the discourses on the "dispositif" in the documentary?
3. What are the common and different realities that the discourses reflect in the documentaries?
4. Do the discourses convey the underlying reasons for the emergence of the "dispositive"?

3.2. Methodology

Discourse analysis attempts to determine the meanings conveyed by conversations and written texts (Sancar, 2005: 584). In discourse analysis, it is important to determine who says what and under what circumstances (Duncum, 2017: 39; Rose, 2001: 149). The aim of discourse analysis is to seek answers to questions such as, "How does an utterance reveal what it says or states?" or "What rules have been developed for this situation?" (Günay, 2018: 202). What is said consists of internally consistent information and is considered evidence emerging from the analysis (Duncum, 2017: 40). Evidence is closely related to persuasion, and evidence can occur within the context of the recipient's persuasion (Günay, 2018: 363-365). Discourse analysis includes pragmatic, critical, conversational, and narrative analysis. Conversation analysis is a discourse analysis that focuses on verbal communication (Duman, 2018: 57). In this type of

analysis, where interactive conversations are considered a key indicator, people categorize themselves within a specific group, expressing their membership in the society they live in, and revealing their individual states such as love, hate, and anger (Duman, 2018: 58; Günay, 2018: 47).

Research indicates that conversation analysis reveals the nature of social life. Conversation analysis, which examines everyday conversations as well as those in institutions such as schools, courts, and hospitals, enables the articulation of problems in these conversations and the search for solutions. Consequently, conversation analysis is seen to occur in two types: informal everyday conversation and institutional conversation (Duman, 2018:).

This study utilizes conversation analysis, a type of discourse analysis (Duman, 2018: 57), which involves analyzing interviews conducted with inmates and prison officials in prisons, an institution. In addition, the speeches of documentary presenters were analyzed. The references in these conversations are to the "dispositif" elements described by Foucault, which have been attempted to be clarified and made understandable in the literature. These elements include discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, and philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions.

3.3. Data Collection Tool and Sample

This study employed purposive sampling, a widely accepted sampling method in qualitative research analysis (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2018: 118). Data were collected from the documentary series *Inside the World's Toughest Prisons*, consisting of seven seasons and 27 episodes, broadcast on the digital streaming platform Netflix, using purposive sampling. Each episode of the documentary, considered a participatory documentary, focused on life in high-security prisons in different countries. Season 1 of the documentary series is hosted by Paul Connolly, while the other six seasons are hosted by Raphael Rowe, a convicted murderer in the UK who spent 12 years trying to clear his name. Both documentary presenters enter prison as inmates and spend a week there, sharing their experiences and interviewing inmates and prison officials. This documentary, examined by Salman (2020) as an example of narrative participatory documentary, features interviews and archival footage. The host's experience of prison life as a prisoner for a week made it possible to make visible the realities of prison life. Furthermore, the documentary not only captured prison life but also captured prisoner psychology, sociological and cultural phenomena related to countries, and economic indicators. From this perspective, the research questioned the extent to which these phenomena or indicators align with Foucault's concept of "dispositif."

In applying discourse analysis, a table (table 1) was first created showing which sections featured which country and prison. Subsequently, each of the 27 episodes comprising the documentary series was watched individually, and analysis units were created in three separate categories. These analysis units are the presenter, the prisoner, and the prison officials. The discourses of the identified analysis units were noted according to their suitability to the content of the "dispositive" concept, and data was obtained. Due to the large amount of data obtained, a limitation was imposed, and the data was sampled by selecting from each prison. In addition, it was determined to what extent each analysis unit contributed to the documentary in terms of revealing the "dispositive" concept along with the discourses.

Table 1: Inside The World's Toughest Prisons documentary season, episode, country, and prison information

SEASON	EPISODE	COUNTRY	PRISON NAME	DURATION
Season 1	Episode 1	Honduras	Danli Prison	43 min.
Season 1	Episode 2	Poland	Piotrkow Prison	43 min.

Season 1	Episode 3	Mexican	El Hongo Prison	43 min.
Season 1	Episode 4	Philippines	Rizal City Jail	44 min.
Season 2	Episode 1	Brazil	Porto Velho Penitentiary	53 min.
Season 2	Episode 2	Ukraine	Zhytomyr Prison	50 min.
Season 2	Episode 3	Papua New Guinea	Bomana Prison	50 min.
Season 2	Episode 4	Belize	Belize Central Prison	51 min.
Season 3	Episode 1	Costa Rica	La Reforma Prison	47 min.
Season 3	Episode 2	Colombia	Bogota's District Prison	47 min.
Season 3	Episode 3	Romania	Craiova Prison	47 min.
Season 3	Episode 4	Norway	Halden Maximum Security Prison	47 min.
Season 4	Episode 1	Paraguay	Tacumbu Penitentiary	47 min.
Season 4	Episode 2	Germany	Schwalmstadt Maximum Security Prison	44 min.
Season 4	Episode 3	Mauritius	Melrose Maximum Security Prison	47 min.
Season 4	Episode 4	Lesotho	Maseru Central Correctional Institute	48 min.
Season 5	Episode 1	South Africa	Brandvlei Prison	52 min.
Season 5	Episode 2	Philippines	Manila City Jail	52 min.
Season 5	Episode 3	Greenland	Nuuk Maximum Security Prison	47 min.
Season 6	Episode 1	Moldova	Rezina Prison	44 min.
Season 6	Episode 2	Republic of Cyprus	Nicosia Central Prison	47 min.
Season 6	Episode 3	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Zenica Prison	45 min.
Season 6	Episode 4	Greece	Diavata Maximum Security Prison	45 min.
Season 7	Episode 1	Finland	Kylmakoski Prison	45 min.
Season 7	Episode 2	Czech Republic	Plezen Prison	46 min.
Season 7	Episode 3	Bali	Bangli Narkotika Prison	45 min.

Season 7	Episode 4	Solomon Island	Rove Central Correctional Center	47 min.
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4. Research Findings

In the analysis of the existence of the “dispositif” in the documentary series, the element of discourse, which Foucault states is based on the articulation between knowledge and power and the mechanisms of oppression, is encountered in Danli Prison in Honduras. In Danli Prison, which has more inmates than its capacity and lacks sufficient financial support, it is the inmates called coordinators, who are armed and are in charge rather than the guards. The importance of information for the so-called coordinators is evident in the following words of the prisoner to Connolly:

- Prisoner: If someone disrespects you or wants to fight with you, you need to come here and let me know about it. I’ll punish that person so you don’t fight. (Season 1, episode 1)

While the prisoner points out the importance of having knowledge in order to maintain order in Danli Prison, he indicates that as long as he has knowledge, he has the power to impose the necessary sanctions. In this case, it is understood that the inmates called coordinators establish a discourse based on oppression by having power in Danli Prison.

Another way of obtaining information is found in Plzen Prison in the Czech Republic:

- 1 st prisoner: But there are also these ‘good people, you know? Like these “hotovci” who walk around and check things.
- 2 nd prisoner: They act like they are the guards, so they feel like they are above you.
- Rowe: So they’re what you call a snitch or a grass, or... They report to the guards. (Season 7, episode 2)

Prisoners living in close proximity to the hotovists facilitates information gathering, reduces the workload of the guards, and helps other prisoners to get their act together, knowing that they may encounter the hotovists on a regular basis.

The following views expressed in the documentary on what kind of institution prisons should or should not be in general terms are noteworthy:

Belize Central Prison:

- Mr. Murillo: People should not look forward to coming to prison. Prison should not be an option. Prison should not be an option for nobody, no matter what your circumstance is. That’s what I am saying. But if I make prison a bed of roses, that is what will happen. The jail will be filled up. Big time. (Season 2, episode 4)

Melrose Prison, Mauritius

- Mr. Appadoo: In the prison, you need to have a strict regime. They are being deprived of their liberty. But being deprived of their liberty means being deprived of many things that you have to enjoy in society. This is a prison. This is not Mama’s house. People in the prison should be afraid of the punishment you have. If they are not afraid here of any punishment or anything, they will create a havoc in the prison. (Season 4, episode 3)

The discourse points to an understanding that prisons should be institutions with strict rules about restricting freedom, but there are prisons with a different understanding about restricting freedom or how prisoners should be treated. One such prison is Halden Prison in Norway.

- Maria: I think that we need to be good examples in terms of how they’re supposed to treat others. It reflects how they should behave on the outside. We want the prison system to be as normal as possible. So, it should be like that.
- Rowe: You don’t think we should lock ‘em up for many hours of the day?
- Maria: No, no. I think that only creates bad neighbors. (Season 3, episode 4)

While Maria's discourse draws attention to Halden Prison's humane attitude towards prisoners, it can also be seen as an indicator of the kind of society that the country wants to create. In this case, it can be argued that Halden Prison is an institution that tries to regulate the social structure outside the prison, and in the same way, Nuuk Prison in Greenland draws attention to the social aspect of the work:

- Lene: Because my colleagues can be the neighbor to one of those who are sitting here. It can be their father, their mother.
- Rowe: Do you think that makes the guards fearful of the prisoners?
- Lene: Mm, I think that. I think they are afraid of the prisoners because after they're done here, you have to live near them. (Season 5, episode 3)

In the documentary series, Connolly and Rowe's descriptions of the architecture of prisons and their feelings in the face of this architecture sheds light on the restrictive aspect of prisons in terms of restricting freedom and oppressing human psychology. Connolly's account of entering El Hongo Prison in Mexico is important in this respect:

- Connolly: It is roasting hot, in this fortress of razor wire, reinforced steel, and concrete, it makes me feel claustrophobic, even a little panicked. As I move deeper and deeper into the complex, I start to feel disorientated. There's so many heavy-duty gates, locks and carbon-copy corridors, that I lose all sense of direction. (Season 1, episode 3)

Rowe also refers to many prisons as claustrophobic, but of all these prisons, it is the maximum security section of La Reforma Prison in Costa Rica, where the city's most brutal criminals are incarcerated, that attracts Rowe's architectural attention the most. Rowe describes this section, which he describes as a 'prison within a prison', as follows:

- Rowe: Each cell in this section holds two to four prisoners and has a small outdoor area. I've never seen anything like this before. We are walking along this kind of caged landing where the guards can see down into the cells, where the prisoners are being kept. It feels a bit like being at the zoo. (Season 3, episode 1)

From Rowe's discourse, it is clear that La Reforma Prison utilizes a different architectural structure to punish prisoners of a certain status, and from Rowe's reaction, it is clear that this architecture, based on a cage system, is unorthodox, inhumane and offensive.

From an architectural point of view, it is often stated that the isolation cells in prisons are the parts that make punishment possible for those who break the rules. However, it is also noteworthy that sometimes solitary confinement cells become a structure that prevents inmates from harming themselves and other inmates. An example of this can be found in a statement by Hurbey Marin, an officer at the Colombian Regional Prison:

- Officer Marin: When a prisoner is breaking the rules in the blocks up to the point that his life and health, and also of other prisoners, is at risk, we have to use this place to separate them, so that they do not harm themselves and other prisoners. (Season 3, episode 2)

The story of a gang member who was locked up in a cell in Porto Velho Prison in Brazil, where there are many rival gangs, sheds light on another aspect of the isolation cell he was in:

- Rowe: This is a punishment cell?
- Prisoner: The Red Command cell. We're here for our own safety, because we can't go over there. We're just waiting to be transferred.
- Rowe: So all of you guys are Red Command?
- Prisoner: Red Command, we command.
- Rowe: So you're here for your own safety and security?
- Prisoner: Something happened to me. Someone tried to kill me.
- Rowe: What did they do to you?

- Prisoner: A knife. With a knife. Take a look. Stabbed my lung. Just this scar. (Season 2, episode 1)

With these discourses, it is possible to say that prison cells are preferred not only by guards but also by prisoners. The reason for this preference is that they want to protect their lives even at the cost of giving up their freedom. In this case, it is possible to say that some cells in prisons are living spaces instead of punishment spaces.

In the documentary series, anatomy-politics and bio-politics are repeatedly discursively conveyed. The anatomy-politics, which sees the body as a machine and uses it according to its capabilities, is a law implemented in Nicosia Central Prison in Southern Cyprus. Rowe's conversation with the prison officer describes this law as follows:

- Nikki: Do you have any Professional skills?
- Rowe: I'm a journalist.
- Nikki: Do you use any drugs or any other substances?
- Rowe: No.
- Nikki: Do you have any talents? Hobbies?
- Rowe: Sport.
- Nikki: We have a lot of sports activities.
- Rowe: Do you go through this process with every prisoners?
- Nikki: With everyone, yes.
- Rowe: And what are you hoping to find out about the prisoners?
- Nikki: Anything that may assist us or guide us to your needs. The skills are going to be processed, so you will be assigned a job later on. (Season 6, episode 2)

There are similar examples of anatomy-politics in many prisons, but Nikki's statement is the clearest example of anatomy-politics. Another example can be found in Diavata Prison in Greece:

- Rowe: Cash has been very tight since Greece's financial crisis a decade ago, so there's not enough money for prison repairs. Today, I've been assigned to work with my Afgan cellmate Nico, who's serving life for murder and has had serious drug problems. Because he has construction skills, they've asked him to fix the hot water and armed him with the tools for the job. (Season 6, episode 4)

As we can see, it was the economic crisis in Greece that necessitated the anatomy-policy in Diavata Prison. The crisis has created a situation in which inmates are given tools that could have dangerous consequences, but in order to maintain certain standards in the prison, the skills and abilities of the inmates are needed and therefore the administration is not hesitant to give tools to the inmates.

There are also important examples in the documentary of biopolitics linked to the sexual and biological aspects of individuals. Zhytomyr Prison in Ukraine is one of the prisons in which bio-politics, which is valuable for the population, can be seen and where the law, the regulatory decision necessary for the implementation of bio-politics, is in force:

- Rowe: I can't believe I'm about to say this, but I'm... about to meet Tkach and wife in the conjugal visit part of the prison. Ukraine's current laws allow any married prisoners, even serial killers, the right to a three-day conjugal visit every two months, and Tkach's wife, Elena, has joined him. (Season 2, episode 2)

Such a practice was also practiced in Kylmakoski Prison in Finland. Rowe's interview with another prisoner who was forced by inmates to bring drugs into the prison provides a brief account of this:

- Prisoner: It was about me and my situation that, you know, I could've helped those guys with the drugs, but I chose not to.
- Rowe: What do you mean help those guys with the drugs?
- Prisoner: Yeah, well, I have my conjugals going. (Season 7, episode 1)

Biopolitics is carried out through the body, and Foucault (2011c: 238) underlines this with the discourse that "the body is the place of registration of events". Within the framework of this discourse, the most striking example in the documentary is found in Rezina Prison in Moldova:

- Rowe: Before being put into a cell I'm ordered in for a medical.
- Health officer: Show me your legs and face. The year this happened?
- Rowe: 1988. My face was cut. Every scar I bear is carefully documented.
- Health officer: Fifteen centimeters. What is this injury?
- Rowe: A stab wound. I don't want Word to get around that I'm some sort of tough guy, or someone might wanna take me on. When you have such a distinctive scar coming down the side of your face it's gonna follow me around the prison. (Season 6, episode 1)

The scars on Rowe's body are evidence of what happened in the past, and Rezina Prison assures itself that it is not responsible for the scars by recording them, but it turns out that the scars, especially on his face, can be interpreted differently among the inmates in the cells, and the interpretations are not good for Rowe. Due to the fact that prisons have many inmates convicted of different crimes and deemed to be very dangerous, administrative measures are applied in different ways. The measure in the maximum security block of Craiova Prison in Romania is one of them:

- Guard: Here we have the most dangerous ones. The ones with the longest sentences are here. There have to be fewer of them in each cell in order to avoid conflict. So, they are under total surveillance.
- Rowe: In here guards must remain constantly vigilant. Even the smallest item out of place could be used by a prisoner as a weapon. (Season 3, episode 3)

The administrative measure taken by Craiova Prison for the blocks is a measure to prevent both fights and the production of an object that could be a weapon. This measure makes it possible to easily observe the inmates and prevents harm not only to the inmates but also to the guards.

One of the striking elements of the documentary series is rehabilitation, which is considered a medical specialty (Yılmaz & Aydın, 2023: 241). The following discourses on the implementation of rehabilitations are noteworthy:

Schwalmstadt Prison, Germany:

- Rowe: How did you arrive at... at that position where rehabilitation of an offender who's committed a crime and left a victim behind is so important. Why is it important?
- Eva Kühne-Hörmann: The philosophy behind it is that those who have prospects will not produce further victims. It is important to engage with the prisoners because they need to accept their crime, understand that what they did was wrong, and this acceptance of their crime and the particular circumstances, can only lead to a change and prevent them from doing it again in the future. (Season 4, episode 2)

Papua New Guinea Bomana Prison:

- Rowe: There seems to be this huge industrial zone, -that's not being utilized.
- Manager Keko: Yes.
- Rowe: Why are they not being put to the use they could be put to, to rehabilitate even more prisoners?
- Manager Keko: I don't know why, but government, especially our ministry, has always spoken about rehabilitation of prisoners, but they have not put their Money where their mouth is. (Season 2, episode 3)

Brandvlei Prison, South Africa:

- Manager: There was no rehabilitation at all in the past.
- Rowe: Okay.

- Manager: Years back... it was unlock and lock up. Our system now, we have a lot of changes in correctional services. We move from more punitive to a rehabilitative side. Some of them will come and change. They are not interested in gangster-ism. Then we take them out. We actually take their hands and try to rehabilitate them, try to support them, to go out, be law-abiding citizens again. (Season 5, episode 1)

Manila City Jail, Philippines:

- Rowe: Despite the severe lack of Money, the prison do run some rehabilitation courses to help prisoners break away from drug crime. This course is being overseen by guard Achapero.
- Achapero: This is what we call the livelihood program. They will do massage therapy. Then when they're released from this jail, they will have an extra income. And to become also law-abiding and productive citizens. (Season 5, episode 2)

The aim of rehabilitation practices is to prevent inmates from turning back to crime as law-abiding citizens after their release from prison, as well as to prevent society from being victimized and to provide a source of income for inmates.

In every part of the documentary, it is repeatedly stated that prison life is difficult, frightening and dangerous, and it is seen that prisoners under these conditions are forced to adopt and put into action certain ideas in order to live better or to be released without further punishment. In Piotrkow Prison in Poland, this can be captured in the following statements:

- Connolly: What is it like after the guards have tossed the cell? Is it a complete mess? Do they just chuck your stuff all around?
- Prisoner: It's a total mess. You have to start all over again. Everything is pulled out.
- Connolly: Does it piss you off, Emil?
- Prisoner: It does piss me off. It tests the character. Though if you can clench your teeth, and walk with your head held high, that's good. And the closer I am to the end of my sentence, the less days like that I have to face. (Season 1, episode 2)

In Rizal City Prison in the Philippines, it is reported that inmates are forced to adopt certain views in order to make life in prison a little easier:

- Connolly: If you are not a member of Sputnik though, what are things that you have to do that the gang members don't?
- Prisoner: First of all, you will be the sacrificial lamb.
- Connolly: Sacrificial lamb? How do you mean?
- Prisoner: They call you Cuerna. C-U-E-R-N-A. Which means to say that you will do all the work for the Sputnik members.
- Connolly: What kind of work? What are we doing?
- Prisoner: We have to clean every day. You have to clean the toilet, clean the floor, sweep the floor.
- Connolly: So, you're basically their slave?
- Prisoner: Yes, And you are always the last in line for whatever.
- Connolly: So, if you are not a Sputnik member in here, you are a second class citizen.
- Prisoner: Correct.
- Connolly: Do most people, when they come in then, Gerry, after a short while say, "This is life isn't worth it, I'll be a Sputnik. Because life is worse without it"?
- Prisoner: Yeah.
- Connolly: How long does it normally take people before they crack?
- Prisoner: Two weeks to one month. (Season 1, episode 4)

As can be seen, the way out of the difficult conditions in Rizal City Prison, which is run by the Sputnik gang, is to become a member of a gang that runs the wards. At the point where the prisoners' resistance to

hard labor breaks down, they think, "I must join Sputnik. Otherwise life is too hard." However, in both examples, the opinions preferred by the inmates are directed towards different types of power.

It is also possible to say that the opinions are not only person-based but also institution-based:

- Rowe: In 2008, Rowe was rechristened as a correctional center rather than a prison with a new philosophy of reform rather than punishment. But the sheer lack of cash is plain to see, and I wonder just how much rehabilitation is actually happening. (Season 7, episode 4)

Rowe's account of the Rove Correctional Center in the Solomon Islands is evidence that not only inmates but also institutions can change their views in prisons, but Rowe underlines the need for budgetary support for this change to take place, and it seems that the Rove Correctional Center is in a difficult situation in terms of obtaining a budget. In this situation, it remains to be seen how successful the adopted view of rehabilitation can be in achieving its goal.

Another situation encountered in the documentary is the realization of the change in the prisoners' view of life. In this respect, the testimony of a prisoner in Zenica Prison in Bosnia is quite remarkable:

- Rowe: And how much has prison changed you?
- Prisoner: Really a lot. I used to act impulsively, but I've started thinking differently now, that actions have consequences. Before, I loved to fight. It was in my blood. Now I know that each fight means a punishment. So now I think about things before I do anything. (Season 6, episode 3)

This statement of the prisoner is an indication that prisoners can make self-criticism about their behaviors that they displayed before going to prison. The change in the mentality of the prisoners is an indication of the prison's punitive approach towards the inmates. As a result of this approach, the prisoner becomes aware that he should not act without thinking, that wrong behavior means punishment, and tries to realize his views and behaviors in this direction.

In the documentary, rehabilitations in which participation is compulsory are seen to provide a moral orientation. Rowe's account of the Lapas Narcotika Bangli Prison in Bali is an example of this:

- Rowe: It seems the doctrine is for every prisoner to renounce drug use totally immoral and unacceptable... This Picture behind you has caught my eye. Explain to me what this picture is.
- Prisoner: We can choose. Do we want to be a good guy, or do we want to be a bad guy? (Season 7, episode 3)

The aim of the rehabilitation is to help inmates become people who behave in accordance with moral values.

In countries such as Lesotho and Paraguay, churches are involved in a number of initiatives to improve the living conditions or lives of prisoners. An example of this is the account of a prisoner at Maseru Central Prison in Lesotho:

- Prisoner: This book is very interesting. It's guided me to... to change my life. *Who... Who Are You Who Is Dragging Me?*
- Rowe: *Who Are You Who Is Dragging Me?* Where did you get the book from?
- Prisoner: There are churches who come here, so that churches bring us the books sometimes. (Season 4, episode 4)

In Tacumbu Prison in Paraguay, the church took a different path.

- Rowe: Because the Catholic Church funds Pavilion D, they also set the rules, which include going to Sunday service. (Season 4, episode 1)

Both examples demonstrate the influence of churches in prisons. Churches guide inmates both in terms of personal development and spirituality. In Tacumbu Prison, however, attention is drawn to the material

dimension. The Catholic church has the right to make rules as long as they meet the needs of the D block, and the rules are very strict in terms of directing inmates to the church.

A table (Table 2) has been created showing the extent to which all these statements, conveyed through three separate units of analysis in the documentary series: the presenter, the prisoner and the prison official, contribute to conveying the “dispositive”.

Table 2: The discourse of the presenter, the prisoner, and the prison officials to convey the dispositive.

	Presenter	Prisoner	Prison Officials
1.	Season 1, Episode 3, ➤ Mexican ➤ El Hongo Prison	Season 1, Episode 1, ➤ Honduras ➤ Danli Prison	Season 2, Episode 4, ➤ Belize ➤ Belize Central Prison
2.	Season 3, Episode 1, ➤ Costa Rica ➤ La Reforma Prison	Season 7, Episode 2, ➤ Czech Republic ➤ Plezen Prison	Season 4, Episode 3, ➤ Mauritius ➤ Melrose Maximum Security Prison
3.	Season 6, Episode 4, ➤ Greece ➤ Diavata Maximum Security Prison	Season 2, Episode 1, ➤ Brazil ➤ Porto Velho Penitentiary	Season 3, Episode 4, ➤ Norway ➤ Halden Maximum Security Prison
4.	Season 2, Episode 2, ➤ Ukraine ➤ Zhytomyr Prison	Season 7, Episode 1, ➤ Finland ➤ Kylmakoski Prison	Season 5, Episode 3, ➤ Greenland ➤ Nuuk Maximum Security Prison
5.	Season 7, Episode 4, ➤ Solomon Island ➤ Rove Central Correctional Center	Season 1, Episode 2, ➤ Poland ➤ Piotrkow Prison	Season 3, Episode 2, ➤ Colombia ➤ Bogota’s District Prison
6.	Season 4, Episode 1, ➤ Paraguay ➤ Tacumbu Penitentiary	Season 1, Episode 4, ➤ Philippines ➤ Rizal City Jail	Season 6, Episode 2, ➤ Republic of Cyprus ➤ Nicosia Central Prison
7.		Season 6, Episode 3, ➤ Bosnia and Herzegovina ➤ Zenica Prison	Season 6, Episode 1, ➤ Moldova ➤ Rezina Prison
8.		Season 7, Episode 3,	Season 3, Episode 3,

		➤ Bali ➤ Bangli Narkotika Prison	➤ Romania ➤ Craiova Prison
9.		Season 4, Episode 4, ➤ Lesotho ➤ Maseru Central Correctional Institute	Season 4, Episode 2, ➤ Germany ➤ Schwalmstadt Maximum Security Prison
10.			Season 2, Episode 3, ➤ Papua New Guinea ➤ Bomana Prison
11.			Season 5, Episode 1, ➤ South Africa ➤ Brandvlei Prison
12.			Season 5, Episode 2, ➤ Philippines ➤ Manila City Jail

As can be seen, 6 of the statements conveyed are from the servers, 9 are from the prisoners, and 12 are from prison officials. Among these statements, it is understood that prison officials contain more information about the "dispositive" than the servers and prisoners, and that prisoners contain more information about the "dispositive" than the servers.

5. Conclusion

This study, which examines the role of discourses in revealing reality in documentaries, focuses on the concept of "dispositif" expressed by Michel Foucault and aims to determine what kind of reality is reflected in the socio-cultural infrastructure of the heterogeneous whole called dispositif, based on documentary cinema discourses.

As a result of the analysis, in the documentary series titled Inside the World's Toughest Prisons, which is broadcast on the digital broadcasting platform Netflix and consists of 7 seasons and 27 episodes, in which the lives in real high-security prisons in different geographies are the subject, it is seen that the elements of "dispositif", which Foucault (2011a: 119) refers to as "discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific utterances; philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions" are included in the discourses. These elements are encountered in the discourses of the presenter, inmates and prison officials. In the analysis, it is seen that the discourses related to the elements constituting the 'dispositif' are consistent with each other and meet the "dispositif" in Foucault's understanding. In prisons, the discourses that are the elements of the "dispositif" are based on the articulation between knowledge and power and the mechanisms of oppression (Revel, 2012: 115). Institutions restrict freedom and are governed by strict rules (Sat, 2019: 59), but there may be exceptions in European countries, especially in Norway and Greenland. Architectural forms both restrict bodily freedom and have a profound impact on human psychology (Foucault, 1992: 37). Bio-politics, anatomy policy and legally designed practices, which are considered within the scope of regulatory decisions, point to the

control over the body, utility and social continuity (Foucault, 2002: 252; Foucault, 2007: 103; Koloş, 2015: 268, 269). The administrative measures taken are aimed at protecting both inmates and prison staff (Foucault, 2011b: 12). Rehabilitation, which attracts attention from a scientific point of view, is the practices that provide control in prison conditions and are effective in post-prison lives (Çelebi, 2013). Philosophical views create a system of thought that will enable adaptation not only to prison conditions but also to the life after leaving prison. Acting in accordance with moral values paves the way for social acceptance. Philanthropy, especially through religious institutions such as churches, provides material facilities to inmates and prisons, which are also institutions, while providing both a spiritual path for individuals and a social structure in which religious institutions can practice their own discourses.

Discourses contain not only the “dispositif” but also the sociological, psychological, economic, cultural, moral, political and religious infrastructures that are the source of the “dispositif”. These infrastructures produce different results as well as the same in different geographies, and therefore “dispositifs” can function in different ways. Moreover, different types of power are active in the maintenance of the “dispositif”. These power types can be an empowered prisoner, a disciplinary warden, or a Catholic Church with rule-making authority. In the documentary series, these forms of power produce their own discourses. The discourses enable inmates to clean up their act, to regulate their behavior among themselves, and to be more careful in their actions towards power. As a result, it is seen that in the documentary series *Inside The Toughest Prisons in the World*, the concept of “dispositive” is revealed through discourses, the situations that cause the formation or functioning of the “dispositive” can be understood through discourses, and therefore discourses play an important role in conveying the truth in documentaries. Presenter Raphael Rowe's previous prison sentence plays a significant role in this. Rowe's long experience in prison makes him more cautious about who he should speak to and how, bringing him closer to the truth. Of course, the fact that the presenters lived in prison for a week as prisoners also makes them particularly important as images of experiences that reveal truth.

The documentary series “*Inside The Toughest Prisons in the World*” is both a significant example of participatory documentary and a significant representative of its narrative genre. The “dispositive” it incorporates within the context of the conversations points to the existence of an interdisciplinary theme in sociological, psychological, cultural, or economic terms. In this context, a model proposal could be developed to illustrate how “dispositive” elements are mapped across each program and each conversation, such as crime and criminal psychology or social exclusion, and more detailed studies could be conducted on the subject. Additionally, while the documentary explores the lives of inmates living in prison, a documentary series could also be included that reflects the experiences of their families outside the prison. In such a situation, the truth about how this process affects both the convicted and the non-convicted could be revealed.

It should not be forgotten that discourses, which are seen to be as important as elements such as subject matter, audience experience, cinematographic element, producer or narrative form in reflecting the truth in documentaries, can point to much different realities in documentaries, which are a rich source in terms of subject matter, have many types in terms of form and are much easier to access today compared to the past. For this reason, discourses in documentaries can be considered as an important source, especially in social science research, and analyses can be made on them for various disciplines.

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The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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