The representation of motherhood in detention: an emotional analysis

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Abstract

This case study explores the representation of motherhood during detention in an Italian alternative detention facility - Protected family home - where mothers are detained with their children. The exploration comes from 14 interviews with coordinators, educators, social workers, and volunteers of this organization. The collected textual corpus was analyzed with Emotional Textual Analysis (ETA), which is a psychoanalytically informed method of text and discourse analysis. ETA hypothesizes that emotions expressed in language are a fundamental organizer of relationships and that the set of shared affective symbolizations of the context (Local Culture) can be read from the narratives collected through interviews. The text analysis is performed by a software that breaks down the semantic associations and organizes the words into clusters. The cluster interpretation is conducted by the clinician in a way reminiscent of free associations. The analysis detected five clusters shaping the local culture of this protected family home: project on paper (1); small/big dynamic (2); detained motherhood (3); fantasized vs reality (4); the unknown outside (5). To identify the emotional organization of the cultural space, we observed the graphic arrangement of the clusters on a factorial level, the position that the clusters assumed within the axes, and therefore the relationships that exist between them. During the restitution, the results obtained, and some interpretative hypotheses, were proposed as a starting point for shared reflection and re-elaboration with all the possible interlocutors of this work.

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Introduction

This research has taken shape in the last two years (2018-2020), changing, and adapting to the complexity of the legal context and the complications caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The legal context

In Italy, law 354 of 26 July 1975 on the penitentiary system is still in force, which allows inmate mothers of children under the age of three, to keep their child (ren) with them within the prison walls[1]. The prison administration must, according to the law, organize special nurseries for children's care and assistance according to art. 19 of the Implementing Regulation - Presidential Decree 30 June 2000[2]. Special assistance to pregnant women and mothers with children includes: the presence of specialists in obstetrics and gynecology, pediatricians, paramedical staff, and childcare workers; specific management for the Nursery Sections including, where possible, keeping the rooms open, the intervention of volunteers and local public services. In the end in paragraph 7 reference is made to the separation that the mother-child dyad undergoes when the latter reaches the third year of age, unless the mother has the legal requirements to take advantage of home detention provided. Also art. 47 ter of Law 354/75 provides, among the alternative measures to detention, that inmates who are mothers of children under the age of three living together can serve the sentence at their home, within the limits permitted by law and if the home is considered suitable by the magistrate. The issue of mothers with children in prison is a subject of enormous complexity, although it would seem obvious to say that children should not stay in prison, from a legal point of view the complexity is dictated by the fact that three principles of equal importance are in force at the same time : the child's right to freedom[3], the right of the child to maintain an ongoing relationship with the mother[4] and opposing interests, also of constitutional importance, of social defense. Balancing the interest of the minor with the needs of social defense, underlying the necessary execution of the sentence inflicted on the parent following the commission of a crime, in principle, is left to the discretion of the legislator and can be achieved through legal rules that they determine, in the abstract, the respective limits within which the

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[1] Ex art.1, comma 9, l. 354/75 «Rules on the penitentiary system and on the execution of measures for deprivation and restriction of liberty»

[2] Art.19 Specific assistance pregnant women and mothers with children.

[3] Ex art. 3, comma 1, of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, New York 20 November 1989, ratified and enforced in Italy with law 27 May 1991, n. 176, "In all decisions relating to children, which fall within the competence of public or private institutions of social assistance, courts, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child must be a primary consideration"; ex art. 24, paragraph 2, of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 7 December 2000, adapted on 12 December 2007 in Strasbourg "In all acts relating to minors, whether carried out by public authorities or private institutions, the best interests of the minor must be considered prominent "

[4] Ex art. 31, comma 2, Constitution "The Republic [...] Protects motherhood, infancy and youth, promoting the institutions necessary for this purpose."

different principles can find balanced protection. In this sense, various provisions of the penitentiary system and the criminal procedure code ensure protection of the interests of minors[5]. The Department of Penitentiary Administration has tried to tackle the issue of children in prison by starting in 2006 the experimentation in Milan of an attenuated custody structure for mothers - with children between 0 and 6 years - with headquarters outside the penitentiaries: the ICAM - Institutions with attenuated custody for inmates Mothers. There are five ICAM[6] on Italian territory where, compatibly with non-exceptionally relevant precautionary needs, the judge can order the precautionary custody or the expiration of the sentence for pregnant women or mothers with offspring under six years, or for the father if the mother is deceased or absolutely unable to assist the children (Ministry of Justice, 2015). There is no big difference between the ICAM and the Nursery Sections inside the penitentiary walls, except for the presence of plainclothes agents and a high presence of educators, but it remains to all intents and purposes a district house. Therefore in 2011 it was decided to provide the establishment of Protected Family Homes (Law of 21 April 2011, no. 62) and in 2013 the requirements for these alternative structures were established (Decree of 8 March 2013).

These structures also allow subjects without family and housing references to access the precautionary measure of house arrest and the alternative measure of home detention and in this sense represent an essential junction for the practical implementation of the law. The protected family homes are apartments where children can lead a less affected life by the condemnation of mothers, and mothers, in turn, can serve a sentence that tends to rehabilitation without depriving them of their affections. The women who are inside the protected Family Homes are inmates who could have taken advantage of home detention but, due to a non-existent or deemed unsuitable residence, can make a specific request for the alternative measure in these structures which become their home. And being only under house arrest, in the protected Family Homes there are no bars, cameras or prison officers, and women have the possibility to leave the structure according to the indications dictated by the Supervisory Magistrate and the police can show up at the facility at any time to check the conduct of women inmates. The pillar of these structures is semi-autonomy, women must take care of the cleaning of the house (private and common spaces) and of the kitchen by coordinating with each other and, according to the prescriptions of the Magistrate, accompany their children to school, go to the parent-teacher meetings, take their children to the pediatrician. In addition, these structures seek to support women in entering school, training, and work activities. Children are also enrolled in school and, where possible, also in sports courses; moreover, the mother-child couple is followed with an educational project whose general objective is to "create the most suitable conditions for the mother to recover the confidence in herself and the tranquility necessary for a fulfillment of the relationship with the children, reactivating or acquiring tools and resources necessary for the construction of an autonomous life project, which takes into account its material, relational, emotional, cultural, professional

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[5] Judgment n. 17 of 2017 Constitutional Court
[6] Milano San Vittore Francesco Di Cataldo - Lombardy; Venezia Giudecca - Veneto; Lauro - Campania; Torino Lorusso and Cutugno - Piemonte; Cagliari Uta Ettore Scalas - Sardinia

needs for a new social, work and housing integration"[7].

The representation of motherhood in detention

In a recent review about motherhood in prison published in the British Journal of Midwifery (Mulligan, 2019), out of the five articles meeting the search criteria, three articles are examined: two qualitative studies, one relating to the impact of the forced separation between detained mother and child after childbirth in the prison of New York, USA (Chambers, 2009), the other focused on the interaction between mothers and children living together in detention in Iranian prisons (Anaraki & Boostani, 2013) and a quantitative study on recidivism after release from the nursery section of a prison in Texas, USA (Goshin et al., 2014). The authors of the review, tracing the strengths and weaknesses of the studies, underline the influence of different cultures on the results and, consequently, the importance of qualitative studies in this area. They report high quality data not limited by the small number of participants given by the particular research circumstances.

The conclusions drawn from this review are summarized in three key themes: motherhood produces motivation for change; low relapse rates; being together as the wellbeing of mother and child (without underestimating the negative influence of the prison environment).

Shamai and Kochal (2008)'s study, published more than ten years ago, investigated about the experiences of motherhood of female prisoners in Israel and emphasized five themes : motherhood during detention as a reason to survive; the sense of failure experienced by mothers in prison; coping with avoidance in the mother-child relationship during detention; motherhood while in custody as a reason for change; the passage from questioning the right to be a mother to the redemption of motherhood. A similar result to that is reported by Anaraki and Boostani (2013) who trace the heart of their study to the central category that emerged from the analysis of the research results: learning to live by hope and fear ("learning to live by hope and fear"). Libianchi (2001), prison doctor of Rebibbia, highlighted the possible contextual, health and general causes of "prison damage" for children, underlining the state of change, isolation, forced socialization with other inmates, tension and conflict deeply felt by the child. From the study by Biondi (1994) on the development of the child in prison worrying results emerge related to the psycho-affective and relational development of children raised in prison and a tendentially regressive trend in nutrition, motor, and linguistic development and also in the sleep-wake rhythm, all valid indicators of possible discomfort. Situations of environmental change that overlap the state of tension suffered by inmates seem to be among the conditions most frequently observed, and often correlated with the difficulties complained of by children (Costanzo, 2013). Regarding the forced separation at the child's third year of life, Biondi (1994) writes:

> Although it is known that children are able to withstand with incredible strength the situations of frustration they encounter along the path of their life, it is also true that separation from the mother represents an element of particular im-

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[7] Reported in the 'educational project' section of the service charter of the C.I.A.O.

portance, especially if related to attachment which often increases the experiences of suffering linked to detachment.

Biondi (1994) refers to the disorganized attachment that he himself reports as more frequent in the prison context due, among other things, to the mother's frequent ambivalence: authoritarian, to affirm her own parental role, and permissive, to appease feelings of guilt. The Italian protected family home is a reality that resembles the Australian 'emergency accommodation' whose importance was traced by Baldry et al. (2002): "the inability to access a stable home after release is a significant predictor of the risk of relapse". While house arrest is a desirable alternative to institutionalized detention because it allows inmates to work, to maintain contact with the family, to avoid well-documented prison damage and it is considered the ideal sentence for women; on the other hand, being constantly monitored, isolation, boredom and empty time could create equally harmful conditions of discomfort (George, 2006). Heggie (1999) in the review reports the sentence of a mother detained under house arrest: "the best thing about house arrest is being with the children all the time, the worst thing about house arrest is being with the children all the time".

Research-Intervention

"Protected Family Home"

Protected Family Home is a service that aims to intervene on three levels: the child, the mother as a woman and as a parent and the mother-child relationship. The methodology adopted operates in compliance with the educational choices of women, comparing them with the purposes and objectives of the service, and through intervention methods that can adapt to reality. In addition to implementing a specific educational intervention on children, ranging from schooling to healthy eating and the reconstruction of a serenity of life, it will be possible to subsequently undertake, together with them, a second phase of the educational project that will begin to outline the interventions for preparing both the woman and the child to leave the house and to real autonomy, intervening both on the territory of origin and on the members of the family of origin. The attention is aimed at a type of users who, beyond the individual biographical events, and despite the experience of detention, have maintained and / or recovered a positive parenting capacity and are strongly motivated to maintain a relationship of care and support for their own children. Often these are women who are perpetrators of minor crimes: drug trafficking, mugging, apartment theft, prostitution, etc., committed to increase their own economic well-being and those of their loved ones or because they are forced by their own social culture.

The objectives

This research aims to investigate the affective symbolizations shared by social workers of Protected Family Home regarding maternity in detention, to work with this issue, in the hypothesis that these symbolizations are the constructive foundation of the system of coexistence and, consequently, also of the planning and offer of the services present on

the territory and in the structure suitable for reception, integration and re-education[8]

Furthermore, we set out to use this research as an establishing phase, through which to develop a client within the Protected Family Home that activates a request for intervention following the return of the results, on which to think and plan a subsequent clinical psychological intervention, for integration and in collaboration with those already carried out by the present and active associations, in line with a multidisciplinary teamwork perspective. From the identification of the unconscious meanings of which a territory is invested in the minds of the people who organize the internal cohabitation, in fact, you can recognize points of force and criticality not immediately detectable, but fundamental to mobilize its transformative components. The case study demonstrates the pragmatic value of this knowledge, and how this knowledge can become a resource within projects of change, requalification, regeneration that see as consolidated protagonist experts and professionals of other disciplines (Langher et al., 2019).

The methodology

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic we have chosen to interview who work for and in this Protected Family Home using online videocall. We interviewed: the two coordinators, three educators, the five social workers, and four volunteers.

The interview consists of three questions:

1. As I mentioned, I am XY, I am part of a research group coordinated by the chair of clinical psychology of La Sapienza University. We work on the theme of motherhood, in particular on the representation of motherhood in detention. We would like to improve the knowledge of the issue and the competence to address it. We think you can make an important contribution and we are very interested in hearing from your experience. We will share our results with you. The interview is anonymous, we ask you to be able to record. So, I ask you: according to your experience, what is it like and what does it mean to be a mother during detention?

2. What does it mean for you to work with motherhood in detention?

3. In your opinion, what do women prisoners with minors expect from this Protected Family Home?

The stimulus has always been the same: three predetermined questions, formulated using the same words and presented in the same sequence. After each question, however, the participants had full freedom of answer. To explore the representation of motherhood in detention, we chose the Emotional Analysis of the Text (Carli & Paniccia, 2002) to analyze the texts of the interviews - previously transcribed in a single corpus. The emotional analysis of the text (AET) is a research-action methodology that allows the preparation of cultural change interventions aimed at promoting the development of coexistence systems in organizational and social contexts,

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[8] "Criminal responsibility is personal. The accused is not considered guilty until the final sentence. The penalties cannot consist of treatments contrary to the sense of humanity and must aim at the re-education of the condemned. Death penalty is not allowed". (Italian Constitution)

starting with the survey of the local cultures that characterize them. It is hypothesized that emotions, expressed in language, are the organizer of the relationship, we do not analyze discursive sequences, but the encounters, in the text segments, of dense words, that is, endowed with a maximum of polysemy and a minimum of ambiguity of sense. According to Matte Blanco's theory of bi-logic (Matte Blanco, 1981), the human mind would function according to two logics, one unconscious and the other conscious; the first, based on the principles of generalization and symmetry, tends to undifferentiation; the second, based on the principle of identity and not contradiction, is aimed at establishing relationships between the different aspects of reality through thought. These two logics correspond to two different ways of relating to reality: one operating through emotions and the other operating based on cognitive meanings, thought is in this sense understood as a means of processing emotions. The factorial analysis of the correspondences and the analysis of the clusters allow us to see how the dense words present in the text being analyzed organize themselves, grouping themselves according to a statistical link. A bond that for us is also a collusive bond, capable of organizing that cluster and differentiating it from the others, present in the text itself. Within a cluster or Cultural Repertoire (RC), the dense words, organized hierarchically from the most central to the more peripheral ones, could reduce, in their meeting within the cluster, the infinite polysemy that characterizes them if taken one by one. This meeting of dense words, with their reciprocal reduction of polysemy, weaves a sense that comes from statistical co-occurrence and from the clinical psychological collusive process that the researcher can trace and

describe. Furthermore, the use of the etymology of words has the function of guiding researchers, within the polysemy of the dense word, identifying emotional areas where the mind can associate. This search for meaning, within the meeting of dense words, proposes the process of collusion as an alternative to a narrative reading of the text.

> By this we mean that, in each text, we can trace a narrative dimension aimed precisely at narrating an event, an emotion, an experience. The narration uses the bonds present in language and identifies the meaning that comes from the articulation of the language itself. But in every text, there is also a collusive dimension, which emerges from the shared emotional symbolization of a context (Carli & Paniccia, 2006).

The attribution of emotional meaning to co-occurrence encounters takes place using emotional and psychosocial models that allow in the first instance to trace the collusive, symbolic, cultural processes typical of the different clusters, and subsequently to give emotional meaning to relationships between the same clusters. The analysis process ends with the reading of the Cultural Space, represented by the arrangement of the clusters on the polarities of the factorial space. The results of the analysis, in fact, are summarized through a graph, a Cartesian plane delimited by factorial axes, which allow to appreciate the proximity / distance relationships, or similarity / difference, between the different groupings of words considered, based on their specific position in the factorial space. The relationship between the different emotional dimensions of the different Cultural Models, within the factorial space, is considered as the Local Culture referred to the specific context under analysis and to the text related to it.

Analysis of the interviews

The analysis detected five clusters shaping the local culture of this protected family home: project on paper (1); small/big dynamic (2); detained motherhood (3); fantasized vs reality (4); the unknown outside (5). To identify the emotional organization of the cultural space, we observed the graphic arrangement of the clusters on a factorial level. From the position that the clusters assume within the axes, and therefore from the relations between them, it is possible to make the first interpretative hypotheses about the local culture. In this case we have four factors: time (a); relationship with the extraneity of the other (b); big/small emotional dynamic (c); control (d).

The results are presented in English but, in the interpretation, we will refer to the Italian words because the use of the etymology of words has the function of directing researchers, identifying emotional areas where the mind can make associations.

All definitions below are taken from the Minor Etymological dictionary (Cortellazzo & Cortellazzo, 2019) or from the Etymological dictionary of the Italian language (Cortellazzo & Zolli, 1979).

Cultural repertoires: RC 1

The first cluster presents the project (progetto) of this Protected Family Home (casa famiglia protetta), where social workers (operatore sociale) "act and are technicians in charge of the operation", in linguistics the term operator[9] refers to a linguistic element without meaning which however serves to construct and make a sentence work, therefore it refers to an operator who possesses a technique without however tracing it back to a specific competence other than that described by the word that follows: being social. Social, from the Latin socialis, derives from socius "companion" whose root "sak" "to follow" describes a person "who accompanies, who

RC 1		RC 2		RC 3		RC 4		RC 5	
Lemma	χ^2	**Lemma**	χ^2	**Lemma**	χ^2	**Lemma**	χ^2	**Lemma**	χ^2
project	116.999	to put	55.216	mom	230.353	to wait	110.887	to live	249.998
social worker	64.232	to speak	46.128	child	65.184	objectives	66.654	lived	93.42
municipality	58.509	allowed	36.362	rule	46.113	question	61.038	mother	84.232
method	55.614	minor	31.936	prison	43.469	document	60.594	father	51.463
service	49.331	to permit	31.473	nursery section	38.918	work	54.933	child	48.583
to take	48.682	to commit	30.901	to close	34.757	to enter	50.966	son	47.208
to hope	48.657	to undersstand	28.344	son	27.323	to be able	48.869	man	22.387
Proper name of the Protected Family Home	45.383	problem	27.767	room	24.744	to make a mistake	41.556	to see	21.853
home	33.757	to ask	26.527	to play	22.586	request	41.49	husband	15.724
work	28.635	year	25.671	to allow	21.467	to determine	39.71	to exist	14.297

Table 1

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[9] From latin *operator-oris*

joins another in a common enterprise". In addition to referring to the municipality (comune) of Rome with which the project must interface, this cluster brings us back to a dimension of power, from the Latin communem "co-obliged, obliged to participate together", and of possession, "which belongs to several people"; but also to a moral dimension of what "belongs to, or refers to everyone" such as "common duties, the common good, common rights and common interests" or even the importance of a common method (metodo), of having a common "way to reach a specific purpose". The dimension of power also seems to characterize the rest of the RC, for example service (servizio), from the Latin servitium properly "condition of slave", refers to "a series of organized services intended to provide for the needs of a community", but in its etymology we can trace the double position of power - subordinate and superordinate -: servu (m) "slave" originally meant, in fact, "guardian". To accentuate this second position of power we have the verb to take (prendere) "to place the hands, legs, or various tools on or around things, people, animals to grasp them, hold them, lift them, make them hold a certain position, take possession of them; bring with you; capture". Non-negotiation therefore seems central in this cluster - the purposes are preordained: home (casa) and work (lavoro) -, to break this granite list of assistance comes the verb to hope (sperare), which puts the rhetoric of the cluster in crisis for a moment, literally means waiting with desire. and trust something from which you are certain or hope that good, joy and pleasure will come.

Cultural repertoires: RC 2

Cluster 2 begins with the word to put (mettere) which refers to a high-low power dynamic, where there is someone who "places a person or something in a certain place", who "imposes" and "reduces someone to a certain condition". High / low power is a dichotomy that indicates the emotional processing, present in the collusive relationship, of the power that characterizes the social context that makes us think of the big / small dynamic, supported by the succession of to speak (parlare) and allowed (permesso) (asking for permission to speak) and from the term minor (minore) which would seem to speak to us at the same time of the minor child of the inmate but also of being a minor, of the inmate herself being emotionally a child towards the (big) operator. The power asymmetry told us by this RC also resides in the couple to permit (permettere) – to commit (commettere), verbs that seem to be the two opposites of a circumference, where committing brings us back to the crime and allowing the "despite the crime" and the "as the crime now someone must give you permission to". In addition to the meaning of "carrying out specific actions considered reprehensible" (moral dimension), committing can also take on the meaning of "delivering, empowering". To understand (capire), from the Latin *capere*, can take on two meanings depending on the intransitive or transitive use of the verb, in the first case it would mean "to enter a place, to be contained therein", in the second "to fully understand the true reason for a behavior, the nature of the psyche of one or more people, and therefore indulgently consider, justify, excuse" the example of this second case reported in La Treccani brings us back to the large / small dimension: "young people must be understood!". *The object of understanding could lie in the term problem* (problema) *which can refer to or to a "question to be solved starting from known elements*

through reasoning; difficult or complex situation for which the explanation is sought", or even "mysterious, incomprehensible person, whose behavior worries or makes it difficult". The neomotion of worrying leads us to imagine, once again, a parent worried about their child, a concern that leads to protection[10]*,* to "I do it for your good" and therefore to denying the freedom of the other (not explored). *The way to explore the other is shown to us through words: to speak, to understand and to ask* (chiedere). *Asking, in fact, means expressing the "desire to turn to someone to find out something" and "to search for others with words of something, of which one needs or desires". Year* (anno) is the temporal dimension of this cluster, it seems interesting to underline that according to the ancient Stoics it meant a life cycle of the cosmos, at the end of which this is consumed in a purifying universal conflagration, which makes it return to its divine source, from which it will then come out. a new cycle of existence (dimension of change linked to exit); this however will go through the same phases of the previous cycle, and then in its turn will be consumed in a new conflagration, and so on without end (Italian Encyclopedia of Sciences, Letters and Arts, 1949). This circular conception of time, of a time destined to repeat itself, makes us think of what is called "the vicious circle of social disadvantage"[11].

Cultural repertoires: RC 3

The third cluster is organized around the theme of "detained motherhood", therefore of being a mom (mamma) detained in prison (carcere), in the nursery section (sezione nido) together with her child (bambino) in a context where rule (regola) is king. To close (chiudere) in addition to the concrete idea of blocking an opening, of stopping, of ensuring a closure (as could be the closure of a cell, or being closed in a total institution), also has in itself the concept of ending, putting an end and generally indicates a more lasting action over time; so much so that in the Online Etymological Dictionary the meaning of "closing one's eyes to anyone, or assisting a dying person and not leaving him until he fades, is reported, a phrase derived from the Romans with whom it was customary that the closest relative, after having collected the extreme spirit of the dying man closed his mouth and eyes to him, to mitigate the disgust that the sight of a corpse usually inspires ". In this verb there seems to be part of an emotionality characterized by a continuous presenting of the end, by the expectation of separation [12].

Closing also seems to draw a limit, a boundary within the cluster: son (figlio), room (stanza), to play (giocare) and to allow (consentire), seem to tell us about a place other than prison. Son or daughter differ from the term child, probably because once outside and therefore separated from the mother, there is a need to understand the maternal figure, no longer physically present, in the very definition of child (from the Latin "*filius* the begotten with respect to the parents ") To mitigate the removal. On the other hand, a room seems to be opposed to the prison context of the cell and has a more generic value than a room

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[10]The word "To protect" lies in the 11th position in the cluster, this is why it isn't mentioned in the RC, as our limit of research was determined by the first ten words of the cluster.
[11] (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013)

[12] As soon as a child is three years old, he will be looked after by his/her relatives outside the prison, or, if no other possibilities are available, by a family home Nursery school is for children up to three of age.

since it is not (often) reserved for the bedroom only.

In contrast to rule, "an orderly and constant way of unfolding", we have the verb to play, or "to do something for fun, amusement, pastime; joking ", games and recreational activities are also referred to as the rights of the child[13]. Therefore, this cluster also represents the opposition of the two rights of the child: the child's right to freedom[14], and the child's right to maintain an ongoing relationship with his/her mother[15], irreconcilable in the prison context.

Finally, RC 3 concludes with the verb to consent, from the Latin *cum* "together" to feel, in the metaphorical meaning of "to think", which tells us of an openness contemplating listening to the other, "to agree with others", and emotionality, "having a feeling together with others". It seemed interesting to us to find ourselves associating the Strange Situation with this cluster and realizing their possible sharing of definition: a mother-child couple in an experimental condition aimed at separation, with the reaction to which their bond is evaluated.

Cultural repertoires: RC 4

The first word of this cluster is to wait (aspettare), which in italian also includes to expect (aspettarsi) from the Latin *aspectare* "look carefully", also in German *warten* takes

on the same meaning as "look and wait", in the online etymological dictionary we find "wait patiently without moving, almost with an intent eye, towards the thing or person that is to arrive ". It is therefore a cluster that refers to a dimension of expectation "mostly with hope or fear" (Italian Encyclopedia of Sciences, Letters and Arts, 1949).

The main emotion that it evoked is, in fact, linked to the comparison/contrast between the phantasmic child and the real child, the renunciation of the fantasized child in favor of the real child, and therefore having to go outside the limits of the original formulation of the project. to be able to explore and build the real project. The opposition and confrontation can be found in the term question (questione), from the Latin *Questionem* da *quaerere* "to ask", which contains within it the conflictual dimension of "controversy, dispute, quarrel [...] political or social problem whose solution is being studied" (Cortellazzo & Zolli, Etymological Dictionary of the Italian Language, 1979).

Solution that resides in the original formulation, in objectives (obiettivo) found in obtaining the documents (documento) and work (lavoro), pre-established, however, on the basis of a desirability designed for a "ghost user". At this point of the associative chain we find three verbs that seem to speak to us about the user imagined within the project: to enter

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[13] Art. 31, comma 1, "States Parties recognise the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities of his or her age and to participate freely in cultural and artistic life." (*Convention on the rights of the child*, 1989)

[14] Ex art. 3, comma 1, *Convention on the rights of the child*, (1989), ratified and enforced in Italy by Law no. 176 of 27 May 1991, "In all decisions relating to children, which are the responsibility of public or private social assistance institutions, courts, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the

child must be a primary consideration"; ex art. 24, paragraph 2, of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 7 December 2000, adapted on 12 December 2007 in Strasbourg "In all acts relating to children, whether carried out by public authorities or private institutions, the best interests of the child shall be paramount""

[15] Ex art. 31, paragraph 2, Italian Constitution "La Repubblica [...] It protects motherhood, childhood and youth, promoting the necessary institutions for this purpose."

(entrare), from the Latin *intrare* "to go in-side", which tells us about immersion in a place and being contained by becoming a member , just as one enters a family, but in La Treccani a further meaning is reported, namely "understanding" (ex. getting into the head) and "convincing oneself of something" (ex. entering the order of ideas) ; and who is to enter? Who was wrong; to make a mistake (sbagliare) brings us back to a moral dimen-sion because it refers to a moralistic prescrip-tion linked to right and wrong, from the ety-mological point of view it derives from daz-zling which figuratively takes on the meaning of "blinding the mind's eyes"; what do people do when they have made a mistake in enter-ing? The idea is that they can (to be able, ri-uscire) remedy their mistakes before and be able to go out again (RI_USCIRE, re-exiting). It also seems interesting to us that succeeding is simultaneously the emotional opposite of entering (re-exiting vs entering) and making a mistake. With the word request (richiesta) we are told about the conflict we were talking about previously, it derives from the verb re-quest, from the Latin *re-quaerere* "to ask again, with insistence", and refers to a ques-tion, to "an expressed desire" that could go be-yond those provided. The desirability limits the power of desire, determines it (determina from the Latin *de-terminus*) by circumscrib-ing it within the limits set by the moralistic prescription; this is how the reality of the de-mand expressed is experienced as an insistent request.

Cultural repertoires: RC 5

This last cluster opens with the verb to live (vivere) followed by lived (vissuto), a se-quence that would seem to underline the dif-ference between these two terms, where what has been experienced in the past resides in the second and which retains its current presence in memory and consciousness. Furthermore, with this RC we are confronted for the first and only time with the male: father (padre) – man (uomo) -husband (marito). the term fa-ther appears between mother (madre) and child (bambino) and immediately we imagine the family, in which paternal parenting to-wards the son (figlio) is remembered. it is in-teresting how the recognition of life outside characterizes this cluster: see (vedere) and therefore "perceive external stimuli by means of the visual function" and "take into account" the existence (to exist - esistere) of the exter-nal world, of the other part of women's life, perhaps the share of real life. Furthermore, by forcing the methodological limits that we have set, this outsider would seem to generate fear, an unexplored outsider who becomes so much an enemy as to depower (depotenziare) (elev-enth position in the cluster) the effectiveness of the project and to cause evasions (escape - scappare-, twelfth position in the cluster). the outside that exists and cannot be seen, neither with the visual sensation nor with the inten-tion, thus becomes a sacrificed portion of re-ality (like the husband for the woman and the father for the son). It is a cultural repertoire that would seem to tell us little, very generic and made up of many synonyms, perhaps pre-cisely because it speaks to us of a world that has not been explored and therefore cannot be told except by generic indications.

Factor analysis

To identify the emotional organization of the cultural space, we observe the graphic arrangement of the clusters on a factorial level. From the position that the clusters as-sume within the axes, and therefore from the

relationships that exist between them, it is possible to make the first interpretative hypotheses about the local culture. In this case we have four factors (N clusters - 1).

The first factor is characterized by the opposition of clusters 1 and 4, on the negative pole, and clusters 5 and 3, on the positive pole. The name we have chosen to interpret this factor is time. Our hypothesis is that it is the opposite of activity, that is waiting, a first characterization of the local culture of Protected Family Home. Speaking of his experience in the trenches, Minkowski (1933) says that they felt oppressed by the length and monotony of the days that followed one another and that they fought against "the boredom that, like a dead and sticky mass, penetrated the Being threatening to annihilate it".

We are therefore not talking about the absence of time, but about a paradoxical experience of instantaneity: in waiting there is no duration, there is no organization of time, but there are two elements of time that occur in a particular way since all of the accent falls on the moment B of the succession, which absorbs all the becoming and leaves the moment A that precedes it only in the form of a simple hint. While waiting, the state of being folds into itself trying to expose the minimum of itself to the contrasts of the hostile environment and, in doing so, separates itself from this environment, divesting itself from planning.

The second factor highlights the dynamics of relationship with the extraneity of the other. Reference is not made to another that must be known, but to another taken for granted, whose needs and desires are already known, which is why it seems unnecessary to negotiate objectives with users, nor the possibility of expressing and listen to new needs and desires. On the one hand, users, and therefore the other, are designed based on their own

memory and desire, denying their extraneousness. On the other hand, however, the conflict, dictated by the user's insistent request to be recognized in the entirety of their subjectivity, lies and in the profound conflict between desirability and desire. The possibility of development would therefore seem to be represented by the exploration of the other and of oneself in relation to the other, finding new productive possibilities together with the other (Carli & Paniccia, 2003).

We hypothesize that a second element characterizing the context of Protected Family Home is the compression of two universes, that of being detained and being mothers, inscribing them in a simplifying paradigm that does not consider subjectivity and complexity, but which reduces knowledge of the whole to the knowledge of the parts. The proposal of an abductive logical process, in which the minor premise is not certain but only probable and consequently also its conclusion, would allow us to think of the project and the intervention as a product of the internalization and interdependence of the people with whom they interact in the specific context.

The third factor is only meaningful given the second cluster, which, interestingly, is only meaningful in this factor. We are shown a big/small emotional dynamic: the operator, the big one, knows what is best for the inmate, the little one, and cares about it as a parent care about a child; the asymmetry of power masks itself in the establishment of a family relationship. In the absence of significant clusters for the positive pole, we can trace a lack of thinkability of other ways of relating to inmates by social workers. In addition, a substitutive function of the service has been achieved with regard to the absence of the family context, recreating its dynamics within

the structure. Replacement function also encouraged by the representation conveyed by the name of the service itself: protected family home. Therefore, a further characterization of local culture would seem precisely the claustrophobic reduction of possible relationships to a large-small dynamic.

The clusters that attribute greater significance to the fourth factor are the fifth, on the negative pole, and the third on the positive pole. This factor speaks to us of control: on the positive pole the prison, the total institution par excellence, called by Goffman (1968) "the institution of social control", but also the "inside" par excellence; and on the negative one the outside, the outside life over which no control can be exercised and, at the same time, the place where a dynamic of subordination of the woman towards her family is fantasized such as to imagine her as strongly "controlled". It would seem that in Protected Family Home, in particular in social workers who work inside it, attempts are made to deny the control component within the service by projecting it outside: it is intolerable to disconfirm the ideological objective of autonomy by recognizing one's controlling role in the relationship established by the service itself.

Recognizing, in the sense of knowing again, the (unacceptable) need for control that characterizes the detention context with a view to the self-regulation of the cohabitation system itself, through the negotiation of the rules of the game, would become the necessary condition, even if not sufficient, for a relationship truly aimed at productivity and exchange. The acceptance of the limit of having to perform a detention and control function in the face of the ideology favoring re-education and autonomy becomes a necessary competence within this service. The fourth element characterizing this Protected Family Home, is

expressed in an ideological dimension that almost prevails over the examination of reality, this hypothesis is also supported by social workers' narration of the cases of escape, which are experienced as unexpected and mournful betrayals.

Discussion

To discuss the results of the research it was useful and interesting to deepen part of feminist literature, this is because the cultural representation of motherhood offers us an extra key to explore the representation of motherhood in detention. Motherhood, in fact, seems to be inscribed in a mythical representation, where the mother can be "tender and affectionate" or "distorted", and it would not seem to be one of the possible human relationships, but an experience dominated by rigid emotional norms. The obviousness of the ideal of self-giving, self-denial and self-sacrifice of motherhood and the "sacredness" of this role makes everything that seems to bring back to the image of the "bad mother" unspeakable and not socially acceptable, that is, everything that goes beyond the prescription. "Good and kind". These fantasies legitimize a vision of motherhood that can only be desirable, in which it seems there must be to be no questions because it is saturated with happiness, so, in order to explain the unhappiness of mothers, one must resort to madness, to a psychiatric problem such as postpartum depression. The mythical representation of motherhood has a long history behind it, according to some scholars only the introduction of livestock breeding and cultivation have provided men with a teaching related to male reproductive capacity, this means that only for about 12,000 years, in the 'span of millions of

years of man's existence, men have understood the role of fatherhood and considered descent also in the male as well as female line, thus making motherhood an object of worship and myths[16]. Various interrelated processes have affected the ways in which motherhood is represented in divinity and vice versa, a certain specialization has tended to separate qualities originally coexistent in a single great figure of goddess, distributing them in numerous personified images; in this way motherhood, especially in Western cultures dominated by monotheism, has been sharply separated from all other attributes of femininity, real or potential. Thus hunting, wisdom, sexuality, and war, originally attributed to undifferentiated goddess, begin to appear separately from each other. A similar process polarizes good and bad qualities into beneficial and terrible goddesses respectively, such a split dichotomizes the originally unified cycle of birth and death, in which Mother Earth gives life and later takes back her dead for the funeral (Eliade , 2019), as well as the polarizing split between the "good mother" and the "bad mother" makes the ideal of motherhood unattainable, denying that there might not be happiness, satisfaction and ability to face problems with a smile on one's lips. Feminist practice and theory have made a profound epistemological break in this regard, subverting many of the categories of reality, making visible what was invisible and revealing what was given natural as problematic. The cultural change promoted by feminism, which has affected industrialized countries from the 1970s onwards, has been accompanied by, or has resulted in, profound changes at a social and legislative level:

we are thinking above all of changes in family law and accessibility. - although not unlimited - of contraceptive means and abortion (Romito & Saurel-Cubizolles, 1997). In this context, it was possible to begin a long and laborious process of de-naturalization and culturalization of motherhood as something no longer inevitable, or indispensable and not necessarily a positive experience for all women (De Beauvoir, 1981). Another representation conveyed by feminist culture is the desire to be autonomous, to do it by oneself, where being dependent means being subjected to the possession of the other.

The dictat of feminism "Do it yourself" becomes an ideological compulsion to loneliness and the legacies of these representations are still embedded in our culture, even the writer finds himself in conflict between the desire for autonomy and the loss of loneliness, between the fear of dependence and the need to be in relationship. It is a similar conflict that many feminist theorists who are also mothers talk about and who have strongly described how mixed feelings - joy and despair, passionate love and murderous anger, freedom and constraints, realization, and denial of the best parts of self – are intertwined in the daily experience of motherhood (Rich, 1977). 'Mother' conveys fantasies that are very difficult to think of because they are obviously inherent in the culture, a model of motherhood that requires women to observe rigid emotional norms. In the etymological dictionary of the Italian language under the entry 'mamma' we can read: "a good and kind woman who takes care of someone with affection" (Cortellazzo & A. Cortellazzo, l'Etimologico Minore,

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[16] In cultures such as those of ancient Europe and classical Greece, motherhood is characteristically placed on the same line with an apparently opposite concept, that of virginity, this belief reflects the archaic notion that birth is the result of parthenogenesis, a perfectly

acceptable to anyone unaware of male power. Not a moralistic concept, as it later became in patrilineal and patriarchal cultures, that of virginity originally reflected an interpretation of woman as creative and powerful in itself.

2019). Good and kind thus becomes a prescription and an unattainable ideal. Following this reasoning, we are not surprised to learn that mothers in prison are carriers of further unease and guilt because women in the criminal justice system are prejudiced against the cultural ideal of motherhood (Department of Justice, 2002). The sense of guilt towards their children and the sense of inadequacy towards the cultural ideal of a good mother would seem to characterize the condition of mothers imprisoned with their children (Maidment, 2002).

The restitution

The research-intervention described so far has not been based on an explicit request, rather it is aimed at arousing any requests for intervention by reason of the return of what emerged from the research (Grasso et al., 2016). In the restitution, the results obtained were proposed as a starting point for shared reflection and re-elaboration for all the possible interlocutors of this work, with the aim of identifying possible development strategies for the phenomenon in question (Cipriani & Bolasco, 1995). The objective of the restitution is to elaborate the relationship between social workers[17] and users, between social workers and the objectives of the structure, and between social workers themselves, to allow the relationship not to result in collusive actions but instead to be a source of knowledge. Furthermore, we thought of recovering the non-predictable nature of the meeting by proposing, in our work first and then later, a collective reflection on the meaning and significance of the meeting itself.

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[17]For *social workers* we mean coordinators, educators, social workers, and volunteers.

Conclusions

To conclude means "bring or come to an end", but the prefix 'con' takes us far from a mournful closing, accompanying us towards an end where links between actions and what we have gathered till now are mentioned, there is no mourning but change and transposition into next reality…so then this is not a proper conclusion because we are still deeply working on the project.

In the experience of the interview, in meeting social workers we have been able to share a thought about the issue without interpretation. We have found the way to deal with emotionality through words, and this is already a result, a transportation into reality which is not concluded. The experience of the restitution is meant as a first step of the research work but also as a tool through which we are led to reflect with the participants, a fundamental step of the operation. What we can show now is where we have arrived, and the four themes that emerged from this research: waiting; the subjectivity of the user; the large-small dynamics; the conflict between mandate and ideology.

The relationships with the detained seem to lack an exploration of their desires and needs because, in order to achieve a resocialization and social reintegration of the detained and run the moral legitimation of their work towards a person who has committed a crime, social workers have adopted a sort of "familistic" relationship.

The familistic dynamic is in fact linked to the negation of the extraneousness of the other and constitutes a resistance to development, this is because there is the presumption of knowing the stranger, you ask everyone to

submit to each other's demands, each knows the other "all too well", everyone has a stereotypical identity to stick to, the prediction on how much the other will do, is high and self-confident and the unrests are not expected (Carli & Paniccia, 2002).

In summary, it avoids the knowledge that could arise from the relationship with the stranger, symbolizing the stranger himself within different and complex emotional images, but away from possible relational adventures with the other, in the hypothesis that what acts within a context of belonging is lived within a symbolization "friend" of the other, from which the other himself cannot come out; a friend obliged.

Inside the protected family home, it seems to be reconstructing an image of "family" (image also suggested by the name of the structure) within which there are parents – social workers – who take care of their children – the inmates. In this dynamic, the adult being of the prisoner is denied bringing it back into a "child-like" dimension, deresponsibilizing the mother in the present but also in past errors (the crime). It is thus that in this time of waiting without activity and desire, of the reality of this Protected Family Home, the outside and whoever resides there becomes an enemy threatening the system of belonging created within, and it is the powerful outsider who is responsible for the prisoners' mistakes (past, present, and future). The women inside the structure are therefore emotionally symbolized as little girls to clear up the conflict caused by the structure itself (as well as underlining that the structure is for children and not for prisoners).

What seems to be masked by this familistic dynamic is precisely the power and its asymmetry within this context. In the preface written by Alessandro Dal Lago of Asylum by

Goffman (1968) we are reminded that nothing would be more distorted than to analyze the interaction between a judge and a defendant or between a teacher and a pupil as if these social actors were on an equal footing. Objectivity can be achieved, at least in sociology, by recognizing the asymmetries of role, of social position or, if you will, of power that gives a certain imprint to social interaction". The unpronounceability of power forces social workers to hide it behind the large-small dynamic typical of familistic contexts.

We have considered it essential to create a space of thought and exchange on these issues, because the lack of exploration of the extraneousness of the other and the perception of living in a time when activity is suspended, make it impossible to tend to the future, constituting a resistance to development.

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