TRANS* INDIVIDUALS IN THE U.S. PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: CARCERAL POWER, HYPERMASCULINITY AND TRANSGENDER SUBVERSIONS

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ABSTRACT

The conditions of incarceration for transgender individuals in the United States have become a concern of activists and scholars. The multiple forms of mistreatment that target transgender prisoners have been noted to include humiliation, harassment, assault, and the denial of various rights. Due to the small scale of the current body of research surrounding incarcerated trans* individuals, my research explores more detailed accounts of incarcerated trans* feminine prisoners across the United States to gather the variety of physical and psychological trauma they endure, as well as other aspects of their lives such as gender embodiment and ways in which they resist carceral impositions of gender expression and transphobia. Through qualitative research methods, my data presents subjective and comprehensive accounts of incarceration by trans* feminine prisoners and the numerous material and corporeal consequences they face in prison. I argue that my research suggests the ways in which carceral institutions and hegemonic masculinity impose power through corporeal and psychological domination over transgender prisoners. Additionally, my data displays how carceral and hypermasculine supremacy can be resisted and challenged by the ways in which transgender prisoners engage in bodily sovereignty and assert their gender identities. My research provides new information regarding incarcerated transgender populations through a larger-scale analysis that teases apart the intricacies of how incarceration impacts transgender prisoners, as well as points to strategies for how advocates can support transgender prisoners.

RÉSUMÉ

Les conditions dans lesquelles les individus transgenres sont incarcérés aux États-Unis sont devenues inquiétantes pour certains activistes et experts. Plusieurs formes d'abus à l'égard des prisonniers transgenres sont identifiables, dont l'humiliation, le harcèlement, les agressions, et le déni de droits variés. Vue la petite échelle du corps d'étude qui existe à présent sur les conditions d'incarcération des personnes trans*, mon projet explore des comptes rendus détaillés de prisonniers trans* féminines à travers les États-Unis afin de recueillir des données sur les traumatismes physiques et psychologiques qu'elles/ils subissent, ainsi que d'autres aspects de leur(e)s vies tel que la réalisation des sexes, les moyens par lesquels ells/ils résistent l'imposition carcérale de l'expression des sexes, et la transphobie. Suite à une analyse basée sur des méthodes de recherche qualitatives, les résultats présentent un compte rendu subjectifs et compréhensifs de l'incarcération de prisonniers trans* féminines, y compris les nombreuses conséquences matérielles et corporelles auxquelles ells/ils font face en prison. Les résultats démontrent les moyens par lesquelles les institutions carcérales et la masculinité hégémonique imposent du pouvoir à travers la domination corporelle et psychologique des prisonniers transgenres. De plus, les données exposent les moyens par lesquels la suprématie carcérale et l'hypermasculinité peut être résistée et contestée par les prisonniers transgenres à travers la souveraineté corporelle et l'affirmation de leur identité de genre. Ma recherche fournit de la nouvelle information concernant l'incarcération de populations transgenre à travers une analyse à grande échelle qui sert à démêler les moyens par lesquels l'incarcération impacte les prisonniers transgenres et donne quelques pistes pour les intervenants sur des potentielles stratégies de support pour les prisonniers transgenres.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> *Question: "What do you think are the biggest challenges to being transgender in prison"?*
> *Anonymous: "Survival."* (Figure B28)

Queer scholars and prison advocacy organizations have recently begun to examine the incarceration of transgender and gender non-conforming communities in the United States. Dean Spade (2008/9), for example, has identified the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) as "probably the most significant perpetrator of violence against trans people" (6). Forms of trauma enacted by the PIC against trans*[1] people is extensive, often originating in the institutional mis-gendering and the placement of trans* people in facilities by their birth-assigned sex, rather than their identified gender (Spade, 2008; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). This mis-assignment is often coupled with high levels of physical and sexual violence, as well as other forms of emotional and verbal abuse (Hagner, 2010; Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Jenness, 2010; Sexton, Jenness, & Sumner, 2010; Spade, 2008; Spade, 2008/9; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007).

The mistreatment and violence enacted upon transgender prisoners is reinforced in two major ways. First, acts of mistreatment occur on an institutional level through official gender regulations, forms of punishment, and the lack of intervention in harassment and violence that transgender prisoners face. Secondly, acts of mistreatment occur interpersonally with other inmates and correctional staff, particularly through the social reinforcement of gender norms and hierarchies. These institutional and interpersonal mechanisms appear to work in tandem, reinforcing each other and

[1] * Indicates the spectra of gender and sex identities amongst transgender-identified individuals, as well as transgender and gender non-conforming communities.

bolstering the challenges that transgender prisoners face. Consequently, my research aims to gather detailed accounts of this mistreatment and to contribute to understandings of how carceral institutions enforce gender normativity and inform the experiences of incarcerated trans* individuals.

1.1. Thesis Aim and Research Objectives

More specifically, my research seeks to gather testimonies of trans* prisoners' lives in order to analyze the conditions and forms of mistreatment they face, as well as how they are impacted by the maintenance of gender performances and expressions in prison. This research aim is centered around two focal points. First, I aim to gather more detailed accounts of trans* feminine[2] prisoners' experiences in men's correctional facilities than what recent research studies have presented. Second, I aim to more closely examine how these experiences impact trans* feminine prisoners, and also if there are ways in which they challenge carceral power. The following are my specific research questions:

1. What forms of violence and mistreatment do trans* feminine individuals experience in men's correctional facilities? Are there spatial particularities to certain forms of mistreatment within prisons? How do experiences of violence and mistreatment influence the ways in which trans* feminine prisoners relate to themselves and others in carceral space?

[2] I use the term 'trans* feminine individuals' to refer to those who have been assigned male at birth and identify along a female/feminine spectrum. Because not all of my participants identified as trans* women or male-to-female transsexuals, trans* feminine will be used to include the broader spectrum of identities named by my research participants.

2. What are the emotional and physical repercussions of housing trans* feminine prisoners in men's correctional facilities? How does living in men's correctional facilities impact the ways in which trans* feminine prisoners embody and express their gender identities?

3. Is there a potential for political action amongst this population? Are there ways that they resist and challenge their treatment and gender regulation?

This research aim hopes to add to the growing body of literature surrounding transgender experiences of incarceration, and also to gather more detailed empirical data about incarcerated transgender populations. The following chapter provides an overview of existing work on incarcerated transgender populations and lays out the context that situates my research with trans* feminine prisoners. This small body of work includes research reports from activist organizations, as well as ethnographic research and legal reviews that examine the experiences of transgender prisoners in the U.S. Broadly, I present the current information that is known about discriminatory mistreatment and abuse that transgender prisoners incur due to their gender identities, presentations, and expressions. The mistreatment that they face varies widely, including the incorrect assignment to sex-segregated prisons based on birth-assigned sex instead of current gender identity, medical and institutional neglect, harassment, isolation, and physical and sexual harm and assault.

In Chapter 3 I present the literature used to position my research in the broader context of transgender geographical work. This chapter begins by identifying feminist geographies and its focus on locating networks of power and gender within space. Queer geographies are then discussed, focusing on how they have examined concepts of sexuality, space, and power, and their influence on queer studies. The field of transgender geography is then addressed as a field that combines understandings of space, gender, queer theory and power. After an overview of transgender geographical work and current concerns within the field, I subsequently engage with other relevant literatures, including critical prison studies and affect theory/emotional geographies. Here I position theories of gender performativity as they are discussed in relation to carceral power and space, as well as engage in how understandings of affective/emotional movement and conditions can aid examinations of power and the political potentials of various groups of people and subject positions.

Chapter 4 sets out the methodological approach that guided my research during the summer of 2012. Using qualitative research methods, I mailed open and closed ended questionnaires to trans* feminine prisoners across the U.S. and was able to obtain detailed data to address my aforementioned research questions. In this chapter I also discuss the various challenges of working with prisoners and the details that went into my research design and application. Chapter 5 then presents my research findings on the experiences of my research participants while incarcerated. This data not only supports claims within the current body of literature concerning transgender prisoners, but also elaborates on some of the concerns regarding their wellbeing by developing the information regarding mistreatment and gathering more subjective accounts of the

experiences that transgender prisoners have. The data also presents more detail on the social dynamics between trans* feminine prisoners and other inmates, correctional officers, and people they know on the outside. But importantly, my research also gathers unexpected findings regarding housing, access to hormones, and the ways in which participants resist carceral institutions, which complicates the arguments that have been circulated in this research field.

Subsequently, in Chapter 6 I explore three specific implications of my research findings: 1) the ways in which carceral institutions assert physical and psychological control over trans* feminine prisoners, and the impacts of this control; 2) how domination over trans* feminine prisoners works through the performance of hypermasculinity, and; 3) the ways in which trans* feminine prisoners defy the logic of gender repression and carceral authority. Finally, I conclude in Chapter 7 by arguing that this data provides a more detailed body of knowledge about the lives of trans* feminine prisoners in the U.S. Having this information is a critical step in identifying major concerns for, and advancing the advocacy of, transgender prisoners. This work also expands the use of geography and queer theory to comprehend and analyze the lived material realities of a specific transgender population. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to explore the possible next steps for transgender and queer community activism and support by understanding what can help provide relief from the realities of incarceration.

While the information provided by the current body of research is very important for the advocacy of transgender prisoners, there is a need for more thorough and conclusive data about this population. Each research project has its own focus and limited

scope, which makes it difficult to compare data between reports. Furthermore, it is difficult to assess how applicable the information is to prisoners in other areas of the United States where research has not been focused. My research is established to build up this body of research in hopes to cohere the various data that has been gathered into a larger, national scale. By developing a thorough inquiry into the lives and experiences of trans* feminine prisoners, this body of research can be validated as well as expanded to more accurately reflect the lives of its target population.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH CONTEXT

A small body of research has gathered information about the lives and conditions of incarcerated transgender people. Largely, this work has been explored in the past decade and has been spearheaded by LGBT activist and prisoner support organizations, as well as ethnographers and lawyers. Reports that have been conducted by community organizations include Hearts on a Wire in Philadelphia, the Sylvia Rivera Law Project in New York, and the D.C. Trans Coalition, which all retained a focus in their respective geographic regions. The ethnographic research was all conducted in California (Girshick, 2011; Jenness, 2010; Sexton, Jenness, and Sumner, 2010), while legal reviews have used case studies to present overviews of incarceration across the United States (Rosenblum, 2000; Silpa, 2011; Spade, 2008; Spade, 2008/9; Spade, 2012; Tarzwell, 2006).

These reports provide assessments of the conditions of incarceration for trans* people in the U.S., shedding light on some important demographics of incarcerated transgender populations, details of their treatment, and the impact that incarceration has on their lives. The majority of these analyses have focused on MTF populations in men's correctional facilities and only a few accounts of FTM individuals who are incarcerated in women's correctional facilities (Girshick, 2011; Rosenblum, 2000; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). Broadly, the majority of these reports focus on the ways in which prisons regulate the ability to access gender-affirming medical care, the placement of trans* people in sex-segregated facilities, the kinds of abuse that trans* people face, and the overall impact that these elements have on incarcerated transgender people.

2.1. Demographics of Incarcerated Transgender Populations

The demographic information collected in the aforementioned reports presents data regarding race, age, gender identity, relationship status, mental and physical health, employment and home status prior to incarceration, and offenses committed. Researchers have noted the difficulty in assessing the number of trans* people within prisons, although Silpa (2011) states that "0.6% of adult males in the [New York City] prison systems self-identified as transgender," and also cites an additional report that there are "between 500-750 transgender inmates in custody in state facilities, as well as another 50-100 in federal facilities" (810). Due to the lack of classification measures in prisons, it is almost impossible to obtain official data about prisoners who self-identify as trans* (Spade, 2008; Tarzwell, 2006). Despite this, it has been estimated that transgender populations are overrepresented in prisons due to the increased policing of poverty, homelessness, and unemployment, all of which disproportionately target transgender people (Spade, 2008, 2008/9; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). Scholars have argued that trans* people are disproportionately forced to engage in criminalized activities such as sex work, the use of black-market hormones, and charges of fraud due to legal, housing, employment, and medical discrimination (Hagner, 2010; Silpa, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007).

It is also argued that there is a higher representation of MTF individuals in prison as opposed to those who are FTM because of an increased visibility of, and consequently discrimination against, trans* feminine people (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Jenness, 2010; Sexton et al., 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). However, this also reflects the higher levels of incarcerated cis men than cis women in the United States. In 2010, for example, the U.S. Department of Justice reported that 135,200,000 cis men were

incarcerated as compared to 12,600,000 incarcerated cis women, which equates to a ratio of 676 cis men to 63 cis women (Glaze, 2011).

Only two studies gathered data about the racial and ethnic identities of incarcerated trans* people, reflecting a higher percentage of people of color, notably African Americans. In Hearts on a Wire's report, 68% of the survey respondents were Black or African American, which is higher than the percent of incarcerated cisgender people of color in prison (2011, 11). As well, the majority of participants in Sexton et al.'s (2011) California study identified as black (2011, 846). Notably, this information reflects not only the disproportionately high rates of incarceration for people of color in the U.S., but also the higher risk of incarceration for trans* people of color (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007).

The poor health status of incarcerated trans* individuals is another recurring theme within this body of literature. Regarding mental health, 33.9% of Hearts on a Wire's participants self-reported having a serious mental illness (2011, 27), while in California "over 70% [of trans* prisoners] reported having had a mental health problem at some point in their lives, most of whom (66.3%) reported experiencing mental health problems since being incarcerated" (Sexton et al., 2011, 851). Particularly noteworthy is the high rate of HIV/AIDS amongst incarcerated transgender populations (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 29). Of Hearts on a Wire's participants, 33.9% were HIV positive, which is a startling "21 times the HIV prevalence rate of 1.6% in Pennsylvania's total prison population" (2011, 27). Similarly, Sexton et al. (2011, 851) also noted the drastically higher rates of HIV/AIDS amongst their transgender interviewees in California. When consulting with Dr. Lori Kohler, the founding doctor of the only health

clinic for California's transgender prisoners, Sexton et al. were told that, "'Anywhere from 60-80 percent [of trans* feminine prisoners] at any given time are HIV-infected'" (2011, 851). The Sylvia Rivera Law Project discussed the particularly high rates of HIV amongst incarcerated transgender populations, stating that, "The high rates of rape, sexual coercion, and prostitution and the denial of condoms and safer sex education put transgender, gender non-conforming, and intersex prisoners at a much higher risk for HIV infection than other prisoners" (2007, 29).

2.2. Placement and Housing Issues

A large portion of the research that has been conducted with transgender prisoners has focused on the housing conditions and subsequent issues that they face. Common problems of housing include the disproportionate use of solitary confinement, poor housing conditions, and inadequate medical care (Hagner, 2010; Silpa, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Tarzwell, 2006). While these issues impact all prisoners and not just those who are transgender, literature has argued that a person's perceived gender identity and sexual orientation can severely impact their treatment and wellbeing in prison, as well as their vulnerability to housing-related problems (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 18).

As noted earlier, the majority of correctional facilities house people based on their birth assigned sex and/or genitalia, often regardless of whether or not they have been using hormones and have had surgeries for their transition (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 17; Tarzwell, 2006). For transgender people, this means that trans* feminine individuals who have been assigned male at birth are housed in men's facilities, and trans* masculine individuals who have been assigned female at birth

are housed in women's facilities. This not only disregards individuals' gender identities, but also any physical measures they have taken to transition. These measures of placement have been highly criticized as increasing the visibility of trans* people and thus "ignit[ing] harassment within prison… and expos[ing] transgender prisoners to threat of assault" (Tarzwell, 2006, 196). According to Dean Spade (2008), as of 2008 only nine correctional facilities across the U.S. had policies regarding transgender prisoners, and "none allow[ed] placement of transgender prisoners according to current gender identity" (Spade, 2008, 5). While some cities such as Washington D.C. (Hagner, 2010) may have changed their jurisdiction since this time, the majority of correctional facilities continue to house transgender prisoners in this fashion.

Some reports have also identified the disproportionate use of administrative segregation, also known as the hole or solitary confinement, with transgender prisoners (Hagner, 2010, 845; Hearts on a Wire, 2011, 22; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Tarzwell, 2006). For example, although 68.5% of Hearts on a Wire's participants lived in general population at the time of the survey, "66.1% reported being sent to the hole at least once during their incarceration" (2011, 22). According to the Sylvia Rivera Law Project, administrative segregation is "reserved for people who are at a higher risk of violence or harassment by other prisoners, those who are receiving additional punishment, or those who are seen as more likely to commit violent acts towards others" (2007, 18). It has been noted that due to high levels of vulnerability to violence, trans* people who are incarcerated often find themselves placed in administrative segregation (Hagner, 2010, 849), sometimes with their consent and other times without (Hearts on a Wire, 2011, 20). However, placement in administrative segregation is also frequently

used to punish trans* individuals for violating prison regulations regarding gender expression, such as wearing makeup, shaving body hair, and wearing women's clothing (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007), as well as defending themselves against assault (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007).

One of the noted criticisms of the disproportionate use of solitary confinement for transgender prisoners surrounds the psychological damage caused by severe isolation, as well as the vulnerability to potential violence by prison administration (Hagner, 2010; Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). As reported in the D.C. Trans Coalition,

> In [administrative] segregation, an individual loses access to education and work privileges, social support…[and] may be further isolated from fellow inmates who can serve as witnesses, leaving inmates even more vulnerable to abuse, especially from corrections officers. Long-term placement in administrative segregation can also cause psychological damage…. (Hagner, 2010, 849-850)

In particular, the isolation of solitary confinement can incite severe psychological and emotional trauma. As the American Psychological Association asserts, "Prisoners in administrative segregation are placed into isolation units for months or years…. Deprived of normal human interaction, many segregated prisoners reportedly suffer from mental health problems including anxiety, panic, insomnia, paranoia, aggression and depression" (Weir, 2012). Tarzwell (2006) furthers that "courts have recognized that long-term placement in administrative segregation can be psychologically damaging" (180), and that the placement of trans* individuals in administrative segregation can in fact increase their vulnerability to assault (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Tarzwell, 2006, 180).

2.3. Medical Care

The lack of access to gender-affirming healthcare and treatment are also common themes in the body of research about transgender prisoners. The Sylvia Rivera Law Project has reported that, "the denial of basic care, discriminatory providers, denial of hormones and other transition-related treatments, and high rates of illness and STIs are common, and reveal serious health risks for transgender, gender non-conforming, and intersex people, as well as all people, in prison" (2007, 27).

Trans* people who seek to start or continue to take hormones in prison are most often prohibited from using them (Silpa, 2011). As Rosenblum states, "the law of most circuits does not require prisons to provide hormones to transgendered prisoners. Nonetheless, the policy of the United States Bureau of Prisons is to provide hormones to transgendered women prisoners in order to maintain, rather than advance or reduce, transgender attributes" (2000, 545). According to Dean Spade (2008), only seven states have written explicit policies stating that transgender prisoners can access hormones while incarcerated, and these policies are often disregarded or not followed, implementing incorrect doses or inconsistent treatment (Rosenblum, 2000; Spade, 2008, 789). The majority of transgender prisoners are not given permission to use hormones during their incarceration, even though prisons are legally required to supply necessary medical treatment to all prisoners for both mental and physical health (Rosenblum, 2000, 545; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). This issue was reflected in Hearts on a Wire's report, which identified that the majority of their respondents encountered difficulty in accessing hormones, even if they had been taking them prior to incarceration (2011, 24-26).

The impact of denying gender affirming medical care, particularly hormone treatment, can be devastating for transgender prisoners. As the D.C. Trans Coalition reported, denying hormones "can result in extreme psychological distress, described as a 'very invasive loss of sovereignty over one's own body.' In desperation, transgender women inmates may attempt to self-castrate in an attempt to block testosterone from entering their bodies" (Hagner, 2010, 850). There have been several cases in which trans* feminine prisoners attempted or succeeded in self-castrating in order to prevent the masculinizing effects of not receiving hormone treatment (Rosenblum, 2000; Silpa, 2011; Tarzwell, 2006). There are also severe physical and psychological impacts associated with the withdrawal of hormones (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Rosenblum, 2000). As Hearts on a Wire (2011) reported, "For trans-feminine individuals whose bodies are accustomed to regular estrogen intake, the rapid withdrawal of this hormone can cause heart problems, irregular blood pressure, hot flashes, anxiety, panic attacks, depression, hair loss, insomnia, and difficulty with short term memory and concentration" (26). Irregular hormone intake can also exacerbate mental health issues, which is particularly problematic when considering the high rates of mental illness amongst incarcerated transgender populations (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 27).

2.4. Additional Gender Regulations

Encountering additional barriers to gender expression is also very common for transgender prisoners. In particular, clothing can be problematic, especially for trans* women. For example, while women's facilities provide prisoners with separate pants and shirts, men's facilities often only provide jumpsuits, so transgender women have to

expose secondary sex characteristics, like breasts, when going to the bathroom (Hagner, 2010, 848). Transgender women also often encounter difficulty in being granted access to wear bras, women's underwear, makeup, and even to wear long hair, which is all typically allowed in women's correctional facilities (Hagner, 2010, 847; Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sexton et al., 2011, 861; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2011).

Details about these issues appear in the Sylvia Rivera Law Project's report, which discusses the complexities of obtaining and/or possessing makeup and attire deemed inappropriately gendered. One of the organization's respondents stated that "You can have a bra but you can't have panties. You're only allowed a sports bra, but no make-up" (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 31). While many of the report's respondents stated that they often attempt to wear long hair and nails to express their gender, "[m]any transgender women…report having their hair forcibly cut upon entrance to men's prisons" (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 31), and transgender men are often forced to shave off their body hair (Girshick, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 32).

2.5. Harassment and Violence

Notably due to a combination of transphobia, homophobia, and sexism, reports have identified that transgender prisoners experience high rates of humiliation, harassment and violence at the hands of other inmates and correctional officers (Tarzwell, 2006). Tarzwell (2006) states that, "transgender prisoners experience the violence and coercion [of prison] to a heightened degree" (177). In particular, physical assault is noted to be very high for transgender prisoners (Rosenblum, 2000; Sexton et al., 2010; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). As Hearts on a Wire (2011) reported, 27.1% of their participants

were physically assaulted by correctional staff and 52.5% were physically assaulted by another inmate (33).

Notably, much of the violence that transgender prisoners face has been identified as sexual in nature (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Hagner, 2010; Sexton et al., 2011; Spade, 2008, 2008/9; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). Spade (2008) writes that,

> Court cases and stories from advocates and former prisoners reveal trends of forced prostitution, sexual slavery, sexual assault and other violence against transgender women in men's prisons. Transgender people in women's prisons are also targets of gender- based violence, including sexual assault…. Having masculine characteristics can make prisoners in women's facilities targets of homophobic slurs, punishment for alleged violations of rules against homosexual contact, and sexual harassment and assault motivated by a reaction to gender non-conformity. (758)

Similarly, Jenness (2008) also echoes that a heightened visibility increases transgender prisoners' vulnerability to sexual assault. In a review of Jenness' (2008) research, Sexton et al. write that, "59% of transgender inmates reported having been sexually assaulted in a California correctional facility in contrast to 4.4% of the random sample of inmates" (2010, 838). A report from the Human Rights Watch (2001) also reflects this drastically high difference in the rate of sexual assault for men and trans* feminine individuals, identifying that 5% of male prisoners are raped. Compared to the rate of sexual assault at 52.5% for Hearts on a Wire's respondents (2011, 33) or 59% of Jenness' research population (2008), the difference in rates of sexual assault between cis men and trans* women is notably severe and alarming.

Instances of humiliation and harassment are also argued to be particularly routine for transgender prisoners (Hagner, 2010, 845; Hearts on a Wire, 2011, 30; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Tarzwell, 2006). Examples of excessive humiliation of transgender

prisoners include forcing them to alter their gender expression (Hagner, 2010), public strip searches and forced nudity (Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Tarzwell, 2006), and displaying/destroying private property such as love letters and bras (Hagner, 2010; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). As Hearts on a Wire (2011) reported, "Searches were reported as consistently abusive and discriminatory. Respondents were humiliated, sexually assaulted, and injured during the course of searches" (30).

Harassment is also said to be very common for transgender prisoners, largely due to visible displays of femininity and female secondary sex characteristics (Hagner, 2010; Hearts on a Wire, 2011; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007). Of Hearts on a Wire's (2011) respondents, 79.7% reported being harassed by correctional staff and 44.1% reported being sexually harassed by correctional staff (31). Furthermore, 90% reported being verbally harassed by other inmates and 72.9% reported being sexually harassed by other inmates (Hearts on a Wire, 2011, 33).

2.6. Emotional and Psychological Trauma

The emotional trauma that trans* prisoners incur has been identified as a primary concern of researchers and activist organizations. The issues that I have noted so far can have profoundly negative impacts on the emotional wellbeing of incarcerated transgender people (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007, 17). In particular, it has been theorized that living in close quarters to people of a different gender and being highly visible as differently gendered is a leading cause of feelings of humiliation and isolation. As asserted by the D.C. Trans Coalition, "Transgender inmates often express a sense of humiliation and cognitive dissonance as a result of being forced to congregate in such

close quarters with individuals of the opposite sex and conform to gendered rules regarding appearance, dress, hygiene, and behavior" (Hagner, 2010, 847). Hearts on a Wire also supports this claim, stating that instances of humiliation and abuse lead to feelings of alienation, exclusion, and shame amongst transgender prisoners (Hearts on a Wire, 2011, 29). Furthermore, former transgender inmates in Washington D.C. found that the prison system "neither 'protects' nor 'rehabilitates,' but rather destroys the bodies, minds, and power of [transgender and gender diverse] communities'" (Hagner, 2010, 846). Coupled with the emotional impacts of prohibiting hormones and forms of gender expression, prison can be both physically and psychologically devastating for transgender people.

2.7. Conclusion

Overall, this body of research warns against the treatment of transgender prisoners. Transgender prisoners face multiple challenges ranging from disproportionate physical and mental health issues to high rates of harassment, humiliation, and physical and sexual abuse. As well, the emotional and psychological damage from housing placement and the various forms of mistreatment are further compounded by the prohibition of hormone use and other means of gender expression. We are thus provided with the central concerns of incarceration for trans* people as broadly centered on the vulnerability to physical, emotional, and psychological abuse. Consequently, this information sets the stage for an exploration of how gender performance, carceral power, and space blend together and impact transgender prisoners.

However, this body of research is also limited in size and scope due to its narrow geographical foci on particular states. Because it is so challenging to access prisoners for research, obtaining permission to work with prisoners in more than one state is often too difficult, time-consuming, and costly for most research projects. This means, however, that comparisons of conditions for transgender prisoners can only be made between four areas of the entire country – California, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington D.C. Consequently, my research broadens this analysis to other states within the U.S. in order to consider the more nation-wide conditions of transgender prisoners. As will be discussed, my findings support and expand the claims made by this body of research while also applying theory to examine the possible reasons for, and repercussions of, trans* feminine prisoners' experiences in prison. Additionally, my research data will add emotional depth to this body of research by gathering first-hand accounts of the experiences that trans* feminine prisoners encounter during their incarceration.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

By centralizing questions of gender and structural power and placing transgender geographies in conversation with theories of performativity, carceral power, and affect, this chapter provides an analysis of the frameworks situating my work with transgender prisoners. An overview of feminist and queer geographic literatures will be provided, highlighting their attention to the power of gendered and sexualized social forces in space, as well as how heteronormative dualities and normativities can be challenged through geographic analyses. I then turn to literature on transgender geographies that has emerged out of feminist and queer geographical work. This scholarship seeks to address the material lives of transgender people and challenge how they have been portrayed in theoretical conversations of queer theory.

This chapter will also review the ways in which identity and performance interact with power and space, as the notion that gender is performative is crucial to work on transgender geographies. Particularly important is how theories of performativity have blended with critical prison literature to examine how prisons wield a Foucaultian biopower (Moran et al., 2009) on bodies by enforcing normative gender roles and performative behaviors. Considering forms of carceral power positions us to also engage with affect theory and emotional geographies, which explore how emotions and feelings flow through space as well as the political potential that rests in their movement. More specifically, analyses of negative emotions are useful for concerns of incarcerated trans* individuals in how they consider the potential for political agency in places of institutional bodily and identity control.

3.1. Feminist, Queer, and Emerging Transgender Geographies

Transgender geographies have emerged out of human geographic inquiries into social and spatial relations, and more specifically from feminist and queer geographic explorations of power, gender, and sexuality. In broad terms, transgender geographies apply feminist and queer theoretical positions to geographical queries and understandings of how gender and sexuality relate to space, place, borders, movement, and other matters of geographic interest.

The ways in which gendered social processes and power dynamics engage with and manifest in space has been a significant focus of feminist geographical work (Massey, 1992; McDowell, 1991, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1993; Rose, 1993, 1997; Valentine, 1989, 2007). Concepts of gender and geography are explicitly linked and must be considered in their relation to each other, not as separate entities. Of particular importance to feminist geographers is the understanding of embodiment and spatial dynamism, which explains the constantly shifting nature of space, power, and bodies. As Massey (1992) asserts, "'Space' is created out of the vast intricacies, the incredible complexities, of the interlocking and the non-interlocking, and the networks of relations at every scale from local to global" (80). Within this framework, gendered social dynamics and manifestations impact the ways in which spaces are informed, inhabited, and enforced. Gendered social and spatial dynamics become visible when we analyze the technologies through which spaces are built and function, the histories of power that are built into spaces, and the ways people inhabit them.

Notably, these concepts are built upon feminist geographical work surrounding embodiment, particularly in the ways that discussions of embodiment "subvert the

mind/body and sex/gender dualisms" in geography (Longhurst, 1995, 101; see also Massey, 1992). Nash (2000) argues that a focus towards embodiment "[reorients] cultural geography towards practices rather than representations" (660), which is critical for geographical work which seeks to address power relations and social dynamics in relation to bodies, places, and temporalities. By emphasizing a focus on gendered/sexed bodies, feminist geographers have picked up theories of embodiment to examine, for example, "what it means for a body to be sexed…in time and place", as well as how different individuals "use their bodies to signify new modes of femininity" (Longhurst, 1995, 102). As Longhurst (1995) emphasizes, geographers can employ theories of embodiment to politicize their work and "subvert masculinist structures of knowledge in geography" (102). These analyses of embodiment can consequently lead us to more thorough geographic understandings of power relations in a given locality, temporality, and also field of scholarship.

In considering social processes and power relations to be active, space can be understood as consistently experiencing shifts that are informed by these elements. Feminist geographers have provided a framework in which power relations can be understood to directly impact a space and bodies within it. Geographic analyses of structures and institutions of power, then, have become more comprehensive in their exploration of individuals, histories, social dynamics, and power in various places. As Massey (1992) states,

> Space is not a 'flat' surface…because the social relations which create it are themselves dynamic by their very nature.... Moreover, and again as a result of the fact that it is conceptualized as created out of social relations, space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation. (81)

This work and conceptualization of power dynamics manifesting through embodiment and in various time/space continua has also been incredibly informative for queer geographers, who have further applied networks of power to sexuality, race, class, gender, and space. Queer geographies have undertaken explorations of shifting networks of power and the ways in which institutional power and local/global processes and dynamics impact queer communities, people, and politics. This has included conversations of globalization and sexuality (Puar, 2005), homonormativity and the social effects of neoliberalism (Agathangelou, Bassichis, and Spira, 2008; Puar, 2006; Richardson, 2005), queer neighborhoods, gentrification and citizenship (Bell and Binnie, 2004), and many other topics.

According to Knopp (2007), queer geographies present the possibility for a productive shift and expansion of geographical imaginations by exploring the intersection of theoretical and political manifestations of space, materiality, embodiment, and social (notably sexual) identities. For queer geographers, this field opens up the possibility to view places as "fluid, ambiguous, multiple, and contingent" (Knopp, 2007, 50), elaborating the ways in which geography can be theorized and studied. In particular, queer geographers have brought forth important concerns for those engaging in geographies of sexuality. Oswin (2008) writes that it is crucial for queer geographic projects to maintain a queer theoretical lens, utilizing a "critical approach that interrogates sexual normativities and orthodoxies" (92) to sustain a questioning outlook on concepts relating to analyses of space, power, and sexual identity. Maintaining a critical queer approach asks scholars to continue to challenge heteronormative concepts of cis-sexism, masculinism, and monogamy, as well as racism and classism, particularly

within work that engages in topics of queerness (Browne, 2006; Cohen, 1997; Elder, 1999, 2002; Gilmore, 2002; Hubbard, 2004; Nast, 2002a, 2002b; Oswin, 2008). It has thus been crucial for queer geographers to continue to expand and challenge their analyses, such as examinations of non-heteronormative heterosexualities (Hubbard, 2004; Sanchez, 2004), queer genealogies (Halberstam, 2005), interactions with systems of power (Cohen, 1997), and queer people of color, immigrants, and queers in various socio-economic class statuses (Elder, 1999; Oswin, 2008).

3.2. Transgender Geographies

Transgender geographies surfaced from this queer geographical move to explore more nuanced understandings of power, performance, gender, and sexuality while maintaining a queer theory-based rejection of binary and normative structures. Emerging transgender geographical research has sought to present new and original ways to analyze the nuances of gender performativity as it relates to trans* individuals, the interaction between trans* people and gendered space(s), and the material realities of transgender lives across various temporalities, places, and bodies. This field in geography emphasizes a material focus on the complexities of being transgender, critiquing queer theory's limited theoretical focus on transgender identities. Consequently, transgender geographies hone in on how concepts of gender theory, such as performativity, can apply to more tangible and material geographic analyses of power, place, and identity.

3.2.1. The Framework of Transgender Geographies

The field of transgender studies has been informed by post-modern views of identities as "discursively constructed within multiple, intersecting systems of meaning" (Nash, 2010, 585). Most notably, this scholarship has focused its energy on the theoretical possibilities of transgender embodiment and intelligibility, and the ways in which trans* people have complicated gender theory and other binary social constructions of race, ability, sexuality, and so on (Elliott, 2010, 69). Transgender studies has largely analyzed the ways in which transgender bodies are marked as incoherent due to their failure as (hetero)normative bodies, and what the political potential of this dissonance may be.

Literature in this field has also explored how transgender bodies might move into positions of intelligibility, becoming legible as gendered bodies in heteronormative spheres. In other words, this recent area of interest in transgender studies looks at the emergence of transgender and transsexual identities and its impact on cultural understandings of gender and sex. For Judith Butler, transgender and transsexual bodies "collectively challenge dominant assumptions concerning the relation between signifiers of gender and sexed bodies" (Elliott, 2010, 68). The dialogue started by this and other related theories of gender performativity immensely changed and informed feminist and queer analyses (see Butler's *Gender Trouble,* 1990 and *Bodies that Matter,* 1993).

Theories of gender performativity were significant for transgender studies because of their opening up of the theoretical possibilities of transsexual and transgender bodies and identities. From a Butlerian framework, it has been posited that the mere presence and visibility of transsexuals reveal the cracks of sexual difference, as they "push 'men' and 'women' into quotation marks" and interrogate how heteronormative discourses have sexed and gendered human bodies (Gamson, 1998, 154). Many other

scholars have since debated and elaborated on the body of literature surrounding gender performativity, transgender lives, and theory (such as Goffman and Irigary; see Gregson and Rose, 2000 for a detailed analysis of theories of gender performativity and geography; Namaste, 2000, 2011; Stryker, 2004, 2008).

3.2.2. Transgender Geographies and Critiques of Queer Theory

Transgender studies and geographies have developed largely as critiques of queer theory's primary focus on transgender people and identities as mere theoretical entities (Nash, 2010). This criticism has focused on how theoretical conversations have removed agency from trans* people and communities by reducing them to concepts whose sole purpose is to "render genders fluid and ethereal" (Browne, Nash, and Hines, 2010, 574). It is argued that queer theory's application of trans* identities has solely focused on theoretical conversations within feminist and queer studies while ignoring and devaluing the actual lives and material concerns of transgender people. Ignoring the realities of transgender people fails to acknowledge individual lived experience, knowledge, and political movements of transgender people and communities, and furthermore neglects the urgency of discrimination and violence that trans* people face daily (Nash, 2010). Additionally, queer theory is argued to fall short by abandoning the importance of bodily materiality in transgender subjectivity (Nash, 2010). Consequently, geographical work with trans* people seeks to grapple with the complexities of lived experiences and various materialities of transgender lives that have been largely ignored in the theoretically oriented work emanating from queer theory.

3.2.3. Current Trans Geographical Scholarship*

As I have noted, transgender geographic inquiries center on the materiality of transgender lives with a focus on gendered constructions and understandings of space, temporality, embodiment and subjectivity (Browne, 2004; Browne and Lim, 2010; Browne, Nash, and Hines, 2010; Doan 2007, 2010, 2011; Halberstam, 2005; Hines, 2010; Nash, 2010; Rooke, 2010). Transgender geographies move away from the theoretical bounds of queer theory and attempt to ground their work in "the everyday lived experience[s] of trans lives" (Rooke, 2010, 655). As stated by Rooke (2010), transgender geography can be used to "[understand] ways in which sexed, gendered and sexual normativities give shape to space and, in turn, the ways that these spaces shape bodies" (655).

Largely, the combination of geography and transgender studies has sought to explore the impacts of gendered space on trans* and gender non-conforming individuals. Browne (2004), for example, discusses the experiences of women who are mistaken for men in public bathrooms. Her work dismantles the "taken-for-granted norms" of female and male identities (Browne, 2004, 332), as well as the ways that gender non-normativity and transgenderism are understood. Importantly, Browne (2004) teases apart the nuances of gender performativity and the emotional and physical consequences of failing to perform heteronormative femininity. Browne, Nash, and Hines (2010) argue that this is critical for geographers who seek to utilize queer geographic analyses. As Nash (2010) writes, it is critical for dichotomies such as female/male, woman/man, or homo/heterosexual to be dismantled in the field of geography before such work can be done. By dismantling these binary understandings, geographic work can begin to explore what (and who) slips between the opposite ends of binary scales.

Furthermore, binary understandings of life stages and other processes such as levels of outness, gender expression, and stages of transition – which can often vary significantly for trans* people at any given time – can begin to be dismantled. For example, Doan (2010), Hines (2010), and Rooke's (2010) work about trans* peoples' experiences of spatial exclusion, rejection, and hyper/invisibility rest strongly on the nuances and complications of outness and transitioning. Geographic analyses that work beyond these binary structures of identity point out the social complexities of public/private space and trans* individuals' embodied, expressed, and performed genders.

Some ways in which geographers have begun this process is by questioning frameworks and conceptualizations of queer space, and placing geographies of sexualities in conversation with trans* people, politics, and spaces. For example, Browne and Lim (2010) critique homonormative lesbian/gay spaces in the UK by presenting in-depth analyses of transgender space in relation to 'gay' urban neighborhoods and districts. Through their work, Browne and Lim (2010) are able to question how support for transgender people in urban spaces can be improved, and the ways in which homonormativity fails transgender populations. This work exposes the ways in which homo/hetero dualisms have misinformed 'queer' understandings of space and ironically established new power-differentials within queer frameworks.

Halberstam (2005) in particular employs transgender studies and understandings of space to dissect and complicate various fantasies about queer space and gender, while simultaneously incorporating a sustained focus on transgender mobility, space, and embodiment. Halberstam rejects how queer communities have defined gender variance

and also challenges "the binary division of flexibility or rigidity" that has been so strongly emphasized in queer theory (21). Secondly, Halberstam actively reasserts geographers' rejection of the use of "the transgender body as [both] a symbol for postmodern flexibility and a legible form of embodied subjectivity" (2005, 17). Furthermore, Halberstam utilizes this critical framework to break down gay imaginaries of race, class, and oppositional urban/rural divides that have been established as a popular myth of gay space in the United States (2005, 30). The application of transgender geographical analyses here is visibly linked to the disregard of queer people of color and lower income queers made by urban lesbian/gay fantasies that have informed many geographical analyses of gay space. These various analyses exemplify the possibilities that a transgender analysis has for expanding the geographical imagination, as the use of transgender studies in tandem with geography "trouble[s] certain aspects of queer geographical scholarship in productive ways" (Nash, 2010, 590) and begins the necessary process of pulling apart LGBTQ identities and spatial formations (Nash, 2010, 590).

3.3. Gender Performativity and Carceral Power

In order to apply the concepts of gender identity, embodiment, and performativity to trans* individuals in prison, transgender geographic inquiries must be positioned in a broader conversation with critical prison literature. This move considers the power of carceral institutions and how gender and theories of performativity can highlight institutional control and power dynamics within carceral space.

Rodriguez (2006) argues that within contemporary U.S. prisons "…there is a resurfaced familiarity in [its] discursive emphasis and material production of effective

mass capture, immobilization, and bodily disintegration" (Rodriguez, 2006, 241). Prisons have a co-informative relationship to the world; they are shaped by social forces and power dynamics on the outside, which then influence formations of prison culture (Shabazz, 2009). While a large part of critical prison studies has focused on the ways in which carceral institutions uphold white supremacy, capitalism, and state power over people of color[3], Vitulli (2012) argues that "…the US prison system is also built on and produces systems of gender normativity and heteropatriarchy…. [and] critical prison studies must, therefore, centrally engage with questions of gender and sexuality and do so intersectionally with its analyses of race and white supremacy" (112). Several scholars have undertaken analyses of gender normativity, heteronormativity, and patriarchy in U.S. prisons. At the center of these arguments is the role that prisons play in regulating gender performance, as well as how the enforcement of gender roles influence prisoners' gender performativity and behavior. Importantly, analyses have explored both carceral femininity and masculinity and the implications of enforcing gender normativity in carceral space.

3.3.1. Carceral Femininities and Institutional Gender Regulation

Citing Foucault's critical work surrounding the panopticon, an architectural design in which all prisoners could be monitored at all times, Dirsuweit (1999) states that carceral archipelagos, or surveilled environments, work to "constantly document and analyse the subject, forming a knowledge around them which is employed to shape their identities to

[3] See Davis, 2003; Gilmore, 2002, 2007; Rodriguez, 2006; Shabazz, 2009; Sudbury, 2002, 2005.

conform to a socially acceptable norm through rehabilitation *[sic]*[4]" (1999, 73). Altering a prisoner's identity provides carceral institutions with the ultimate control over their subjects. By exerting a form of biopower, or institutional power and technology over bodies, Foucault theorized that institutions are able to "[subject] the body to new disciplines of control, with the effect of rendering bodies 'docile'" (Moran, Pallot, and Piacentini, 2009, 705). For women who are incarcerated in South Africa, Dirsuweit (1999) writes that, "The main mechanisms of control are direct and indirect surveillance, work and the alienation of the body from the self. Through this alienation, the prison breaks down the identity of the criminal and maps out a suitably feminised and law abiding identity for her *[sic]*" (73). Dirsuweit identifies South African women's prisons as enforcers of 'proper' femininity, using gender normative and feminized rehabilitative activities to direct women towards more socially acceptable behavior once released (1999, 75).

Similarly, Moran et al. (2009) discuss Russia's prison system, which "seeks to rescript criminal women toward a predetermined 'ideal' of Russian womanhood" (700). Moran et al. (2009) posit that prison institutions utilize femininity (and arguably masculinity as well) "as a form of 'applied biopower', part of the 'explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations' [Foucault, 1998, page 140]" (705). Moran et al. (2009) argue that because women who are imprisoned are culturally understood to lose their "'docility' through criminality and incarceration" (717), Russian prisons take on the responsibility of reinscribing normalized femininity back onto them. The power of prison, as both Moran

[4] To preserve the flow and ease the maintenance of reading, *[sic]* will be used once at the end of quotations even though it may indicate multiple original errors.

et al. (2009) and Dirsuweit (1999) present, moves beyond mere institutional power by trying to alter the minds, bodies, and altogether identities of women prisoners. As Gregson and Rose (2000) assert, an institution's power "rests on the performative authority with which it can define, repeatedly, certain places and people in particular ways" (439). Prisons in both South African and Russian contexts appear to utilize gender as a tool for social control within carceral space, perhaps specifically with women in an attempt to render them corrected, docile, and properly rehabilitated for society.

3.3.2. Carceral Masculinities and Gendered Hierarchies of Dominance

This applied biopower of prisons is not only exerted through femininity, but masculinity as well. In men's prisons, masculine expression is argued to be key for survival. Notably, the use of violence as an extreme performance of masculinity connects to a larger culture of carceral hegemonic masculinity and expressions of power. As Tarzwell (2006) writes, "In the prison setting, individuals who have been socialized as men are denied constructive outlets for the performance of dominance…. Prisoners must thus find other outlets for expressions of mastery. Masculinity is commonly expressed through sexual violence in the prison setting" (179).

It has been noted that performances of gender in men's prisons reflect "'ultramasculine,' hyperaggressive performance[s]" of hegemonic masculinity (Shabazz, 2009, 286) that draws upon extreme, socially dominant, powerful forms of masculinity. As Shabazz writes, "The hypermasculine logic of prison demands toughness and the willingness to use violence if necessary" (2009, 287). Masculinity on the inside draws from hegemonic masculinity of the outside, informing incarcerated men of the necessity

to maintain hypermasculinity through violence, physical strength, and fearlessness. In U.S. prisons, Shabazz argues that "…men are hailed to perform exaggerations of masculinity, and…hypermasculinity is always being codified" (2009, 289). While there are no available examples of how prisons may reinforce masculinity through institutionalized programs or other official methods that are exercised in Russia and South Africa's prisons for women, appropriate masculine performance is certainly enforced in other ways. Shabazz (2009) asserts that,

> …guards' participation in sexualized racism was expressed in and through feminizing new prisoners, by placing them at the bottom of the gender and sexual hierarchy. Moreover, the guards and the prisoners who watched the display of new prisoners positioned themselves at the top of masculine hierarchy. This hierarchy enabled sexual violence. Those at the top violated those men at the bottom. (290)

Men who display the most appropriate forms masculinity in carceral space are able to garner the most power, respect, and arguably authority, as indicative by the role that prison guards play in sexualizing feminized, lower-ranking men. Furthermore, any kind of dominance over other men – whether it is gendered, racialized, or classed – becomes enforced through a masculine hierarchy.

Nolan IV (2012) emphasizes this noted power differential between guards and inmates through competing masculinities, which works in the following way: If applied biopower of the prison is asserted through dominance over prisoners' identities and bodies, prisoners feel emasculated and, consequently, over-emphasize accessible masculine behaviors (Nolan IV, 2012; Shabazz, 2009). Consequently, "hegemonic masculinity in prison becomes…features of masculinity, namely violence and domination, that are still available to inmates" (Nolan IV, 2012, 14). Through social enforcement of gendered power dynamics, carceral institutions are able to maintain

control over men and positions of power within their domain. This connects to the idea that "Performed spaces are not discreet, bounded stages, but threatened, contaminated, stained, enriched by other spaces," as well as bodies and social constructs of gender, race, class, and so on (Gregson and Rose, 2000, 442). The maintenance of gender in prisons is constantly reinforced, reformatted, and reasserted in various ways through the push and pull between social forces on the inside of prison, as well as the outside (Shabazz, 2009).

What is of particular significance in both Dirsuweit's (1999) and Moran et al.'s (2009) accounts of the use of femininity as a biopolitical force is the ways in which both of their research populations appeared to resist these modes of power. Dirsuweit (1999) writes that, "Transgressions in prison reflect a desire to subvert the constant supervision of those in authority…. Rather than reflecting a wish to overthrow the prison, resistances are concerned with the assertion of identity and the reclamation of space" through various activities and actions which are, at times, illegal (75-76). Despite that women's prisons react to transgressions of gender regulations by adding more rules, incarcerated women in South Africa appeared to nevertheless assert their preferred gender expression, which serves as an "extension [of] body space" and questions the "ownership claims of the prison authorities" (Dirsuweit, 1999, 76). Likewise, despite that femininity appeared to "be comprehensively rescripted through the processes of rehabilitation" in Russian prisons (Moran et al., 2009, 717), many incarcerated women continued to defy the imposed hyperfeminine logic and sexuality of prisons. As Gregson and Rose (2000) write, "Performance…seems to offer intriguing possibilities for thinking about the constructedness of identity, subjectivity, and agency" (434). Considering gendered

biopower and the combination of space, performance, and agency can lead to various possibilities in understandings of power and resistance.

3.4. Inquiries into Affective and Emotional Landscapes

With these understandings of carceral power and gender performance, as well as the framing discussion of emotional damage that this carceral dominance can incite, it becomes important to discern the emotional impact of such spatial and institutional control. Consequently, we are guided to conversations of institutional power, gender performance, place, and affect, leading us to literature concerning emotional and affective geographies, or the "spatial spread of social relations" (Massey, 1992, 80) through emotions and feelings.

As geographer Rachel Pain (2010) writes, emotional geographies "argue that emotions need to have a far more prominent position in analysis of the socio-spatial world… [and] demonstrate that [emotions], and their spatialities, are fundamental to the layout of society *[sic]*" (18). A variety of geographers have explored the potential of emotional and affective geographies, largely in their ability to expand understandings of the geopolitics of certain emotions, particularly fear, and how politics and institutions of power attempt to regulate, incite, and direct individuals' affective responses (Anderson, 2006; Anderson and Harrison, 2006; Dirsuweit, 2002; Lim, 2007; Pain, 2010; Sparke, 2007). Feminist geographers have also taken up this exploration of emotional/affective geographies, particularly in the examination of how fear is gendered (Brownlow, 2005; Madge, 1997; Smith, 1987; Valentine, 1989).

Many of these emotional geographies refer to or imply the spread of emotions between bodies and across various temporal and spatial scales (Lim, 2007). Norman Denzin (1985) theorizes about the movement of emotions and how experience can spread beyond the individual, writing that "because feelings of the lived body express an orientation to the interactional world of experience, they are accessible to others and they can furnish the foundations for socially shared feelings" (230). Emotions and experiences have a mobile quality, as they formulate between a subject and their surrounding world. As emotions become situated in interactions between subjects through shared experiences, such as inhabiting shared spaces, having a related experience with a particular body, or experiencing an event, they spread from one person to another, as well as other "'bodies' [which] can be defined as [sites] where forces are 'actualised'" (Lim, 2007, 54)[5].

Another way in which we can understand the movement of emotions is through Raymond Williams' (1977) concept of a structure of feeling. For Williams, a structure of feeling is what materializes when similar affective responses arise within a particular geographic and temporal context, amongst a large group of people. Williams (1977) argues that these forms of shared emotional responses indicate a structure of feeling that can be "cultivated" or "processed" (Williams, 1977, 154). In other words, the perceived "feelings… [and] pattern[s] of impulses, restraints, [and] tones…" (Williams, 1977, 159) of an emotive response become noticeable as operating in, and spreading throughout, a particular temporal, political and spatial context (or emotional field). It may be useful,

[5] While I do not have the time here to explore the details about affective mobility, it should be noted that there are several debated theories about affect and its movement.

then, to consider emotional geographies as charting structures of feeling as collective affective responses that move between and beyond local and global spheres.

While some scholars focus on how certain affective states spread and become utilized within geopolitics, other critical thinkers have engaged with concepts of emotion/affect and how resistance can manifest in certain states of immobility and disempowerment. This area of inquiry is of particular interest in its relation to transgender prisoners and the possibilities of resistance. Rodriguez (2006) presents this shift as possibly the next step for critical geographers who explore negative emotional spheres, or contexts of institutional power and force. In the prison context, Rodriguez (2006) challenges the future of these negative emotional spatialities. He writes that,

> Political possibilities previously unavailable or unknowable...may emerge as pathways to freedom in conditions of systemic crisis, disruption, or breakdown. There are times and places in which the simple, audacious act of speaking to the condition of this unknowability underlines a profound hope in the lineage of liberationist alchemies. (Rodriguez, 2006, 255)

In other words, for those who are exploring concepts of fear or other negative affects such as shame and hopelessness, a shift towards emotional resistance may be significant. Sparke (2007) echoes this sentiment, asserting that, "Geographies are using affective charting, analyzing structures of power and how they inform emotions on global and local scales, as a tool for critical resistance" (347). A movement that retains its critical outlook while maintaining openness for surprise may be the next move in emotional geographies, broadening the field to look for affective landscapes of resistance through continued explorations of emotional movement.

Citing Elizabeth Grosz, Lim (2007) writes that in "a politics of the imperceptible" (63), moving towards indeterminacy provides space for something new to arise that has

otherwise been ignored. This suggested move strongly follows suit of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's reparative reading, which exercises "critical practice that begins from a position of psychic damage, the 'depressive position,' and that bears within it the possibility of a 'reparative position' that picks up the fragments to construct a sustainable life" (Hanson, 2010, 102). For Sedgwick (2003), exercising reparative reading seeks to find "nourishment and comfort" (128) within critical positions that might otherwise not leave room to discover something beyond a negative standpoint. As Sedgwick (2003) writes,

> …to a reparatively positioned reader, it can seem realistic and necessary to experience surprise. Hope…is among the energies by which the reparatively positioned reader tries to organize the fragments and part-objects she encounters or creates. Because the reader has room to realize that the future may be different from the present, it is also possible for her to entertain such profoundly painful, profoundly relieving, ethically crucial possibilities as that the past, in turn, could have happened differently from the way. (146)

Attempting a reparative reading is not to minimize or ignore pain, trauma, and violence; rather it is to seek and understand a larger range of experiences that may encompass positive and negative affects while maintaining a critical position. A reparative reading of geographies of pain or fear, for example, could attend to the negative alongside potential moments of hope or love, acts of survival, self-care, and/or political agency. Reparative readings are argued to acknowledge the political potential of those who are often deemed powerless, providing the space for critical geographers to discover how resistance can be embodied, felt, and performed.

3.5. Conclusion

What these combined areas of literature lead us to, then, is an intersection of gender, performativity, and power where we can tease apart the intricacies of transgender lives in prison. Using this framework to explore spaces and the social forces they interact with, scholars have identified prison as a key place where one can visualize the interface between institutional power and gender, among other social identity constructions.

Particularly significant is the emphasis on the Foucaultian biopower that prisons enforce on prisoners, both through institutional rehabilitation programs as well as social hierarchies that privilege certain gender expressions. When applied to understandings of transgender embodiment, we are led to question how transitioning status, levels of outness, and chosen desires of gender expression may relate to the hyper-feminine and masculine spaces of prison. These concepts may have unique implications for transgender prisoners, particularly with trans* feminine individuals who are incarcerated in men's correctional facilities. Furthermore, the analyses of women's transgression of carceral gender regulations, as well as the discussion of emotional geographies moving towards resistance and reparative readings of hopeless, fearful, and anxious spaces, may pose additional inquiries into transgender embodiment in prison.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

In order to gather data that reflects the intricacies of gender and power in carceral space, I utilized qualitative research methods of questionnaires and arts-based inquiry to gather more detailed, in-depth, and subjective accounts of trans* feminine prisoners' experiences of incarceration. Due to the highly monitored nature of prison and the inaccessibility to prisoners as a researcher, there were several challenges in obtaining my data, particularly regarding ethics and research design[6]. In this chapter I will discuss the various reasons for using a questionnaire in lieu of in-person or phone interviews, as well as the use of arts-based inquiry to gather the nuances of gender embodiment in carceral space. My research was rooted in a community-oriented, ally-advocate (Hurley, 2011) approach, using the concepts of positionality and reflexivity to help mitigate the power dynamics inherent to participant/researcher relationships, and also to maintain a focus on the ethical implications of this work. I will present a more detailed account of my research methods, how my target population was chosen and accessed, and the considerations that went into designing a highly personal and emotional research project.

4.1. Field Site

All of my research participants were incarcerated in men's correctional facilities, including state prisons, pre-transitional centers, state correctional institutions, federal correctional complexes, county jails, and U.S. penitentiaries. The invitation to participate was initially sent to twenty-nine trans* feminine individuals in men's correctional facilities in Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, California, Florida, New Mexico, Georgia,

[6] I received REB approval to conduct my research on June 15, 2012 (see Figure D3)

and Indiana. Additionally, some participants mailed copies of the questionnaire to their friends and partners, while others sent me the names and addresses of individuals who wanted to participate. Between the initial mailing and the snowball effect, the total number of research participants amounted to twenty-three.

4.2. Research Environment and Accessing the Field

4.2.1. Prisoner Correspondence Project and Participant Population

Due to my involvement as a collective member of the Prisoner Correspondence Project (PrisCoPro) in Montreal, I was able to gain access to my participant population through their organizational database. The PrisCoPro is a Montreal-based project that coordinates pen pal correspondence between LGBTQ people on the inside with LGBTQ people on the outside. Of the PrisCoPro's few hundred 'inside members', or members who are currently incarcerated, almost all are LGBTQ identified and incarcerated in Canada and the U.S., and approximately fifty identify as trans* feminine. While I initially hoped to work with a broader spectrum of transgender, transsexual, and gender non-conforming people in U.S prisons, there were no trans* masculine individuals incarcerated in the U.S. who were involved in the PrisCoPro. Consequently, the focus of my research was limited to incarcerated trans* feminine individuals as opposed to a broader spectrum of transgender, transsexual, and gender non-conforming people.

4.2.2 Accessing the Field

Transgender prisoners are extremely difficult to access as a researcher for several reasons (see Sexton et al., 2011). As will be discussed in section 4.5, prisons have very strict and

limited guidelines for conducting research with prisoners. These restrictions would have not only made it impossible for me to conduct my research, but also would pose several threats to the wellbeing of potential research participants. As well, there are no institutionally recognized categories to identify transgender inmates, which means that there is no official documentation of trans* people. Trying to access transgender prisoners, then, could be a guessing-game with the prison administration, as people are either categorized as female or male.

In Sexton et al.'s (2011) research with trans* feminine prisoners in California, for example, the most viable option to access trans* research participants was by asking prison administration to identify who they believed to be trans*. However, this method of accessing participants was problematic in that trans* feminine identities were often conflated with gay identities. In this process, many of those who had been identified by prison administration as transgender were gay and did not identify as transgender. This (mis)identification by prison administration can be quite dangerous, as mis-gendering or outing an individual can incite homo/transphobic responses by other inmates and increase their risk to physical and emotional harm. People might also become upset if their gayness was misinterpreted for being a woman, as those identities are completely different.

Working with extremely marginalized populations, it is of utmost importance for researchers to respect their safety, identities, and confidentiality, particularly when research has identified that a large percentage of incarcerated trans* feminine individuals' mistreatment comes from correctional staff. With these concerns in mind,

working with the PrisCoPro helped to minimize the risk of assuming identities, outing someone, or writing an incarcerated individual about a sensitive or undesired topic.

4.3. Sampling and Methods

4.3.1. Sampling

As noted above, I obtained permission to use the PrisCoPro's online database of inside members to contact their trans* feminine members for my research. To avoid the problems of mis-identifying a person or contacting someone regarding a queer-related topic without their consent, two pieces of criteria were established to identify potential research participants: 1) they indicated that they were transgender on their member form, and 2) they had selected to receive queer-related mailings on their member form. These criteria would indicate that a person was out, or at least comfortable receiving these types of mailings in prison, and would also lessen the chance of mis-identifying someone.

Finding self-identified transgender members in the PrisCoPro's database was a nuanced process that included finding people based off of having a preferred name that was distinctly different than their legal name (such as Sarah versus Jason). This was not completely reliable, however, because some trans* members had already changed their legal names and thus did not have a different name displayed in the preferred name section of the database. As well, not all trans* members had a different preferred name, and there were also non-trans* members who had preferred names. I consequently engaged in more in-depth searches of pen pal biographies, emails with outside pen pals, and other exchanges with individuals to ensure that an inside member was a self-

identified trans* person. With these combined criteria I was able to identify thirty inside members who were identified as trans* and wanted to receive queer-related mailings.

4.3.2. Mailing

Conducting in-person or phone interviews is very costly, time-consuming, and challenging to receive permission to enter different prisons. However as Moran et al.'s (2009) work with incarcerated women illustrates, mailing prisoners is a more viable option for conducting research in a limited timeframe. Using the mail also mitigated several ethical concerns in conducting my research, which will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.4 and 4.5 of this chapter. Potential participants were sent a mailing in June, 2012, which included a description of myself and the research project, an invitation to participate in the project, two copies of the consent form, an in-depth questionnaire, ten stamps, three pieces of extra blank paper, three envelopes, and a manila envelope (Figure D1). Stamps and extra envelopes were provided in the event that participants wished to contact the McGill Research Ethics Board, my supervisor, or myself. If the invited participants chose to partake in my research, they were directed to keep one consent form and mail me the other, along with the questionnaire and any art or poetry that they created on the extra paper. Because I did not have access to a private mailbox at my office, participants were instructed to send their research materials back to the PrisCoPro's office at Concordia University in Montreal. From there, I transferred these materials to my locked office at McGill University where I stored them in a locked file cabinet. Once the questionnaire was received, participants were compensated with $25, which was sent through a money transfer into their prison bank accounts.

4.3.3. Questionnaires

As I have discussed, a questionnaire was the main method through which I gathered data. While phone interviews were possible, they were not preferable because they are limited in time (approximately fifteen minutes), cost prisoners money, and are also heavily monitored by prison administration. Engaging in either phone or in-person interviews would risk participants' comfort and safety, and would also undermine the data because prisoners might not feel comfortable sharing personal information and experiences in front of correctional staff.

Consequently, I decided to gather my data through an in-depth questionnaire with a mix of fifty open and closed ended questions. Using questionnaires would help mitigate the possibility of correctional staff intervening in the interview process or in the well-being of participants, as I believed that questionnaires were less likely to be read in detail than the possibility of correctional staff listening to verbal interviews either in-person or by telephone. Furthermore, a questionnaire could provide my participants with more time to think about the questions and leave time and space to engage in self-care when answering difficult conversations (Meth, 2003, 201).

Engaging with questionnaires as my main methodological approach could certainly present a sample bias and is limited in its own ways. Because the individuals who were invited to participate had already reached out to the Prisoner Correspondence Project, my research could be excluding prisoners who are illiterate or have trouble writing (Meth, 2003). It could also be argued that contacting members of an organization would bias the sample towards those who were already in need of support and would thus

be more inclined to participate in a questionnaire, whereas conducting interviews could access a population of trans* people who experienced less mistreatment and were less-inclined to reach out for support. This particular drawback regarding a selection bias "raises questions about validity and the 'truthfulness'" (Meth, 2003, 202) of in-depth writing as a research tool, as Meth (2003) experienced in her qualitative use of diaries. An additional problem with in-depth writing that Meth (2003) notes is that such a specific focus, particularly surrounding women's experiences of trauma, can be questioned "on the grounds of the exclusion of other social categories (such as disability, other race groups, geography and class) and, indeed, its gendered focus on women and not men" (202).

These limitations are certainly valid concerns of using in-depth questionnaires as a methodological tool. That being said, contacting participants through the mail proved to be the best option due to the limitations and ethical concerns that I listed earlier. While I did not ask participants why they chose to answer my questionnaire, many indicated that they were simply excited for and empowered by the possibility to have their voices heard. As Meth (2003) writes, the use of this type of writing as a qualitative research method presents key feminist methodological issues of empowerment and sharing often silenced voices (196). The response form my participants that having the opportunity to write their stories and vocalize the abuse they face indicates that, in fact, this type of research method "offer[s] the opportunity for respondents to define the boundaries of their shared knowledge" (Meth, 2003, 196), which can be very empowering.

The questions that made up the questionnaire (see Figure D2) asked about various aspects of inmates' lives in prison. As will be discussed later, many of the questions, as

well as the organization of the questionnaire, were influenced by Hearts on a Wire's (2011) publication of a similar survey. Questions were grouped in themes and presented in the following order: gender, housing, gender expression, transitioning, harassment and violence, locations in correctional facilities, relationships and community, and struggle and resilience. It should be noted, however, that the section regarding 'locations in correctional facilities' presented inconclusive data, notably because the questions appeared to be irrelevant and/or confusing to research participants.

4.3.4. Arts-based Inquiry

I sought to utilize arts-based inquiry to present a more in-depth approach of gathering qualitative data, to increase accessibility to highly emotional data, and as a form of triangulation in my methods (Young and Barrett, 2001). Consequently, participants were asked to submit poetry or art along with their questionnaire that they felt related to the research questions.

As a method of qualitative research, arts-based inquiry applies the use of various art forms as a means of gathering data. It has been said that "The use of an integrated approach that involves…both visual and word-based research methods offers a way of exploring both the multiplicity and complexity that is the base of much social research interested in human experience" (Guillemin, 2004, 273). Arts-based inquiry has been explored largely through feminist and queer approaches to research in order to question "implications of the *gaze* as a distanciated mode of establishing authority over space and its occupants" (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, 38, original emphasis). Teresa Brennan (2004) notes that "[t]he transmission of affect was once common knowledge; the

concept faded from the history of scientific explanation as the individual, especially the biologically determined individual, came to the fore" (2). She continues to assert that as Eurocentrism became a centralized concept in Western academia, affect and emotions became "suspect as non-white" and thus questioned as a competent form of knowledge (Brennan, 2004, 2). The dismissal of different forms of knowledge became common with the rise of positivism and Eurocentrism, and ways of knowing from communities of color, indigenous communities, and women became devalued. Consequently, positivism dismissed modes of thinking that did not follow 'rational', 'logical', and quantifiable scientific patterns that were valued by white, male, European scientists. By turning towards the emotional as a form of data, arts-based inquiry as a research method contests the notion of quantitative research as the most valid and useful form of information and knowledge.

As Feldman (2004) states, using art as an alternate form of research inquiry can enhance the "evocative potential of research and [increase] the probability that multiple perspectives and insights will result" (387). Poetry has often been used as a way to transmit coded information about marginalized identities/experiences/communities, and can be a useful tool to gather information about the lived experiences of silenced communities in various times and places. For example, Sally Munt (1995) uses modern lesbian poetry to paint a history of the lesbian flâneur (108-110). Using poetic inquiry can provide researchers with a closer examination of experiences from within a community, through the eyes of the research subjects themselves. This tremendously broadens the scope of what can be captured in qualitative research by increasing access to previously

unavailable information and detail. As such, poetic inquiry can provide deeper insight into the lives of participant populations, possibly more so than other forms of research.

Furthermore, artistic-inquiry provides an opportunity for researchers to connect to the participants and subject matter on a more personal, emotional level. As Bochner and Ellis (2003) state, the types of narratives drawn from art, poetry, and literature can "enable readers and/or listeners to understand, feel, and grapple with the experiences being expressed" (509) by research participants. When applied to qualitative research, experiencing this connection can be effective to communicate highly emotional and subjective accounts of the research questions. As my questionnaire asked for sensitive and arguably traumatic information, I felt that participants might not wish to reveal certain information in written form. Consequently, arts-based inquiry was utilized as a harm reductive, reflective, and also therapeutic tool to access sensitive information in another way other than through a questionnaire.

4.4. Research and Ethics Design

4.4.1. Ethical Research Design

There were many concerns about involving trans* feminine prisoners in research about their experiences of incarceration. Primarily, these concerns were focused on the safety and wellbeing of my participants, who were identified by McGill's REB as a highly vulnerable population. Other considerations for an ethical research design included how to conduct a research project as an ally-advocate (Hurley, 2011) to my participants, which includes standing by my participants and including their input in my research design; how my research, and role as researcher, could impact the relationship between

the PrisCoPro and its members; and how my own emotional wellbeing could be impacted by embarking on a research project involving stories of trauma and violence.

4.4.1.1. Positionality and Reflexivity

Following feminist qualitative methodologies that call for "non-hierarchical interactions, understanding, and mutual learning, where close attention is paid to how the research questions and methods of data collection may be embedded in unequal power relations between the researcher and research participants" (Sultana, 2007, 375-376), it was critical for me to maintain an awareness of my positionality and reflexivity as researcher. This meant being aware of my privileges as a researcher, as someone who is not incarcerated, and as someone who does not experience patriarchy, homophobia, racism and transphobia the same way as my research participants. Maintaining an awareness of this positionality was helpful to guide my research, as well as my analysis, around issues of importance for incarcerated trans* feminine individuals, and to maintain a goal of community impact and advocacy for my research.

As stated earlier, the organization and content of my questionnaire was heavily influenced by a similar survey created by Hearts on a Wire (2011). Because of my positionality, a large concern of mine surrounded what questions to ask, how to ask them, and how to present my research in a way that was not isolating. The Hearts on a Wire (2011) questionnaire was a useful guide because it was written and designed by currently and formerly incarcerated trans* feminine people. As such, I felt that the language, formatting, and focus was much more accessible and relevant than any questions and questionnaire-design that I had created. With permission from Hearts on a Wire, I

adapted many of their questions, or used them directly, for the questionnaire I mailed to my research participants.

4.4.1.2. Minimal Risk Design

My primary concern surrounding participants' risk was the threat of retaliation by correctional staff or other inmates if the mail were to be intercepted and read, particularly if there was information that they did not want to be shared. While letter-interception and the reactions of correctional staff or other inmates were beyond my control, I built some precautionary measures into the questionnaire design to help mitigate the potential consequences of retaliation against my research participants. Participants were able to select if they wanted to remain anonymous in any use of their questionnaires, art and/or poetry, and if they would prefer the use of a pseudonym. Maintaining confidentiality in this way would not only help sustain a level of protection for participants in the report, but also the relationship between the PrisCoPro and its inside members, which is based on trust and solidarity.

Guidelines at the beginning of the questionnaire were established, stating four reminders that would serve to reinforce participants' choice in what they wanted to write down, to remind them that they could take breaks if feeling stress or emotional pain from the questions, and also to help ensure a level of safety if participants' answers were read (Figure D1). Additional reminders were placed with the section on harassment and violence, similar to the Hearts on a Wire (2011) questionnaire, warning that the questions might be hard to answer and that they should be left blank if participants felt that there might be a chance of retaliation if their answers were read.

4.5. Ethics Approval Process

The process of receiving Research Ethics Board (REB) approval to conduct my research was a difficult and lengthy process. Overall, gaining REB approval took four months, with my initial application sent in February 2012 and approval granted in June 2012 (Figure D3). While a portion of their concerns surrounded the protection of the participants, what became the largest issue was whether or not I needed to obtain permission to conduct my research from each prison's research board. Every state has its own requirements for researchers, including detailed paperwork, background checks, and meetings with prison research boards, all of which could take between six months to a year before being granted approval. This was not viable for me, due to the time constraints of a Master's thesis. However, the REB felt that "[s]erious consideration must be given when weighing [my] arguments to override the research ethics safeguard procedures put in place by the prison authorities" (McGill REB, personal correspondence, May 13, 2012), and it was decided that they would seek legal consultation about bypassing prison research boards. The following arguments were made and sent to the REB in support of bypassing prison research ethics procedures:

1) <u>The potential rejection of my research due to stereotyping and bias against transgender people.</u> As research has identified, prison administrations often harbor anti-transgender sentiment (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Spade, 2008/9; Stanley and Smith, 2011). Because required background checks by prisons would indicate that I am transgender, my positionality as a transgender person could be interpreted as a bias by prison research boards and my research might be rejected. Furthermore, it might be

assumed that my participants share my personal research ideas, which could potentially create unsafe circumstances for them.

2) The threat that gathering approval by prison research boards might impose on the safety of my participants. I was very concerned that submitting my research application and materials to correctional departments might create harmful situations for my participants, as well as counter the measures I was taking to ensure their safety. If certain prison staff or administration who had discriminated against transgender prisoners became aware of my research, participants might experience increased mistreatment to ensure that they would not disclose information that reflected negatively on staff and administration in their respective correctional facilities. Additionally, I was concerned that a general awareness of my research inside prison might further endanger participants, particularly if other inmates became aware that they were receiving monetary compensation for participating.

3) The probable rejection of my research due to correctional facilities' narrow interpretation of 'beneficial research'. As almost every prison research board stated that they approve research that contributes to the advancement of their institutions, I strongly believed that my research would be unfairly rejected for not benefiting their institution. As the focus of my research would most likely not take the form of supporting prison administrations' treatment of trans* prisoners, my analysis and conclusion might form a critique and would not be viewed favorably by prison administration. Furthermore, because incarcerated transgender populations have reported frequent and extreme experiences of discrimination by correctional staff, the administration may not want my research to be conducted and reject my application as counter to the goals and desires of

the prison.

4) The possible negative impacts on the PrisCoPro, as their name might be flagged with my research application and, consequently, their correspondence with certain prisoners might be disabled. This would be devastating for these inside members and also very damaging to the PrisCoPro. As such, it was decided that I would not be allowed to contact the PrisCoPro's inside members if I had to gain approval from prison research boards.

After considering these arguments and obtaining legal consultation regarding my research, I received REB approval under the condition that "there is a heightened and absolute obligation on (my) part to be aware of and to **immediately report any adverse events which may arise as a result of the study procedure**" (McGill REB, personal communication, June 12, 2012, original emphasis). To my knowledge there were no adverse events that occurred as a result of my research; alternatively, I received many positive responses that included thank you letters and friendship cards. Almost all of my participants seemed eager to share their experiences with me and appeared grateful that someone showed interest in their lives and wellbeing.

4.6. Data Analysis

4.6.1. Coding

After each questionnaire was transcribed, thematic coding (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003) was used to approach the content of data. Specifically, analytic and descriptive codes were used to identify themes that were emerging in the text. As Cope (2010) writes, analytic codes "reflect a *theme* the researcher is interested in or one that has

already become important to the project. Analytic codes typically dig deeper into the processes and context of phrases or actions" (Cope, 2010, 283, original emphasis). As the questionnaire was themed by section, many analytic codes were already in place, such as themes of treatment, violence and resistance. Within these broader themes came more specific categories such as sexist, homophobic, and transphobic violence. Descriptive codes, on the other hand, "reflect themes or patterns that are obvious on the surface or are stated directly by research subjects" (Cope, 2010, 283). As opposed to the analytic codes that were already considered during the design of my questionnaire, these descriptive codes emerged within the details of individual answers. In particular, they were used to mark the details of issues regarding treatment, including 'interpersonal interactions' and 'material issues/consequences/repercussions'. Other descriptive codes provided more detail to the analytic codes, including 'threats/violence' and 'emotional responses'. These categories were then further divided into 'political responses', 'self-care responses', and 'negative responses'.

The process of coding art and poetry that was submitted by participants was more challenging, as feelings and sentiment are presented in a more subjective and introspective manner. It is also a challenge to mind personal biases that influence one's interpretation of art. However, the pieces submitted were heavily connected to the established thematic codes, making coding an easier process. Artistic submissions were read as supplemental to the questionnaire, and because few pieces were submitted, a more detailed system of coding beyond the already established themes did not surface.

4.6.2. Identifying Outliers

During my data collection I received numerous letters of interest in participating, as well as completed questionnaires from individuals who I did not know or contact. Many of these inquiries were due to word-of-mouth, while others claimed that they received the questionnaire instead of the individual who had originally been contacted. Some of these individuals identified as trans* feminine, some as gay men, and others did not provide this detail about themselves. As a result, criteria needed to be established to determine who could partake in my research and who could not. Because of the cost of printing and mailing the necessary materials, as well as the monetary compensation per participant, I could only invite trans* feminine prisoners to participate. Although a comparative study between the experiences of gay men and trans* feminine individuals would certainly be interesting, that was beyond the scope of this project. Consequently, the established criteria determined that unless a person explicitly stated that they identified as trans* feminine, they would not be eligible to participate in my research.

4.6.3. Emotional Impacts of Coding

Initially, the only concern about my wellbeing as a researcher was the possibility of having my name flagged by prison administration if mail was intercepted. However, during the coding process it became clear that reading the responses to my questionnaire was having a much larger impact on my emotional health than expected. As Rager (2005) writes, "conducting qualitative research on topics that are emotionally laden can have a powerful impact on the researcher" (23). Through the process of typing the questionnaires, my body became a conduit of information from the questionnaires to the computer, becoming "the battleground where ideas and experiences collide[d]" (Probyn,

2011, 89). Reading detailed experiences of trauma had serious emotional impacts, often triggering bouts of extreme anxiety, depression, and paranoia. Not only did my body become a site where stories of trauma were able to manifest, but also the process of interacting with this information took me on an emotional journey. As Rager (2005) states, "qualitative inquiry is not a purely intellectual exercise but rather one for which researchers enter the world of their participants and, at least for a time, see life through their eyes" (24). Rager (2005) continues that it is necessary to prepare for the emotional challenges of conducting data that can break your heart, and while I did attempt to exercise some forms of self-care such as having social and emotional support networks and a researcher journal, I was still unprepared for the profound emotional toll my research took on me. While this emotional connection to my participants was important for my research and something I do not regret, having self-care measures already in place could have deeply benefited me to cope with the information I was processing.

4.7. Conclusion

Despite the emotional intensity of this research for both myself and research participants, the overall response to my project was enthusiastic and many of the participants expressed a sense of gratitude for having an opportunity to communicate their experiences, tell who they are, and have their stories heard. Having mailed questionnaires to trans* individuals through the PrisCoPro, I was able to gather highly emotional data surrounding trans* feminine experiences of incarceration and the issues they face in men's correctional facilities. Maintaining a level of critical reflexivity and positionality,

my research design strongly followed ethical guidelines for participant privacy, safety and accessibility.

The research data was analyzed by thematic coding that was organized by the types of questions, experiences listed by participants, and their emotional responses, identifying the relation to previous research themes and the framing concepts that were highlighted in Chapters 2 and 3. These categories were particularly useful in building upon the themes that research already identified, as well as adding to these concepts and the framing elements of my research. Furthermore, the depth and qualitative nature of my research was necessary to gather emotional data surrounding the ways in which carceral institutional power and gender embodiment inform trans* feminine experiences of incarceration. As will be presented in the next chapter, the overviewed research methods were successful in gathering detailed, subjective accounts of incarceration to build upon the current body of research.

CHAPTER 5: TRANS* FEMININE LIVES IN THE U.S. PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

After transcribing and coding the data from my questionnaires, as well as analyzing the art and poetry submissions, a detailed account of the emotional, psychological, and physical conditions and experiences of my participants began to emerge. The data presents information surrounding mistreatment of trans* feminine prisoners that blends misogyny, homophobia and transphobia through forms of humiliation, as well as verbal, physical, and sexual harassment and assault. While many of the results resonate with other studies' findings that were discussed in Chapter 2, they also expand and complicate the concerns that have been raised by presenting more nuanced explanations of the politics inside prisons, and expressing a variety of perspectives and feelings about the issues that have been raised.

As stated in the previous chapter, twenty-three responses were received from individuals who had been assigned male at birth, although two were born with intersex conditions. Twelve of my participants identified as transgender, eight as transsexual, six as women, and five as genderqueer (Figure B1). The majority of my research participants stated that they have identified as trans* from a very early age, mostly from their early youth or mid-teens (Figure B2). While most participants identified as trans* prior to incarceration, they reported varying degrees of out-ness in prison – some were out as trans* to everyone, others were only out to a select few, and others were not out at all (Figure B3). The majority of my participants were between ages thirty-five and fifty years old (Figure B4) and identified as White/European (Figure B5). Finally, the majority of participants lived in California, followed by Texas and Florida (Figures B6 and C15).

5.1. Placement in Prisons

At the time of the questionnaire, many of my research participants were housed in administrative segregation, also known as "ad-seg"/"the hole" or solitary confinement (Figure B7). Notably, many participants stated that they had been placed in administrative segregation as a form of punishment by prison administration, as well as for safety concerns (Figure B8). After administrative segregation, general population was the second most common area where research participants were housed, followed by the Sensitive Needs Yard (Figure B7). The close numbers between participants who were living in administrative segregation and general population was surprising, as I expected more participants to be housed in ad-seg. It was also surprising that five participants lived in the Sensitive Needs Yard, as well as another few who lived in "safe keeping" and a special GBTQ unit (Figure B7).

While only nine participants were currently being housed in administrative segregation, twenty-two reported that they had been placed in solitary confinement during their incarceration, ranging from a length of fourteen days to indefinitely, and often multiple times (Figure B8). As is discernible from the information provided in Figure B8, the average length of placement in administrative segregation averaged 21.7 months, or 1.8 years, per placement. Despite the use of administrative segregation as a safety precaution, most research participants indicated that they were still within harm's reach while living there. During their time in administrative segregation, nineteen participants reported being laughed at/called names, fourteen reported being denied access to medical treatment and hormones, thirteen reported being physically hurt on

purpose, and eleven reported being groped/felt up (Figure B9). Participants also wrote that while in administrative segregation they were deprived of visitation rights, recreation, and food; had personal items and property stolen and destroyed; and were assaulted, harassed, raped, and threatened (Figure B9).

When comparing treatment in general population and administrative segregation, the experiences my participants listed were very similar. It was reported that in general population, twenty-three participants were laughed at/called names, sixteen were groped/felt up, fifteen were put on display, fourteen were physically hurt on purpose and denied access to hormones, and ten were denied access to medical treatment (Figure B10). Participants also listed that while living in general population they were raped and/or sexually assaulted, sold for sex, subjected to humiliating strip searches in front of other inmates, verbally and sexually harassed, had personal property destroyed, received unfair or unprovoked disciplinary charges, and were refused placement in adequate housing (Figure B10).

In addition to comparing experiences between administrative segregation and general population, participants were asked about how their experiences using showers and bathroom facilities might differ from general housing issues. More than half of research participants indicated that they had access to private/single stall showers and bathroom facilities, which was noted to be more favorable than public/multi-user bathroom facilities, as their privacy helped to mitigate occurrences of sexual harassment and public humiliation (Figure B11). In group showers, for example, Clairerissa experienced "guys… act[ing] like perverts and think[ing] that just because I think of myself as female it's ok to show me there penis and masterbate while looking at me"

(Figure B12). Other times, it is possible that correctional officers do not monitor multi-user showers, which can permit sexual harassment and assault to occur (Amanda, Figure B12). While having private/single stall showers appears to be more favorable and perhaps helpful in mitigating abuse in public/multi-user showers, it does not completely erase the occurrence of mistreatment. For example, Jessica B wrote that, "When leaving our wing to go to showers, they [correctional officers] will make us walk only in boxers down the hall so they can see our breast" (Figure B12). Jessica H also stated that despite her access to private/single occupancy showers, "they only have half doors… any one going up the staircase can look in. Additionally, they are connected to the wing, which has given a person an opportunity to run in on me" (Figure B12). Despite these examples listed by participants, the levels of mistreatment in showers/bathroom facilities appeared to be less common than in other areas of prison. In showers/bathroom facilities, thirteen participants reported being put on display, twelve reported being groped/felt up and laughed at/called names, and four reported being hurt on purpose (Figure B12). Although these numbers are still high, they are notably lower than incidents of harassment and assault in administrative segregation and general population.

In regards to the larger issue of being housed in men's correctional facilities, the majority of participants expressed frustration for issues including safety, the inability to express their gender, and the emotional discomfort of living with men (Figure B27). Many respondents said that their placement in men's correctional facilities was a failure to protect them from physical and emotional harm. Swan Lyn stated that, "I have breast and was placed in G.P [general population]. Come On! That is tantamount to throwing a bitch in heat in a kennel. In the free world I enjoy the attention. In prison attention is not

a good thing" (Figure B27). Similarly, Sean'ah expressed the problem of placing trans* feminine individuals in men's correctional facilities for safety reasons. She wrote that, "Theres a pattern of violence towards transgenders and transgenders against potential aggressors. Placing us in environments that obviously incite inmates to lash out sexually or to "gay bash" is a failure to protect" (Figure B27). Gina also added to the emotional difficulty of living in a men's correctional facility, writing that, "I'm not comfortable and most of the 91 men I must live with aren't comfortable with the situation" (Figure B27).

While some participants asserted that their living situations would be better in women's facilities, others claimed that no facility is capable of safely housing trans* individuals (Figure B27). The placement of trans* feminine people in Sensitive Needs Yards or GBTQ units perhaps indicates a way in which institutions are attempting to deal with these issues, as these areas can possibly ease the levels of violence and emotional discomfort they face in prison. One participant, Tsu, had surprisingly been placed in a women's facility and was later transferred to a men's facility despite being a post-op trans* woman. She stated that while women inmates "did their own teasing", it was less abusive and better than being housed in a men's facility (Figure B13). At the time I conducted my research, however, Tsu was living in a special unit for GBTQ prisoners, which she stated, "…is not so bad…. Generally, I get along well with female staff, and formed a 'really close' sistahood with some of them. They bring me extra make up, jewelry, thongs, bra's, stiletto's, etc., and do their best to keep me out of dangerous situations" (Figure B14). She continued, writing that the more peaceful and less violent setting of a GBTQ unit led her to do more activism and partake in classes and writing. Placement in correctional facilities is a complicated matter, but overall it was established

that being in a men's correctional facility as a trans* feminine person was the least-favorable and most dangerous housing situation. Placement in women's facilities appeared to be less violent but perhaps not quite ideal due to similar forms of mistreatment. And while some participants were living in Sensitive Needs Yards, the high rates of harassment and assault that will be discussed shortly indicate that such housing placement does not completely protect trans* people from abuse.

5.2. Gender Expression

A prominent theme that surfaced from my data surrounded the limitations of feminine gender expression as well as the intricacies of gender performance in men's correctional facilities. Research participants indicated a very high level of restriction of their femininity. Twenty-two participants reported that they have been forced to cut their nails; twenty-one have not been allowed to wear bras/women's underwear and makeup; and nineteen have been forced to cut their hair (Figure B15). It was also listed that research participants have been told to act normal, or like a man; are not allowed to shave; and are not allowed to urinate while sitting down (Figure B15). In other words, "Simply put, expression is not allowed" (Jessica H, Figure B15). Another participant, Mystique, wrote that, "Not having breasts/vagina & being forced to live in male facility would be bearable for me if I at least could do those 4 aforementioned things!!!" (Figure B15). In other words, being able to express feminine gender identities could mitigate the emotional consequences of prohibiting measures to transition in prison.

Masculine gender expressions appeared to be enforced through combinations of disciplinary punishment and social repercussions. As Esmia wrote, "C/O's [correctional

officers] act weird when I walk and talk like a woman. They cuss me out call me fag's, queer's, etc…" (Figure B15). Mystique also indicated that she received disciplinary charges for wearing makeup and femininely altered clothing (Figure B10). Most research participants agreed that they were mistreated because of their gender expression. When asked in detail about experiences participants had due to their feminine gender expression, twenty-two reported that they had been laughed at and sexually harassed, twenty had been threatened, nineteen had been put on display, fifteen had been physically hurt, and fourteen had been sexually abused (Figure B16). Participants also listed that their feminine gender expression had caused them to be raped, deprived of food and entertainment, hyper-sexualized, and harassed (Figure B16).

Another frequently-noted issue was the lack of accessibility to hormones while being incarcerated. As indicated in Figure B17, only five participants were on hormones prior to their incarceration, and six had used them on and off. After their incarceration, eight participants noted that they were able to start or continue taking hormones, seven were not, and three were able to use hormones intermittently (Figure B17). However, being able to use hormones appeared to be a significant issue for the majority of research participants whether or not they had access to hormones. As visible in Figure B18, having access to hormones was associated with alleviating depression, increasing self-confidence, stabilizing emotions, and decreasing feelings of isolation. For Esmia, being able to use hormones in prison increased her happiness because it made her feel more feminine (Figure B18). Other participants who were able to use hormones while incarcerated implied its importance for their emotional wellbeing (Jenna, Figure B18).

Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of those who were not able to access

hormones identified it as one of the largest reasons for their depression and emotional instability (Figure B18). As Amanda wrote, "I'm depressed most of the time, not being able to express my true self and still being in the wrong body, not being comfortable in my appearance. I have crying fits often for no reason, and I forgo eating so I won't have to be around other people because I'm ashamed of my looks" (Figure B18). Jenna also stated that, "You tend to get depressed because you see your body reversing to what you don't want to be. My breast have become somewhat hard and my features are not like I would want them to be on hormones. Everything that I have worked for so I can have surgery has gone down the drain" (Figure B18). Most alarming, however, was Monica's expression of frustration and anger about being unable to use hormones during her incarceration. She stated that,

> Mentally, I feel homidical and suicidal for the most part. Emotionally I'm always planning to kill people and I don't like people at all anymore, and physically I am so far under weight that any kind of weight-gainer, such as hormones would help my body feel better. The combination of treatment or 'mistreatment', oppression, denial of rights and retaliation, and the amount of time it has been happening is probably, or already has caused irreversable harm that will result in deaths, murders, or some kind of harm to people in society when I'm released soon. Maybe hormone therapy would change that… I just know I'm unable to experience my other emotions except hate and rage. (Monica, Figure B18)

Monica's statement presents the felt urgency around accessing hormones, particularly in how transitioning – and even the mere physiology of hormones – can impact emotional and psychological states. Feeling a sense of defeat, self-loathing and shame that directly associate with one's body and the inability to begin or continue transitioning during incarceration can have brutally severe psychological impacts, including depression, isolation, and proneness to violence that is both self-inflicted and inflicted on others.

The inability to access hormones in prison was a theme that also surfaced in artistic submissions. Interestingly, art appeared to be an alternative way to explore forms of feminine embodiment in the face of hormone restrictions. Jessica H's artwork in particular appeared to be a direct result of being unable to express her femininity in prison, while simultaneously addressing the treatment of being sexually (un)desirable. A series of semi-nude sketches, Jessica H explores herself as a trans* person, imagining and exploring her body and sexuality (Figures C2-C7). Jessica H wrote that, "I like to show the beauty of the 'she-male' (I know, the term is considered derogatory by some, though I don't find it so…). Not as a person in transition; but, a person who is comfortable where they are, who they are…a person who can be erotic, can be beautiful just the way they are" (Figure C2). Jessica's sketches portray trans* women who are confident and comfortable with their bodies, often gazing directly at the viewer flirtatiously. They are unabashedly forward with their sexuality, exhibiting fearless self-assurance in expressing their bodies and engaging with desire, intimacy, and affection. In her piece "Suck My Dick", which takes on a more unbridled expression of sexuality, Jessica H explains the attitude of "'Here I am, beautiful…and until you got into my panties you were infatuated…now you got an attitude…well suck my dick (like fuck off)" (Figure C7). The figure in this sketch appears to be standing over the subject, clad in lingerie and poised assertively. She is powerful and sexually dominant, which is almost antithetic to the lack of control and consent that many participants discussed of their sexual encounters in prison.

It is also important to note, then, that my data illustrated a more complicated relationship between trans* feminine people and physically transitioning in men's

correctional facilities. While there is an overwhelming desire to access hormones, feminine expression and physical identifiers of femininity appear to be highly associated with an increased vulnerability to sexual harassment and violence. As Swan Lyn wrote, transitioning has made her "An object of lust, hatred, and desire by both guards and inmates. In no way [is she] treated as others" (Figure B17). Similarly, Mystique stated that if she were able to start transitioning in prison, "[She]'d just become more of a sex object & freak of nature – [She]'d be a commodity. Only [she] could use it to [her] advantage - at least w/ inmates (& some officers). Transwomen w/ breast etc do offen get more privileges. But they also suffer more abuse sometimes. It just depends" (Figure B17). For some, having been transitioning prior to or during incarceration has exacerbated their difference in men's correctional facilities, making them more prone to sexual harassment and abuse. While this vulnerability appeared to be a concern for several inmates, there was still an overall desire to take hormones, as participants indicated that being able to transition in this way would strongly benefit their lives in prison.

Despite the numerous ways in which research participants' feminine gender expression was regulated, they still appeared to express themselves as feminine in some ways. As visible in Figure B19, the majority of research participants actively resisted the gender regulations imposed on them and continued to express their gender as they so desired. Seven participants continued to dress femininely often by altering men's clothing, and also wore makeup using art supplies and even tattoos; and six styled their hair femininely, even if it was cut short. Participants also noted that they also arch their eyebrows, behave femininely in their speech and mannerisms, shave, have a feminine

body, paint their nails, and only answer to their preferred name (Figure B19). Despite that these actions could receive disciplinary punishment, these forms of feminine gender expression seemed to be crucial for participants' self-image as trans* feminine, as well as their self-confidence and pride.

5.3. Harassment and Violence

The accounts of trans* feminine experiences in men's correctional facilities that my questionnaires gathered also indicated an extremely high rate of harassment and violence. Twenty-two research participants reported being verbally harassed, twenty-three reported being sexually harassed, and sixteen reported having been in a forced sexual situation[7] due to their gender (see Figures A1-A3, B20). When asked if they believed that being trans* made them more likely to experience harassment and/or violence, all participants responded affirmatively (Figure B21).

This increased risk towards harassment and violence is believed to be exacerbated by being trans* for four major reasons. Most commonly, participants wrote that they are targets of violence because other inmates and correctional officers consider women to be weak, vulnerable, and defenseless (Figure B21). As Sean'ah stated, "We're perceived as those who are supposed to be non-combative or confrontational so people think they can get away with more with us as opposed to someone who will immediately fight" (Figure B21). Similarly, Tsu wrote that "…it 'may' be for the same reasons that bio-women are

[7] The term 'forced sexual situation' was used instead of rape or sexual assault. This followed Hearts on a Wire's use of 'forced sexual situation' to be more inclusive of all forms of sexual violence.

more like to experience harassment/violence. Once we become a member of the so-called 'weaker' sex, or 'secondary' sex, we get treated like one" (Figure B21).

Another common belief that research participants listed was that they were higher targets of sexual harassment and assault because the men in prison view women as sex objects. A participant who wished to remain anonymous wrote that, "…inmates look at me as someone to be used and thrown away and the officers think I'm their personal play toy" (Figure B21). Similarly, Trisha felt that, "Every man thinks you want to have sex with them" (Figure B21). The prevalence of misogyny and the hyper-sexualization of women reinforces a notion that women are sexual commodities and should be available to men for sexual pleasure. This places trans* feminine individuals in an incredibly vulnerable position, as other inmates and correctional officers appear to expect a tolerance for, and acceptance of, sexual harassment and assault.

This hyper-sexualization appears to be compounded by sexual repression in men's correctional facilities. As Jessica H. stated, "In [other inmates'] eyes, women are sexual objects. I fall into that category for them, they think that I should just have sex with them cause, well I'm a girl and they want it…. [But] my prison is very restrictive about sexual material, which I think contributes to the problem" (Jessica H, Figure B21). Another participant, Jenna, alluded to the ways in which sexual repression exacerbates the position that trans* feminine individuals find themselves in. She wrote that "…[we're] viewed as potential prey for sex and to rob, because we're viewed as being week because we look like woman that makes the male inmates who are allready horny and missing theyre wives & girlfriends consider us for sexual release and they become aggressive in pursuing us" (Figure B21). What Sean'ah and Jenna both allude to is the issue of sexual

repression that goes beyond the sexism they experience in prison. While misogynist views of women inform how research participants are treated, the broader feeling of suppressed sexuality exacerbates feelings of sexual frustration and may ultimately lead to an increase in incidents of sexual harassment and assault.

Two other reasons were listed by participants in addition to why their gender places them at a higher risk for harassment and violence. One reason was identified as the lack of education and understanding of trans* individuals, and the second was the fear of, and discomfort with, gendered and sexual difference (Figure B21). For example, Kym claimed that trans* feminine individuals are seen as "bearded women" (Figure B21), and consequently are mistreated because of this Otherness. Similarly, Swan Lyn wrote that "Because I am a woman and man…. it confuses the hard dicks in here. The red neck bosses have never been around anything like me. So it is true that we fear the unknown. Besides, I make these guys question their sexuality" (Figure B21). Discomfort with the unknown, combined with a lack of education and understanding of trans* people, is believed to be a reason for why other inmates and correctional officers intimidate and mistreat trans* feminine individuals.

When asked more specifically about their experiences of verbal and sexual harassment and assault, research participants indicated how often they experienced these forms of mistreatment, as well as by whom. Nineteen participants noted that they had experienced persistent verbal harassment, while four had experienced it fairly commonly (Figure A1). Most often, research participants experienced verbal harassment both by groups of inmates and correctional staff, as well as by individual inmates and correctional staff (Figure B20). Despite the high prevalence of verbal harassment, the rate of

intervention by correctional staff was only 4.6% (Figure B20). Participants listed numerous examples of the phrases and words used against them in instances of verbal harassment, as visible in Figure C1. Notably, the words that have been used against them reflect the larger themes of hyper-sexualization and homo/transphobia and misogyny that were apparent in my data, such as punk, bitch, dick, faggot, freak, whore, and so on.

Specifically regarding their experiences of sexual harassment, seventeen participants experienced persistent sexual harassment, while five experienced it fairly commonly (Figure A2). The majority of participants reported that they were sexually harassed by groups of inmates and correctional officers, as well as individual inmates (Figure B20). The level of intervention with sexual harassment was also very low, only at 9.1% (Figure B20). Comparatively, research participants' experiences of forced sexual situations or sexual assault were slightly different. Seventeen participants stated that they had been in a forced sexual situation during their incarceration, although the frequency of these experiences varied much more than verbal or sexual harassment (Figures A3 and B20). While groups of inmates and correctional officers tended to be perpetrators of harassment, individual inmates were identified as committing more sexual assault (Figure B20). The rate of intervention with sexual assault was also noticeably higher, at 53.6%. Despite these lower instances of sexual assault, a rate of seventeen out of twenty-three research participants nevertheless indicates a very high rate of sexual assault, and that must be emphasized. These high rates of harassment and assault not only reflect what other research has found, but also indicate some of the principal challenges for incarcerated trans* feminine people and the real, material consequences that trans* feminine people can face in prison.

5.4. Relationships

The antagonism that has been measured between trans* and cis prisoners, combined with implications of higher isolation for trans* prisoners in other research, made it important to inquire about research participants' forms of relationships. As my data indicated, twelve participants had family members visit them, and other smaller amounts of visitors included friends, partners, lawyers, and other individuals (Figure B22). Notably, eight participants had not received any visits during their incarceration. A higher amount of participants, seventeen, had phone contact with someone during their incarceration, although the frequency of these conversations was unclear (Figure B23). The most common source of communication, however, was by mail; nineteen participants had received mail from their family members, fifteen from community organizations, and fourteen from friends (Figure B24). It is possible, however, that these results were skewed due to the fact that most participants were active members of the Prisoner Correspondence Project's pen pal program.

While it is clear that many research participants encounter hostility from other inmates, it is surprising that eighteen reported to have formed relationships with other inmates during their incarceration (Figure B25). As well, fifteen participants stated that they had been in touch with other transgender, lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, or other supportive people, which is not surprising given their involvement in the LGBTQ pen pal program (Figure B26). Participants expressed an overwhelming positive feeling amongst participants about being in touch with other trans* or LGBQ individuals (Figure B26). Many felt that having relationships with other queer people made them feel supported,

and also that these relationships made their lives more bearable by providing them with strength to encounter the challenges of incarceration, giving them hope for the future, helping them feel less disconnected from the outside world, and even making them feel protected (Figure B26). Participants furthered this point by expressing that having access to a transgender community would strongly benefit their lives while incarcerated (Figure B27). As discernable in Figure B27, participants felt that having access to a transgender community would improve their self-esteem and mental health conditions, as they could form understanding and encouraging friendships with those who have had similar experiences. This would also encourage them to live more openly and honestly with others, and feel less judged. Having relationships with other trans* people appeared to provide relief of feelings of isolation, depression, and anxiety, and can perhaps imply a key intervention for improving the lives of incarcerated trans* individuals.

5.5. Self-care and Survival

Largely, the opportunities for surviving the emotional and physical challenges of incarceration – or merely surviving at all – appeared to be rather bleak in my data. As visible in Figure B28, many participants felt that surviving the threats of physical assault was one of the most challenging aspects of being a trans* feminine individual in prison. Research participants listed that the second-most prevalent challenge to being incarcerated as a trans* feminine person was the inability to express one's identified gender, with additional challenges including threats to sexual assault, the prejudice against and lack of acceptance of trans* feminine people, the lack of access to hormones, staying positive, and feelings of loneliness (Figure B28). The prevalence of loneliness,

despair, and lovelessness was notably highlighted by poetry that participants had written. For example, Venus asks in her poem "From the heart", "God if you're listening please show me someone/ Who's loving enough to care./ … Can someone tell me why I dont feel loved" (Figure C12)? Jenna's poem also expresses the pain and frustration in being marked as different and outcast:

> I'm only human – no different than you,/ I bleed Red and Bruise Blue/ The peeks and whispers they cut so deep/ at sunrise I hide – at Day break I weep/ … You see me as different but I'm not so different than you…./ Only living my life as your blinders read "Ignorant Fool"/ Should I look at you differently because you are not me?/ Am I realy an abomination because I Identify as a SHE? (Figure C10)

As Jenna begs the question of why she is so different, she points to the ignorance that she has faced during her incarceration and the emotional pain it has caused, impressing a feeling of loneliness and sincere yearning for connection, sympathy, and acceptance. This poetry complements the information gathered by my questionnaires, indicating the breadth of affects that can emerge from harassment, bullying, and abuse.

In light of the overwhelming data surrounding the mistreatment and harm of incarceration as a trans* feminine individual, research participants were asked if they had found ways to protect themselves or make themselves safer in prison. The majority of participants stated that they protect themselves by isolating themselves from others, as well as by being particular about people with whom they associate, whether for emotional support, physical protection, or simply avoiding the wrong crowd (Figure B29). Participants also indicated that they physically defend themselves or keep their bodies in shape to engage in self-defense practices, participate in activities, and additionally that they simply have not found ways to protect themselves (Figure B29). While safety from harm appeared to be rather difficult to obtain, participants were able to identify numerous

ways in which they take care of themselves emotionally. Ten research participants identified that they partake in activities such as programs, reading, working, exercising, drawing, writing, and listening to or playing music (Figure B30). They also listed that practicing meditation, having good friends or falling in love, and maintaining physical strength was helpful for their emotional wellbeing (Figure B30). As well, some participants turned towards religion for moral support, and also sought out mental health support to deal with emotional and psychological challenges during their incarceration (Figure B30).

Despite the tremendous difficulties noted in the data that was gathered, participants were able to describe some positive experiences during their incarceration that related to their gender identities. These positive experiences largely focused on romantic relationships that provided participants with support, love, and gender affirmation that they were otherwise not receiving (Figure B14). One participant, Mark, submitted a poem titled “My Mans Heart”, describing the power that true love can have to heal emotional wounds. Esmia also indicated that the ability to find support through the openness of intimacy is beneficial for emotional care (Figure B30). Finding love was, consequently, one of the main elements that seemed to pull participants through the challenges of incarceration. Research participants also listed that they were able to find positive experiences through personal growth, support from a few correctional officers, being allowed to work and take classes, and becoming political activists for LGBTQ people in prison; some participants, however, were not able to list any positive experiences related to their gender.

5.6. Conclusion

Overall, the data that was collected by my questionnaires and artistic submissions indicates the multiplicity of hardships and challenges that trans* feminine prisoners encounter in men's correctional facilities. Similar to what other research has indicated, research participants experienced extremely high rates of mistreatment, including being made fun of, being touched inappropriately, being denied access to hormones, and being physically hurt because of their gender identity and expression. Participants living in both administrative segregation and general population experienced similarly high rates of harassment and assault, and surprisingly these experiences appeared to be less common in bathroom facilities. More specifically, research participants reported extremely high rates of verbal and sexual harassment, as well as physical and sexual assault. Acts of harassment and assault were identified often as recurring, and were committed mostly by groups of inmates and officers. Research participants felt that their mistreatment was due to misogynist understandings of women as weak and as sexual commodities, as well as a lack of understanding and fear of trans* peoples' bodily difference.

The data also indicates that research participants experienced a large amount of gender regulation, notably by restricting access to hormones and various forms of feminine attire, forcibly cutting nails and hair, and enforcing disciplinary action as a form of punishment for feminine gender expression. While there was some understanding that being identifiable as a trans* feminine person could jeopardize one's safety, participants reported that being unable to transition and express themselves was one of the hardest aspects of being incarcerated. Being able to express their femininity in any sort of way was argued to be largely beneficial for research participants' emotional and psychological

wellbeing. As indicated by the few participants who were able to continue transitioning in prison, having access to hormones was their only saving grace.

Finally, it appeared as though facing the challenges of mere survival and maintaining a positive outlook in prison were particularly daunting. Many research participants had difficulty in improving their safety and emotional wellbeing. Despite this, there were indications of some positive elements to their lives, including the communication that many participants had with trans* or LGBQ people and forming romantic relationships during their incarceration. It was also notable that despite restrictions to their gender expression, as well as the repercussions for defying those restrictions, many participants continued to express themselves in a feminine manner.

Consequently, my research data supports what other research has claimed surrounding the variety of mistreatment that transgender prisoners face. But importantly it elaborates on the types of emotional and psychological trauma that is incited upon them and adds subjective accounts to the treatment of trans* feminine prisoners nation-wide. Furthermore, it has complicated the nuances of gender performance in men's correctional facilities by presenting surprising detail that although feminine gender expression is desired and often has emotional benefits, there are also physically negative repercussions and risks to that expression. What must be considered now is what these results indicate about carceral institutional and social space, an analysis of this targeted mistreatment of trans* feminine prisoners, and the broader implications that this data has on trans* feminine embodiment in men's correctional facilities.

CHAPTER 6: INSTITUTIONAL POWER AND TRANSGENDER SUBVERSIONS

As my research results display the multiplicity of bodily and emotional injury and the various causes of such harm, what stands out in particular is the profuse trauma that is imposed upon trans* feminine prisoners. This includes, for example, being laughed at and called names, being watched while taking showers or undergoing strip searches, being physically and sexually harassed, being assaulted, and being socially ostracized. Further emotional and physical injury is enforced institutionally by routinely disallowing the use of hormones and access to gender-affirming forms of expression. Consequently, attempts to better understand the impact of these multiple forms of injury, specifically the mix of social and institutional wounding, must be placed in conversation with concepts of incarceration, gender, and power. By considering these complex dynamics, several key concerns come to the fore of my research.

Of first noticeable interest is the way in which carceral biopower becomes exerted over trans* feminine prisoners by regulating their gender expression, embodiment, and performativity. This highlights the institutional wounding of trans* feminine prisoners and considers the power and discipline wielded by prisons. I wish to argue that the logic behind this institutional regulation is informative of both carceral and hypermasculine domination over trans* feminine prisoners, and that this institutional control of gender expression seeks to reinforce these power structures. Forms of institutional control are reinforced by hypermasculinity, as the social dynamics and hierarchies that hegemonic masculinity establishes amongst prisoners further disenfranchises and marginalizes trans* feminine individuals. I will discuss the variety of injury that manifests through social interactions, including forms of harassment, humiliation, and assault, as well as how

actors within the social space of prison reinforce masculine hierarchies of power and uphold carceral institutional authority.

However, another critical and perhaps the most interesting element is how trans* feminine prisoners threaten the hold of carceral and hypermasculine power. I will argue that my research findings do not just present trans* feminine prisoners as survivors of trauma, but as individuals who contest a system that attempts to enforce a totalizing authority over their lives. This arises particularly through my research participants' continued feminine expression in defiance of institutional regulations, and also in their ability to sustain hope and happiness. In particular, there is something to be said about the unwavering assertion of trans* feminine identities, performances, and embodiment in men's correctional facilities despite the numerous challenges and threats to survival that they face. Despite the varying levels of outness and transitioning statuses amongst research participants, my results display cunning acts of subversion and resistance to not only hypermasculine gender norms, but also to the power of prisons and their control over trans* feminine prisoners' bodies. I will thus argue that this assertion of autonomy and consequent resistance to carceral and hypermasculine domination is critical for trans* feminine prisoners to survive by engaging in self-care and political mobilization. This information is crucial to not only understanding the national crisis of violence that trans* feminine prisoners are facing, but implores us to interpret this detailed information for the support and empowerment of incarcerated trans* individuals more broadly.

6.1. Carceral Biopower and Social Death

Scholars have noted that the exertion of complete control over prisoners' minds, bodies,

and identities is arguably the most powerful aspect of incarceration. This aspect of carceral power on human bodies and minds, or biopower, is argued to dehumanize prisoners by inciting such severe emotional trauma that they become non-subjects in their carceral environment. As Rodriguez (2006) writes,

> The contemporary regime of the prison encompasses the weaponry of an institutionalized dehumanization. It also, and necessarily, generates a material rendition of the nonhuman and subhuman that structurally antagonizes and decenters the immediate capacity of the imprisoned subject to simply *self-identify*. ... [This process] is guided by the logic of a totalizing disempowerment and social disaffection…. (228)

A process of disaffection, according to Rodriguez (2006, 228), incites feelings of shock, self-hatred, rage, frustration, and alienation that are relevant to trans* feminine experiences of prison. People who are incarcerated become emotionally hardened to a point where a fundamental element of surviving these negative affects, such as shame, depression, and anxiety, is impossible, and feelings of hope or happiness can no longer be experienced.

The parallel between these arguments of the dehumanization and disaffection of prisoners and my research results is striking. As noted in the previous chapter, participants expressed feeling depressed, volatile, disappointed, shameful, lonely, defeated, and fearful because of the mistreatment they face in prison. Particularly, a link is identifiable between being unable to access hormones in prison and this process of disaffection. If we revisit some statements from Figure B18, we can discern notions of self-bereavement, frustration, and overall extreme emotional and psychological consequences as a result of the loss of bodily sovereignty to transition. As visible in Table 1 below, notable statements from Figure B18 include:

Table 1: Excerpts from Figure B18: "Answers to 'If you weren't able to continue (or start) taking hormones while incarcerated, how did this impact your life and how you felt? (for example, mental and physical health, emotions, etc.)'"
"I'm depressed most of the time, not being able to express my true self and still being in the wrong body, not being comfortable in my appearance. I have crying fits often for no reason, and I forgo eating so I won't have to be around other people because I'm ashamed of my looks." (Amanda) "…without hormone treatments I hated myself, my features, etc... I became deeply depressed and contemplated suicide multiple times." (Sean'ah) "Initially it was tough [not taking hormones]. My emotions were out of whack. I became depressed regressed." (Trisha) "I am an UGLY woman with a red beard and big bouncy balls. I am not who I was when I was locked up." (Swan Lyn) "You tend to get depressed because you see your body reversing to what you don't want to be. My breast have become somewhat hard and my features are not like I would want them to be on hormones. Everything that I have worked for so I can have surgery has gone down the drain." (Jessica B) "Mentally, I feel homidical and suicidal for the most part. Emotionally I'm always planning to kill people and I don't like people at all anymore… The combination of treatment or 'mistreatment', oppression, denial of rights and retaliation, and the amount of time it has been happening is probably, or already has caused irreversable harm that will result in deaths, murders, or some kind of harm to people in society when I'm released soon… maybe I also developed post traumatic stress disorder like my older brother did before he left this prison system from the same lock-down in Santa Fe. I just know I'm unable to experience my other emotions except hate and rage." (Monica)

These statements reflect the profound intensity of how carceral biopower impacts the emotional state of prisoners, often through the process of disaffection. By removing the ability to transition and embody a gender-affirming physical form, carceral biopower exerts a dominating force on the body and the mind by inciting and circulating overwhelming negative emotions.

The ways in which these negative emotions maneuver between both the body and the mind is a powerful securing mechanism that reinforces carceral dominance over

prisoners. This is visible in a more detailed exploration of shame, which was one of the more common negative emotions that were noted by research participants. Feelings of shame stemmed from combinations of being denied hormones, being humiliated, and being targeted for harassment and physical/sexual assault. Notably, feelings of shame appeared to orbit the bodies of research participants through the difficulty in embodying a desired gender, and having that exacerbated by mistreatment that refocused attention back to this bodily failure. As shame circulates the body, it becomes internalized as both physical and emotional injury. Sara Ahmed (2004) explains that,

> When shamed, one's body seems to burn up with the negation that is perceived (self-negation); and shame impresses upon the skin, as an intense feeling of the subject 'being against itself'…. The subject…is consumed by a feeling of badness that cannot simply be given away or attributed to another…. In shame, I feel myself to be bad, and hence to expel the badness, I have to expel myself from myself (prolonged experiences of shame, unsurprisingly, can bring subjects perilously close to suicide). In shame, the subject's movement back into itself is simultaneously a turning away from itself. In shame, the subject may have nowhere to turn. (103-104)

The accumulation of shame upon one's body incites further emotional pain, such as isolation or depression in turning away from oneself. This is clear upon further examination of the additional negative emotions that research participants expressed, all surrounding the failure to actualize a feminized body. Importantly, as both Ahmed and research participants allude to, there is nowhere for these feelings to go, and self-isolation is one of the moves that shamed individuals can turn towards. Feelings of "pain or discomfort… return one's attention to the surfaces of the body *as body*" (Ahmed, 2004, 148, original emphasis), which calls attention once again to a failed gender embodiment and pulls one inward into one's skin, away from others, becoming self-contained. The consequences of this move can clearly be lethal, as Ahmed (2004, 104) and Monica

(Table I) allude to. Without the possibility of release or movement, the self-containment and accumulation of shame may result in irreversible psychological or physical harm.

This highlights the reciprocal nature of bodily and emotional injury, as they become enmeshed in a co-informative movement. For example, the previous chapter discussed how participants who had been transitioning prior to their incarceration experienced devastating physical repercussions associated with hormone withdrawal. This is not surprising, as "hormonally-treated transgendered people experience serious health problems with any cessation, reduction, or irregularity of hormonal treatment" (Rosenblum, 2000, 546), such as "painful reduction of the tissue around the breasts, vomiting, and depression" (Tarzwell, 2006, 181). This also includes many psychological ailments such as anxiety, depression, and insomnia (Hearts on a Wire, 2011, 26). As indicated in Table I and Figure B18, emotional instability was also noted as a consequence of hormone withdrawal, as was physical discomfort such as breast pain.

Additionally, being unable to start or continue hormones forces trans* feminine prisoners to watch their bodies undergo a process of masculinization, or to remain stuck in a more physically masculine body without the possibility to transition. As Jenna and Jessica B allude to (Figure B18), this deterioration into an undesired bodily form compounds the failed actualization of femininity by inciting a sense of defeat. Measures that were taken to transition are negated, and future possibilities of transitioning are closed. Rosenblum (2000) writes that, "in addition to the return of facial hair growth and male pattern baldness, surface fat recedes, creating a markedly changed gender appearance and leaving transgendered prisoners 'trapped in a netherworld between manhood and womanhood'" (547). As trans* feminine individuals witness a bodily

defeat by carceral institutions and are not given the rights to intervene and preserve, or acquire, feminine features, they arguably experience a form of social death, or a social and embodied collapse of their embodied genders.

This concept of social death has been described as "a liminal space – between life and death; freedom and subjection; known and unknown…" (Dillon, 2011, 179). As an in-between state of "life and death; freedom and subjection," social death can also be described as the result of prison's "saturated and accumulated absence, death, and social irreconcilability" (Rodriguez, 2006, 426). Broadly, social death, or death-in-life (Mbembe and Meintjes, 2003), occurs during a person's conscious awareness of their loss of self, sovereignty, history, and rights. By experiencing the disaffection and psychological trauma of prison technologies, prisoners endure a social death within the prison walls. In other words, while prisoners' bodies stay alive, their experiences of incarceration break them down emotionally and psychologically.

For trans* feminine prisoners who have no choice but to witness a masculine digression from their feminized body, or an immobility from a masculinized body, they experience a loss of corporal sovereignty and the work involved in achieving desired feminine expression. The negative affects that surface as a result of this social death, combined with disaffection, accumulation of negative affects, and daily trauma, point towards the maintenance and impacts of carceral applied-biopower, social death, and the gender regulation that is asserted upon trans* feminine prisoners. However, the resistance to this forced masculinization and social death is a critical element of surviving prison as a trans* feminine person, and is enacted in surprisingly forceful ways.

6.2. Gender Regulation, the Threat of Femininity, and Hypermasculine Panic

As several scholars have noted (Hagner, 2010; Hearts on a Wire; Sexton et al., 2011; Rodriguez, 2006; Sexton et al., 2011; Shabazz, 2009; Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2007; Tarzwell, 2006), gender regulation is a standard element of carceral institutions and the social interactions between prisoners and correctional officers. In particular, harassment and violence in men's prisons indicate the performative elements of carceral masculinity, which establish hierarchies of failed and successful hegemonic masculine expressions (Nolan IV, 2012; Shabazz, 2009; Tarzwell, 2006). By exploring the details of harassment and violence that my research participants reported (Figure B20), I theorize the ways in which hegemonic masculinities are exerted over research participants as further enforcement of masculine power, and more crucially the ways in which femininity and feminine performances threaten the stability of both masculine and carceral power.

Of first noticeable interest regarding masculine performativity is that the majority of harassment and violence that research participants experienced was committed by groups of inmates and correctional officers. This group element of masculine performance is critical, as Shabazz (2009) and Nolan IV (2012) argue that masculinity is constantly being asserted and defended in men's prisons between everyone within its space. Masculine performances of correctional officers work to uphold carceral power, and masculine performances by prisoners assert social dominance between inmates and resistance against institutional masculinity. The group harassment of research participants, then, can be understood as signaling a collective performance in which all actors can be reassured of their masculinity and higher-ranking status. By engaging in sexist and homo/transphobic behavior in front of other prisoners and correctional staff,

men attempt to demonstrate their masculinity to the larger prison population as acts of survival against carceral power, arguably to ensure that someone will hierarchically always be below them. As Tarzwell (2006) writes, "within this framework [of hypermasculine dominance], femininity and weakness are reciprocally referential: those prisoners displaying 'feminine' traits are more likely to be victimized" (179). This victimization is particularly noticeable if we look at the insulting words and phrases displayed in Figure C1. Many of these words seek to degrade trans* feminine individuals, demeaning their lives, identities, and bodies by identifying them as hyper-sexual, diseased, different, and consequently inferior to heterosexual, men-identified prisoners. Trans* feminine individuals are positioned as weak when compared to hegemonic masculine ideals, and it is the job of hypermasculine behavior such as bullying, verbal and sexual harassment, and assault to maintain its position over those who are feminine.

It should be noted, however, that there is a notable difference between acts of sexual violence and other, more collective, forms of mistreatment. While verbal and sexual harassment appeared to be a more collaborative effort, my results indicated that sexual violence was a more private and individualized act (Figure B20). As discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of sexual assault was reported to have been committed by one inmate, as opposed to verbal and sexual harassment, which were most commonly committed by groups of inmates and correctional officers (Figure B20). Sexual assault was very high amongst my research participants, which supports Nolan IV (2012) and Tarzwell's (2006) claims that sexual violence is a more accessible and recurring assertion of hegemonic masculinity in prison. It is curious, however, that the collective performance of sexual violence was starkly different than other forms of mistreatment.

This perhaps may be due to the conflation of trans* feminine inmates with gay men; in other words, an attacker might find his masculine authority compromised if the person he assaults is considered a gay man. One could also posit that the more private nature of sexual assault may be due to a higher rate of punishment for this form of abuse, especially when considering that more correctional officers intervened during acts of sexual assault in my research results. Regardless of the motives, it appears that while sexual violence remains an assertion of hypermasculine prowess, it does not function in the same social way as other public displays of masculinity. It is possible, then, that perhaps acts of sexual assault have less to do with upholding carceral masculine power and more to do with individual acts of frustration, discrimination, and interrelational authority and longitudinal oppression.

Alternatively, carceral expressions of masculine domination are more visible in the low rates of intervention with verbal and sexual harassment against research participants. This behavior implies institutional permission and encouragement of mistreatment and violence against trans* feminine prisoners, which reinforces the control that carceral institutions have on their wellbeing. By instilling and encouraging transphobia, misogyny, and masculine dominance over trans* feminine prisoners, carceral institutions are able to maintain their authority over not only trans* feminine prisoners, but all prisoners. Failing to intervene when trans* feminine individuals are harassed further perpetuates an atmosphere of carceral hegemonic masculinity that condones abusive behavior, furthering institutional jurisdiction over prisoners' physical and emotional health.

Despite these constant mechanisms of hypermasculine force against trans* feminine prisoners, expressions of femininity are still able to emerge, pushing the boundaries of hegemonic masculine space and challenging its preservation. As noted in the previous results chapter, many research participants reported that they express femininity in some way or another, despite strong institutional regulations and punishment that prohibit and/or discourage access to hormones, makeup use, hair and nail length, and the ability to wear women's clothing. Research participants asserted a profound subversion of enforced institutional masculinity and transgressed carceral dominance over their bodily sovereignty by exhibiting agency over their gender identities, expression, and embodiment. If we revisit Figure B19, we can observe the numerous ways in which research participants upheld their identities. Many research participants reported painting their nails, using art supplies in lieu of makeup, tattooing makeup into permanence, feminizing short haircuts, shaping eyebrows, altering men's clothing, and only answering to their preferred names (Figure B19). Despite the institutional punishment for these actions, most research participants were determined to assert their femininity and bodily sovereignty, directly undermining and challenging the applied biopower of carceral institutions and hypermasculinity.

Consequently, the power of hypermasculinity in prison space becomes subverted through the actions of trans* feminine agency and gender expression by exerting a force, a pushback, against carceral and hypermasculine authority and the cultivation of social death. These expressions of femininity visibly transgress carceral hypermasculinity's capacity to control prisoners, as performances of femininity shake its limiting grasp on trans* feminine bodies and identities. These feminine performances "open up the scope

for slippage" of power in carceral hegemonic masculine space, and further exemplify "the way in which the hierarchies embedded in physical location, in absolute space, can be challenged" (Gregson and Rose, 2000, 446). The trans* feminine prisoners involved in my research force carceral space to contain bodies whose genders it cannot manage and, consequently, threaten and undermine the power and authority of hegemonic masculinity. Trans* feminine embodiment and bodily articulation subverts carceral domination by asserting agency and gender determinacy through performances of politically charged acts of feminine expression, sustaining their identities in spite of social death.

6.3. Hopeful Imaginations and Possibilities for Reprieve

Alongside this transgression of institutionalized and socialized hegemonic masculinity, research participants resist carceral social death in an additional way. As noted earlier, a critical component of social death is the loss of hope. While the results of my research do not present hope as a prominent element in participants' responses, a closer look reveals subtle and brief references to hopeful futures that must not be ignored. These quick appearances of hope appear in mentions of the possibility of transitioning, and in discussions of supportive and affirming relationships. While moments of hope are not dominant throughout the results, their political potential calls for a deserved care and attention. Maintaining hope in the potential to be released and transition, to envision physical embodiment in affirmative ways, and to experience love, support, and validation is critical for exercising self-care and resisting the totalizing despondency inherent to carceral institutions.

When moments of hope surface in subtle references to transitioning in the future, they allude to the possibility of actualizing a more feminized physical form, which is a

desire of almost all research participants. Particularly important is the role that the imagination plays in being able to sustain trans* feminine identities through hope. Jessica H's drawings, as discussed in the previous chapter, exemplify the use of the imagination in fostering a hope in the future, and of her body to transition. In Figure C2, Jessica explains that, "[my art] comes from the repression of an ability to express myself as a transperson (I can't express it in life, so I express it in art)". Using her imagination to assert her trans* feminine identity defies carceral institutional and social attempts to subdue Jessica's self-understanding and expression. Jessica continues, in her description of "Swimming Pool" (Figure C3), that, "This woman is my inner-Jessica, beautiful, comfortable in knowing she is sexy, not affraid to show it. Its what I'd like to think I will look like when I finaly get the chance to undertake my process". For Jessica, her imagination fosters a hope in the future by securing the possibility to transition, undermining the totalizing mind-power exerted by prisons.

Clearly, then, the power of the imagination is crucial when positioned against institutions that wield social death through complete control over a person's identity, emotionality, and embodiment. As Appadurai (2000) states,

> The imagination is no longer a matter of individual genius, escapism from ordinary life, or just a dimension of aesthetics. It is a faculty that informs the daily lives of ordinary people in myriad ways: It allows people to consider migration, resist state violence, seek social redress… [and] it is also the faculty through which collective patterns of dissent and new designs for collective life emerge. (6)

For trans* feminine individuals who face attempted carceral breakdowns of their bodies and identities, the imagination can provide a means of resistance by accessing, or obtaining proximity to, happiness. Obtaining this closeness to what Sara Ahmed (2010a)

calls a 'happy object' can be incredibly powerful for those who are marginalized or oppressed. Ahmed explains that,

> We could say that happiness is promised through proximity to certain objects. Objects would not refer only to physical or material things, but also to anything that we imagine might lead us to happiness, including objects in the sense of values, practice, and styles, as well as aspirations. Doing x as well as having x might be what promises us happiness. (2010a, 41)

Ahmed (2010b) continues that, "happiness might also *contain* the forms in which desire can be realized" (202, original emphasis); consequently, a happy object can contain a desired physical form that can be realized mentally and thus become proximate to the subject. For trans* feminine prisoners, a happy object may be the imagining of a future feminized body. The potential in being able to imagine and explore a gender-affirming physical form can provide the space for emotional reprieve, in which the desire to live in a body that more accurately reflects one's understood self can emerge. If these moments of reprieve, these happy objects, are accessible, a prisoner's future can become tangible, instilling that they can survive incarceration and achieve a desired form of embodiment. This is a space where the hope of embodiment can manifest, and is a critical component to survival and self-care.

Consequently, while Jessica H may not be allowed access to hormones and express herself on the inside, she is able to access and explore a vision of what her body *will* look like in the future. This *will* is significant, as it signifies that there is no doubt for Jessica. She is assured that this achievement will one day be possible. This proximity to happiness and obtaining hope defies the logic of applied biopower, social death and hypermasculine carceral domination over trans* feminine prisoners.

The proximity to happiness also appears through the connections that research participants made with other trans* or LGBQ individuals. As participants wrote, being in touch with other transgender and queer people provided positive feelings of closeness, support, and hope. As well, forming romantic relationships and friendships was noted to be incredibly helpful in improving research participants' mental health. Feeling a sense of community pulls trans* prisoners into a network outside of prison, expanding their world beyond the isolation of incarceration. This calls our attention to the importance of solidarity and community support, and the ways in which networks of trans* and queer people on the inside and outside can foster healing, sustainability, and survival of carceral power.

Having relationships with other trans* or LGBQ people, whether with other inmates or outside pen pals, is critical for a movement against the social death that trans* people face on the inside. By fostering networks of care, support, and understanding, transgender prisoners can receive gender-affirmation through grassroots measures, helping maintain identity and bodily sovereignty, as well as a proximity to happiness and hope that counter the totalizing nature of isolation, fear, and "social irreconcilability" (Rodriguez, 2006, 426) that carceral institutions produce. Hope is a critical component of resistance, for being hopeful within the confines of prison defies the work of carceral power by maintaining prisoners' self-understanding, awareness, and knowledge. It is through the imagination that, for some, the potential of bodily actualization and gender-affirming expression can emerge, the self can be sustained, and happiness can be felt.

CHAPTER 7: THESIS CONCLUSIONS

As I have argued, trans* feminine prisoners face daily challenges to survive the treatment they encounter in men's correctional facilities that is not only encouraged by carceral institutions, but also through social interactions with other inmates and correctional staff. Gender performance and hypermasculinity plays a key role in informing the power dynamics that became visible through my data regarding how trans* feminine prisoners are treated, and their emotional and embodied responses to that treatment.

Future elaboration of this work could explore intersections of sexuality, particularly in relation to gay men's experiences of prison. As it was apparent that there can be a convergence between gay male and trans* feminine identities in prison, particularly around associations of femininity and gender identity, this kind of work could expand a gendered analysis of social interactions in men's prisons by dissecting the complexities of sexuality and gender in hypermasculine carceral space. It is also important to expand this kind of analysis to trans* masculine prisoners. While I did not have the means to access this population, trans* masculine prisoners remain understudied and are crucial to conversations of sexism, transphobia and masculinity in prison. As well, it could have been a useful form of triangulation to conduct interviews with correctional staff to gather their thoughts on the experiences that my participants discussed in their questionnaires.

The most significant findings of my research highlight the ways in which trans* prisoners are treated, detailing the harassment and violence they face by both other inmates and correctional staff. Other noteworthy findings surrounding access to

hormones, gender expression, and housing placement complicate the arguments that have been made surrounding trans* prisoners' rights to adequate placement, hormones, and means of expression. More specifically, while being able to transition and express one's gender in prison is unmistakably vital for the emotional and mental health of transgender prisoners, my research participants also indicated that it could also increase their vulnerability to harassment, humiliation, and violence. Consequently, if advocates of transgender prisoners wish to support and encourage their rights to transition during incarceration, it is necessary to consider the negative impacts this may bring to their lives and how to mitigate these risks, such as ensuring medical health providers who are trained in transgender health and endocrinology, and also safe housing options.

This raises an important question about housing-related issues for transgender prisoners. As stated earlier, while almost one third of participants live in Sensitive Needs Yards, the levels of harassment and assault indicate that they are still not protected from violence and abuse. Thus while this data may indicate an institutional attempt to mitigate the abuse against transgender prisoners, it also illustrates that placing trans* feminine prisoners in men's facilities risks their safety no matter where they are housed. Furthermore, Tsu's experience in women's prisons also indicates that trans* feminine prisoners may still be vulnerable to similar forms of mistreatment by both other inmates and correctional staff. If prisons wish to improve the lives of transgender prisoners, special LGBTQ units might be the best option to provide reprieve from mistreatment, as well as consulting with individuals themselves as to where they would feel the safest.

Having access to this data positions us to focus on approaches of advocacy through the transformative potential of self-care and empowerment, political

mobilization, and community-building. This is crucial, as the main focus of the current body of research has sought to support transgender prisoners by advocating for the change of institutional policies. While this is important, such issues of housing and access to hormones are clearly complicated and need to be treated with care, not merely overhauled without weighing the benefits and consequences to various solutions. Furthermore, due to the length of time it takes to alter prison law in each state, the difficulty in creating and approving gender-affirmative policies, and the challenge of sensitizing correctional staff across the United States, this ambitious focus on institutional solutions forgets to address the more immediate care that transgender prisoners need.

My research presents the dire situation that incarcerated trans* feminine individuals face in men's correctional facilities across the country. It has identified a nation-wide problem of severe mistreatment and trauma that disproportionately targets trans* feminine prisoners. Having this knowledge on the detailed mistreatment they face and its dangerous emotional and physical repercussions indicates that while it is important to push for changes in institutional policies regarding transgender prisoners, we must also find more practical tools to support incarcerated transgender individuals. One potential form of advocacy can be through the encouragement of community support and contact between inside and outside trans* and queer people. As my results suggested, having supportive and understanding relationships between trans* people on the inside and outside can counter the isolation, humiliation, and dehumanization that is felt by the mistreatment that trans* feminine individuals face in prison. These relationships can cultivate the emotional capacity for feelings of hope, love, and happiness, nurturing the necessary environment to foster these hopeful imaginations.

By identifying the ways in which self-care can be exercised for incarcerated trans* feminine individuals, we can examine transformative models of community support that undermine institutional domination and oppression. As Ahmed (2010a) writes, "…it is the very exposure of…unhappy effects that is affirmative, that gives us an alternative set of imaginings of what might count as a good or better life. If injustice does have unhappy effects, then the story does not end there. Unhappiness is not our endpoint" (50). Ahmed's above assertion is significant as it moves us from totalizing trans* feminine prisoners as solely victims of abuse and trauma. It is clear that there are ways in which trans* feminine prisoners and their advocates can mobilize to challenge the treatment they face in prison and the various institutional and social trauma they endure.

However, we must not lose sight of the clear epidemic of transphobic violence in prisons across the United States. As stated earlier, my research validates and supports the claims of a severe, nation-wide problem of violence against incarcerated trans* feminine individuals. Political mobility must surely retain an outlook on this larger scope of institutional and interpersonal violence against transgender prisoners if advocates wish to mitigate the harm they face. Perhaps if these larger, institutionally-focused approaches can be combined with a simultaneous empowerment and community-support of trans* prisoners who face this daily violence, we can empower, encourage, and bolster queer political mobility from both inside and outside the prison walls.

Lastly, this work expands the geographic imagination and current explorations of transgender lives, gendered spaces, and concepts of gender and heteronormativity. It adds detailed accounts to transgender geographic literature of transgender prisoners' experiences of carceral social and institutional space, and also reflects a material

theoretical focus within a queer theory and queer geographical framework. Gathering such information regarding queer trauma turns geographic inquiries towards certain affective states of the mind, body, and heart, while looking into the lives and realities of those who manage to survive deeply sewn mechanisms of institutional and societal violence. Gathering such data and exposing the voices of those who have been so silenced has profound political potential, and the solidarity that accumulates by bearing witness to these stories is powerful. Such an exploration, then, positions transgender geographic work to "stand in political resistance with the oppressed, ready to offer our ways of seeing and theorizing, of making culture, towards that revolutionary effort which seeks to create space where there is unlimited access to the pleasure and power of knowing, where transformation is possible" (bell hooks, 1989, 203).

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APPENDIX A: CHARTS FROM RESULTS

Figure A1: Instances of Verbal Harassment as Reported by Participants

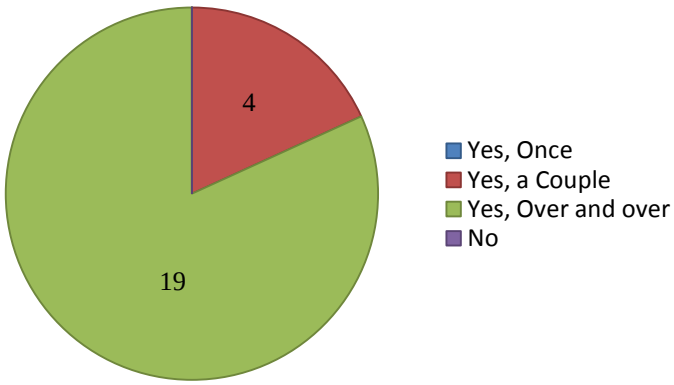


Figure A2: Instances of Sexual Harassment as Reported by Participants

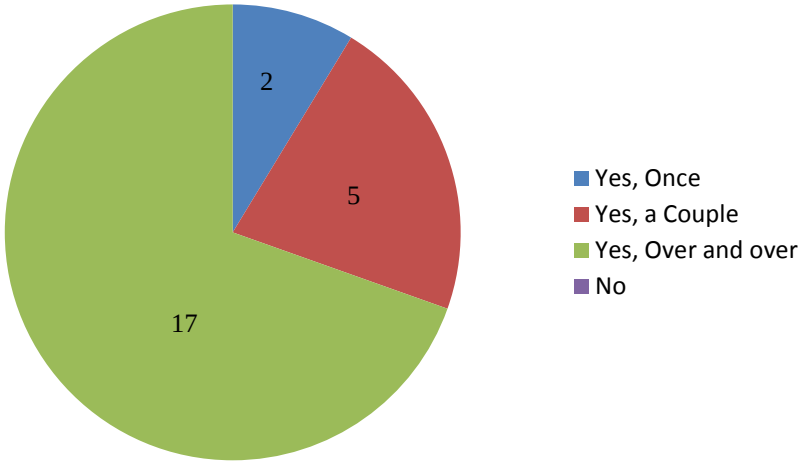
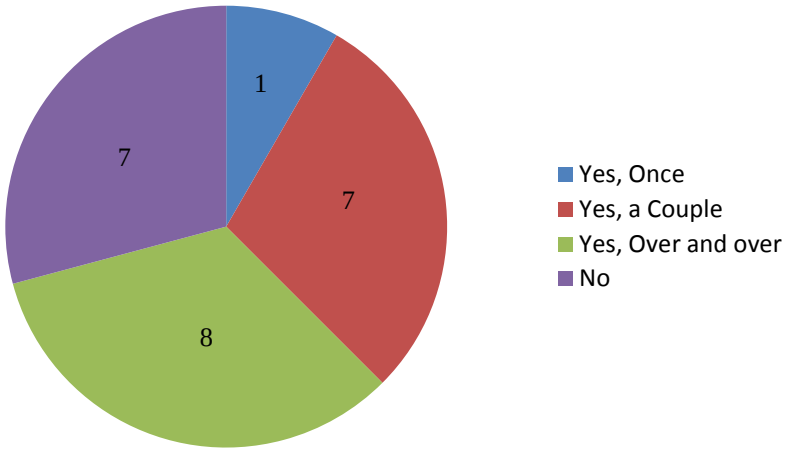


Figure A3: Instances of Forced Sexual Situations as Reported by Participants



APPENDIX B: TABLES FROM RESULTS

Figure B1: Participant Gender Identity	
Transgender	**13**
Transsexual	**8**
Woman	**7**
Genderqueer	**5**
MTF/M2F	**4**
Trans woman	**4**
Two-spirit	**3**
Femqueen	**2**
Drag Queen	**2**
Androgynous	**2**
Transvestite	**1**
Other:	"At the beginning of my trans journey" "Translesbian" "Queen" "Butch queen" "I'm not sure"

Figure B2: Answers to 'How long have you identified as your current gender?'
"Identified, since I was 9. Expressed, about three years. Well, I expressed for a couple years before incarceration (14-16), then stopped until I was 29; when I started expressing again." Jessica H
"Since I was very young about 4yrs old" Jessica B
"I have been a transwoman since I was 15 years old I've been gay since 8 years of age" Esmia
23 1/2 years Tammy Faye
"13 till now and Im 52" Kym
"since I was 14" Mica
"6 years str8!" Jenna
"30 years" Amanda
"20 years"
"Since I was twelve years old!!" Mark
"For as I can remember when I was 15 year old." Samantha
"all my life since birth." Promethea
"I've always known I was a girl even before I could put it into the correct words" Gina
"I have identified as a female since around the age of 9" Sean'ah
"My entire life. Since before kindergarten." Monica
"for about 20 years" Clairerissa
"Since 12, when I came out 1st as a "drag queen"." Tsu

"April 2012 was 10 yrs." Mystique
"12 years" Trisha
"20 years" Swan Lyn
"Since I was around eight or nine years old" Venus
"Age 11" Marc
"I have identified as a transgender woman for the past 16 yrs" Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B3: Answers to 'How long have you been out? Who are you out to?'
"See above. Most everyone here, to some level (some think I'm just effeminately gay, others know me as trans). On the outside, my closest family members, my spiritual advisors, and some friends." Jessica H
"I came out after high school and told my mother." Jessica B
"I've been out for 16 years I came out to my mother & grandmother" Esmia
"23 1/2 years" Tammy Faye
"Since 1992" Kym
"Not very long, the past ten years I have let a few select people know" Mica
"7 years. Everyone! Throughout the California prison system & my whole family. That's everyone I know Ive been in prison 10 years." Jenna
"28 years everyone!" Amanda
"25 years/everybody"
"Since I was 18 years old!! I'am out to the name of peaches!!" Mark
"14 year know I not out to nobody but myself." Samantha
"all my life" Promethea
"30 years (I'm 47)" Gina
"I've openly been out for approx. a year but a selected few have known that I'm a girl. One being my current partner Jenna whom is transgender - others being past cell mates I was involved with sexually." Sean'ah
"Most of my life, but not to my family and I just told the people I had sex with, but I was out in public dressed as a girl on and off from the 80s till I came to prison in 1994. I was atleast living half my life as a woman." Monica
"for about 10 years I always hid what and who I am it was always consider wrong I am out to those around me." Clairerissa
"At 12 I came 'out' as a gay drag queen. At 13 I started hormones mostly from black market, at age 14 I began to live full time as a "girl", to include school, family, etc." Tsu
"Since Sept. 2001; co's, inmates, penpals, mom, grandpa & cousins. But mom & grandpa don't like it. Yet, they still love me & one here for me. I just cant be myself around them! :(" Mystique
"20 years to everyone" Trisha
"20 years. My uncle and one of his friends when I was 16. My uncle made me the woman I am." Swan Lyn
"Since I was eight or nine" Venus
"10 years and my family still doesn't know" Marc
"I've been out for over 20yrs but I started to transition into womanhood over the past 16yrs and everone rather they want to admit it or not is aware" Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B4: Participant Ages		
35-50	**12**	**52.1%**
25-34	**5**	**21.7%**
Over 50	**3**	**13%**
Under 18	**1**	**4.3%**
19-24	**1**	**4.3%**
No Answer	**1**	**4.3%**

Figure B5: Participant race/ethnicity		
White/European	10	**43.4%**
American Indian	4	**17.3%**
Black/African American	4	**17.3%**
Bi/Multi-racial	3	**13%**
Latina/o/Hispanic	1	**4.3%**
Other:	Sicillian and Puerto Rican White with some Native American Arab-Persian mix Half Latina (Puerto Rican)/African American Mexican/White	

Figure B6: States in which Participants Live		
California	**9**	**39.1%**
Texas	**6**	**26%**
Florida	**3**	**13%**
Colorado	**2**	**8.6%**
Missouri	**1**	**4.3%**
Georgia	**1**	**4.3%**
New Mexico	**1**	**4.3%**

Figure B7: Answers to 'Where are you currently housed?'		
Ad-seg/The hole	9	**39.1%**
General Population	6	**26%**
Sensitive Needs Yard	5	**21.7%**
General Population Safe Keeping	2	**8.6%**
Level 5 Lock-Down 24/7	1	**4.3%**
Specialty Unit for GBTQ's	1	**4.3%**
Protective Custody General Population	1	**4.3%**

Figure B8: Answers to 'Were you ever placed in solitary? If yes, for how long?'		
Yes	22	**95.6%**
	"4 years. I was placed in the security housing unit for being a gay political prisoner." Esmia	
	"Yes for 14 days for having sexual intercourse with another inmate willingly, back in 1993" Tammy Faye	
	"Yes, about 17 or 18 months [for] defending myself from aggressive sexual assault." Kym	
	"Yes, several times the longest period was 28 months straight." Jenna	
	"Yes, 5 1/2 years"	
	"Yes for 180 days for my safety" Promethea	
	"Indefinitely locked-down." Monica	
	"Yes, at varying times, for varying lengths" Tsu	
	"Yes over 2 years" Venus	
	"Yes. The longest would have been 9 months"	
	"I have been in Ad. Seg. For 2 years" Swan Lyn	
	"Yes 2 years for fighting with my cell partner" Marc	
	"Multiple times within the past 16 years :(Each time has been due to my way of life and lashing out at those who aren't in agreeance. As a result of my abusive upbringing that led to incarceration I tend to approach confrontation with physical aggression." Sean'ah	
	"Yes, I currently been the hole 9 months and have been in the hole other times for no less than 6 months at a time" Trisha	
	"I'm in solitary confinement now untill I go home" Samantha	
	"Only during first coming in to prison for prossesing, about 2 months. Because I have	

	breast and could not be put in general population." Jessica B.	
	"Yes the longest being 21 months, the last time 9 months" Clairerissa	
	"Yes, in solitary, we are given 15 days per particular offense. But seg cells are solitary, as well, & I was in seg from Feb. 2004-Nov. 2008; & again (now) Nov. 2009 to the present. I was told I have to do 2yrs. case free, but everytime I come up for a line class promotion, they write me a bogus case & I have to start all over. Since Ive been in here Ive received 4 mjr. cases & was guilty of only one!----" Mystique	
	"Yes I have for years because I stabbed an inmate because he hated me because I was a homosexual!!" Mark	
	"Yes - the longest amount of time was 2 months" Gina	
	"Yes. When I was housed in general population I was place in solitary confinement for a period of 2 yrs 8 mnth. Then 9 mths and my last time 90 days. I've also served a SHU term for 10 mths." Mrs. Kittiy	
No	1	**4.3%**

Figure B9: Answers to 'When in solitary, were you ever:'		
Laughed at/Called names	19	**82.6%**
Denied access to medical treatment	14	**60.8%**
Denied access to hormones	14	**60.8%**
Physically hurt on purpose	13	**56.5%**
Groped/Felt up	11	**47.8%**
Other:	"I even got raped by a big ass white dude who was stronger than me." Jenna "Prison guards also had their turn in rape against me." Promethea "Guards attack, assault, harrass and torment me on a daily basis anywhere I'm at." Monica "I've been denied food, recreation, visits" Swan Lyn "Solitary is obviously more isolated but much more difficult since movement is controlled, property restricted, and hygienical items limited that create low self esteem (I.e. facial hair)." Sean'ah "People always asking are they "real" (breast)." Jessica B "you are treated with disrespect you tend to have personal property come up missing, pictures torn up/thrown away verbally threaten" Clairerissa "deprived of visitation rights (for 15 days)." Mystique "forced to go to protective custody and leave the general population!!" Mark "I have been spitted on, rape and made fun of by CDCR staff." Mrs. Kittiy	

Figure B10: Answers to 'When in General Population, were you ever:'		
Laughed at/Called names	23	**100%**
Groped/Felt up	16	**69.5%**
Put on display	15	**65.2%**
Physically hurt on purpose	14	**60.8%**
Denied access to hormones	14	**60.8%**
Denied access to medical treatment	10	**43.4%**
Other:	"Sexually assaulted 3 times" Jessica H "We are subjected to strip searches in the open hall way wile other inmates are present, certain places (showers, chow halls) get crowded and sometimes hands grope you." Amanda "raped" "had my commissary stolen, personal pictures taken, sold like a whore. Passed around like candy" Swan Lyn "General pop. Is more open so therefore more space to operate its also a constant battle to fend off males, over look "the looks" and ignore the whispers, cat calls, and blatant disrespect." Sean'ah "Guards always telling us that we are "men" and "crazy" for thinking that we are women." Jessica B "The state institution doesn't allow inmates to take hormones. You are ridiculed for anything other than being straight, you are called names like punk, faggot, sissy among other things" Clairerissa "Refused adequate housing; harrassed & written disciplinary cases for creating & wearing my own make up & altered commissary bought clothing; & 4 kissing my mate or holding hands/hugging, or sitting on his/her lap." Mystique "and passed around by other prisoners for other prisoners to have sex with me!" Mark "Yes while in general population I was and have been placed in harms way." Mrs. Kittiy	

Figure B11: Answers to 'If private/single occupancy facilities were available, were you allowed to access them? If yes, how did that help you? If no, why weren't you allowed to access them?
"Yes we are allowed single shower rooms but if you have a cell mate they make you shower w/ him or her they don't care if we want too or not."
"Yes because I have privacy & it's safer." Jenna
"No privacy which incites rape in showers especially by those with sex offences." Promethea
"Yes it is helpful because other inmates can't see me showering." Monica
"If I choose a 'husband' and we cell-up, its possible for us to have a cell with a shower in it, which would be private. Otherwise, the waiting list is long and 'political'. I was in a lesbian relationship once with another T/S, both us performed sexual favors and 'shows' for the guards, and during that time we were permitted an in-cell shower room." Tsu
"Although "private" it is not a private enclosure as anyone can visually look in. Not only do inmates gawk and make rude, suggestive comments but officers do as well. In general pop. The showers are not secure therefore any inmate can walk in on you - in solitary the showers are

operated manually in order to maintain controlled movement." Sean'ah
"Yes everyone is given access to single shower stalls with either curtains (solid colored) or door (without locks). It still leaves open for someone to run in on you while your in a stall. I've seen it happen plenty." Trisha
"Yes. Because it offers more privatcy" Clairerissa
"Yes, but I'm sorry, I'll be honest w/ you. I have no problem w/ public bathing as Im sorta' exhibitionistic. But I do feel uncomfortable (SOMETIMES) about having a penis & no breasts. My body doesn't fit my soul. However, maybe I am im-modest (?) but if I had breasts I'd be proud to show them off, as overall I'm comfortable w/ sexuality, I just don't like my male body." Mystique
"Yes! And it allows me to shower more feminine!! More like a girl!" Mark

Figure B12: Answers to 'In the shower/bathroom, have you ever been:			
Put on display		13	**56.5%**
Laughed at/Called names		12	**52.1%**
Groped/Felt up		12	**52.1%**
Physically hurt on purpose		4	**17.3%**
None		2	**8.6%**
Other:	"Though our showers are single occupancy, they only have half doors… any one going up the staircase can look in. Additionally, they are connected to the wing, which has given a person an opportunity to run in on me." Jessica H "Sometimes the officers do not come into the shower area and the other inmates more often than not look the other way when inmates feel and grope on you." Amanda "gang-raped as well" Promethea "Raped!" "Typical inmates wanting to see breasts, butts, or demean you by commenting on your genital area." Sean'ah "Sexually harassed" Trisha "When leaving our wing to go to showers, they will make us walk only in boxers down the hall so they can see our breast" Jessica B "when I've had to shower in a "group shower" guys tend to act like perverts and think just because I think of myself as female it's ok to show me there penis and masterbate while looking at me." Clairerissa "Propositioned…shit, yeah whatever! Like I'm gonna "perform" (4 free) in a shower?! I'm far from a slut/whore. I'm just a freak & proud of myself/beauty & prowess. But I respect myself!!" Mystique "We r put on display because they r open shower with an bar door that enclose you!" Mrs. Kittiy		

Figure B13: Answers to 'Given your gender identity, do you feel like you live in appropriate housing?'		
No	17	**73.9%**
	"No I don't feel my housing situation is good cause the cop's mess with me so much cause I dress like a women and the sweat me all the time." Esmia	
	"No because Im a transgender woman living in an all or predominantly male society it's rough and most majority of them are insensative & homophobic & mean." Jenna	
	"No, but it's eather here or solitary. It's hard for us to be who we are, we can't express ourselves. But safe keeping is the safiest place for us" Amanda	
	"No. I just feel I would be much better off in a womens facility."	
	"No, because there are alternative housing units for transgender people but I'm not allowed release from lock0down because I would have access to visits and phonecalls and I would get prison officials investigated. There are housing units in Hobb New Mexico that are used for transgender inmates but they are level 3 units not lock-down. There are PCU/Multi units with dorms that would be better than 2-man cells and lock-down cells for people like myself." Monica	
	"No, twice I was actually housed in female facilities. The treatment there, overall, was better, but still not ideal because I'm "post-op" (a term I consider oxymoron as I've had 20 operations). They did not trust me around the female inmates so I stayed in solitary. Female inmates, consequently, did their own teasing of me & another TS, but more humourously then abusively, because I have lived & identified as female, full-time, since age 14. For me to be in a male facility is extremely depressing & dangerous, most times." Tsu	
	"Well no because there is lack of supplys like soap toilet paper and cold food worn out of dirty smelly clothes" Venus	
	"no. no one has the capibility to house transgenders" Mica	
	"I don't believe as a transgender I'm in appropriate housing! Theres a pattern of violence towards transgenders and transgenders against potential aggressors. Placing us in environments that obviously incite inmates to lash out sexually or to "gay bash" is a failure to protect." Sean'ah	
	"I have breast and was placed in G.P. Come On! That is tantamount to throwing a bitch in heat in a kennel. In the free world I enjoy the attention. In prison attention is not a good thing." Swan Lyn	
	"No. In the United States Penitentiary System, queer/trans inmates are mostly told to leave the yard or a jumped off the yard. Due to yards heavy population of gangs called "cars" regardless of whether you choose to or not you considered part of a "car". These are divided by race and then sub-divided to other "sets" This type of environment breeds a type of politics. Most races will not queers/trans walk the yard. Usally blacks are the most tollerable of all the races. Whites being the least tollerable. Those allowed to stay on a yard are frequently "pimped out", extored and made to provide sex to stay. Here's an example. At a pen in Florida a Mexican girl came to the yard. She was incorperated into a certain Mexican gang. On the Block (Housing Unit) she lived on she was told that if she wanted to stay on the yard she had to let the members of that gang on that block run a train on her, and that she had to provide sex on demand for any member. There were 8 members circled up around her at this time.	

	She was scared and complied to their first demand. After it was over she promptly checked into protective custody, which in all pens is the hole. The F.B.O.P does not acknowledge being queer or trans as being a reason for protection or segregation you are only considered what race you dispite the fact that your race does not accept you because you are queer/trans. There are 2 penitentiary yards where there are a car of queers/girls, but neither number over 30 and one of them is the above mentioned pen in Florida. And there are many who can't even make it to either of these yards. Clearly something has to be done!" Trisha	
	"My identity is a male homosexualy but I go by a girl know because I do all the girl stuff ok. And no I feel I should alone in general population not like up for 23 hours a day because it more freedom in general population they denied me my freedom to move around." Samantha	
	"no, because I identify with being female. I am not allowed to express myself as so. I would like to be on hormones but am not allowed access to such things. I feel if I were treated like the women I am and were allowed to be as I am and placed as one I could better be myself." Clairerissa	
	"Shit no! See, I can't even sue for hormones etc. b/c I wasn't on them in the free world. But that's b/c I didn't know what I was experiencing out there or what to call it. And I was in the closet b/c I was raised in a conservative Christian home where that shit would've been utterly frowned upon. Plus, back then I was never into men/dick (but anal stim) & I loved, adore, worship women! But I want to be female (I feel like a female soul trapped in a damn male body) & need hormones, sex change & transfer to female unit, cuz I am treated VERY bad by males. I hate them & I cant adjust in here! Even after 13+ yrs" Mystique	
	"No I do not because I feel like I am a women in a mans body!! And feel that I belong in a prison of people like myself!! Transgender MTF or drag-queen!" Mark	
	"No. Currently I'm being housed in a open bay dorm with Public Restrooms and showers. It is a very difficult situation. I'm not comfortable and most of the 91 men I must live with aren't comfortable with the situation. There was a time I lived in a dorm with single cells and private showers. Which was the best situation I had ever lived in, in my 13 years in prison but unfortunately that dorm was closed." Gina	
	"No. I don't feel that I am living in the appropriate sisuation at times. But when you r able to be treated with respect in accordance to the gender identity with other transwoman than yes my living situation is appropriate." Mrs. Kittiy	
Yes	2	**8.6%**
	"Here, it isn't so much a matter of appropriateness as a simple matter of lack of alternatives. I understand the concern of putting transwomen in a female prison, I understand the dangers of us being in male prisons, I understand the budget restraints of our own prison...and most states option of ad-seg for your own good" may protect the body; but, is by no means good for our minds. So, I gues I would say yes, its appropriate, given the circumstance." – Jessica H.	
	"Yes. Why FTM or MTF should not be placed in a setting where they will get hurt and being around those who don't like those who chose the identity they feel they are. FTM are really targeted especially if they look like girls closely and real pretty." Promethea	
Neither	1	**4.3%**

	"Being in safekeeping is ok. But you still have some inmates that don't quiet understand you, so they think you are just another "gay male" with breast. But I really do not identify with anyone here since I am the only transsexual on this unit. Thank God that I am a very strong person physcologically." Jessica B

Figure B14: Answers to 'Can you tell me about any positive experiences you've had during your incarceration that are related to your gender?'
"I have had many positive experiences while I have been incarcerated; but, in al of those situations, my gender was irrelevant to the experiences (not hidden, but simply a non-issue). As I understand the question to be focused on positive experiences related to being trans..I will leave it at that." Jessica H
"The only thing is I've learned not to commit any more crimes, because this is no place for transgendered people." Jessica B
"I actually have accomplish on getting all transgenders who are indigent bra's and sport's bras also I've made it to were we can buy them and get the state to give it to us free." Esmia
"Finding a black man that cares about me and looks upon as his wife an love of his life and wants me to go thru with the sex change once we are release. We have been together in a relationship since April 24, 2005, he is the longest relationship I have had since I've been in prison and we have been going from prison to prison trying to get together with each since the prison staff transfer him from me." Tammy Faye
"Meeting this lady staff psyghologes she is the one person that saved my life and the reason why I am alive today she is a living angle" Kym
"Other than getting plugged in with a couple outside support groups like P.C.P. um no." Mica
"I fell in love with another transgender while in prison and after so many bad experiences with men I gave up and discovered Im a lesbian. When my Dad & Mom came to visit me for the first time after 8 years of no contact." Jenna
"Meeting people like myself and knowing that I'm not alone in this struggle, also finding out there are people on the outside who care!" Amanda
"I just got my first job assignment as a porter in my building after 10 years!"
"Yes I have experienced the best of both worlds and the worst of both worlds and threw that knowledge and wisdom I give it to the gay community and God!!" Mark
"Well an officer help me in good way and it stop me for get beat up by a inmate" Samantha
"I met one TG who I talk to who is nice to me and help me get things." Promethea
"People willingness to learn and to be educated in regards to the transgender community: Education is key to understanding and acceptance." Gina
"The most positive experience for me has been meeting my girlfriend Jenna and coming to the realization that my happiness and comfort lyes in her hands. She has taught me a lot and is a positive force in my life. We create our own positive experiences and in order to do that I eliminate the negative aspects." Sean'ah
"No" Monica
"I found love twice it made me realize who and what I am" Clairerissa
"As I said, it varies its not all doom and gloom, I.e. I was in fact living in New York, Atlanta, Miami, Cali, that had large numbers of "out" GLBTQs. In those facilities, myself and other GLBTQs were treated with mass respect, etc. I entered consensual relationships that I absolutely enjoyed. I went to peaceful every night & woke up eager to face the next day. Unfortunately, those are temporary housing

facilities. Indeed, it took trauma & drama, at regular prisons, for me to end up in those metro settings, each time. My current situation is not so bad. This is a special program set up for GLBTQ's. So we're dominant here, as stated. I'm currently in a lesbian relationship with another TS. At any other prison the only way that would happen is as part of a forced "freak show", by either other inmates or prison guards, which some times they charge a fee to watch. Generally, I get along well with female staff, and formed a "really close" sistahood with some of them. They bring me extra make up, jewelry, thongs, bra's, stiletto's, etc., and do their best to keep me out of dangerous situations. Off and on, throughout my time, I've organized GBTQ groups in prison for STD/AIDS awareness, how to avoid violence, and how to file for better rights. I've been an activist since 14 on GLBTQ issues, so I came prison with an established track record. I'm able to do 3 classes, 4 times a week here, which is good. I also aspire to do journalism, and the peaceful setting has allowed me to get many writings done." Tsu
"Um…none, really. Except that there are some guys who love the kids/children's, or queens/gay boys, & have no complexes about helping/taking care of you financially, or otherwise. That's nice. Unfortunately, these cats are usually possessive, control-freaks, insecure, jealous - always accusing you of doing shit you're not. It gets tired." Mystique
"Yes. Meeting my partner is the only positive experience I've had. The last place I expected to fall in love was in a prison. But, he is a great guy who loves me treats me like a queen and is often romantic." Trisha
"I am free of drug addiction. My mind is clear. I am disease free and healthy. Albeit, horny." Swan Lyn
"Yes I'm writing a book" Venus
"I've meet some really good transwoman while being in prison or some positive men." Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B15: Answers to 'During your incarceration, have you ever been:'		
Forced to cut your nails	22	**95.6%**
Not allowed to wear bras/women's underwear	21	**91.3%**
Not allowed to wear makeup	21	**91.3%**
Forced to cut your hair	19	**82.6%**
Other:	"Simply put, expression is not allowed." Jessica H "C/O's act weird when I walk and talk like a woman. They cuss me out call me fag's, queer's, etc." Esmia "told to walk normal Talk normal etc…" Jenna "Still not allowed a bra, and none of us get makeup" "I refuse to cut my hair" Monica "Not allowed to shave my legs. No binding to keep my penis in place" Swan Lyn "All the above - recently the courts ordered the system to stop forcing us to cut our hair and we now get sports bras" Sean'ah "Nothing that resembles female." Jessica B "your not allowed to sit and pee." Clairerissa "This stuff is most hard to beam! Not having breasts/vagina & being forced to live in male facility would be bearable for me if I at least could do those 4 aforementioned things!!! But I cant sue for this b/c they'll take $350.00 of my $ & I still may lose suit." Mystique "yes to all your questions and it hurts to answer these questions truthfully!" Mark "There has been times I was sent back to the dorm to wash my face or sent to have my hair cut. But over all I have been very blessed compared to a lot of girls I have met in the system. Being a big girl has helped me. Being 6 feet tall and heavy with it has	

	keep alot of staff and other inmates out my face. There will always be those one or two idiots who say, "you need to talk like a man or walk like a man or act like a man". Times like that I just shake my head and go about my busy. I have no time for ignorance." Gina "Yes currently we r not allowed any of the above things from wear bras/make-up" Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B16: Answers to 'Expressing myself as female or feminine has subjected me to being:'		
Laughed at/Called names	22	**95.6%**
Sexual harassment	22	**95.6%**
Threatened	20	**86.9%**
Put on display	19	**82.6%**
Physically hurt	15	**65.2%**
Sexual abuse	14	**60.8%**
Other:	"Rape." Jessica H "It hurts inside when people make fun of me or threaten to beat me up or stab me if I don't get away from them." Tammy Faye "not realy able to trust anyone or have a normal friendship with other inmates because in time all have revealed perverted hidden agendas or sexual motivations that make me back up and stay to myself and in general lead a very lonely life." Jenna "Prison guards and officials won't only engage in all of the above and encourage each other and inmates to do the same. The guards instigate and initiate nearly all of these types of actions and behavior against GLBT People." Monica "denied food, entertainment (TV, radio, books)" Swan Lyn "All typical consequences of being subjected to living amongst sexual deviants as a transgender girl." Sean'ah "Basically being seen/treat as a ho/sissy/coward/pussy; expected to be seen & not heard (basically the same way sexist/chauvinist pigs/males treat females). We are expected to be submissive, passive, quiet, & perform on demand. I'll be god damned." Mystique "You will experience all of the above as a trans-woman that is being held in a male prison." Mrs. Kittiy	

Figure B17: Hormones

	On hormones prior to incarceration		Able to continue taking hormones	
Yes	5	**20.8%**	8	**44.4%**
	"10 years" "Since age 14" "Over 20 years" Jessica B "10 years" Gina		"I feel more feminine, I have a lot of feminine features, & my breasts are getting big so it makes me real happy I feel totally like a woman." Esmia	
No	13	**54.1%**	7	**38.8%**
			"I will never be able to truly be myself (unable to start treatment). In many ways, its been the only sense of imprisonment I have felt my whole life…free to improve myself, become a good human being…just as long as that human being isn't female." Jessica H. "By most "straight" people you are looked at as a freak. Others just harass you, --- lewd comments etc. From both staff and inmates." Trisha "I am battling with them now even though their policy says they have to give them to me, they refuse." Jessica B.	
On/Off	6	**26%**	3	**13%**
	"Off and on since I was 18" Swan Lyn "3 years until I ran out of money" Marc "Off and on for 12 years" Trisha "About one year!!" Mark		"They passed a new law/regulation, all fed inmates that identify as tg/ts and want them can get them now." Tsu "Black market" Marc "I'm currently on hormone treatments and have been for approx. a year" Sean'ah	

Answers to 'How do you think the physical changes from hormones (having breasts or more feminine features, for example) impact how you are treated?

"I have breast implants a E-cup. I am an oddity. An object of lust, hatred, and desire by both guards and inmates. In no way am I treated as others." Swan Lyn

"Well, in a male prison I'd just become more of a sex object & freak of nature - I'd be a commodity. Only I could use it to my advantage - at least w/ inmates (& some officers). Transwomen w/ breast etc do offen get more privileges. But they also suffer more abuse sometimes. It just depends." Mystique

"I'am treated better at the lower level prison and much more meaner at the higher level prisons and I have been in a level four prison all of my prison time!!" Mark

"Its two pronged: on one hand we're treated softly" but on the other those who despice and don't understand (or want to understand) the lifestyle - they treat us pretty harshly and make attempts to bully and mistreat us. I encounter a lot of dudes who want the experience of being involved with a transgender girl so therefore they treat me "womanly". Once I resist their advances then they show their true selves with aggression and rudeness." Sean'ah

"Really dont understand the question I dont care rather I have breast or feminine features just the fact that I identify as a transwoman I'm treated different rather if I had breast or nut" Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B18: Answers to 'If you weren't able to continue (or start) taking hormones while incarcerated, how did this impact your life and how you felt? (for example, mental and physical health, emotions, etc.)'
"If I haven't been able I would have a lot of night sweat's being emotional, & depressed." Esmia
"I never taken hormones before coming to prison, but I do look forward to taking hormones once I am release onto parole. My mental state was already screw up from childhood having to hide my sexuality from my father; emotions and mentally the relief of being my true self out into the open is so up lifting." Tammy Faye
"I'm depressed most of the time, not being able to express my true self and still being in the wrong body, not being comfortable in my appearance. I have crying fits often for no reason, and I forgo eating so I won't have to be around other people because I'm ashamed of my looks." Amanda
"Mentally, I feel homidical and suicidal for the most part. Emotionally I'm always planning to kill people and I don't like people at all anymore, and physically I am so far under weight that any kind of weight-gainer, such as hormones would help my body feel better. The combination of treatment or 'mistreatment', oppression, denial of rights and retaliation, and the amount of time it has been happening is probably, or already has caused irreversable harm that will result in deaths, murders, or some kind of harm to people in society when I'm released soon. Maybe hormone therapy would change that and maybe I also developed post traumatic stress disorder like my older brother did before he left this prison system from the same lock-down in Santa Fe. I just know I'm unable to experience my other emotions except hate and rage." Monica
"Thank God I was able to receive my hormones." Jenna
"I am an UGLY woman with a red beard and big bouncy balls. I am not who I was when I was locked up." Swan Lyn
"Its absolutely terrible and miserable. For many years I hid the female and because of depriving myself of the beauty and freedom I lashed out hurting others. The facial hair became part of my mask - big baggy clothes hid my form - without hormone treatments I hated myself, my features, etc... I became deeply depressed and contemplated suicide multiple times." Sean'ah
"Initially it was tough. My emotions were out of whack. I became depressed regressed." Trisha
"You tend to get depressed because you see your body reversing to what you don't want to be. My breast have become somewhat hard and my features are not like I would want them to be on hormones. Everything that I have worked for so I can have surgery has gone down the drain." Jessica B.
"It is rough I feel if I were able to start I would feel more complete by the strains of that is put upon me it makes it hard to be who and what I am. It is exasting trying to pretent to be something I am not." Clairerissa
"It bothers me bad, because I'm uncomfortable in my hairy ass male body & I feel like an alien in my body. I'm not happy w/ my race (white) or birth sex (male) I can't even get psych dept. to ANSWER my requests for a Gender Identity Eval. Besides, they wouldn't be honest if I do have GID b/c it wouldn't be in their best interest. I could use that diagnosis against them to possibly receive hormones, make up, grow hair etc if I suit (sue)?" Mystique
"if I couldn't continue taking hormones while incarcerated I would go threw mental and physical emotions that would break my spirit and my soul! For a good or bad thing I do not know? But I think that it would be worst!!!" Mark

Figure B19: Answers to 'In what ways do you try to express your gender while incarcerated?'
"Out of cell I have very little expression, I mostly conform. I do shave my body, have long hair I wear effeminately; but, that is the extent of it (more than that would get me in trouble). In the cell I can dress effeminately, speak effeminately…basically expres my gender as best as I am able." Jessica H.
"I dress, act, walk, and talk/live like a woman. I do have my partner which we are sexually active w/ each other." Esmia
"My female name is Kym, Im on hormones and I make up my face daily and act woman as much as possible and I wouldn't feel any other way." Kym
"I wear tighter fitting clothes feminine hair styles arched eyebrows pink tattooed lips permanently & I have a realy feminine body as well as my personality is very chic." Jenna
"Having a lot of older sisters, I am very feminine."
"we and I can use makeup and I always have pig tails tied with ribbons." Promethea
"In my particular situation, because of my outward appearance, it is rather obvious for my 'expression'. I'm extremaly curvy & feminine to say the least shaped like Kim Kardashian/Serena Williams, so my expression is a 'constant'. Additionally, I'm very talented with a sewing needle & sewing machine, and feminize all of my clothing. Recent court decisions have allowed us to possess unlimited amounts of make-up & feminine attire consistent with what female inmates are permitted, but it use to be bad." Tsu
"I am a woman. Hear me roar!" Swan Lyn
"I am a person who is not ashamed to be me. I am gay so what." Marc
"Expressing my gender is a natural order for me although I do wear more form fitting clothing - fix up my hair in feminine ways - and carry myself as a lady. Because we're oppressed so much I do make a conscious effort not to upset others though. Although make-up is forbidden I do still wear it but moderately." Sean'ah
"I wear make-up that are made of pastels. I paint my toenails usally with ink or acrillic paint. I make my own panties/thongs. I redesign my pants to be tight and low-cut." Trisha
"I try to be up front with everybody about the way I'm." Samantha
"By drawing on eyebrows, and a little eyeliner, wearing homemade panties (wich are against the rules here) only answering by my female name." Amanda
"1. By styling my hair in a more girly way. (short hair) 2. Keeping my eyebrows arched and neat. We are not allowed to have bra's even though we have BREAST. We can't do to much or we will be harrased by officers in the hallways." Jessica B.
"It is very hard to express myself. If I am caught wearing panties I am locked in confinement. When I can I keep my body shaved and smooth I do my eyebrows other then that you will be locked up in confinement." Clairerissa
"Shaving my hairy assed body; making & wearing my own makeup items out of various hygenic/art/&or cleaning supplies; altering & wearing cute little undergarments & rec. clothing bought w/ my $ out of commissary; arching/lining eyebrows/eyes. But all this is subject to disciplinary & confiscation.I'm refused things like access to chow, churdy, layins etc (int of seg) unless I wipe the make up off; & I'm not allowed to grow my hair out like I yearn to!" Mystique

"Actually I try to down play being a women in a man's prison. Which is impossible because I'm a big girl, I'm 6 feet tall and have 48" DD breast. For the last five years the institution medical department has issued me minimized sport bras. However they don't hide anything. I still stand out like a elephant in a herd of horses. :) I've been down for 13 years the first institution I was sent to was one of the worse prisons in the state of Florida. When I got off the bus I told myself I was going to be the woman that I am. I would wear make and fix my short hair cut as feminine as possible. Which didn't make my life any easier. Over the years I've learned what and who I am can never be taken from me because it comes from within. My femininity is my spirit. So today I no longer wear make up or go overboard with fixing my hair. One thing I'm always going to do is shave my under arms and legs. I can't deal with being hairy :). O, and I arch my eyebrows." Gina
"My looks alone express my gender identity but I carry my self according 2 the way I am and identifiyed with. I also express myself through my dressing an hair styles." Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B20: Types and perpetrators of abuse

	Yes		By one inmate		By group of inmates		By one staff		By group of staff		Rate of Intervention	
Verbal Harassment	22	**95.6%**	10	**45.4%**	16	**72.2%**	8	**36.3%**	15	**68.1%**	21	**4.6%**
Sexual Harassment	23	**100%**	13	**56.5%**	15	**65.2%**	8	**34.7%**	12	**52.1%**	20	**9.1%**
Forced Sex	17	**69.5%**	8	**50%**	6	**37.5%**	3	**18.7%**	4	**25%**	**7**	**53.6%**

*One participant could not answer these questions due to fear of retaliation, but included a written testimony in her questionnaire

Figure B21: Answers to 'Do you feel that being transgender makes you more likely to experience harassment and/or violence? Why?'		
Yes	23	**100%**
"Yes. I am in a maximum security prison, with many offenders who have "issues". In those individuals eyes, women are sexual objects. I fall into that category for them, they think that I should just have sex with them cause, well I'm a girl and they want it. At the same time, as I believe this is related, I am so tired of seeing this blamed on pornography in prisons...like I wouldn't have been raped if there wasn't playboy. That is so offensive. I was raped because there were individuals in need of psychotherapy, not because they were over stimulated sexually (in fact, my prison is very restrictive about sexual material, which I think contributes to the problem." Jessica H		
"Yes, I think it's mostly because of ignorance and a lack of education or simply don't understand us. Afraid of the unknown." Jessica B		
"Yes, being transgender it causes all types of violence and/or harrassment but we have to take it cause we will never win" Esmia		
"Yes just being different makes it more likely to experience harassment and sometimes violence, it comes to people like us more for we are look upon as weak easy targets within the prison system." Tammy Faye		

"Yes because they see us as weak people and because we are bearded women" Kym
"Yes. We are seen as week and as prey." Mica
"Yes because were viewed as potential prey for sex and to rob, because were viewed as being week because we look like woman that makes the male inmates who are allready horny and missing theyre wives & girlfriends consider us for sexual release and they become aggressive in pursuing us. Sometimes every by any means necessary." Jenna
"Yes, because the lack of understanding of what our lives are like with our inner struggles." Amanda
"Yes, inmates look at me as someone to be used and thrown away and the officers think I'm their personal play toy."
"Yes!! Because of a lack of understanding threw the educational department here in prison!" Mark
"I said yes and no it just what it inmate you on lock up around and how they feel about you being out." Samantha
"cos I look like a girl naturally." Promethea
"Yes, No woman would be safe in a male prison. If the female staff aren't off limits, a transgender one in there population doesn't stand a chance" Gina
"Yes! We're perceived as those who are supposed to be non-combative or confrontational so people think they can get away with more with us as opposed to someone who will immediately fight. Theres a general consensus that transgenders aren't supposed to stand up against those who try to take advantage of you - but I'm still at a risk." Sean'ah
"Yes, due to the encouragement of "skinhead" type of behavior instigated and initiated by the government, police, prison and jail administrators, wardens and employees." Monica
"yes because a person in here think it makes you weak so you are pray to them." Clairerissa
"Absolutely, not proven, tested or researched yet, but it "may" be for the same reasons that bio-women are more like to experience harassment/violence. Once we become a member of the so-called "weaker" sex, or "secondary" sex, we get treated like one. When I was still able to go back & forth as a "man" in society, the treatment was different" Tsu
"Yes, definitely. B/c we are seen as easy targets; weaker; incapable of defending ourselves (which guys-abusers-often learn the hard way isn't the case w/ all of us :)). Also, b/c staff often accomodates abusers b/c of their own biases/phobia's/prejudices toward us." Mystique
"Every man thinks you want to have sex with them and reacts with hostility or tries to move on you." Trisha
"Hell yes. Because I am a woman and man. I feel it confuses the hard dicks in here. The red neck bosses have never been around anything like me. So it is true that we fear the unknown. Besides, I make these guys question their sexuality. "what would it be like" they must ask themselves." Swan Lyn
"Not transgender." Venus
"Yes its expect." Marc
"Yes. Due to the lack of education and understanding ppl have when it comes to be a transgender. A lot of staff and imnate never or rearly seen or meet a transwoman so what they don't understand the treat bad." Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B22: Answers to 'Who has visited you?'		
Family	12	**52.1%**
	"2x in 10 years" "Only a few times in the past 13 years no body has visited"	
No one	8	**34.7%**
Friends	6	**26%**
Faith-based organizations	5	**21.7%**
Former inmates	2	**8.6%**
Partner(s)	2	**8.6%**
Community organizers/advocates	1	**4.3%**
Social service providers	1	**4.3%**
Other	Lawyer (1) Attorneys (1)	

Figure B23: Answers to 'Have you had phone contact with people on the outside?'		
Yes	17	**73.9%**
No	6	**26%**

Figure B24: Answers to 'Who have you gotten mail from?'		
Family	19	**82.6%**
Community organizers/advocates	15	**65.2%**
Friends	14	**60.8%**
Partner(s)	7	**30.4%**
Faith-based organizations	7	**30.4%**
Former inmates	5	**21.7%**
Social service providers	3	**13%**
No one	1	**4.3%**
Other	Inmates in prison from other states (2) Attorneys (2)	

Figure B25: Answers to 'Have you formed relationships with other inmates during your incarceration?'		
Yes	18	**78.2%**
No	5	**21.7%**

Figure B26: Answers to 'Have you been in touch with other transgender, LGB, or other supportive people while locked up?'		
Yes	15	**83.3%**
No	3	**16.6%**
"I don't really talk to them much either I'm a bit antisocial. Less people less problems." Promethea		
"My GLBTQ friends are the only reason I'm still alive. In some cases, prison rules make it hard to stay in touch though. Nothing can defeat support and solidarity in the long run." Tsu		
"I couldn't have made it without you all." Mica		
"In prison all gays know each other know one messes with my sisters were family" Marc		
"I've been "in touch" with others only in prison - never from those in the civilized world. Contact with you is my first experience :)" Sean'ah		
"It helps me feel less isolated. Gives me hope" Trisha		
"I was good to have some one talk in a way you can't talk to know body else." Samantha		
"it's nice to hear from other girls like me so we can share our experiences. I would love to hear from more, I always welcome letters." Jessica B.		
"OMG! In the most positive way! Through such people, groups & orgs. I've come to better understand & appreciate my self, sex, gender expression; I've been further inspired/encouraged to "be proud" & feel better about myself. I've been given a sense of value & purpose thru engaging in activism & organization. Being stuck in administrative segregation has hindered much of my desires/organization efforts, & efforts to counsel/support others of my LGBTQ sisters/brothers. But being in contact w/ other LGBTQ people & orgs has helped me tremendously & made me feel less lonely, & forgotten; & more useful & needed." Mystique		
"it helps out a lot both mentally and physically to be with your own kind!! In the same prison!!" Mark		
"It has been very positive. It is a wonderful feeling to know there are people out there who truly care." Gina		
"It was very positive when they stay in touch." Mrs. Kittiy		

Figure B27: Answers to 'How do you think having access to a transgender community might change your experience of being incarcerated?'
"You could get a book as an answer to this question. I spent the majority of my life feeling like a freak, like I was alone. I accepted that, and learned to be comfortable with it; but, after having friends in the LGBT community, I really started to feel like I might not be alone in this journey of life after all. One of the best things a relatively new transfriend (F2M) did for me was send me a copy of the book Sexual Metamorphisis. I could read other peoples stories, and see, identify with them. It realy made me happy to be who I am. For probably the first time in my life, I started to love myself." Jessica H
"it would make things a little easier, so if we need help socially or legally someone might be able to help with resources." Jessica B
"Cause you'll be able to open up and keep safe things between the two of you." Esmia
"A transgender community can be supportive to those incarcerated and to let those of us know we have a vioce on the outside." Tammy Faye
"Because then I wouldn't feel being myself is a crime in other peoples eyes they hate us for who we are" Kym
"It showed me support and let me someone actually cared" Mica
"It would give me a sense of belonging to people I could identify & relate with and make me more comfortable because I would be able to use my energys on writing & building & maintaining healthy relationships with people on the outside that are like me instead of wasteing my time on these people in here who only want to fuck me or use me for something." Jenna
"Just having a friendly voice of support, and people who understand what you are going through inside of yourself." Amanda
"To have someone who can relate to the things I am feeling."
"it would make me less violent both mentally and physically and get me from a level four prison too a level one prison!!" Mark
"I think it would help us see a better side of people and not want hide and like and people in a better light." Samantha
"It don't much cos they have their own dramas" Promethea
"To know that there are people on the outside just like you, who can understand and they care" Gina
"It allows me to express myself without being shunned and it helps me to hear what others have experienced or are experiencing. Nobody wants to be alone and ignored." Sean'ah
"Not much." Monica
"It probably would not, but it would open the door to understanding me better I feel ashamed to be as I am at times its hard to feel ok when you don't have anybody to talk to." Clairerissa
"Nothing can defeat support and solidarity in the long run." Tsu
"As for having a trans or LGBTQ community in the free world "adopting" you, it would be great for mail, support & helping you to feel you "belong" somewhere. I need/yearn for a trans/LGBTQ community/family to embrace me & belong to!" Mystique
"A trans community will provide emotional/mental support. Having someone on the outside to push issues of harassment or lack of care helps for better results. It bring issue to light and makes people accountable." Trisha
"All I have is this noise in my head. Perhaps if I could get involved with the community I can focus on things other than myself. I am fed up with myself! I never knew I was so boreing." Swan Lyn
"it will make me feel happy and less lonely" Venus
"Great to think I am not alone writing letters and staying in touch with family allways helps." Marc
"It's a support network that I needed." Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B28: Answers to 'What do you think are the biggest challenges to being transgender in prison?'
"Expression repression. I feel like a beautiful girl inside; but, have to continue to look like a plain man outside. Along with that goes the lack of opportunity to progress with transitioning. A distant third to those two really is dealing with predators." Jessica H.
"We have to watch our back's" Esmia
"…being look upon as a human being not as a sex object or something to take one anger out upon." Tammy Faye
"Survival I've been cut in the face stabbed in the head & chest chocked out till I blacked out with a sheet like 3x in a row beat up severely in the cell raped in the cell & jumped on the yard. Just to keep my head up and feet forward is one of the biggest challenges for me sometimes I just want to give up because it's hell to live like this." Jenna
"Being around and dealing with people who are ignorant and have no idea what we go through with being a transsexual/transgender, genderqueer and what we deal with internally." Amanda
"Overcoming the negative stereotypes most people have about transgenders."
"Survival."
"If you're MTF and housed in an all-male facility, and subject to rules designed for all males, the biggest challenge will be maintaining and expressing your true identify 24-7. Next, staying free of unwanted sex and/or violence in general." Tsu
"Acceptance and medical issues" Mica
"lonlyness. I am (for the most part) nothing but an object. A fuckhole cum receptacle. To people in prison I'm no more than a talking blow up doll. 'Ladies' in prison are seldom friends we act like street walkers protecting our turf. It is rather pathetic. Instead of supporting and relying on each other we 'shoot skates' and back bite. Prison is a horrible place for trans women." Swan Lyn
"The biggest challenge for me is that since I am a queen all theses men think that I will jump on any dick that comes my way I am a queen but am not a slut and many times I get harassed by prisoners" Marc
"The biggest challenges for me are dealing with the situations where you're forced to be aggressive in order to stand up for yourself and resist those who want to impose their will upon me. It makes me feel so terrible when I have to come out of my comfort zone and then people say "girls don't act like that". I refuse to allow dudes (or anyone) to challenge my transgenderism or try to make me feel as if its a handicap. Everydays a challenge in this environment." Sean'ah
"getting out without having had any real tramatic experiences happen to you" Trisha
"Us be free about or self and be out in the open about or self!" Samantha
"having to live like something you are not! Not being able to express yourself like you would like. Being forced to be be something you know in your heart you're NOT." Jessica B.
"having people accept me for who & what I am. Understand myself, the descrimination, the forceing of conforming to be somebody & something your not. The having to hide." Clairerissa
"Not having access to makeup/cosmetics, feminine hygiene, undergarments; not being allowed to grow our hair out; no access to hormone therapy/sex changes. Or if you are able to get hormones, it's only for those who get them in the freeworld. I was neither bi or gender non-conforming in the world. So I'm fucked. I have a life sentence w/ 6 yrs stacked. I'll never be able to get hormones, or sex change. It would help so much, if I could at least wear makeup, grow out my hair & wear panties

etc." Mystique
"to survive and not catch aids or get physically killed in prison!!" Mark
"there is only one word IGNORANCE" Gina
"Housing provied hormone clothing and most important safety" Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B29: Answers to 'Have you found ways to protect yourself or make yourself safer?'
"Unfortunately, it's a bit of a game. Not so unlike the role women in our society can be forced to play. Appear interested enough to not make someone feel snubbed; but keep myself as far as I can from those who I know are trouble (mostly through staying active, working all the time, teaching all the time, staying in my cell the rest of the time)." Jessica H
"Keep to myself and always be aware of my surroundings." Jessica B
"Yes I have I have joined GBG (Gay Boy Gangsters) cause I feel this is where I can get protected and also protect other transgenders and gays. I have now came to be 2nd in command were I call the shot's and send other's to protect other LGBTQs" Esmia
"Sometimes I can protect myself in a fight if I'm force to fight, but I try to avoid it by staying away from people if not I head for the hole to lockdown in hopes to get moved to a better dorm, every now an then I get a really good roommate and he'll tell others to leave me alone." Tammy Faye
"Trying to stay single cell" Kym
"Pretty much stayed to myself and was very careful about who I interacted with" Mica
"Keep to myself and not entertain relationships with anyone in here for they are most always sexualy motivated & Ive found there is always a hidden agenda." Jenna
"Stay around the people who treat you with respect, and avoid the bad people!" Amanda
"Stay away from everybody and everything"
"Yes I find a cell mate that is gay or gay educated or a Christian!!" Mark
"No" Samantha
"Try not to say much." Promethea
"Yes, by being observant and avoiding situation that could get me in trouble." Gina
"I don't open up my heart so quickly because I've experienced some pretty harsh situations - I do everything humanly possible to protect myself. I basically guard myself against those who don't have my best interests at hand or have hidden agendas." Sean'ah
"No." Monica
"Yes & no I shut myself off to those around me the no is, it makes me feel like a outcast" Clairerissa
"It depends on the situation. I came up a prostitute in the hardest cities in the U.S.A, so I'm not afraid to fight. I'm also talented in hiding & producing razors from various areas of my body, additionally, I can usually select a strong enough husband (or a staff husband) to protect me. In my current situation, there's a lot of us GBTQ's in this program so we can look out for each other." Tsu
"Not really. I made a shank one time b/c I thought I was about to be clicked on by 3 inmates, but they went back in their cells. I have filed L.I.D's (Life Endangerment now called O.P.I's - offender protection investigations), but these are often shot down/denied due to lack of evidence either for not providing names (nitching) or b/c I have not actually been hurt yet (But fuck! Isn't that the point in humiliating yourself by filing in the first place: to prevent yourself from being hurt?! HELLO?!). Normally, if you're lucky, they move you. But it's pointless if you've fallen out w/ a gang member, b/c all they have to do is shoot a kite ("note") to their bro's, putting your name & alleged offense toward them (real or made up) out there & wherever you get moved, one of their bro's will have heard about you & react accordingly. So really, the only way to be protected is via transfer to new facility & administration is obstinant about accomodating you here (esp. if you haven't actually been hurt yet)" Mystique

"When I was younger I used to box. So I can fight pretty good. That helps deter some people because no one wants to get beat up by a "girl". But it also increased my danger because when they do come at me it's as a group" Trisha
"Yeah, hit rapist boyfriends in the head with hot pots and go to Ad Seg aka "the hole". When I get out of ad seg I'm going to be housed on safe keeping." Swan Lyn
"Yes stay to myself is the best way I know how less problems" Venus
"Yes don't ask don't tell" Marc
"No" Mrs. Kittiy

Figure B30: Answers to 'How do you take care of yourself emotionally while locked up?'
"I am fortunate to have good friends I can talk to, in and out of prison. Additionally, I am a Buddhist, I emply all the tools I learned through that (meditation, etc.). I do my best to make my world a better place (am very active in facilitating programs, helping others, etc.) which helps me deal with the sorrow for the actions that got me here...I have a good support system, bottomline." Jessica H
"Read a lot, meditate, work" Jessica B
"I talk things out with my husband/partner and I cry sometimes to him. And he cries to me too." Esmia
"I try to meditate or walk the stress up out of my mind and still remain in a positive state of mind, and keep hope alive that I'll make it up out of prison in one piece." Tammy Faye
"Psy meds staying to myself" Kym
"read, did a lot of drawing wrote" Mica
"I count on myself only I depend on my self only I expect nothing from no one I live humbly and I try my hardest to live peacably unless someone push's me to my breaking point or touches me or someone I care about." Jenna
"Meditation, reading, doing art work." Amanda
"I've found a really nice and supportive cell mate"
"I read about God and study religion and talk to my television set!! Or see a psyciatric doctor and get medication" Mark
"I try to think about the good side of people I try keep myself in check and read a lot of books that help and my radio help to." Samantha
"I shut off my feelings" Promethea
"I my faith in God and there are a few inmates and staff who are supportive and will sit and listen." Gina
"I try to surround myself with someone like me who understands my plight and appreciates my feelings. My partner now is another transgender and we support one another in ways that others aren't capable of. We share tears, smiles, and genuine warmth that stabilize our emotions" Sean'ah
"I get use to being angry all the time and I train my body in fighting and killing arts of native warriors and plan for the day I'm released. There's no other way for me to deal with the way I feel." Monica
"To be honest I don't know it is very hard sometimes I feel ashamed at times to be who and what I am some times I feel like there is something wrong with me like what they say I must have some kind of disease." Clairerissa
"I am probably an emotion wreck & getting worse. I have adapted to the physical challenges, but emotionally, I could go at any moment. I haven't learned the trick of care yet." Tsu
"Thru prayer, meditation, reading & writing. Mainly writing/reading. My BIGGEST source of comfort is my music/radio." Mystique
"In the hole it's very difficult. I often get stir crazy or shut down and get depressed. Usually, If I'm on a yard I play music. I am a very good guitar player/singer. One time I actually managed to form a band with myself another girl and a queer male." Trisha

"Read, read, and read some more. Meditation is a must." Swan Lyn
"I work out a lot" Venus
"I suffer from chronic depression and what helps me is daily exercise and yard time" Marc
"Well I work closely with the mental health staff." Mrs. Kittiy

APPENDIX C: IMAGES

Figure C1: Word Chart of Examples of Verbal Harassment

Figure C2: Description of artwork by Jessica H

DESCRIPTION OF ARTWORK

First of all, I apologize for the quality, these are photocopies of the originals (I never keep the originals for fear they will be detroyed, I send them home).

In general, all of my transart has two qualities; (1) It tends to be either erotic or semi-erotic, (2) it comes from the repression of an ability to express myself as a transperson (I can't express it in life, so I express it in art). As to it being erotic, to me transpeople are just as beautiful as non-trans...though you rarely seem trans people pictured in this way. For me, I icked a sub-catagory of the trans continuum, the no-bottom surgery M2F...I like to show the beauty of the "she-male" (I know, the term is considered derogatory by some, though I don't find it so, its less cumbersome to use...no offense meant). Not as a person in transition; but, a person who is comfortable where they are, who they are...a person who can be erotic, can be beautiful just the way they are.

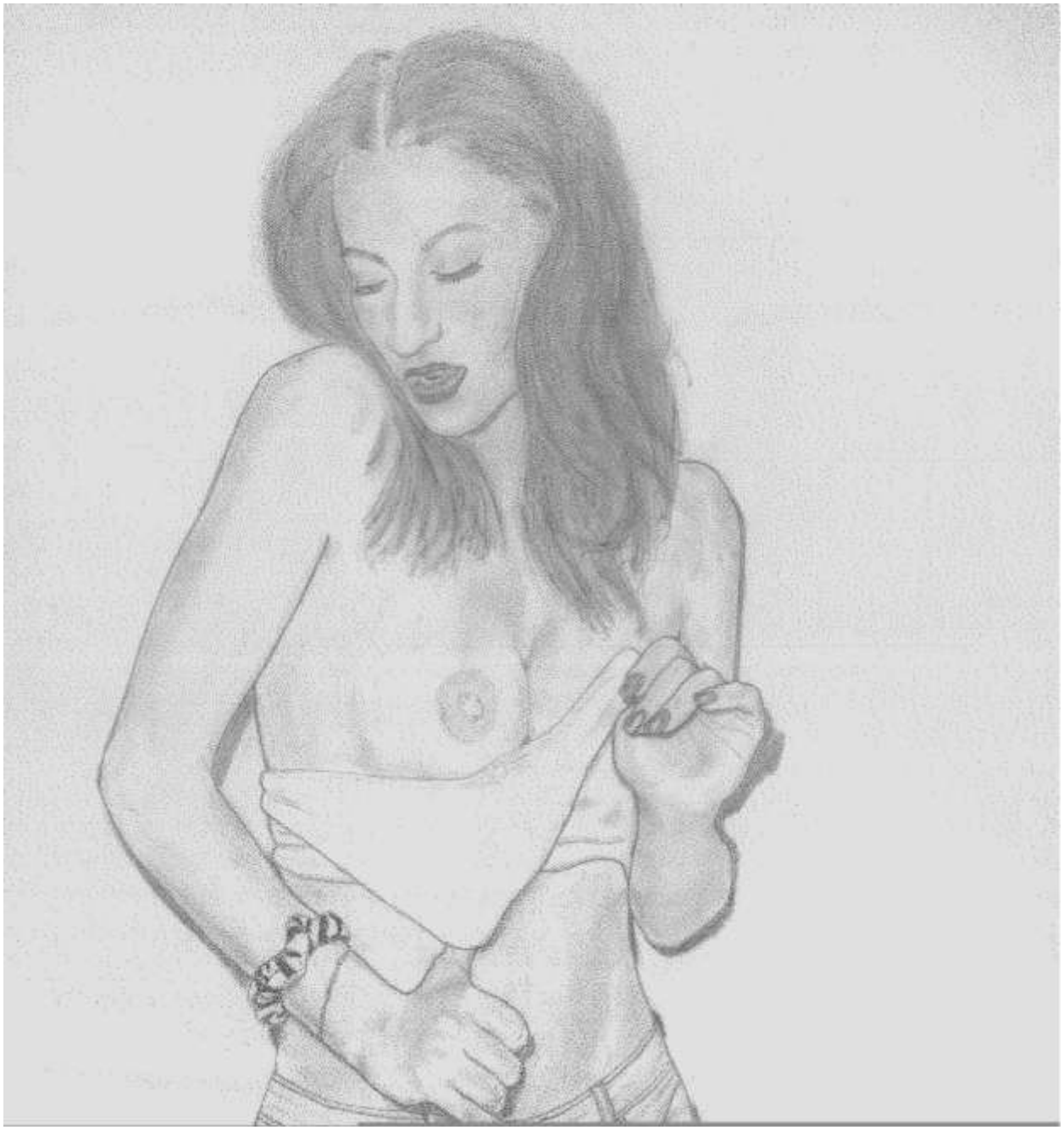
Figure C3: "Swimming Pool" by Jessica H

Swimming Pool: This woman is my inner-Jessica, beautiful, comfortable in knowing she is sexy, not affriad to show it. Its what I'd like to think I will look like when I finaly get the chance to undertake my process.

Figure C4: "Leaning on Couch" by Jessica H

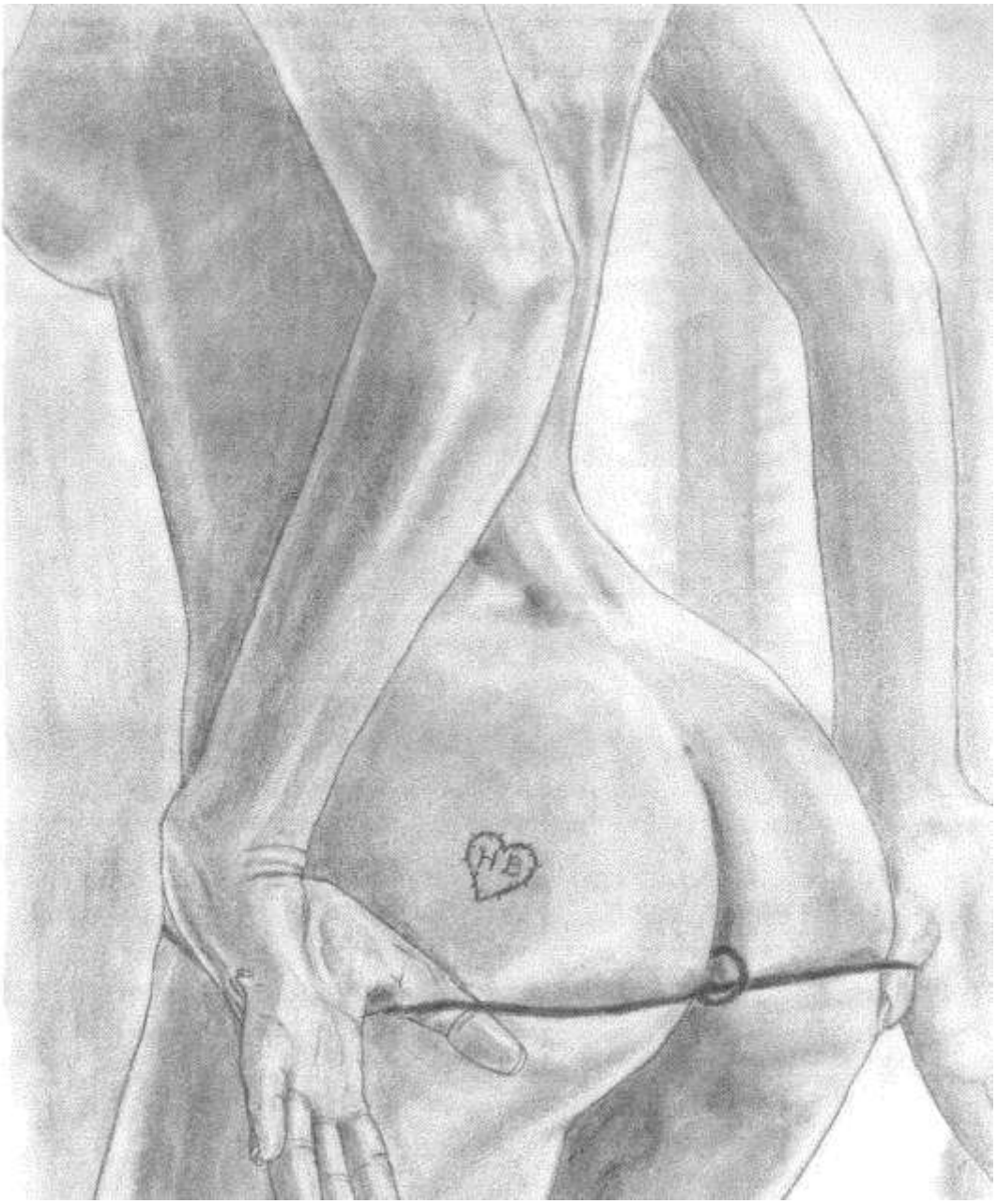
Leaning on Couch: This was my first trans drawing...flawed in many areas of the drawing...but reflective of how I felt at the time...the woman is trying to be seductive but has some tenseness to her posture, uncertainty whether she's realy beautiful or not. I drew it around the time I firs started telling my family.

Figure C5: "Baby's got her blue jeans (shorts) on" by Jessica H



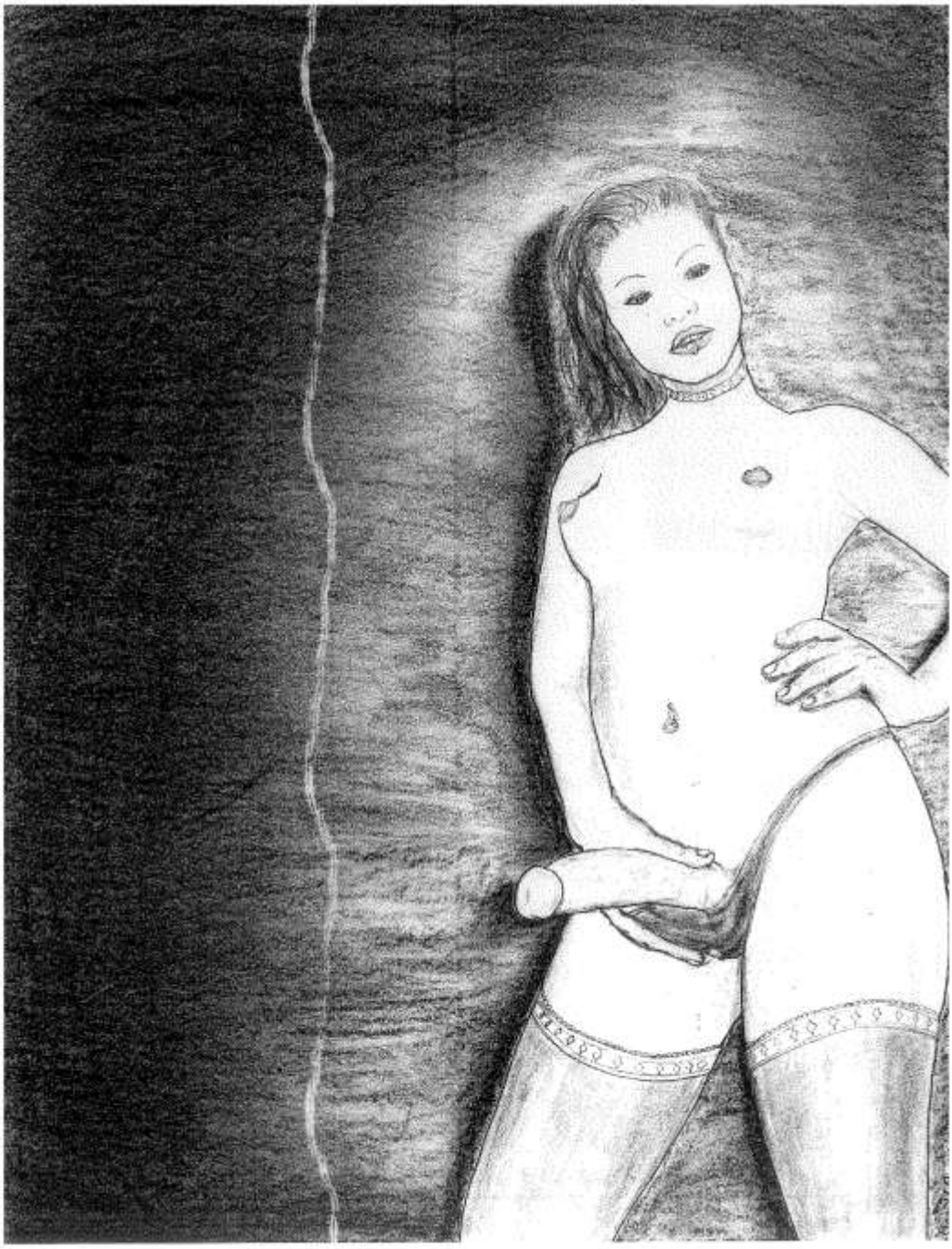
Baby's got her blue jeans (shorts) on: An expression of when I first got comfortable with my trans erotic side...pealing off the layers to show myself. (Yes, this was all in January of 2010, I was doing some deep searching, and in the ~~m~~ middle of a meditation retreat when I drew these...this and Leaning on copuch).

Figure C6: "Heartbreaker" by Jessica H



HeartBreaker: For good or bad, images of beautiful women in pornography greatly influenced my comfort with myself (Jessica). This is a sort of tip of the hat, the HB tat inspired by Jenna Jameson and while the image itself doesn't apprea trans art, that's kind of the point...guys find us transwomen beautiful a lot of times, until they find out we have penises too...then what was once a desired thing is now evil and disgusting...so, I illustrate what life is like for me...a guy starin at my ass is turned on (happens all the time), but immediatley put off by the fact I still have a penis. That's the feeling in this drawing, the before revulsion.

Figure C7: "Suck my Dick" by Jessica H



Suck My Dick: Sorry, but the title of this isn't actually meant to be sexual, or offensive (well, maybe a little of the second). Its the response to heartbreaker...a sort of attitude like, "Here I am, beautiful...and until you got into my panties you were infatuated...now you got an attitude...well suck my dick (like fuck off).

Figure C8: Artwork by Marc

Figure C9: Artwork by Marc

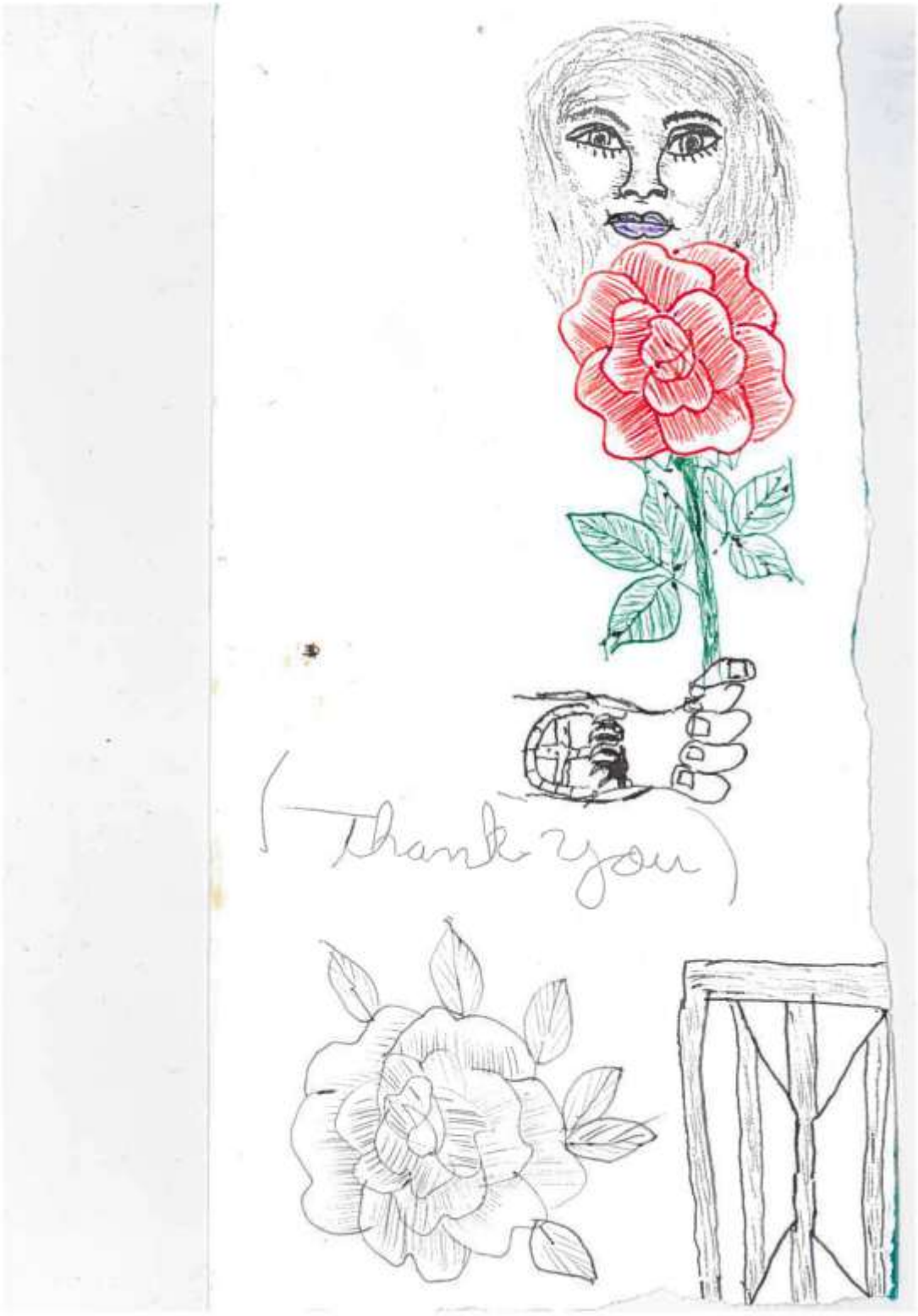
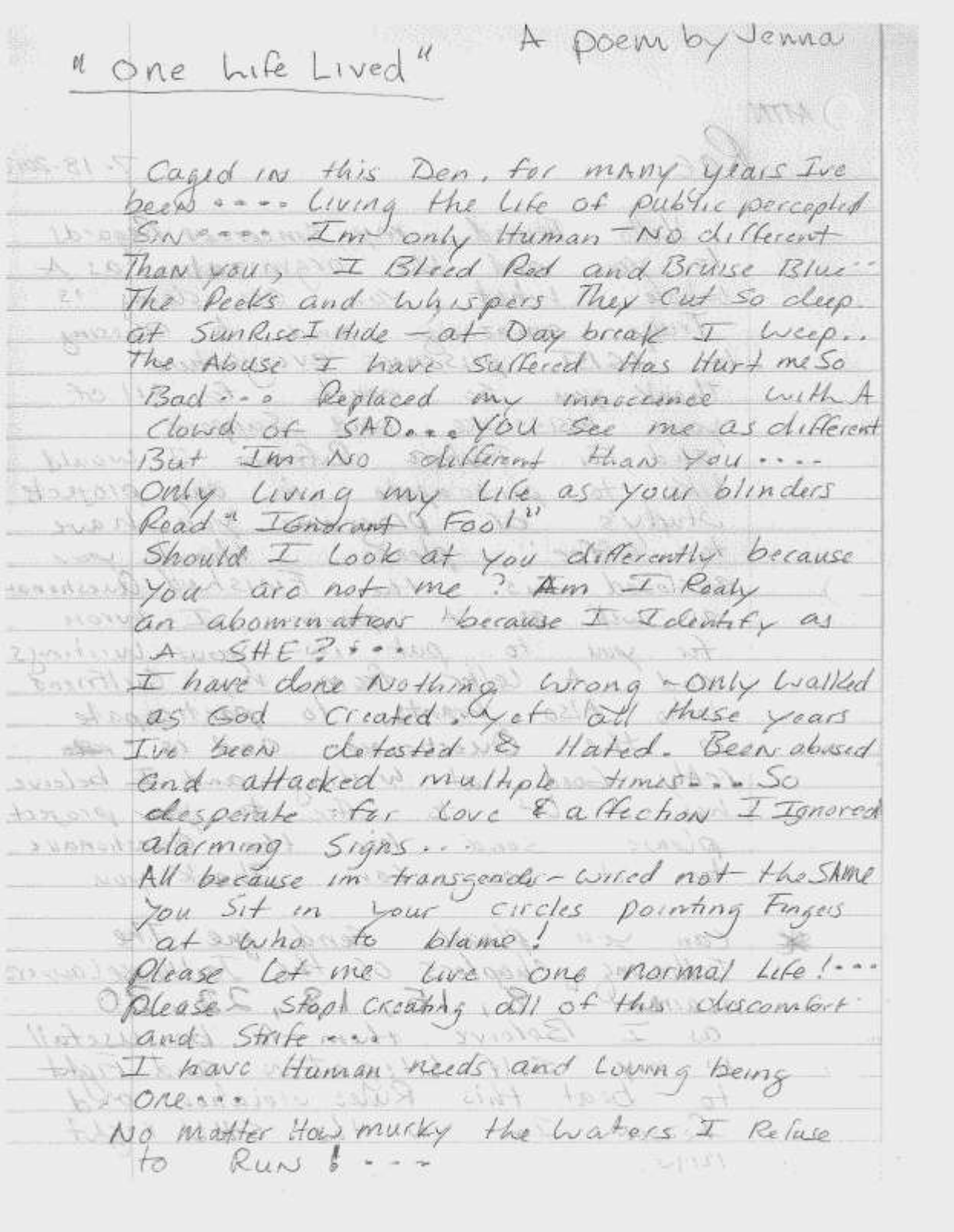


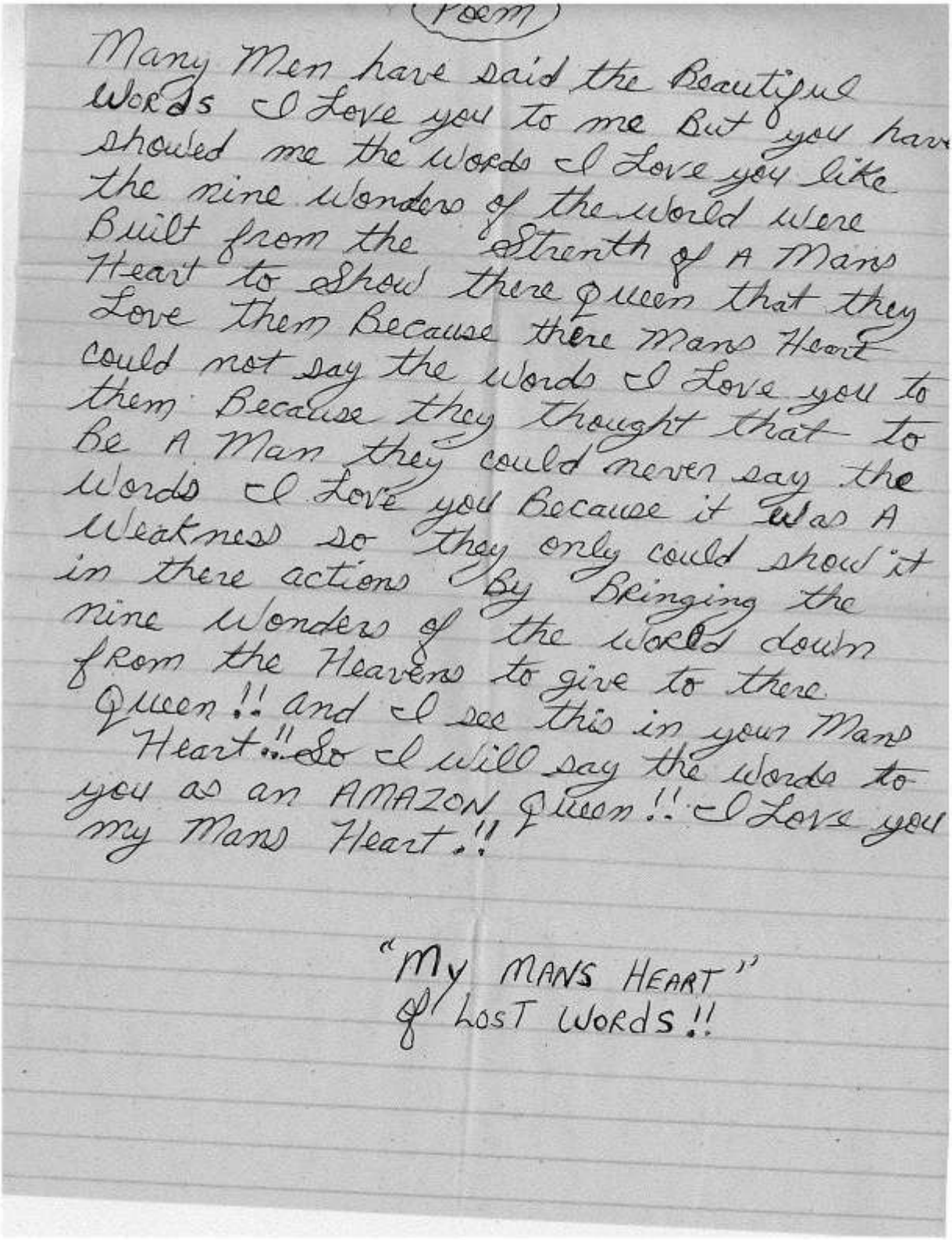
Figure C10: "One Life Lived" by Jenna



"One Life Lived" A poem by Jenna

Caged in this Den, for many years Ive
beeN .... Living the Life of public perception
SiN .... Im only Human - NO different
ThaN you, I Bleed Red and Bruise Blue..
The Peeks and Whispers They Cut So deep.
at SunRise I Hide - at Day break I Weep..
The Abuse I have Suffered Has Hurt me So
Bad ... Replaced my innocence with A
Clowd of SAD... YOU See me as different
But Im No different than You ....
Only Living my Life as your blinders
Read "IGnorant Fool"
Should I Look at You differently because
You are not me? Am I Realy
an abomination because I Identify as
A SHE? ...
I have done Nothing Wrong - Only Walked
as God Created. Yet all these years
Ive been detested & Hated. Been abused
and attacked multiple times... So
desperate for Love & affection I Ignored
alarming Signs..
All because im transgender - wired not the SAME
You Sit in your circles pointing Fingers
at who to blame!
Please Let me Live one normal Life! ...
Please Stop Creating all of this discomfort
and Strife ...
I have Human needs and Loving being
One ...
No Matter How murky the Waters I Refuse
to RuN! ...

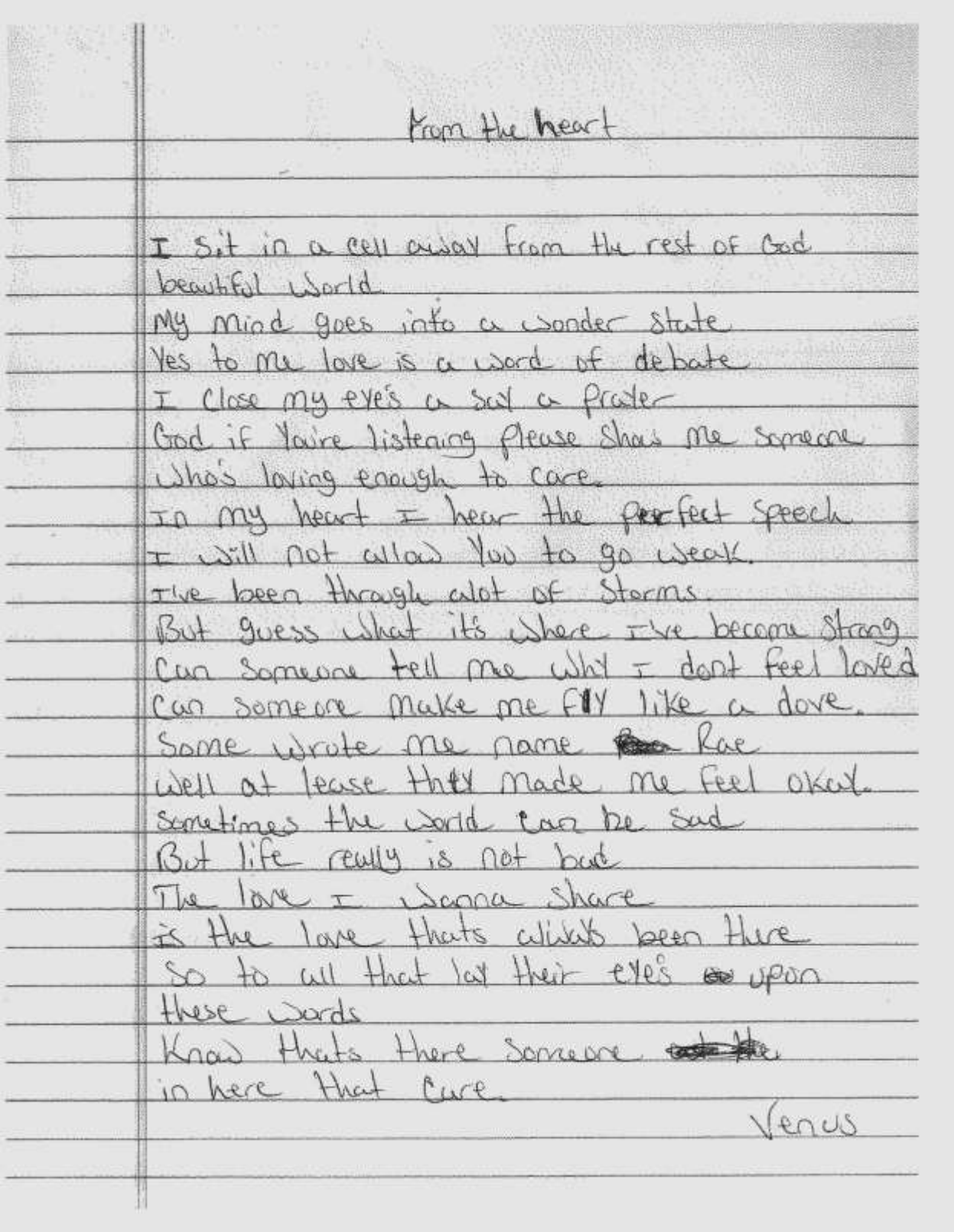
Figure C11: "My Mans Heart"


(Poem)

Many Men have said the Beautiful Words I Love you to me But you have showed me the Words I Love you like the nine Wonders of the World were Built from the Strenth of A Mans Heart to Show there Queen that they Love them Because there Mans Heart could not say the Words I Love you to them Because they thought that to Be A Man they could never say the Words I Love you Because it Was A Weakness so they only could show it in there actions By Bringing the nine Wonders of the World down from the Heavens to give to there Queen!! and I see this in your Mans Heart!! So I will say the Words to you as an AMAZON Queen!! I Love you my Mans Heart!!

"My MANS HEART"
of LOST WORDS!!

Figure C12: "From the heart" by Venus

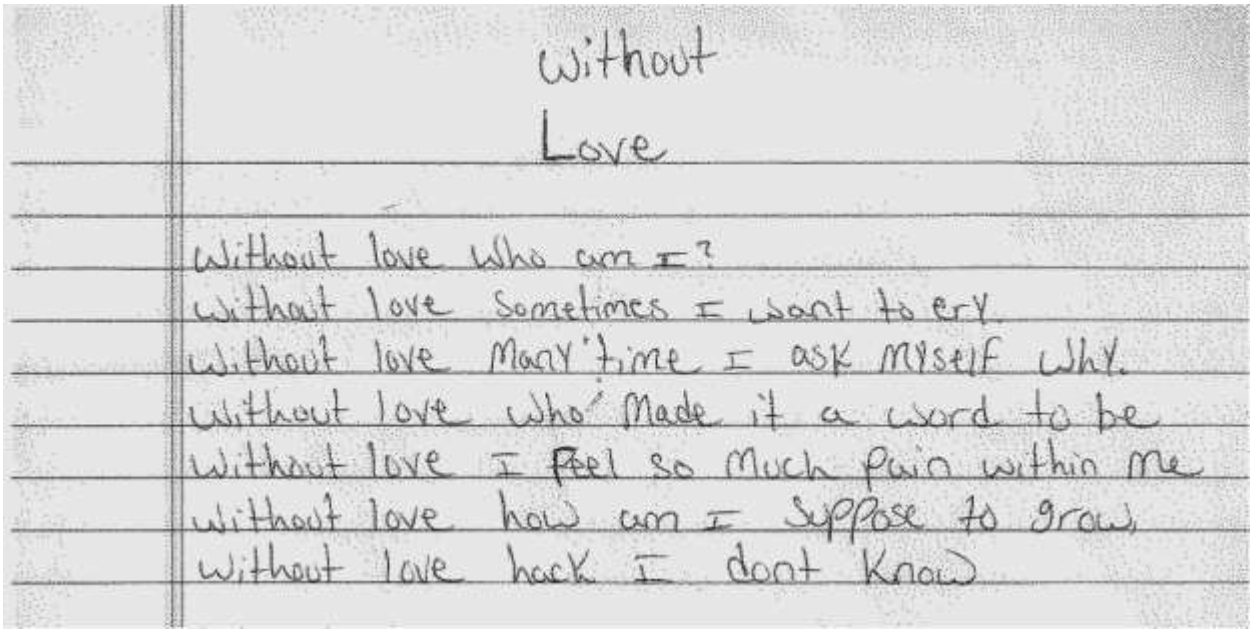


From the heart

I Sit in a cell awaY from the rest of God
beautiful World.
My Mind goes into a wonder State
Yes to Me love is a word of debate
I Close my eYe's a Say a Prater
God if Yaire listeaing Please Shas Me Someone
Who's loving enough to care.
In my heart I hear the perfect Speech
I will not allow You to go weak.
IVe been through alot of Storms.
But Guess what it's where IVe become Strong
Can Someone tell Me Why I dont feel loved
Can Someone Make Me FlY like a dove.
Some Wrote Me name [redacted] Rae
Well at lease thtY Made Me feel okaY.
Sometimes the World can be Sad
But life reallY is not bad
The love I Wanna Share
is the love thats alWaYs been there
So to all that lay their eYe's upon
these Words
Know thats there Someone [redacted]
in here that Care.

Venus

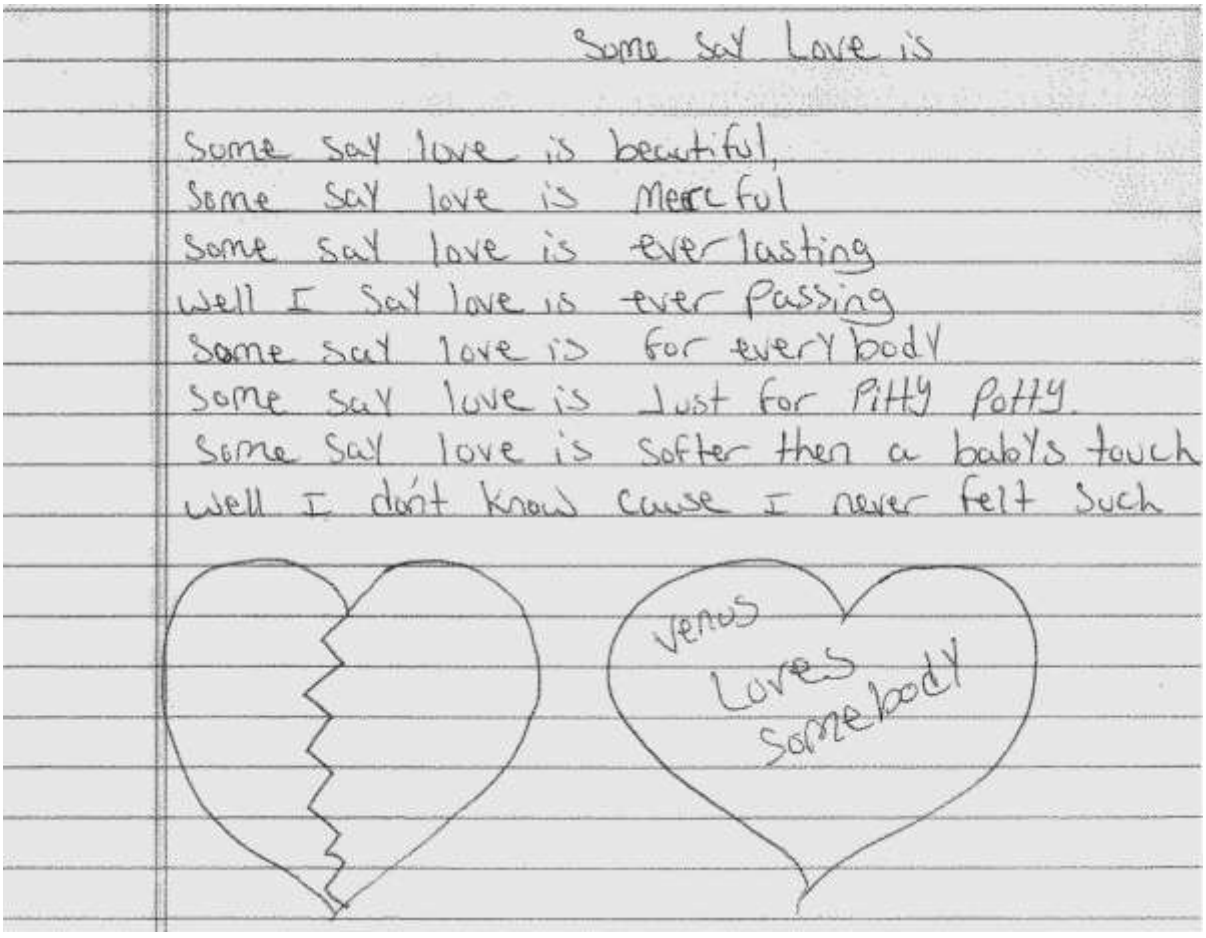
Figure C13: "Without Love" by Venus



Without
Love

Without love who am I?
Without love Sometimes I want to cry.
Without love Many time I ask Myself Why.
Without love who Made it a word to be
Without love I ~~feel~~ so Much pain within me
Without love how am I Suppose to grow
Without love back I dont Know

Figure C14: "Some say Love is" by Venus



Some say Love is

Some say love is beautiful,
Some say love is Merciful
Some say love is ever lasting
Well I Say love is ever Passing
Some say love is for everybody
Some say love is Just for Pitty Potty.
Some say love is Softer then a babys touch
Well I dont know cause I never felt Such

Figure C15: Number of Participants by U.S. States

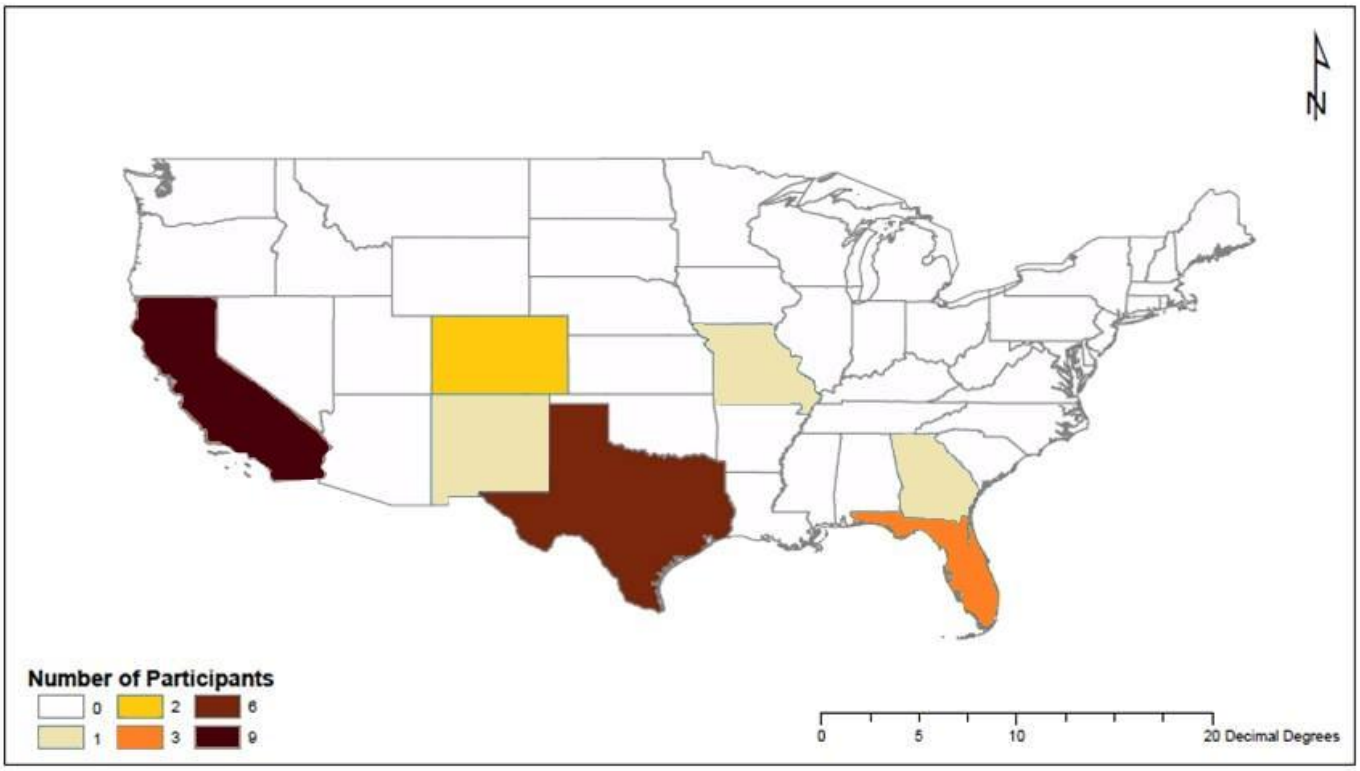


Figure D1: Contents of Initial Mailing

Dear

Hi! I hope this letter finds you in good spirits and health. I received your I'm Rae, one of the organizers of the Prisoner Correspondence Project (PrisCoPro) and a graduate student in geography at McGill University in Montreal. For my studies, I want to write about transgender and/or transsexual people and their experiences in correctional facilities in the U.S. With PrisCoPro and some of its members (hopefully you!), I will be able to put together an account of the experiences and voices of transgender and transsexual people who are locked up.

I am mailing you because you wrote in your form letter that the PrisCoPro could send you queer-related mailings, and that you are in some way transgender and/or transsexual. I am sending out a questionnaire to transgender and/or transsexual members of the PrisCoPro about their experiences in correctional facilities. If you are interested in filling out the questionnaire, I will be able to give you $25.00 for your time. There is more information on the next page about my project and what is involved in participating. I have included everything in this mailing that you'd need to participate, including the consent form, questionnaire, stamps, envelopes, and paper.

As a transgender person and activist myself, I am concerned about the safety and rights of transgender people behind bars. Even though so many members of our community are incarcerated, their voices often go ignored and are silenced by the community on the outside. By gathering voices and experiences of members of our community who are locked up, my hope is that we can help build the support, love, and solidarity that our community on the inside needs.

If you know of anyone else who might be interested in filling out a questionnaire, please give them my contact information. I would love to get in touch with as many people as possible!

I am also trying to collect artwork and poetry related to the topic of my questionnaire. If you have created anything that you would like to send me as a part of my project, please do!

You can contact me or my faculty supervisor at school with any questions, concerns, or suggestions. Thank you so much for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Rae Rosenberg

Prisoner Correspondence Project
QPIRG Concordia C/O Concordia University
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Canada
M.A. Candidate, Department of Geography; tel: 438-824-8848
rae.rosenberg@mail.mcgill.ca

Faculty Supervisor:
Dr. Natalie Oswin
Department of Geography
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Canada
tel: 514-398-5232
natalie.oswin@mcgill.ca

If you have questions or concerns about your rights or well-being as a participant in this study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at:
Lynda McNeil
REB Office (REB I, II, III)
845 Sherbrooke Street W.
James Administration Building, rm 429
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4 Canada
tel: 514-398-6831
Lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Project Goals:
I want to gather the experiences that transgender and/or transsexual people have had in correctional facilities because of their gender, and see how their treatment during incarceration impacts their bodies, minds, and spirits. I hope to use my research to increase community understanding and support of transgender/transsexual people behind bars, and to eventually help better advocate for their treatment, safety, and rights.

What is involved in participating: If you want to participate in my project, I have included a questionnaire for you to fill out in this mailing. It asks questions about your experiences of being incarcerated as a transgender and/or transsexual person. You can answer as little or as much as you want, with as much detail as you are comfortable with. You will receive $25.00 for answering the questionnaire, and reimbursement for mailing costs. I can get this money to you by money order, or by ordering things that add up to $25.00. Please tell me which method would be best for you on your consent form. I have also included envelopes and extra paper in this package for you to use. Please mail me back your filled out questionnaire and consent form that says "Send this form back" on the top.

I encourage you to create art and/or poetry to send me about your feelings about being incarcerated, and about your experiences in correctional facilities. You can create and send me any kind of art and/or poetry that you think relates to your experiences of being transgender and incarcerated. Feel free to include an explanation of the art. You can mail me as little or as much art and/or poetry as you want. You don't have to fill out the questionnaire or in-depth questions to submit art and/or poetry. You won't receive money for sending me art or poetry. If you have ideas about how I could share your experiences through your answers and/or art, I'd love to hear what you think.

Confidentiality:
I can't guarantee your anonymity or confidentiality in my research because prison officials may have access to the mailings. However, you can choose to be anonymous in the written reports of the survey. In order to protect your confidentiality, please don't use the names of other people in your answers. I will keep your responses in a locked file cabinet in my locked office at McGill University. I will be the only person with access to your answers. You should know that your responses and art might be included in a written account of this research, which will be submitted to McGill University and made public in my Master's thesis. Summaries of your responses and copies of your art will be given to the Prisoner Correspondence Project. If you don't want me to share an answer you've written, you can let me know next to your answer. Your participation in this project is voluntary. You have the right to not answer any question, or to discontinue your participation at any time. You can request to remove your answers from the study after you have mailed them to me.

KEEP THIS SHEET

Consent

1) Questionnaire

Please choose an option:

☐ Yes, I want to be identified in reports of the questionnaire

☐ No, I don't want to be identified in reports of the questionnaire

2) Art/Poetry

Please select an option:

☐ Yes, I want my art to be included in publications for this project

____ Yes, I want to be identified with publications of my art

____ No, I don't want to be identified with my art

☐ No, I don't want my art included in publications for this project

3) Compensation

Please tell me the best way to give you your compensation:

_____

_____

_____

By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the above information and I agree to participate in this study.

Name:

_____

Date:

_____

SEND THIS SHEET BACK

Consent

1) Questionnaire

Please choose an option:

☐ Yes, I want to be identified in reports of the survey

☐ No, I don't want to be identified in reports of the survey

2) Art/Poetry

Please select an option:

☐ Yes, I want my art to be included in publications for this project

____ Yes, I want to be identified with publications of my art

____ No, I don't want to be identified with my art

☐ No, I don't want my art included in publications for this project

3) Compensation

Please tell me the best way to give you your compensation:

_____

_____

_____

By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the above information and I agree to participate in this study.

Name:

_____

Date:

_____

QUESTIONNAIRE

Trans and Gender Non-Conforming Prisoners in the U.S.

Reminders:

- You can fill out as many of these questions with as little or much detail as you'd like.
- You do not have to answer anything you don't want to.
- Try not to use the names of other people.
- If you feel that you might experience any negative consequences (like mistreatment, harassment, or violence) based on answering any question, please don't answer it.
- Please let me know if you want any answer to stay confidential by writing that next to the question.
- If you need more space, want to give examples, explain, tell a story, or add something I've missed, please write on the backs of these pages and blank sheets of paper.
- Please use your best handwriting so I can read your answers ☺

Questions 1-3 ask about your gender.

1. What sex were you assigned when you were born?

____ Female ____ Male

2. Were you born with an intersex condition?

____ Yes ____ No

3. How do you identify your gender? (pick at least one)

____ Transgender ____ Transwoman
____ Transsexual ____ Femqueen
____ Two-spirit ____ Woman
____ Drag queen ____ Transvestite
____ MTF/M2F ____ Androgynous
____ Genderqueer Other: _____

Questions 4-13 are about housing.

4. What kind of facility are you currently locked up in? (for example, state correctional institution, county prison/jail, etc.)

5. Where are you currently housed? (for example, general population, the hole, etc.)

6. Have you ever been placed in solitary confinement/the hole? If yes, for how long?

7. Why were you placed in solitary?

8. When in solitary, have you been (check all that apply)
- ____ Denied access to medical treatment
- ____ Denied access to hormones
- ____ Laughed at/called names
- ____ Groped/felt up
- ____ Physically hurt on purpose

More: _____

_____

9. When in general population, have you been (check all that apply)
- ____ Denied access to medical treatment
- ____ Denied access to hormones
- ____ Laughed at/called names
- ____ Groped/felt up
- ____ Physically hurt on purpose
- ____ Put on display

More: _____

_____

10. Given your gender identity, do you feel like you're living in an appropriate housing situation? Can you explain why?

11. What type of shower/bathroom facilities are available? (please circle)

Private/single occupancy Public/multi-user

12. If private/single occupancy facilities are available, are you allowed to access it? If yes, how has it helped you? If no, why aren't you allowed to access it?

13. In the shower/bathroom, have you ever been:
____ Laughed at/called names
____ Groped/felt up
____ Physically hurt on purpose
____ Put on display
More: _____

_____

Questions 14-19 are about gender expression.

14. In what ways do you try to express your gender while incarcerated?

15. Can you describe any restrictions about how you are allowed to express your gender?

16. During your incarceration, have you ever been:
____ Forced to cut your hair
____ Forced to cut your nails
____ Not allowed to wear bras/women's underwear
____ Not allowed wear makeup
More:_____

_____

17. How have correctional officers reacted to your gender? How do they treat you?

18. How have other inmates reacted to your gender? How do they treat you?

19. How did your facility deal with your gender when you were processed?

Questions 20-25 are about transitioning.

20. How long have you identified as your current gender?

21. How long have you been out? Who are you out to?

22. Were you on hormones before you were incarcerated?
____ Yes ____ No ____ Off and on

If yes:
a) For how long?

b) Have you been able to continue taking hormones while incarcerated?

____ Yes ____ No ____ Off and on

c) How do you think the physical changes from hormones (having breasts or more feminine features, for example) impact how you are treated?

23. If you haven't been able to continue (or start) taking hormones while incarcerated, how does this impact your life and how you feel? (for example, mental and physical health, emotions, etc.)

24. Expressing myself as female or feminine has subjected me to (check all that apply):
____ Being laughed at/called names
____ Being put on display
____ Being physically hurt on purpose
____ Being threatened
____ Sexual harassment
____ Sexual abuse
More:
_____

_____

25. Do you think your transitioning status impacted the way you were treated when you were processed? Has it impacted your experiences while being locked up? How?

Questions 26-32 are painful and might be hard to answer. I want to remind you to be kind to yourself, to take breaks if you want, and as much as possible to answer in ways that don't leave you vulnerable to retaliation.

26. Have you ever been verbally harassed while locked up because of your gender?
____ Yes, once
____ Yes, a couple of times
____ Yes, over and over
____ No

If yes, was it:
____ One inmate
____ Group of inmates
____ One correctional officer/other staff
____ Group of correctional officers/other staff

If you want to give examples of verbal harassment, you can write them here and continue on the back of the page if you want:

27. Has a correctional officer or other staff failed to intervene or ignored verbal harassment?
    ____ Yes ____ No

28. Have you ever been sexually harassed while locked up because of your gender?
    ____ Yes, once
    ____ Yes, a couple of times
    ____ Yes, over and over
    ____ No

    If yes, was it:
        ____ One inmate
        ____ Group of inmates
        ____ One correctional officer/other staff
        ____ Group of correctional officers/other staff

If you want to give examples of sexual harassment, you can write them here and continue on the back of the page if you want:

29. Has a correctional officer or other staff failed to intervene or ignored sexual harassment?
    ____ Yes ____ No

30. Have you ever been in a forced sexual situation while locked up because of your gender?
    ____ Yes, once
    ____ Yes, a couple of times
    ____ Yes, over and over
    ____ No

    If yes, was it:
        ____ One inmate
        ____ Group of inmates
        ____ One correctional officer/other staff
        ____ Group of correctional officers/other staff

If you want to give examples of forced sexual situations, you can write them here and continue on the back of the page if you want:

31. Has a correctional officer or other staff failed to intervene or ignored forced sexual situations?
____ Yes ____ No

32. Do you feel that being transgender makes you more likely to experience harassment and/or violence? Why?

Questions 33-36 are about specific places in your correctional facility.

33. Are there any specific parts of your correctional facility where you experience more harassment than others?

34. Are there any specific parts of your correctional facility where you experience more violence than others?

35. Are there any areas of your correctional facility that feel more dangerous than others? Why?

36. Are there any areas of your correctional facility that feel safer than others? Why?

Questions 37-44 are about relationships and community.

37. Have you formed inmate relationships while being incarcerated?
____ Yes ____ No

If yes, are these relationships supportive of your gender? If no, can you explain why?

38. Have you been in touch with other transgender, LGB, or other supportive people while locked up?
____ Yes ____ No

If yes, how has this impacted you?

If no, would you like to be? Why or why not?

39. How do you think having access to a transgender community might change your experience of being incarcerated?

40. Who has visited you while you've been incarcerated? (check all that apply)
____ Family
____ Friends
____ Inmates who have been released
____ Partner(s)
____ Community organizers/advocates
____ Social service providers
____ Visitors from faith-based communities
____ Other (please specify) _____
____ No one

41. Has there ever been a time when your visitors were not allowed to see you?
____ Yes ____ No

If yes, what was the reason you were given to deny the visit (if you know)?

_____

42. If it is hard for your visitors to come see you, why? (check all that apply)
____ Correctional facility is too far away
____ Transportation is too expensive
____ Humiliating visitor search policy
____ They find it too traumatic
____ They can't take time off work
____ Other (please specify) _____
____ Not applicable

43. Have you had phone contact with people on the outside?
____ Yes ____ No

If yes, with who? _____

44. Who have you gotten mail from while incarcerated? (check all that apply)
____ Family
____ Friends
____ Inmates who have been released
____ Partner(s)
____ Community organizers/advocates
____ Social service providers
____ Visitors from faith-based communities
____ Other (please specify) _____
____ No one

Questions 45-48 are about struggle and resilience.

45. How do you take care of yourself emotionally while locked up?

46. Have you found any ways to protect yourself or make yourself safer?

47. Can you tell me about any positive experiences you have had as an incarcerated transgender person?

48. What do you think are the biggest challenges to being transgender in prison?

And finally:

49. How old are you? (circle one)

Under 18 19-24 25-34 36-50 Over 50

50. What best describes your race/ethnicity?

____ Latina/o/Hispanic
____ American Indian or Native American
____ Asian or Pacific Islander
____ Black/African American
____ Bi/Multi-racial
____ White/European
____ _____

YOU HAVE NOW FINISHED THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
Thank you so much for your time and willingness to answer these questions.

SEND ALL PAGES BACK