

I DON'T KNOW YOU, RANDOM MAN:
ADOLESCENT FEMALE PERCEPTIONS OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE
DURING POLICE CONTACT

BY

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A thesis
submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Criminology

Victoria University of Wellington

2021

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the young women who entrusted me with their stories. This research would not have been possible without their courage. I trust their voices will be heard.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Associate Professor Dr Fiona Hutton and Dr Sarah Monod de Froideville at Victoria University of Wellington, for their constant wisdom, encouragement, and laughs.

Many thanks to my parents for their unending love and support. I am grateful for family and friends for keeping my sanity in check. Finally, my sister, thank you, there are no words.

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Glossary

Adolescent/Youth/Young Person: For this study, the terms adolescent, youth, and young are employed interchangeably in reference to 14-25 year olds. While adolescence is the transitional period between childhood and adulthood, debate ensues as to its age range. However, the general consensus is that it begins around the onset of puberty, with reproductive biological changes (Blakemore et al., 2010; Lerner & Steinberg, 2004; Sawyer et al., 2018; Sisk & Foster, 2004). In New Zealand (NZ), a child may be held criminally responsible at 10 years old if they kill someone, and 12 years old for other serious crimes (YouthLaw, n.d.). By the age of 14 a young person may be criminally responsible for breaking any law and held accountable to the Youth Justice System (YouthLaw, n.d.). 18-year olds are charged under the adult Criminal Justice System and no longer viewed as young people. However, due to neurological development some academic discourse extends adolescence into the mid-20s (Sawyer et al., 2018).

Cisgender women: Although not intentional, all of the participants who came forward to be interviewed were cisgender women. Cisgender women are women whose gender aligns with their sex at birth (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). Therefore, in this study the terms female, woman, and women are used interchangeably to refer to cisgender women.

Police contact: Police contact, in this study, refers to any direct one-to-one person communication with a police officer, (a friendly chat, a street or informal warning, an arrest, or a pre-charge warning), either verbal or physical. It is important to note that in any type of police contact, police can legally utilise reasonable force, whereas citizens cannot legally retaliate with force. The only response that citizens can legally employ during police contact is verbal, and even then, verbal responses are restricted and monitored at police discretion.

Police-initiated contact: Police-initiated contact refers to when a police officer instigates contact with a citizen. This includes verbal initiation (a chat, or a series of

questioning) and physical initiation (being held back, blocking, or utilising reasonable force).

Self-initiated contact: Self-initiated contact refers to when a citizen initiates contact with police. This is predominantly through verbal initiation, usually when reporting an incident (either on behalf of themselves or others).

Abstract

This study explored female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice during police interactions in New Zealand. Available research on youth and procedural justice, is male-focused or treats youth as homogenous. No recent research has investigated female interactions with police, although police are the gatekeepers to the criminal justice system, and the rate of female incarceration is increasing rapidly in New Zealand. This qualitative study is feminist-informed and employed semi-structured interviews of 11 female adolescents who had experienced police contact within the previous five years. Transcripts of these interviews were subjected to thematic analysis and three key themes were identified: invasion of space, communication of authority, and presentation of risk. The results indicate that gender dynamics do influence female adolescents in their navigation of these three themes, and thereby, impact their perceptions of procedural justice during police encounters.

I Don't Know You Random Man: Adolescent Female Perceptions of Procedural Justice During Police Contact

In 2020, against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, a deep-rooted global mistrust of the police has become evident. The year has been a chaotic one, full of upset and change. The deaths of George Floyd (a Black man) and Breonna Taylor (a Black woman) by White male police officers in the United States, have incited public outrage. This has led to Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests and demands for systemic shifts, including in New Zealand (NZ). For 26-year-old Breonna Taylor, in addition to racial disparities during police contact, there were gender discrepancies. George Floyd's death was in public, on the street, in daylight, and filmed. Breonna Taylor's death was in private, in her home, at night-time, and police body cameras were turned off. Systemic invisibility has been further increased as no one has been held accountable for her death, and public confidence of the police continues to deteriorate. A decline in public support of the police is problematic (Murphy & Tyler, 2017). However, procedural justice can improve police and public relations, through increasing the public perception of fairness by police in their decision-making processes, and interpersonal treatment (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Murphy & Tyler, 2017; Tyler, 1990). The theoretical practice of procedural justice should be employed by police to enhance police legitimacy and citizen compliance, in order to uphold democratic values (Warden & McLean, 2017). Research exists on procedural justice for minorities and young people, however young people are often treated as an homogenous group and not differentiated on gender. Therefore, in New Zealand, it is important to explore how female adolescents perceive procedural justice to be practiced by police during their interactions.

In the context of criminological literature, integrity in police practice is understood through the concept of procedural justice. In a democracy "Trust between law enforcement agencies and the people they protect and serve is essential" (Office of Community Orientated Policing Services, 2015, p. 5). The practice of procedural justice, is underpinned by the principles of: trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality, and has been found to build trust and legitimacy between police and citizens (Tyler, 1990). How police, as representatives of the state, treat citizens correlates to the societal value of the citizen (Tyler, 1997). When a citizen feels they are treated with dignity, this equates to feeling accepted as a member of society. The opposite treatment equates to feelings of societal

rejection for the individual. If a citizen is accepted or rejected by the police, this in turn, reflects acceptance or rejection by society. Individuals are sensitive to indicators that portray their position within a societal group, which are determined by the critical relationships between police and citizens (DeCremer & Tyler, 2005).

The following discussion provides context for the study, at the nexus of procedural justice, police legitimacy, gender, police, and youth relations. A summation of the impetus for the research is outlined, and how what was anticipated in the findings and what the findings revealed, resulted in a focus shift. Finally, the key aims of the study and a synopsis of the thesis are provided. The main definitions employed in this research are outlined in a glossary at the commencement of this report.

New Zealand Police

The New Zealand Police (NZP) are the first point of contact for citizens within the Criminal Justice System (CJS), hence police officers are the gatekeepers to the CJS (Cunneen et al., 2015). The NZP cohort is not reflective of the society that they police. There is a racial imbalance in the NZP. Māori officers form 12.8% of the police, Pacific officers make up 6.5%, and Asian officers account for 5.0% of the constabulary (NZP, 2020). In the NZP, as internationally, there is also a significant gender imbalance. In 2020, females accounted for just 23.3% of the constabulary (NZP, 2020). Therefore, the likelihood of a female civilian encountering a male police officer is high, with an even higher likelihood of encountering a Pākehā (non-Māori) male officer.

The Study

This study began as an investigation into the nature of the interactions between NZP and young Māori women. It is generally young people who are the most visible group to the NZP. During adolescence, youth transition from spending most of their leisure time with adults, to increasingly associating with their peers (Knoll et al., 2015). Public space frequently facilitates this socialising time for young people, as they are free from the oversight of their caregivers (White, 1993). Young people often gather in large groups too, which ironically makes them more prone to attention from police officers (White, 1993). How they are treated and perceived by police is therefore of critical importance. While

there is a body of international research about the nature of police and youth interactions, little is known about how these unfold in New Zealand. This is due in part, to the legal requirement of the NZP to deal with each young person in an informal and discretionary manner (Lynch, 2012). What can be inferred is that the nature of interactions between NZP and young Māori may be different to those between police and young non-Māori. Māori are overrepresented at every stage of the CJS (Jackson, 1988; Department of Corrections, 2020). In addition, Māori are more likely than non-Māori to be arrested, and most likely to be charged, have a court proceeding, and be victims of police violence (JustSpeak, 2020). Further, the Prison Policy Initiative (2019) has identified that police encounters with women of colour are often absent from the data.

The focus on young Māori women was based upon the observation that female incarceration is increasing at an accelerated rate in NZ, much faster than male incarceration rates (JustSpeak, 2020). For example, over the past five years the female imprisonment rate has risen by an unprecedented 35% (Department of Corrections, 2020). Moreover, most of these women are Māori and had their first contact with the police during adolescence. Thus, if interactions between NZP and young Māori differ to those with non-Māori, then is there another factor present in the interactions between NZP and young Māori women, that could explain why they are being incarcerated more than ever?

This study was to be centred on interactions between NZP and young Māori women. However, the young women who responded to the advertisements were predominantly Pākehā. As the research progressed, I became aware of an unexpected absence of procedural justice in police interactions for the majority of this sample, which needed to be explored. This thesis is therefore a critical investigation of the gendered interactions between NZP and a group of eleven cisgender young women. It posits that the gendered nature of police interactions with young women undermines the practices and experiences of procedural justice. Whether procedural justice is perceived, or not, during police interactions is vital, as police legitimacy itself is based on citizen perceptions (Worden & McLean, 2017). Citizen views of police legitimacy reflect views of government legitimacy, which in turn is critical for democratic societies. Therefore, young women's perceptions of whether they experienced procedural justice, or not, during their police encounters are valid and of the utmost importance.

Research Aims

This research aims to explore young women's perceptions of procedural justice, amplify female voices and foreground their experiences, in relation to their interactions with the NZP.

The questions below were employed to navigate the research process:

1. What do interactions with the NZP look like for young females?
2. Does the context of where young women encounter the NZP impact upon these interactions?
3. How do young females feel like they were treated by the NZP?
4. Have these interactions influenced young women's perceptions of the NZP overall?
5. What do the NZP represent to young women?
6. Have the perceptions that young females gained of the NZP impacted their behaviour toward the NZP?

Thesis Overview

Chapter 1 provides the rationale for the research. Chapter 2 outlines the literature examining the multifaceted nexus of procedural justice, police legitimacy, and police and youth relations, to provide a theoretical backdrop for the research findings. The review of the literature considers how young women's lives are structured around avoiding the risks of male violence toward them. As will be demonstrated, young women's safety-work becomes significant for how they experience and interpret practices of procedural justice in their encounters with NZP. Chapter 3 articulates the methodological framework as well as the research methods employed, and the challenges encountered while conducting the study. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are the results chapters that detail the data findings pertaining to the themes of space, communication, and risk during interactions between young females and the NZP. Chapter 4 examines the importance of space, and how the constant threat of encountering unknown men in public spaces influences interactions with police for young women. Chapter 5 relays how police, as communicators of authority, determine the

tone of citizen encounters, and how communication can escalate or deescalate situations and behaviours rapidly. The young females in this study reported that NZP communication was definitively gendered. Chapter 6 explores the sense of risk that women experienced when encountering the NZP, and the responsibility that the NZP imposed on them to manage the risks associated with being female. The young women's experiences illustrate the factors of gendered interactions between young women and the NZP are amplified within the night-time economy (NTE). Lastly, Chapter 7 discusses the importance of the research findings, to support further research and investigation, particularly in the New Zealand context.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

The literature review will commence with a discussion around procedural justice, police legitimacy, and the social contract. All three concepts are interconnected, influence citizen compliance, and form the fundamental basis of this study. Next, the four principles of procedural justice (trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality) will be considered in relation to citizen perceptions of the police. The concept of female adolescence will be explored with regard to social constructs of femininity and risk. Finally, the imbalance of power between female adolescents and the police is considered, with regard to state authority, age, and gender.

Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy

Procedural justice is the perceived fairness of decision-making processes and interpersonal treatment. In criminology, procedural justice refers to citizen perceptions of how police exercise their authority. Citizen views of the quality of police decisions and treatment are instrumental for societal compliance (Gau, 2011; Murphy, 2009; Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Huo, 2002). The decision-making process refers to whether the police employ neutrality in their dealings with citizens, while interpersonal treatment refers to whether the police treat citizens with dignity and respect (Murphy et al., 2015; Tankebe, 2009). Therefore, procedural justice depends on citizen perceptions of fairness in both areas. Tyler (1990) found four principles that affect citizen perceptions of the quality of decision-making and police treatment: trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality (Tyler, 1990; Bradford et al., 2015). How well these principles are upheld influences citizen views of procedural justice and in turn, whether they recognise the police as legitimate figures of authority.

Police legitimacy is when citizens perceive the police as a rightful authority with the power to implement that authority (Beetham, 1991; Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Coicaud, 1997, 2002; Jackson et al., 2012; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Legitimacy is central to the process-based model of policing (Reisig et al., 2014). Process-based policing maintains that the interactions individuals have with the CJS are more significant than legal ramifications (Tyler, 2004, 2006a, 2006b). Perceptions of legitimacy have been linked to voluntary compliance with legal authority (Bradford et al., 2015; Hinds, 2007; Hough, 2013). Authority can be defined as “the power or right to give orders and make others obey” (Ehrlich et al.,

1980, p. 53). Hough (2013) maintains that the legitimization process is what changes power into authority. Beetham (1991) highlights consent, legality, and shared beliefs as fundamental to the recognition of state appointed legitimacy. For legitimacy to occur, citizens must trust that an authority is fair and acts in accordance with society's best interests. Therefore, police legitimacy is subjective for citizens, according to whether they view police treatment as fair (Farrow, 2020). Sunshine and Tyler (2003) examined public responses to the police (an institution of social control) and police legitimacy (a system of social control) in New York City. They maintain that the public respond positively to the practice of procedural justice which in turn, helps the public to view the police as legitimate, facilitating social order (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Interestingly, in Ghana, trust in the police was not found to be as significant to the public as it is in Western nations (Tankebe, 2009). In a New Zealand context, as in other Western countries, there is an assumption that the public share macro values with the police, which can lead to citizen compliance.

Tyler (2004) argues that citizen behaviour is dependent on how legitimate the citizen perceives the authority to be. Therefore, *legitimacy* is the "support for legal authorities" and a "perceived obligation to obey" (Tyler, 2004, p. 43). Tyler (1990) specifies that compliance with the law, particularly if the law conflicts with one's own values, is dependent upon whether the authority is perceived to be legitimate. It is this perception of legitimacy that "reflects the degree to which people recognise the right of an authority to govern their behaviour" (Murphy, 2017, p. 45). When an authority is seen as legitimate, a transference of power and authority occurs when the citizen accepts that the authority can enforce their definition of suitable behaviours onto them (Murphy, 2017). Thereby, compliance with the law is a more likely outcome even if the individual disagrees with the law being enforced. Ultimately, procedural justice theories are about the employment of authority, and how this authority is viewed by the public (Hough, 2013).

Therefore, citizen views of procedural justice and police legitimacy are intrinsically interconnected. Perceptions around fairness of police-citizen encounters, whether positive or negative, are crucial for both procedural justice and police legitimacy (Harkin, 2015; Roberts & Herrington, 2013; Tyler, 2011). Police legitimacy increases when citizens perceive fairness in both the decision-making processes and interpersonal treatment of procedural justice (Bradford et al., 2015; Reisig et al., 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Procedural justice

is “about *how*, not *whether* police authority is exercised,” while police legitimacy is “public trust in and a felt obligation to obey the police” (Worden & McLean, 2017, pp. 8, 42). Impressions of procedural justice impact upon police legitimacy which affects public views of the police (Mastrofski et al., 2016; Tyler, 2004). This is similar to a closed loop system, where one circumstance influences another in a cyclical fashion. Nagin and Telep (2020) maintain that views of procedural justice and legitimacy are the accrual of many familial, systemic, and historical influences. These variables can impact police decision-making processes and interpersonal treatment, thereby affecting degrees of citizen compliance. Citizen perceptions of police legitimacy affect behaviours, and underpin procedural justice (Gau, 2011). Perceptions of fair police treatment, and therefore legitimacy, are further impacted by pre-existing power dynamics within society, known as *the social contract*.

The Social Contract

The social contract depends on the majority of the population agreeing to relinquish some freedoms, in exchange for societal order or peace. As theorised by Rousseau in 1762, adherence to the social contract is the difference between a civilised society and anarchy (Rousseau, 1893). However, Pateman (1988) and Mills (1997) critique social contract theory for propagating the myth that all citizens are equal, with gender and race being invisible within them. Rather, Mills (1997) maintains that there are several social contracts: moral, political, sexual, and racial. Political and social systemic power dynamics (macro) influence and inform daily individual (micro) interactions. So it is that laws, political agendas, socially acceptable behaviours, systemic racism, structural sexism, influence and condition exchanges between citizens and authority figures, particularly the police.

The moral contract explores societal values and acceptable codes of conduct, and the political contract examines governments and citizens’ responsibilities to follow laws (Mills, 1997). While these moral and political contracts promote collective societal freedoms, the sexual and racial contracts highlight that freedom for some is built on the subordination of others. The sexual contract (Pateman, 1988) highlights that societally, women are subordinate to men, and the racial contract (Mills, 1997) maintains that White supremacy exists and operates as its own political system. Within this nuanced concept of a social contract, women are subordinate to men, and people of colour are subordinate to

White people. Age further complicates these contracts where youth are subordinate to adults. These disparities within the social contracts have widespread implications as to whether citizens perceive the authority of the police, as front-line representatives of the state, to be fair and legitimate. The social contracts further underpin police-citizen interactions according to societal narratives of the dominant and subordinate, including factors such as gender, age, and race. The relational dynamics are contextualised within the broader context of authority and compliance.

Procedural Justice and Compliance

Procedural justice theories are set within the body of normative compliance literature, where citizen perceptions of fairness affect their actions toward the police. Theorists, influenced by Durkheim and Weber, focus on the roots of social order and the hierarchical power structure that exists to maintain that order (Hough, 2013; Reisig et al., 2014; Tyler, 2003). There is a mutual trust agreement in society to preserve order and safety, where police depend on the support of the public to report crime, suspicious behaviour, and identify witnesses (Miller et al., 2004; Schafer et al., 2003; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Citizens tend to obey laws either because they morally believe in them, or because they are habitually complying (Bradford et al., 2015). However, legitimacy enhances compliance beyond moral belief, and beyond the perceived risk of punishment (Bradford et al., 2015; Jackson et al., 2012; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Therefore, compliance and agents of compliance are fundamental to preserving societal order (Easton, 1975).

An imbalance of power exists between police and citizens, where police are the state-appointed governing authority. The police, as representatives of the CJS, maintain social control by being the determinant of right and wrong (Hough, 2013; Jackson et al., 2012). Police power is magnified by their use of discretion during daily interactions with the public. This discretion is open to broad interpretation and may not align with public perceptions of their position as state appointed authority (Rowe, 2007). Their uniform and its pertaining accoutrements act as a visible reminder to the public, of the power the police hold over them (Fielding, 1994). In general, studies have found that uniforms impact citizen influenceability (Milgram, 1963). As a result, trust in the police is representative of trust in

the state. When the decision-making and interpersonal treatment by police, as the dominant group, appears fair to subordinate citizens, perceptions of procedural justice are enhanced (Hough, 2013). However, if citizens regard the police as untrustworthy, they may perceive being treated unfairly by the system, which calls legitimacy into question (Roberts & Herrington, 2013). In turn, this can affect behaviour, as Tatar et al. (2011) found a connection between perceptions of procedural injustice and heightened levels of anger in incarcerated female adolescents. Therefore, procedural justice theories highlight how an authority figure's actions affect a citizen's impressions, responses, and inclinations to cooperate with demands (Roberts & Herrington, 2013).

When procedural justice is adhered to, citizens are more likely to perceive the police as legitimate, and the consequences as fair, which results in citizen compliance with the law (Murphy et al., 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 1990). Tyler (2006b) argues that citizens obey the law due to a moral internalisation, more than a fear of consequences. Indeed, normative compliance through the perspectives of fair procedural policing, has been demonstrated to be more successful than the threat of punishment (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). Therefore, authorities have the power to increase voluntary compliance by enhancing perceptions of legitimacy in the ways they enact procedural justice (Murphy, 2017). Tyler's (1990) process-based model of policing explores the social-psychological context of procedural justice to better understand how police interactions with citizens affect feelings of fairness (Tyler, 2000, 2004; see also Reisig et al., 2007; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Therefore, it is pertinent to examine Tyler's model of procedural justice.

Tyler's Model of Procedural Justice

Tyler's (1990) model of procedural justice, identified that citizens are more likely to obey an authority if they feel that the processes are fair. The main premise of Tyler's model is that predictors of trust in the CJS are more likely to be dependent on perceptions of fair procedural treatment, than on perceptions of the outcomes. In Tyler's Chicago study of 1,575 participants who had experience with the police, he found that when citizens view legal authorities as legitimate, they are more likely to comply with their demands. Tyler "has emphasized the obligation to obey an authority as a hallmark of its legitimacy" (Worden & McLean, 2017, p. 43). The model indicates that when procedural fairness values are upheld

by social institutions, citizens are more inclined to self-regulate. The process-based model accounts for subjectivity by recognising that procedural justice and legitimacy are fluid and exist on a spectrum. Consequently, police can enhance their legitimacy through fair treatment of citizens, demonstrated by police actions of respect (Reisig et al., 2007). For example, politeness in police treatment has been found to increase perceptions of fairness and consequently, self-regulation by citizens (Murphy, 2009). Citizens are also more inclined to accept legal repercussions, such as an arrest or a fine, if they feel that the quality of police decision-making and treatment has been fair (Tyler, 1990). Therefore, the interaction is more important to the citizen than the outcome. Tyler (1990) identified four key components that affect citizen views of procedural justice during police interactions: trustworthiness, voice, neutrality, and respect. This chapter will further examine these four principles, before discussing the context for interactions between female adolescents and police.

Trustworthiness

Western societal structure is founded on a mutual trust between police and citizens. Citizens trust the police to make reputable decisions to keep them safe, while police depend on citizen compliance (Miller et al., 2004; Schafer et al., 2003; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Trustworthiness, as a key component of procedural justice, is the quality of being honest, sincere, and reliable. A close connection has been found between trust and a feeling of obligation to adhere to police instruction (Reisig et al., 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). If citizens trust that the police will treat them in a procedurally just manner, then they are more likely to perceive the police as legitimate authority figures and therefore, co-operate (Jackson et al., 2012). Police enhance feelings of citizen trust by acting with integrity, listening to concerns reported, and providing verbal explanations. Citizens view police officers as legitimate when they accept that police have the moral authority to command and implement acceptable societal behaviour (Bradford et al., 2015). A lack of trust in procedural justice “erodes feelings of shared group membership with the authority concerned” (Jackson et al., 2012, p. 1053). For example, feelings of trust in the police are diminished when explanations are withheld, concerns are trivialised, and interactions are mechanical. However, police trust of citizens is deemed to be more important than citizen trust of police.

Trust between police and citizens exists in a hierarchy, where police trust of citizens is more institutionally significant than citizen trust of police. Beetham (1991) argues that for a power dynamic to be legitimate, the strength of the dynamic depends on the alignment of the moral codes between the dominant and the subordinate. Public trust in how police officers employ their authority affects this legitimacy (Reisig et al., 2007). Unlike other institutions, police are state-appointed agents who can legally enforce behavioural codes, according to their own moral discretion whether these beliefs are shared by the subordinate or not (Jackson et al., 2012; Reiner, 2010). For example, if a police officer asks a citizen to comply and that citizen refuses, there will be consequences, and the citizen will be forced to obey. It is not the same in reverse, as the police officer does not have to do what the citizen asks, and there is no such enforcement. Therefore, if trust breaks down between police and citizen, only the citizen can be punished. Expanding upon Rousseau's (1762) social contract, Beetham (1991) maintains that institutions are needed where power is shared as much as possible between equals. This can occur when power structures are critically examined and adaptable. If the distribution of power feels unfair, it erodes feelings of procedural justice, and citizens do not feel safe to voice their concerns.

Voice

In Tyler's (1990) model, views of procedural justice are determined by whether citizens have the opportunity to have a voice during police interactions. *Voice* is when individuals are given the space to describe their circumstances and have their situation listened to (Worden & McLean, 2017). Language is theorised through a social constructionist epistemology. Language is constitutive as opposed to representational (Tuffin, 2002). Social constructionists ascertain that language plays a prominent role in the curation of experiences and therefore perceived realities, the foundation of social life (Tuffin, 2002). The communication of procedural justice through voice and the demonstration of legitimate authority are critical to the normative models of crime control, and ultimately to co-operation (Jackson et al., 2012). In research with incarcerated females, Baker et al. (2014) found that their perception of opportunities to be heard during police encounters was an important indicator of their views about whether procedural justice had occurred or not. Therefore, providing a space for citizens to have a voice during police encounters is significant.

Voice is communicated through many forms, both verbal and non-verbal: verbal explanations, tone of voice, body language, and facial expressions (Drury, 2003). The overlap of perception, attitudes and behaviour is multifaceted in conveying meaning (Cushman & McPhee, 1980; Murray & Thompson, 1985). From their earliest years, children ascribe meaning to tone of voice and eye gaze, particularly when communicated by their caregiver (Kidwell, 2005). In one look, a child can determine “what another will do next” (Kidwell, 2005, p. 443). Therefore, children are particularly attuned to the meaning of eye gaze from authority figures. The interpretation of eye gaze is subjective, so can be perceived in different ways. The complexity of eye gaze continues into adulthood, where Moore and Breeze (2012) found that, for women, being the centre of someone’s look can be threatening, especially if perceived as part of a sexual agenda. Therefore, voice is significant and is often the means through which the other three principles of procedural justice (trustworthiness, respect, and neutrality) are facilitated.

Respect

Notions of respect significantly impact citizen interpretations of procedural justice. *Respect* is a critical component for successful co-operation to occur and can be defined as “experiencing and acknowledging the intrinsic value or significance of something or somebody” (McCarthy & Walker, 2006, p. 26). However, depending on the context, respect is communicated and received differently (Drury, 2003; Leary et al., 2005). Therefore, respect is fluid and subject to personal and cultural perspectives. During interactions with the police, it has been found that respectful treatment has more of a significant effect on citizen cooperation, than the possible repercussions of police contact (i.e., a warning, arrest or charge) (Cherney & Murphy, 2011). Varying cultural definitions of respect have serious implications, as perceptions and behaviours are inherently interconnected (Cushman & McPhee, 1980; Leary et al., 2005; Murray & Thompson, 1985). What is viewed as respectful in one culture may be disrespectful in another. For example, in Pasifika culture it is disrespectful to make direct eye contact, especially with authority figures, whereas for many Pākehā, not making eye contact is disrespectful. This can cause miscommunication, especially for young people who are navigating hierarchal social contracts of gender, age, and race. This can be misinterpreted by police whose actions may then, in turn, cause police to be perceived by young people as disrespectful.

Police demonstrations of respect may be viewed as indicative of the systemic worth of citizens due to the hierarchal nature of respect. Thereby, influencing citizen perceptions of fairness, as police are representative of the state. In Western societies, respect is an integral part of the social contract, where individual freedoms are subsumed in favour of the collective good. Respect acknowledges an inherent importance which is magnified by the proposition of hierarchal positions within the social contract, where there is a dominant and subordinate (Mills, 1997; Pateman, 1988). Therefore, during police interactions, there could be an inconsistency of expectation in the giving and receiving of respect, which contributes to perceptions of procedural justice (Deutsch & Jones, 2008; Pace & Hemmings, 2007). For example, a citizen may consider they are entitled to equal person-to-person respect, while a police officer may feel their position should engender more respect. Often, those in dominant positions of authority feel that respect should exist from the subordinate, regardless of the social context. This view impacts perceptions of procedural justice if the subordinate feels that this respect is unearned, unreciprocated, or they are contending with prejudice.

Neutrality

If citizens ascertain that police are operating out of a place of neutrality, they are more likely to feel that procedural justice has occurred. *Neutrality* is when individuals have been reassured that police actions are founded upon actualities, and the results would be the same no matter the recipient (Worden & McLean, 2017). However, occurring macro systemic injustices indicate that individuals are not regarded equally according to gender, age, and race, which can affect treatment, and therefore feelings of fairness. The predominantly male gendered nature of the police greatly influences citizen views of procedural fairness, which in turn significantly affects individual experiences with the police, and therefore procedural justice (Novich et al., 2018). This is especially the case for women encountering police. It has been found that police target certain groups of people disproportionately, in accordance with in-group bias (Gau & Brunson, 2010; McAra & McVie, 2005). In NZ, labelling young people and families as vulnerable has been an identifying factor for targeting and stigmatisation in punitive measures (Stanley & Monod de Froideville, 2020). Factors such as socioeconomic status and race consistently equate to unjustified police scrutiny (Cherney & Murphy, 2011; Gau & Brunson, 2010; Horyniak et al.,

2017). Police have been found to act more as class subjects than legal subjects when applying discretion (McAra & McVie, 2005). For example, the police decision whether to take further action against the person of interest or not, is often to do with the socio-economic status of the person, rather than their behaviour. McAra and McVie (2005) argue that police decisions often undermine what the CJS is trying to achieve, and enhance the problems that the system is attempting to eliminate. Research in Western countries has highlighted discrepancies between societal groups and the employment of police discretion, specifically when one group or individual is favoured over another (Gau & Brunson, 2010; Marinos & Innocente, 2008; McAra & McVie, 2005; Richards et al., 2019). For example, in NZ, Māori young people under 25 years of age are four times more likely than European young people, to be charged by police (JustSpeak, 2020). Therefore, notions of neutrality are underpinned by the dominant and subordinate groups within the social contract.

So far, I have outlined each component of Tyler's model of procedural justice and discussed in general terms the dependencies between procedural justice, police legitimacy, and citizen compliance. Next, I turn to the significance of gendered power dynamics within the social contracts for female adolescents, particularly during police interactions.

Male Police and Female Adolescents

Police officers hold a unique position in that they may interact with female adolescents in both private and public spheres. It is well received across scholarship that policing is "gendered at individual, structural, and cultural levels" (Silvestri, 2017, p. 290). In New Zealand, approximately 80% of police officers are male (NZP, 2020). This is indicative of police forces globally, as there is no known force where women are represented equally to men (van Ewijk, 2012). Researchers attribute the overrepresentation of men in the police with a culture of machismo, referring to a cult of masculinity within the police (Silvestri, 2017). This is indicative of power dynamics of space generally, where men are the "default human" (Perez, 2019, p. 98). However, the police uniform is a visible reminder of the state appointed power of the police, and their authority to exercise it through force if required (Westmarland, 2017). Police officers also have minimal restrictions with regard to boundaries between public and private spaces. The physical body of a police officer can be intimidating, due to the emphasis on appearing big and strong (Klockars, 1985;

Westmarland, 2017). This may be particularly intimidating for women, who are statistically more likely to interact with male police officers, rather than with female police officers (NZP, 2020). Sexual identity has also been found to affect citizen views and experiences of police trustworthiness (Miles-Johnson, 2013). Consequently, when male police officers interact with females, they are doing so in a dual role, as men and police.

Research in NZ illustrates that most adult female perpetrators have already offended before 16 years of age i.e., during adolescence (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015). Further, NZ is experiencing an unprecedented rate of female incarceration, which Chief Executive of the NZ Department of Corrections, Ray Smith, stated is a “huge problem” (Walters, 2018, March 1). This increase has been attributed to minor infractions and repercussions that are “not tailored to the gendered needs of women” (Bentley, 2014, p. 44). The increase in the female prison population, then, suggests that police legitimacy may not exist for these citizens. However, there is minimal research as to why this is occurring.

The impetus for the research this thesis reports on, was to ascertain whether and how police decisions to detain or arrest young women was a factor, setting them on a pathway to crime (Schulenberg & Warren, 2009; Cunneen et al., 2015). However, the data told another, unanticipated story. As this thesis will show, within the social contract, when male police officers interact with female adolescents there is a triple power dynamic at play, where police have dominance over citizens, males have dominance over females, and adults have dominance over adolescents. For young women of colour, there is the fourth dimension of race (Mills, 1997). Adolescent women are affected by these power dynamics which in turn, impact their views of procedural justice. In the sections below I explore three bodies of literature that are pertinent to the discussions in this thesis: youth, femininities, and risk. The sections following will examine how these come together in a nexus that is significant for understanding the interactions between police and young women.

Youth

Many adolescents physically look like adults however neurologically they are not, prior to full development of the pre-frontal cortex (Crone & Fuligni, 2020). Adolescence loosely begins around the onset of puberty, as biological, social, and neurological changes take place, ultimately for the evolutionary purpose of reproduction (Blakemore et al., 2010;

Coleman & Hendry, 1999; Crone & Fuligni, 2020). Physical maturation happens during puberty due to a hormonal transition when three endocrine changes occur: gonadarche, adrenarche, and the initiation of the growth axis (Spear, 2000). Puberty is long, drawn-out, and not a fully collective experience (Blakemore et al., 2010). Adolescence is a fluid concept in Western societies (Sawyer et al., 2018). For example, a 16-year-old can be simultaneously referred to as a child, an adolescent, and a youth (Sawyer et al., 2012). Sawyer et al. (2018) determine that child indicates dependency, youth signifies independence, and adolescent refers to the process of metamorphosis where there is some individual responsibility while requiring elements of adult protection.

Adolescents are vulnerable to public scrutiny in ways that adults are not. Young people answer to adults in authority on familial, educational, social, and legal levels (McAra & McVie, 2005). They are policed by parents, caregivers, teachers, librarians, security-guards, and adult members of the public. Adolescents have a long history of being policed by society, and consequently the police, meaning that procedural justice and police legitimacy directly impact them (Muncie, 2014). Historically, each generation has viewed the youth of their time to be more morally degenerate, chaotic, and unruly than the generation before (Pearson, 1983). Adolescents are aware of the unequal power dynamic with adults, and that they are vulnerable in scenarios with adults in positions of authority (McAra & McVie, 2005). Underlying youth relations with police, as with adults, are youth objections to the restraints of power and authority (Peterson, 2008). Police officers occupy positions as significant, non-familial, communicators of authority for young people (Drury, 2003). Young people are especially susceptible to police intervention as they congregate in groups, often in public spaces, making them more visible to police (White, 1993). Therefore, vulnerability and visibility of youth are exacerbated during their interactions with police, as police hold the power of enforcement. Young people aged between 18 and 24 are the group most likely to encounter the police and be subject to police-initiated contact (Harrell & Davis, 2020). In NZ, many young people enter the youth justice system due to crimes that emanate from disorderly behaviour. Concurrently, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of females entering the youth justice system in recent years (Judge Walker, personal communication, May 1, 2018). Consequently, police employment of this power

and how they treat youth, impact adolescent views of police legitimacy, procedural justice, and determine the likelihood of compliance.

Youth perceptions during police exchanges directly impact their impressions of procedural justice and police legitimacy, and consequently whether they will cooperate with police (Bradford et al., 2015; Greene et al., 2010; Hinds, 2007; Murphy & Gaylor, 2010). Prior to Hinds (2007), only Fagan and Tyler (2005) and Piquero et al. (2005) had examined procedural justice and police legitimacy in relation to young people. Hinds (2007) studied young people's attitudes towards police legitimacy and it was the first non-US based project to examine the nexus of young people and perceptions of procedural justice and police legitimacy. Previous research found that perceptions of police legitimacy impact adolescent behaviour, which continues into adulthood (Hinds, 2007). Hurst and Frank (2000) found that many variables employed to evaluate adult perceptions of the police were also indicators of young people's future perceptions of the police. Further, Hurst and Frank (2000) revealed strong connections between youth views of police legitimacy and their perceptions of procedural justice. In many countries such as Australia, Canada, Finland, Slovenia, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States, procedural justice has been viewed as important for adolescents in their engagement with police (Hinds, 2007; Murphy, 2015; Murphy & Gaylor, 2010; Norman, 2009; Peterson, 2008; Reisig et al., 2014; Saarikkomäki, 2016).

Youth perceptions of police legitimacy are significantly diminished when police behaviour is viewed as negative, for example when young people are stereotyped and labelled by the police (Hinds, 2007; Norman, 2009). In contrast, when young people perceive that they are being treated fairly by the police, they are more likely to view the police as legitimate (Hinds, 2007; Reisig et al., 2014). Youth perceptions of procedural justice when dealing with police have been found to specifically impact youth views of police legitimacy (Murphy, 2015; Murphy & Gaylor, 2010). It has been found that young people are able to accept the repercussions of police decisions if they perceive that they have been treated fairly (Hinds, 2007; Hough, 2013). If young people know why they have been addressed or pulled over by the police, or even arrested, they are more likely to comply with police decisions (Hinds, 2007; Hough, 2013).

Communication issues have been found to be problematic between adolescents and adults due to the unequal power dynamic. For example, young people are consistently told by adults, 'don't talk back' or, 'don't use that tone.' However, initial interpersonal communications with police officers can have a long-lasting impact for youth due to attendant repercussions, more so than conflicts with other authority figures. How situations are communicated to young people is of vital importance (Drury, 2003). Adolescents want to be heard and be able to explain situations without interruption. Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) emphasise the need for police to apply and communicate procedural justice values genuinely. Genuine communication along with explanations of police actions has been found to significantly influence citizen perceptions contributing to a belief that the police are a legitimate authority (Myhill & Quinton, 2011).

Young peoples' perceptions of procedural justice are impacted by the macro issues of culture, race, and gender. A young person's initial experience with the police impacts any other encounters that young person has with the police and the CJS (Hurst et al., 2000). Therefore, police officers are both directly and indirectly key to youth experiences of procedural justice (Siegel, 2000). In NZ, police are granted great levels of discretion when dealing with young people (Ministry of Justice, 2020). This aligns with the Oranga Tamariki Act (1989). Therefore, examining police interactions is particularly important in NZ, as there is little oversight of police employment of discretion in encounters that occur with young people (Lynch, 2012). Therefore, due to gendered dynamics within the social contract, it can be considered that there is even less oversight of police employment of discretion in encounters that occur with young women.

Femininities and Risk

Female behaviour is controlled and judged according to respectable and risky femininities, both by society and individuals (Green & Singleton, 2006; Stanko, 1997). Women are socially ordered into one of two categories: respectable femininities (good), or risky femininities (bad). Historically, categories were established when societal concerns arose with the apparent absence of female supervision, either domestically or morally (Muncie, 2014). Whenever females participated in activities outside of domestic work, demonstrating any form of autonomy, it was typically penalised (Muncie, 2014). It was not

acceptable or appropriate for women to do so, as they were meant to adhere to societal and familial expectations. Initially, women who did adhere to respectable, feminine roles were to be separate and be kept safe from women who did not conform (Muncie, 2014). In particular, female sexuality was policed in adherence to respectable, feminine roles. These categories have evolved over time and are still evident. Once categorised, there is little flexibility for women to navigate the “structurally imposed line between the good and bad woman, the madonna and whore image, the virtuous woman and the fallen woman” (Chan & Rigakos, 2002, p. 755). The good woman is often attributed with being: feminine, nice, pure (but not a prude), kind, nurturing, polite, acceptably emotional (but not cold and not hysterical), as wife, mother, or daughter in need of protection (Gunby et al., 2017). In contrast, the bad woman is characterised as: sexually promiscuous (often assumed by style of dress), independent, mouthy, feisty, and an excessive drinker (Gunby et al., 2017). Furthermore, women who are lesbian, masculine, or depart from conventional femininities, are considered risky and a threat.

The femininity dichotomy has been perpetuated by externalised and internalised misogyny (Connell, 1987). Female subordination to male control underpins this dichotomy, in that if females submit to convention, they are categorised as at-risk and if they resist, they are categorised as risky (Connell, 1987). This links to social contract theories where men are dominant, and women are subordinate (Mills, 1997). Women are held to high standards of responsibility and are blamed for any missteps (Chan & Rigakos, 2002). Females must therefore be hypervigilant with respect to their own movements and those of potential attackers. In particular, when going to clubs or bars in the NTE, female adolescents are sent conflicting messages, to have fun yet simultaneously warned not to go too far (Day et al., 2004; Hutton & Wright, 2015). However, the responsibility of what happens to women is placed on women (Chan & Rigakos, 2002). Accordingly, not only are women at risk of being categorised as risky or respectable, but they are also at risk of being blamed for harm perpetrated against them. The message relayed to women is that when their security is compromised, it is because they did not take sufficient care to keep themselves safe (Chan & Rigakos, 2002). Young females are restricted by expectations of respectability, yet simultaneously can form their identities through risk (Green & Singleton, 2006).

Risk

Risk is determined and constructed by societal and cultural norms (Lupton & Tulloch, 2002). These norms are magnified during interactions between young women and police, where the police officers control elements of risk, because they have discretion over the environments and how the interactions are directed. Risk in the broad sense is something that everyone must contend with. In accordance with Beck's (1992) risk society, *risk* is "a systematic way of dealing with the hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernisation itself" (p. 21). Governments define and manage risk as "an entirely negative phenomenon" (Case & Haines, 2016, p. 1). Beck (1992) maintains that technological changes impact accelerated sociological shifts within modern society that contribute to a more global risk society. There has become a societal fixation with the discourses and oversight of risk (Rothstein, 2006). Risk language is copiously applied to many aspects of day-to-day life (Austen, 2009; Jenkins 2006). Risk is fluid yet inherent and a word loaded with negative connotations. Despite Beck (1992) applying risk to modernisations such as science and technology, the broadening application of risk now has contradictory meanings to Beck as it is often associated with, "subjective feelings of anxiety and fear" (Austen, 2009, p. 452). Risk is "always a two-way concept and offers positive as well as negative values to risk takers and managers" (Green & Singleton, 2006, p. 864).

In public spaces, unknown men are often the perpetrators of these actions, further perpetuating the fear of strange men. There is a differentiation between unknown men who signify risk to women while known men signify safety (Ministry of Justice, Home Office and Office for National Statistics, 2013). In Western patriarchal society it is particularly Pākehā, heterosexual men who control spaces (Green & Singleton, 2006). Green and Singleton (2006) describe space as "gendered, sexualized, classed and racialized; and ease of access and movement through space for different groups is subject to constant negotiation and contestation, and is embedded in relations of power" (p. 859). As a result of the male power over space and the consequent actions "women have learned to fear the streets" (Kearl, 2010, p. xi). Power relations are particularly important within the context of this study regarding the dynamics between men and women, in addition to the interactions between police officers and citizens, and adults and adolescents.

Females as Risky

There is a connection between fear and public space which amplifies concepts of risk and responsibility, for females. These concepts disproportionately affect women in their navigation of public space, as a “departure from the strict rules of female propriety is punishable” (Moore & Breeze, 2012, p. 1173). Females are often perceived to be non-risk takers, so when they do something considered to be inherently risky, society tends to respond negatively. *Risky femininities* is a term found in the literature (Chan & Rigakos, 2002). Women, as with youth, may be viewed simultaneously as being at-risk, and a-risk. Social systems, and daily micro-aggressions enacted by men, have exerted social control on women at an individual level. Micro-aggressions are actions enacted by men that women cannot always explicitly articulate, such as a touch that lingers a little too long, or a man who stands a bit too close, which causes discomfort for women. This links to findings discussed later in the study, referred to as the *unsaid*. Therefore, risk or risky femininities are concepts applied when women appear to be breaching the conventions of socially respectable femininities.

For young women, drinking and sexuality are interconnected. Conventions of respectable femininities, gender, and inebriation, visibly intersect in the NTE. As a particularly popular public space, the goal of the NTE, emphasis on economy, is to attract customers to make money through alcohol. While drinking femininities may be considered appropriate, drunken femininities are not (Hutton, 2020). Respectable standards for women associated with intoxication or sobriety, include displays of “appropriate markers of femininity such as being passive and pure” (Hutton, 2020, p. 197). Women who exhibit a lapse in these standards “risk vilification” (Gunby et al., 2020, p. 27). These risks are intensified for women when they are drinking, as they risk being judged for their clothing choices. The combination of drinking and dress choice are often linked to judgements of promiscuity (Brooks, 2008). In turn, for women, an “awareness of these gendered risks acts as an informal regulator of their behaviour” (Brooks, 2008, p. 346). Societal concerns have often presided over intoxication and female behaviours (Jackson & Tinkler, 2007). Drunken women may be viewed as unattractive, unfeminine, and “of questionable sexual character” (Brooks, 2008, p. 346). They then risk being the recipients of unwanted sexual attention by males who may perceive them as easy (Brooks, 2008). Not only are women required to

regulate dress, intoxication, and judgement of others, but they are blamed when they are harmed, especially if that harm is of a sexual nature.

It is within the concept of risky femininities that vulnerability and blame intersect, and are particularly tangible in the NTE. The NTE is a highly sexualised performance of fashion and heteronormative hypermasculinity (Kavanaugh, 2013). However, women are vulnerable within the NTE, as sexual harm that frequently ensues is often not deemed serious due to the context from which it emanates (Kavanaugh, 2013). There is a sexual double standard for women associated with sexual promiscuity, in the NTE especially. This sexual double standard, in conjunction with female sexuality, and female drinking, are areas subject to particular scrutiny. This impacts young females, as female autonomy and sexuality have been, and continue to be, regulated by juvenile justice systems (Muncie, 2014). For example, in Australia, Carrington (1993) found that a custodial sentence was more likely to be given to females for a welfare situation than for a criminal offence.

Females at Risk

The physicality of women is connected to their lack of safety. An absence of guaranteed safety for women, as indicated in the research, impacts the questioning of the citizenship of women (Hirschman, 1994). Hirschman (1994) maintains that for one to fully participate in the social contract as a player one needs to be physically intact. Therefore, as women are conditioned to see themselves as “always-vulnerable” this in turn affects how they view their bodies as “lacking and deficient” (Campbell, 2005, p. 121). Accordingly, if a woman cannot own her physical self “one cannot enforce such security, one has nothing to gain or bargain; one cannot be a player, so one cannot be a citizen” (Hirschman, 1994, p. 103). In response, women aim to avoid unsafe interactions with unknown men, especially when alone, as much as possible.

Unwanted sexual attention is a powerful action that is employed by men to keep women in a position of subordination. Unwanted sexual attention incorporates a range of unwelcome behaviours that the recipient perceives as “being sexual in nature or intent” (Fileborn, 2012, p. 244). Unwanted sexual attention may be physical (unwanted touching, or space invasion), verbal (unwanted wolf whistling or obscene comments), or non-verbal (unwanted staring or hand gestures) (Gunby et al., 2020). Men have initiated actions of

control in order to maintain restrictions on the female employment of space (Valentine, 1990). For example, the everyday micro-aggressions that remind women of the risk they are at from men, especially unknown men. The fear of public space further indicates the influence of gendered social dynamics and gendered male control within space.

Street harassment is an example of unwanted sexual attention, predominately aimed at women by men, which exacerbates the gendered nature of public space (Kearl, 2010). *Street* is a broad euphemism for public spaces and makes a distinction between physical and non-physical public space (Vera-Gray, 2016). Street harassment is an action underpinned by power, where men exert their power over women and over public space (Kearl, 2010). Street harassment affects millions of women daily (Kearl, 2010). However, due to it being so normalised for women, it is vastly underreported. Sometimes, unwanted physical sexual attention is legally labelled as sexual assault, yet it is even less likely for verbal and non-verbal interactions to be (Gunby et al., 2020). Harassment is often a male-perpetrated action that contributes to an increase of the female fear of crime (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014). Street harassment has been acknowledged with respect to misogyny in the United Kingdom. A survey conducted in Nottinghamshire about the implementation of the 2016 'Misogyny Hate Crime' policy, found that 93.7% of the survey participants had either witnessed or had first-hand experience, of street harassment (Mullany & Trickett, 2020). It was also discovered that when respondents were communicating with police, they were satisfied when the police "had good knowledge of the policy, made them feel valued and took them seriously, evidenced through good rapport management, including empathy and supportive listenership" (Mullany & Trickett, 2020, p. 268). This is an example of how procedural justice principles are perceived during police encounters when reporting the street harassment of women.

There is a heightened sense of gendered vulnerability in the NTE as women encounter more unknown men (Brooks, 2011; Campbell, 2005; Gunby et al., 2020; Vera-Gray, 2018). An entertainment culture centered around alcohol has given women, especially young women, access to some freedom, however, with an associated increase in risk (Hutton, 2020). The NTE consists of sexualised social spaces where unwanted sexual contact such as "touching, groping, and other aggressive attempts at coercion, as well verbal harassment, are normalized" (Kavanaugh, 2013, p. 21). Nightclubs specifically, are sexual

marketplaces where females bear most of the repercussions and the female body is used as a commodity to lure men (Grazian, 2007; Gunby et al., 2020). While females received predominantly more unwanted sexual attention than males, Nicholls (2019) found that women viewed the female body “as lacking in terms of strength, speed and endurance relative to men” (p. 212). This contributes to even more of a conscious gendered vulnerability for women (Gunby et al., 2020). The NTE is a nexus where a heightened sense of female risks, vulnerabilities, and responsibilities are displayed.

The gendered vulnerability women experience conflicts with their increased visibility in the NTE. It is predominantly women who experience intensified sexual attention in an NTE context where gender difference and the female body are commodities (Gunby et al., 2020). Western consumer societies “rely on the exploitation of hedonism” (Measham & Brain, 2005, p. 275). Within the wider discourse of gender performance within the NTE, women are utilised as bait to attract men (often unknown men to the women), who spend money (Grazian, 2007; Gunby et al., 2020). This further demonstrates male entitlement and control of female space, in this case their bodies. However, for young women, being stared at is a “negative and risky experience”, especially in the NTE (Nicholls, 2019, p. 228). When individuals are watched, this can incite a fear of violence, especially when they perceive themselves as being sexually objectified (Moore & Breeze, 2012; Nicholls, 2019). Therefore, how women look, act, and specifically how they dress, is critical to how they are perceived (and ultimately treated) by men in the NTE. Morality and choice of clothing are significant questions that are raised, especially with young women (Jordan, 2015). Society regularly tells women not to dress provocatively in case they unleash primal male desires and get attacked, as a result “women are effectively held responsible for male behaviour” (Meyer, 2010, p. 27). Judgements of morality are assumed based on a visual impression of how a woman looks and what she is wearing. The *unsaid* further adds to a societal culture of blame that scapegoat women as being responsible for situations that happen to them, usually when those situations are perpetrated by men (Meyer, 2010). It has been found that many women internalise blame and shame when men perpetrate harm against them (Jordan, 2012). Meaning, if women are not visible or pleasing to men, they are scapegoated and blamed, often for male actions. Regardless of what women do, they are often in a lose-lose situation. This is akin to the impossible dilemma of achieving the right type of

femininity (Bailey et al., 2015), for women to have autonomy over dress choice but safety from acts of sexual harm.

There are a diverse range of ways that women experience sexual violence throughout their lives. Kelly's (1987) continuum is a helpful tool for women to have autonomy over the validation of these experiences. The continuum is not intended to assess the seriousness of events, but rather for women to position their individual incidents on a spectrum of sexual violence (Kelly, 1987). The inclusivity of the continuum allows for "looks, gestures and remarks as well as acts which may be defined as assault or rape" (Kelly, 1987, p. 48). Certain types of sexual violence that are repeatedly enacted against women in different spaces, perceived by women as micro-aggressions, are frequently accepted by men as "'a bit of fun' or 'only a joke', and they are less likely to be defined as crimes within the law" (Kelly, 1987, p. 49). Historically, women have been systemically silenced and in turn have had their experiences of sexual violence reduced or invalidated (Jordan, 2011; Kelly & Radford, 1990). Therefore, women learn to look after themselves and manage their own safety.

Female Adolescent Risk Management

Women constantly take responsibility for their own safety and take their own precautionary measures. Monod de Froideville (2020) maintains "Every woman understands the effort we put into being hypervigilant in a world that doesn't promise us our security." Females have the responsibility to manage their own risk, to ensure their safety from harm perpetrated by men. Women are "tuned into the presence of unknown men" (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020, p. 266). Their risk management is intricately linked to societal ideas of acceptable or respectable femininities (Campbell, 2005; Nicholls, 2019; Stanko, 1997). When women have been seen to put themselves in risky situations they are blamed (Brooks, 2008; Nicholls, 2019). Harmful situations are often not spoken about or shared for fear of judgement out with respectable femininities. The gendered strategies that women undertake to minimise risk are known as safety-work (Gardner, 1995; Kelly, 2012). These techniques are performed without conscious thought, demonstrating that females bear the responsibility for self-protection (Brooks, 2008; Kelly, 2012). Females also perform safety-work tactics, consciously, in an attempt to evade varying types of physical and sexual harm

in situations with men (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). These tactics include not walking home alone at night, or by taking well-lit and populated routes. Young women take extra precautions to escape harassment, by carrying their keys between their fingers, and messaging their friends when they have arrived home safely (Kearl, 2010). These safety measures are undertaken by women and not by men (Brooks, 2008).

Women often attempt to avoid potential spaces of threat (Chan & Rigakos, 2002). When avoidance is not possible, women have learned to physically reduce their visibility in public to enhance their safety (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Invisibility, as a form of safety-work, can be enacted by wearing sunglasses, or putting in headphones when passing a group of men, to drown out the sexual comments they fear might ensue (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020, p. 266). Concurrently, men are often oblivious to the power they exercise simply by being present. Young women learn to prioritise invisibility in order to keep themselves safe. Women are taught to “be less – less vocal, less visible, less free – in order to be safe” (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020, p. 266). These messages of invisibility are conflicting, as they contradict the expected visibility that young women are encouraged to display in the NTE. These conflicts predominantly impact young women, as they receive more attention and experience greater levels of sexual harassment than older women (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020).

It is only when safety work fails that it can be assessed (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). It is only when sexual violence has been committed, reported to police and action taken by police, that it is registered as a statistic. Therefore, measuring the success rate of safety-work is near impossible as “the amount that sexual harassment is thwarted is a social invisibility” (Wise & Stanley, 1987, p. 171). The failure of safety-work is then often blamed on the woman for not taking the necessary precautionary safety measures, especially if the crimes are sexual. An example of this is court procedure with regards to rape. Not only is it known as a *second rape* but the victim (often a woman’s) sexual history is analysed and taken into disrepute (Jordan, 2015). This was demonstrated in the Grace Millane court case where the type of sex she enjoyed was presented in such a way as to apportion her some blame and responsibility, and thereby excuse the actions of the defendant. In this way, safety from sexual harm is assumed to be the responsibility of women to ensure “she is not easily rape-able since the male has such little control over his libido” (Jordan, 2015, p. 93).

For young women, reporting crime, especially sexual crime to police necessitates an admission of the failure of safety-work, an increase in visibility, and an intensification of risk.

Conclusion to Literature Review

A review of the literatures has demonstrated that perceptions of procedural justice are important for citizens to view the police as legitimate authority figures. When citizens perceive fairness in police interactions, citizen compliance with the law is more likely (Murphy et al., 2009; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 1990). When the four principles of procedural justice: trustworthiness, voice, neutrality, and respect, are enacted by police, citizen encounters with police are influenced positively (Tyler, 1990). Social contracts further underpin police-citizen interactions according to societal narratives of the dominant and subordinate (Mills, 1997). Within the social contracts, police have dominance over citizens, males have dominance over females, and adults have dominance over adolescents.

Adolescents have a long history of being policed, meaning that procedural justice and police legitimacy directly affect them (Muncie, 2014). Many police view young people as a problem to be solved (Richards et al., 2019). This may be particularly intimidating for young women, who are more likely to interact with male police officers, rather than with female police officers (NZP, 2020). Female subordination to male control underpins the femininity dichotomy that females are categorised as either at-risk or risky (Connell, 1987). During police interactions with young women, police officers control elements of risk because they have discretion over the environments and how the interactions are directed. In other situations, females have the responsibility to manage their own risk, to ensure their safety from harm perpetrated by men. It is only when safety work fails that it can be assessed (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020).

Therefore, this NZ based research aims to add to international procedural justice literature. Research to explore female adolescent perspectives of procedural justice within the context of police contact has not previously been conducted in NZ. These findings will make a valuable contribution to the wider body of literature by providing an empirical illustration of gendered dynamics that underpin female adolescent interactions with police. This study aims to help to improve relations between police and young women in NZ.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

The research aims to amplify female voices about their contact with the New Zealand Police (NZP). Therefore, a qualitative approach informed by a feminist perspective was considered suitable. This chapter highlights the theoretical framework, philosophical foundation and methodological approach that supports this research. It comprehensively discusses the methods employed for this study and why they were employed. These methods include the sampling and recruitment strategy, the ethical considerations, together with the challenges and limitations encountered in carrying out this project, particularly during the global outbreak of COVID-19.

Theoretical framework

Theoretically, this research employs a social constructionist approach, guided by feminist perspectives. A social constructionist epistemology has four imperative sections (Burr, 2003). Firstly, research should critically deconstruct assumptions. Burr (2003) maintains that the world and its systems are complex, and every perspective contains its own bias. Secondly, history and culture impact knowing and knowledge. History, culture, and knowledge are interconnected. Therefore, there is no single understanding or definition of human knowledge (Burr, 2003). Thirdly, human knowledge is created and fuelled through social interactions. Fourthly, knowledge and action are intertwined, impacting each other. From this social constructionist standpoint, reality is created through relational interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In addition, feminist criminology aims to amplify “how the gendered nature of society” is magnified in societal and CJS responses to crime, and how those responses impact women (Sharp & Hefley, 2006, p. 5). Therefore, as this research explores socially constructed relations between young women and the police, a social constructionist epistemology is critical.

The roles of state and institutional power and patriarchy, underpin relational interactions, and are significant to this study. Power is implicit within the social contracts where a dominant and a subordinate exist. Within this contract, many western societal structures and processes are founded upon hegemonic ideals. Attributes of the dominant are continually assumed so that “White is not ordinarily thought of as a race, middle class as a class, or men as a gender” (Lorber & Farrell, 1991, p. 114). Individuals that do not exhibit

dominant characteristics are labelled as other and do not have the same intrinsic value (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Patriarchy is a “sex/gender system in which men dominate women and what is considered masculine is more highly valued than what is considered feminine” (Chesney-Lind, 2006, p. 9). Within structured gender inequality “the devalued genders have less power, prestige and economic rewards than the valued genders” (Lorber & Farrell, 1991, p. 116). Many societal roles are still gendered, and despite male and female partners often both working full time, women do the majority of the unpaid work, such as domestic labour and child raising (Lorber, 1991). For instance, what men do is more greatly esteemed than what women do in a “gender-stratified society” regardless of the action (Lorber & Farrell, 1991, p. 115). One tangible example of this is when men are celebrated for babysitting while looking after their own children, when for women it is socially expected (Harding, 1992). Interestingly, this was a topic raised and discussed by Tina, one of the participants in the study. The systemic contribution to “the enforcement of female subservience to male, patriarchal privilege should be front and center a feminist intersectional criminological research agenda” (Chesney-Lind, 2020, p. 408). This is what I have aimed to do in this study.

A social constructionist epistemology was chosen for this research, as it is research founded upon perspectives. Primarily this research prioritises adolescent female perspectives and realities. These perspectives are not isolated but instead have been constructed by systems, structures, histories, and cultures. Social constructionism holds that without culture, social functionality would not be possible (Crotty, 1998). Humans “depend on culture to direct our behaviour and organise our experience” (Crotty, 1998, p. 53). Within this view, all reality that is deemed meaningful “is socially constructed” (Crotty, 1998, p. 55). The (often brief) social interactions between young women and the police facilitate environments for knowledge and action to intersect, simultaneously representing the past, and the uncertainty of the present, as well as the future. The realities, for the participants in this study, were created through these interpersonal interactions with the police. Procedural justice theories prioritise citizen perspectives of police, highlighting the importance of these views for societal compliance (Tyler, 1990). Ultimately, a social constructionist approach to this research was pivotal.

Traditionally, research in the social sciences has overlooked or misrepresented female experiences (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Despite female “social presence” being significant, female “sociological visibility” is minimal (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 27). Consequently, areas of research interest with a predominantly male focus have become “artificial constructs” contorting the human experience (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 27). Therefore, to conduct this research about female perspectives, from female perspectives, is critical, as is gaining an understanding of female realities. However, it should be acknowledged that reality is relative and is formed through both individual tacit and explicit knowing, as it is impacted by language and experiences (Polanyi, 1958). The methodological approach of phenomenology acknowledges the importance of personal perceptions on personal realities (Smith et al., 1999). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) prioritises the perception of the account rather than the details of the account (Smith et al., 1999). Therefore, the approach to this study follows an experiential framework, focusing on experiences. A participant’s interpretation of the related issue is a core part of IPA (Smith et al., 1999). The aim for the researcher is to gain the participant’s point of view and preconceived notions can convolute this. However, the researcher’s sentiments are important for the interpretative aspect of the analysis (Smith et al., 1999).

Philosophical Foundation

The study prioritises adolescent female perspectives when in contact with the NZP. By doing so it corresponds with feminist theory, which aims to authenticate the female lens (Sprague, 2005) and endorse female perspectives (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). There is no definitive feminist perspective, however there are defining values that are perpetrated throughout the perspectives (Renzetti, 2018). Feminist criminology, by concentrating on women, aims to highlight how gendered society is mirrored in the CJS (Sharp & Hefley, 2006). The focus of feminist research endeavours to emphasise and include experiences lived out by women (Burgess-Proctor, 2015; Stacey, 1988). Feminism, which corresponds with feminist theory, is not just theoretical, but is also a social movement to enact change. The aim of feminism is to elevate gender equality and eradicate sexism, where sexism is “the differential valuing of one gender over the other” (Renzetti, 2018, p. 75). The scholarship of feminist researchers has magnified sexism and the absence of female perspective in criminological study (Gelsthorpe, 2020).

There has been a plethora of interpretations of the definition of feminism over time (Gelsthorpe, 2020). First-wave feminism concentrated on suffrage and removing legal gender inequalities. Second-wave feminism included broader societal discussions about domestic and workplace gender issues. At the core of feminism is the understanding that “gender is a central organizing principle of social life” (Renzetti, 2018, p. 74). Gender consists of social constructs that impact expectations which determine behaviour frequently dichotomised as female and male, and are “reproduced and transmitted through socialization” (Renzetti, 2018, p. 74). Where gender is socially and culturally produced during interactions, sex is biological (Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Nicholls, 2016). However, feminism primarily focuses on the social rather than the biological facets of gender (Renzetti, 2018).

Feminism draws attention to the problematic societal construction of the dichotomy of gender, where a person is either feminine or masculine, female or male. In particular, it highlights the need for intersectionality, especially around gender debates. Gender facilitates the categorisation of social power dynamics within the labels of female or male (Russo & Pirlott, 2006). Gender encompasses a variety of fluid components, such as systems, institutions, characteristics, and emotions (Russo & Pirlott, 2006). Jobs, clothes, toys, and even colours are associated with one or other of these categories. Actions and behaviours are formed by gender, and the freedoms and limitations that occur with gender impact on systemic structures (Campbell & Herzberg, 2017). The effects of gender are real and research participants often self-identify through the femininity and masculinity dichotomy (Campbell & Herzberg, 2017). Social construction of gender also links to police discretion and informal actions of the police, particularly to how male police officers interact with female adolescents.

Gender facilitates the designation of societal placement and societal roles (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). The notion that people *do gender* as a situated social action, means choice fluctuates depending on circumstance, and recognises that there are times such choices are restrictive for women (West & Fenstermaker, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Doing gender consists of “socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities” that are labelled as either feminine or masculine (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 128). Socially acceptable behaviours are associated with polarising labels of femininity or

masculinity (Connell, 2002). For example, femininity is correlated with passivity (Korobov, 2011), an absence of agency (Wilkins, 2004), and respectability (Skeggs, 1997).

Respectability for women has been and continues to be, connected to social control over female sexuality, often manifested through societal expectations of marriage and motherhood (Nicholls, 2016). Whereas masculinity is associated with power, dominance, and protection (Brod & Kaufman, 1994). Gender is a reaction to, and a sustainer of, gendered power structures and assumptions to maintain patriarchy (West & Zimmerman, 1987). However, gender is subjective and is additionally impacted by variables such as race, socioeconomic status, and age. Therefore, Miller and Carbone-Lopez (2015) broaden individual responses to gender to include the larger contextual framework of gender relations. West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of doing gender is extended by Miller and Carbone-Lopez (2015) to also doing race, doing class, and doing place. This thesis became primarily focussed on gender as influenced by the findings in the data. However, it is important to note that gender is not removed from race, class, or place. Gender is an important variable, yet is not isolated from the context of intersectionality.

An awareness of intersectionality is critical to feminist perspectives. Intersectionality is the interconnection of oppression at a macro and micro level. Societal structures dictate societal positions within the context of systemic oppression (Collins, 1995; Renzetti, 2018). There is an awareness in intersectionality that "inequality could not be explained, let alone challenged, via a race-only, class-only, or gender-only framework," but rather all three areas are significant (Collins, 1995, p. 492). Gender informs many areas of daily life, however its nature is fluid (Connell, 2002). Therefore, feminism is best understood when viewed in context with "other facets of exclusion" such as, race, age, class, and sexuality (Miller & Carbone-Lopez, 2015, p. 694). Middle range theorising is significant to feminist research, advancing theories that demonstrate how macro structures are determined within certain contexts (Miller & Carbone-Lopez, 2015). For example, policing is a complex, institutionalised context where a variety of systemic factors are at play. Therefore, viewing police interactions with a feminist lens is critical to contributing to the awareness of police contact with subordinate groups (Miller & Carbone-Lopez, 2015). Consequently, intersectionality links to social contract theories where there are fundamentally dominant and subordinate groupings.

Traditionally, women and the challenges they face have been largely unobserved and often disregarded in both society and in the discipline of criminology (Renzetti, 2018). Therefore, learning about female experiences of crime and victimisation from women's own point of view is critical (Renzetti, 2018). Feminist research since the 1960s theorises gender (Gelsthorpe & Morris, 1988), as opposed to the historical, add women and stir approach (Chesney-Lind, 1988), where females are added as an afterthought to existing male practices. The research in this study, in adhering to feminist thought, recognises that women exist within a patriarchal context, and experience the world differently from men (Renzetti, 2018). There are ramifications for young women within patriarchal societies and the analysis of these ramifications is fundamental to feminist criminology (Chesney-Lind, 2006). Therefore, feminist study reveals and validates female experiences that are often disregarded in society (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). Essentially, feminist research should be directed "on and for women, and should be carried out by women" (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 30).

I advertised for females inclusively to participate in this research. However, those who responded and were interviewed, were cisgender women. Therefore, the focus in this study is on cisgender women. It is within the confines of gender that the physical body and social order collide (Campbell & Herzberg, 2017). Power constructs often underpin social order. Research on gendered issues need to adopt an approach that recognises and accounts for power. Particularly in social settings "femininities are negotiated and constructed" by young women who adapt accordingly (Hutton et al., 2013, p. 456). These constructions are navigated against the backdrop of a societal shift where women "tread a fine line between acceptable femininities "and going too far"" (Hutton et al., 2016, p. 74). *Acceptability* can be considered as conforming to the societal status quo of how respectable young women are to behave and conduct themselves (Hutton et al., 2016). Feminist inquiry is unique in its position to examine female challenges, while concurrently attempting to fight against those same challenges (Chesney-Lind, 2006). Ideas surrounding gender and particularly femininity change according to the context (Hutton et al., 2013). Therefore, it is important that "individuals characterize and explain their own experiences" of gender (Hutton, 2006, p. 17). In this study, female adolescent experiences of gender, and their articulation of those experiences, were pertinent. In addition, it was especially important to

hear young female perspectives of how others, particularly police officers, experienced gender.

Methodological Framework

Although there are several feminist methodologies, feminist standpoint epistemology fundamentally underpins my research. Specifically, feminist standpoint epistemology aligns feminism with philosophical thought (Alcoff & Potter, 1993). Standpoint epistemology attempts to describe how politics impacts knowledge production when female focussed research contributes to the fundamental basis of the knowledge (Harding, 1993). Feminist standpoint theorists, maintain that knowledge is embodied instead of obtained through the mind (Intemann, 2010). Individual bodies are "subjected to different material conditions and forces that can give rise to different experiences and thus different evidence and beliefs" (Intemann, 2010, p. 785). Standpoints are obtained through the critique of hierarchal power and societal structures that impact knowledge (Harding, 2004). Harding (1986) notably recommended standpoint feminism over feminist empiricism. However, since then, impressions of the two epistemological theories have become less polarised (Intemann, 2010). Instead, the two can be viewed as complementary (Crasnow, 2009). Feminist empiricism presents the validity of scientific assertions, while standpoint feminism is a methodology indicating how to research scientific occurrences (Intemann, 2010). Therefore, the two are complementary.

Crotty (1998) distinguishes between knowing and theorising the act of knowing. Women know in a way similar to men, yet theorise the act of knowing differently from men (Crotty, 1998). For example, researchers cannot completely compartmentalise certain individual variables from their research, i.e., their own gender or race (Crotty, 1998). The act of doing epistemology leads to women highlighting subject matters that men would be unlikely to view as important (Crotty, 1998). Ultimately, feminist standpoint epistemology is about generating knowledge through the female experience (Alcoff & Potter, 1993). This is the approach I undertook in the study: the female participants voiced their female experiences with their voices, presenting female perspectives. Due to feminist criminology's emphasis on both gender and crime, it is distinctively placed to critique sexism as it manifests in practices on behalf of agents of the state (Chesney-Lind, 2006).

My Positionality

From the commencement of this study, I have been conscious of my positioning within it as a liberal, criminologically-trained, feminist. However, my perspective is nuanced, through growing-up between different countries as a Third-Culture-Kid (Pollack et al., 2017). I could never quite answer the dreaded question, “Where are you from?” well enough to satisfy any inquirer. I experienced different cultures, albeit through my privileged lens as a White, English-speaking, middle-class, cisgender woman. I am mindful of my privilege both as a researcher and in society at large. In New Zealand specifically, I have consistently been told that I do not count as an immigrant because I do not look like an immigrant. When I have questioned these statements, it has become clear that I do not look like an immigrant because I am White and speak English as a first language. Therefore, from an early age I was uncomfortably aware that looking like one of the majority mattered more to society, than my feeling like one of the majority. These experiences have helped me to keep an open mind throughout this study as I understand that humans and human experiences are complex and multi-layered. One’s personal history structures how one sees the world, hence it is important to identify varied experiences and how they shape perspectives.

My own experiences with police, in a few different countries, are multifaceted. Firstly, I have family who were adolescents in Belfast, Northern Ireland, during 'The Troubles' from 1968 to 1998 (Fowler, 2008). I am aware that consequences of police interactions can span decades and progress through generations. Secondly, I have had contact with different police forces through professional contexts. Prior to commencing my Master’s degree, I worked for a Non-Governmental Organisation in the United Kingdom that supported young people under the age of 18 years old. These young people were from all walks of life and many had challenging home lives. A number of the young people I worked with lived in low socio-economic areas with high rates of crime. Several youths were gang affiliated and used to handling weapons. Many of the young people had parents with substance-use challenges and youth were often the sole-carer of their siblings, or were cared for by their siblings. During my time in London, I had experiences with a diverse range of youth and facilitated numerous interactions between young people and adults, particularly during the aftermath of the London riots of 2011. Therefore, I am aware of, and sensitive to, some of the issues related to young people who have been in situations where

they have had interactions with the police, and experienced the repercussions of those police interactions through stigma and criminalisation. Finally, I have been the recipient of unwanted and unnecessary police attention both in professional settings and during beat-policing. I have experienced being woken up to find my flat being raided by heavily armed and undercover police in the middle of the night, later renounced by the police as an error. In addition, I have been singled out by police officers and escorted to places, often under the guise of safety.

As a feminist, I believe in challenging the existing patriarchal systemic structure. Gender stereotypes are to be critiqued and the gendered hierarchal structure needs to be dismantled. Intersectionality is of utmost importance to my feminist beliefs, as a system is needed where all are valued and there is room for everyone to take up space. Throughout this study I attempted to keep as open a mind as possible. Although the existence of gender dynamics between young female adolescents and the police has accorded with some of my own experiences, I have consistently approached the interviews in a non-judgmental and empathetic way. The neutral, open-ended questions in my interview guide helped with this approach (see Appendix B). The stories and perspectives shared and entrusted to me by the participants were inspiring and presented me with hope for the future.

Research Methods

An explorative qualitative method was chosen as the most appropriate for the current research. A semi-structured interview method was chosen to acquire data. Qualitative research methods facilitate an environment to “explore the beliefs, values, and motives that explain why the behaviours occur” (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018, p. 807). The fundamental premise of qualitative study is to understand circumstances through the perspectives of those who have experienced those circumstances (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). The qualitative method provides an immersive comprehension of the significance people place on their interactions with others and the situations they experience (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018, p. 808). It is through this process that the researcher can “build a complex, holistic picture in a natural setting” (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018, p. 808). Qualitative research facilitates an environment for asking questions and in turn, qualitative questioning prioritises personal and heterogenous considerations of social issues (Hesse-

Biber, 2017, p. 4). As feminist researchers have been imperative to the progression of qualitative research methods and they centre around females and female perspectives, I deemed qualitative research most appropriate (Oakley, 1981). It has been feminist researchers who have highlighted and challenged existing hierarchical power structures between the researcher and those being researched (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). Consequently, feminists have aimed for partnership in qualitative research and placed a major emphasis on reflexivity (Noaks & Wincup, 2004).

Interviews

The term, interview, encompasses a variety of research techniques (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). The technique employed in this study was semi-structured, in-depth, one-to-one interviews. The in-depth interview focuses on a particular issue and “requires active asking and listening” on the part of the interviewer (Hesse-Biber, 2017, p. 106). So, in this case, the issue was the way that young female adolescents experienced interactions with the NZP. The in-depth interview is a partnering between the interviewer and interviewee and requires considered reflexivity and application (Hesse-Biber, 2017). It was an honour to be privy to women voicing their own opinions and experiences “because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women’s ideas altogether or having men speak for women” (Reinharz, 1992, p. 19). Gender is experienced in a broad societal sense and within individual constructions (Daly & Maher, 1998). Reflexivity is a crucial part of feminist work when reflecting on the research process (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). It is important to reflect on the data and examine how feelings impact the data collection as well as data analysis (Hesse-Biber, 2017). The individual perspectives and values of the researcher will continuously impact the process (Hesse-Biber, 2017). Reflexivity facilitates a space for researchers to explore how their research is impacted by their own views and opinions (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, the reflective nature of qualitative interviews facilitated descriptions of events as well as the cultural factors that frame them (Miller & Glassner, 2011). As the interviews were semi-structured, I had prepared an interview guide with questions to direct the conversation. The flexible nature of the semi-structured interviews gave each participant freedom to speak and facilitated reflective environments for positive and conversational rapport. The research design allowed for the exploration and development of topics, allowing the interviews to go in surprising directions (Hesse-Biber,

2017). The participants responded to the open style of questions in a thoughtful manner, reflecting on their interactions with police at the time, and on their subsequent perspectives. Their conversation flowed naturally as the style was relaxed even though there was a serious focus to the questions.

Recruitment

I recruited for participants aged between 16 and 22 years old, identified as female, who had been in contact with at least one member of the NZP within the last five years (as most adult female perpetrators have already offended before the age of 16) and reside in Wellington, New Zealand. Contact included but was not exclusive to: a chat, a street or informal warning, an arrest, or a pre-charge warning. The participants' police-initiated contact did not have to have occurred in Wellington, so long as it was with the NZP. It was decided that participants aged 16 years and over would be interviewed as the sample for this study, as 16-year-olds are consenting adults and do not need external permission to participate in the project.

Participants were sought in diverse ways. The sample was recruited by word of mouth, email, phone, text, and via social media through contacts in the Wellington region. The contacts consisted of those who work with young people, such as teachers, sports coaches, youth workers, and others who work within the education sector. The sample was obtained by advertising on social media sites such as Instagram and Facebook, and specifically the Wellington Facebook page, 'Vic Deals'. Posters about the research were placed around the Victoria University of Wellington Campus and on noticeboards in community centres and libraries throughout Wellington, Porirua and the surrounding area (with permission). A pay-as-you-go mobile phone was also purchased for the project. The phone number was on the recruitment poster and participants text me to express their interest and arrange a suitable interview time (see Appendix C). Once a time had been organised, I emailed the participant (from my Victoria University of Wellington email address) with an information sheet, consent form, and Zoom meeting link. I originally intended for gender, age, and other contributing factors to be taken into consideration in the recruitment process. I had anticipated that my sample would be reflective of NZ's female incarceration rate. However, that did not emerge. While much interest was

generated around my study, it fast became clear that most of the potential participants who contacted me were Pākehā.

Initially, I had planned (and had been institutionally ethically approved) to conduct these interviews face to face and in person. However, due to the outbreak of COVID-19 and New Zealand entering Level 4 Lockdown (25/03/20-27/04/20), this research design was adjusted. COVID-19 is an infectious disease and is, 'now a pandemic affecting many countries globally' (World Health Organization, 2020). Therefore, because of the outbreak of COVID-19 in New Zealand, I decided to conduct online interviews. An institutional ethics approval had already been granted for face-to-face in-person interviews. However, due to new government social distancing stipulations and the uncertainty of the upcoming months, online interviews were thought to be more certain. Therefore, I applied, and was granted, an ethics amendment to do online interviews (see Appendix A).

I conducted all of the interviews online via the meeting application 'Zoom'. Zoom was the preferable application as it has an audio-recording only option. All interviewees gave consent for their interviews to be audio-recorded. At first, I was wary of conducting online interviews. Particularly because interview quality, "decreases significantly when the interview is not done in person" (Hesse-Biber, 2017, p. 111). I was concerned that a genuine rapport would not be established between myself and each of the participants. However, the establishment of rapport was not found to be an issue. Participants appeared to feel safe talking to me. Interviewee security was demonstrated through their detailing of sensitive events and the length of the interviews. The interviews each lasted about one hour, some of them continuing for an hour and a half, and one for two hours.

The first participant identified as a Tongan male. Despite not fitting the recruitment sample criteria, the interviewee had a significant amount of experience with the NZP and with the CJS. I learnt a lot in our interview and it provided very helpful context for the study. However, I decided not to include his data in the results section. While his data was interesting and important, I did not want to detract the results of this study from female experiences. Specifically, when it became increasingly evident that gender was emerging as a pertinent variable. The other 11 interviewees, one of whom was 25 years old, identified as cisgender women and had a range of contact with the police. There was a variety of self-

initiated contact, police-initiated contact, and third party-initiated contact amongst the data. A summary of this information is shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Participant Age, Ethnicity and number of NZP Contact Occasions

Age of Female Participant at date of Interview	Ethnicity as self-identified by Participant	NZP contact - number of occasions		
		< 5	5 - 10	> 10
18	European			~ 15
18	Pākehā, NZ European			~ 10+
19	Pākehā, NZ European	3		
19	British		~ 10	
20	European Pākehā		~ 8	
20	Pākehā, NZ European		~ 5	
20	NZ European			15
22	Slavic	~ 4		
22	NZ European	4		
22	Pākehā, Kiwi, NZ European		~ 5	
25	NZ born Polynesian		~ 8	

Meeting on Zoom meant participants had more autonomy over the interviews and the interview process. Interviewees chose the time and place for the interview. The participants decided whether their camera was on or off and whether or not they wore headphones. In this way, participants were able to manage their own privacy. Interviewees also had the option to stop or re-start the interview at any time, with the press of a button (although none did). Online interviews impacted the power dynamic positively and helped achieve a more balanced relationship between the researcher and the researched (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). Interviewees were able to choose spaces where they felt most comfortable to speak freely, which was of “primary importance” (Wincup, 2017, p. 108). Some participants did their interviews from home, either in their bedrooms or in common areas of their houses, others did them from university, in libraries or public spaces with others around. For a couple of the interviews where the participants were in public spaces, the background noise was occasionally an issue. However, overall, it did not impact the interviews. Some participants used headphones, others did not. I used headphones for all the interviews and conducted them in a quiet, safe, private office space. My camera was on

for all the interviews and for all but two of the interviews, the interviewees' camera was on. One participant stated she did not have any make-up on and would rather not turn her camera on and the other said that her camera was not working. The two camera-less interviews were slightly more challenging as I was not able to read the facial expressions and body language of the participants. Despite being slightly hesitant about these two interviews, rapport was still established, and the data outcome was not hindered. Instead, details of a more sensitive nature were expressed to me in these scenarios. Perhaps the participants felt more comfortable talking about sensitive issues because I could not see their faces, so they felt more anonymous.

Overall, online interviews on Zoom positively impacted the data collection process through the rapport that was built. The rapport and safety that the participants felt in the interviews was demonstrated through the sensitive nature of the stories that were divulged and entrusted to me. As the data set was young adults who are used to and confident with technology, online interviews appeared to give the participants a feeling of security and probably to some a degree an element of anonymity. In addition, many participants voiced how much they had enjoyed the interviews and how much they had gotten out of them.

Data Analysis

A thematic analysis was undertaken in this study. A challenge presented in qualitative study is the open-ended data, as it is usually harder to find patterns from text rather than numbers (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Therefore, to combat this, the thematic analysis (TA) method was employed, as it is compatible with a social constructionist epistemology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). TA facilitates the arrangement, analysis, and communication of the themes from the findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Within a social constructionist context, TA aims to focus on the sociocultural and systemic structures that qualify the personal narratives in the data. It is important to note that all of the participant names and identifying features were removed to protect confidentiality. The TA process, as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006), commenced with recurrent readings of the transcripts. During these read throughs, "initial codes" were applied to interesting points of note (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). Next, the identified codes with similarities were then grouped into general themes. Finally, three themes emerged: police as invaders of space,

police as communicators of authority, and police as presenting risk. These themes were found to be significant in relation to the overall research question: Do female adolescents perceive procedural justice during contact with the NZP?

Limitations

As mentioned in the Introduction, I had originally intended to have a diverse sample of participants. I desired to have a sample that was a microcosm of incarcerated women in Aotearoa New Zealand. That did not transpire. Initially I was disappointed, however I soon realised that a very important angle was highlighted by my participants, it was just one that I had not anticipated. Rather than the race and place dialogue which I was expecting, gender disparity was magnified during coding, as all participants were cisgender women, and none self-identified as Māori. The composition of the participant sample led to a focus on age and gender rather than race and socio-economic status. A spotlight on gender is critical when examining the act of policing. Worldwide, police forces are predominantly male. Even the term, force, might be said to have aggressive, stereotypically masculine undertones. Indeed, the police have been found to be hypermasculine and act in hypermasculine ways. The concept of manliness has been critical to policing, supporting the vision of what a police officer should look like (Silvestri, 2017). While the physicality of the predominantly male police officers was not something that was asked in the interview questions, it was significant in the findings.

Results Chapter 4 – Space

This chapter is the first of three chapters that discuss results from the interview data. Each of these chapters attend to one of three themes that were identified across the interviews: police as invaders of space (Chapter 4), police as communicators of authority (Chapter 5), and police as representatives of risk (Chapter 6). Together, these themes illustrate that the interactions of female adolescents with the police are nuanced and multifaceted, but reveal that many are completely void of procedural justice. In addition, individual perceptions of procedural justice (trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality) constructed during encounters with police did influence interviewees' broader opinions of the police as a collective institutional entity. Furthermore, the interviews illustrated that police actions are intrinsically linked to gendered relations, and consequently, many actions by male police officers presented as threatening to young women.

Police as Invaders of Space

This chapter reports on the first central theme identified: police as invaders of space. Each of the participants described how they navigated space during their encounters with police officers. Spaces were physical and tangible, as well as conceptual. Spaces were also public and private. As such, this chapter commences with an exploration of physical and conceptual space as male-dominated, and identifies various ways by which male invasion of female space is normalised in general. The discussion provides an important backdrop for understanding the interviewees' reports of their subsequent negotiations of space with male police officers. Indeed, the chapter will show that police interactions with young women are experienced as hyper-interactions overlaid with male power. Interestingly, these encounters are in direct comparison with how young females navigated situations with female police officers, highlighting the significance of gender relations during police interactions.

In the study, several participants recounted interactions with male police officers that took place in confined spaces. For example, an unmarked police car and a bedroom. Natalie was pulled over by an unmarked police car while driving one morning, after being out the night before. She was breathalysed in her car by a male police officer in uniform. After breathalysing her the first time, the male police officer put her into his unmarked car,

got in after her, locked the doors, and breathalysed her a second time. Natalie summed it up as: *“He pulled me over, put me in his car, basically like yelled at me, charged me, and that was it. I never saw the police again.”*

Natalie explained how her feelings of anxiety were exacerbated by the space chosen by the male police officer for the second breathalysing test. Other participants also recounted increased feelings of intimidation in police interactions, due to the location of the encounters, which were at the discretion of the male police officers.

Tina was in a taxi with her partner, was drunk, and vomited out of the window. A piece of vomit landed on the outside of the taxi. On arrival, Tina went to bed while her partner hosed off the small amount of vomit. However, the taxi driver was not satisfied and demanded \$300 as a cleaning fee, which the partner objected to. The police were called, and spoke to the driver. The \$300 fee did not need to be paid, and the taxi driver left. After the incident had been appeased, the three male police officers came into Tina’s bedroom, and stood over her bed while she was lying in it, to question her.

Participants expressed feeling unsafe, uncomfortable, vulnerable, and trapped. Further, these young women were indignant over invasions of personal space by police. The negotiation of space between males and females became apparent in this study as a gendered one, simply because most police officers are male. In New Zealand, only 18.9% of police constabulary staff are female (NZP, 2020). Therefore, the chance of young women interacting with male police officers, rather than female officers, is high. Consequently, interactions with male police officers are infused with gendered tensions, of which police are unlikely to be aware. These tensions are exacerbated through the authority and state power that police uniquely carry, which can be legally enforced through violence (Pane & Rocco, 2014).

Participants were explicitly aware that police held authoritative power in interactions that could occur anywhere, anytime, in public or in private spaces. Further, male police officers held a triple power over the participants: as men (over women), as police (over citizens), and as adults (over adolescents). Sefina referenced the authority linked to respect in that: *“You can’t afford not to be respectful to the police, because they*

literally could do anything.” While Tina was conscious of police authority: “They’re like in charge here, you don’t have any authority in this situation, whenever there’s a police officer around.”

The triple power dynamic was found to contribute to participant perceptions of procedural justice, particularly impacting their views of trustworthiness and respect, in encounters with male police officers. Furthermore, when interacting with police, the young women became visible, and the centre of attention. This was conflicting, as women are societally taught to be invisible, which is perhaps one of the reasons why these interactions between police and young females were found to be so uncomfortable. Sefina directly associated the triple power dynamic with her need for physical space when approached by police:

I like my space. Physical distancing at its best, but also because it makes me feel safer. I’m pretty sure a lot of women, a lot of women, have had that situation where it just wasn’t the safest, and you were put in a physical place that made you uncomfortable or even hurt you, and I would prefer that person be away from me. If you’re gonna come and confront me, and ask me, especially because you can’t turn away from a cop, I can’t just walk away and be like, ‘fuck off.’ Like if you’re coming to me in a place of authority and I have no choice to leave, then please don’t come in my space, like that’s the least you can do. (Sefina)

Sefina illustrated how physical space has a bearing on female safety and security. She highlighted that physical space correlates directly with feelings of safety for women in their interactions with unknown men. Sefina went on to differentiate that in interactions with male police officers, as unknown men with authority, her fears were exacerbated. As experienced by the participants, when male police officers stand too close, or question female adolescents in confined spaces, it can be intimidating and heighten gendered fears of harm from men. These findings contribute to a running thread found throughout the research, of moments referred to as uncomfortable. These actions directed at women by men are difficult to articulate and are referred to as *the unsaid* in this study.

Space as Male-Dominated

Power relations are particularly important within the context of this study regarding the dynamics between men and women, police officers and citizens, and adults and adolescents. The lack of security and safety these participants experienced with men generally, indicated male control, dominance, and power. Most of the participants could recount numerous examples of times when their safety had been breached by men, in public and private domains.

Female adolescents, as young people, have a complicated relationship with public space. Research on police perceptions has indicated that police view young peoples' recreational time in public space as something that needs to be controlled (Richards et al., 2019). In addition, police expect youth to be problematic and "perpetrators of antisocial and criminal behaviour requiring intervention and almost constant containment" (Richards et al., 2019, p. 365). Tina highlighted the attention she received from police, and their monitoring of her behaviour, in public spaces: *"When they [the NZP] see me out in town they're always like, 'What's going on? What's going on?'"*

This awareness of being policed in a public space added to the discomfort experienced by some of the participants. In the public domain, adolescents are free from the scrutiny of their primary caregivers and teachers with their attendant instructions. However, the visibility of female adolescents is heightened in public, subjecting them to judgements about their femininity, either risky or respectable. The gendered nature of public space was exemplified by the unwanted sexual attention recounted by the participants.

Claire described an incident with an intoxicated man exposing himself on the street near her home: *"He had taken his pants off and was like waving his willy at everyone, and just being super gross."* Tina recalled a time when she was waiting alone for a bus. An unknown man approached her and started screaming at her. Three females intervened, and he ran away. Tina recounted how frightened she was during the encounter: *"I was like that's fucking scary and then I'm like that's just normal. That's not the first time that's happened, it probably won't be the last, that's just what happens."* Later that day, Tina shared her experience with four male friends. Her friends were shocked but not surprised:

They were like, 'What the fuck?' Like, 'That's fucked up aye. You're like the third or fourth girl that's told me something like that's happened in like the last two weeks.' And I'm like, 'Yeah it's pretty standard.' And it's shit that it's standard, it's shit that every girl knows it's the standard. (Tina)

These examples from the study highlight how the lack of safety and security is normalised for young women. Participants also shared examples of occasions when their safety had been breached by men in private domains. Hannah articulated: *"I was 15 and I was raped."* Julia referenced: *"My abusive ex-partner who I was hiding from."* The control that males have over space is underpinned by the power afforded to them by systemic structures of patriarchy. Manifestations of male power over female space (physical and conceptual) are magnified through the actions that are undertaken to maintain control. For many participants, the gendered aggressions that contribute to a lack of safety in private and public spaces, reinforced gender disparities during interactions with male police officers.

Fear of the Unknown Man

Women, as the subordinate group, take preventative measures that men do not, which further demonstrates the dominance men have over public spaces. The awareness of how genders occupy public spaces differently was discussed in some of the interviews. These participants noted the safety work they performed on a regular basis. Specifically, interviewees indicated an awareness of having to consider safety, of risk after dark, and in the NTE. The danger lurking in nighttime spaces, in particular, was one of sexual violence. The participants' experiences varied, indicating that impacts of sexual violence acts in public and private spaces, are not homogenous. Due to the frequency of gendered acts, young women often manage the male invasion of female space themselves because no-one else guarantees their safety for them. The performative hypervigilance of surroundings was reported specifically by Tina:

I was talking to two other girls and we were with two other guys, and we were just talking about how they can go out for walks at nighttime and we were, all three girls were like, we don't do that, and we were kinda noticing the difference, and I was just

like wow, it's not just one thing, it's very apparent throughout all aspects of life.

(Tina)

The absence of safety for women further indicates the influence of gendered social dynamics and gendered male control within space. Due to male actions during invasions of female space, "it is not surprising that street harassment can quickly manifest itself into the fear of being at risk for assault or rape" (Kearl, 2010, p. xi). As Sefina explained:

Because you're a woman, you're already going through that shit in your mind. Sorta like you know when someone's too close to you? You're already like, 'This guy's too close, what do I do? Do I, should I back away? I've backed away, he's coming closer. Should I go stand over there? Because you know there's less, there's more space over there.' So that you know, I know you, I know every woman, has had that conversation in their head. (Sefina)

As Sefina indicated, the male invasion of female space is normalised for women, and can occur in a plethora of ways. Females continually assess their safety and risk, taking circumstantial variables into account. Variables such as: Are there other people around? Might the male become aggressive and cause harm? Is acknowledging an unsolicited interaction worth the repercussions? These assessments of safety in different spaces were discussed by the participants. The gendered fear of crime, through the array of traumatic circumstances that participants experienced, contributed to many participants feeling tentative about engaging with male police officers.

Reporting the Unknown Man to Police

When harm was perpetrated against young women by men, some participants chose to report to police, while for others, their autonomy was removed from them. Julia wanted to report an incident to the police, after being pestered by an unknown man in a car in Christchurch city centre:

I met a man on the street who harassed me and kept trying to pressure me to get into his car with him, and wouldn't like leave me alone and was like following me into traffic and circling me in his car and trying urgh. (Julia)

Julia kept walking away from him. Once she found her friend, they took a photo of the unknown man and his number plate, and shouted at the man until he finally left her alone. Julia called the non-emergency police line to report him, and the police told her that she could not email them the photos, but had to report him in person at the police station. She found that difficult to understand, and logistically inconvenient as she lived in a rural area and did not drive. At the time of the interview, she was still to follow-up. This reinforces the complexities around reporting to police.

In contrast, Andrea did not want to report her attack to the police. She had been attacked by an unknown man while walking home from town one night with a male friend. When they reached her accommodation, she wanted the nightguard to be on the alert for other young women who lived in the same building. The nightguard called the police about Andrea's attack against her wishes:

He just attacked me on the street, and then I had my friend there obviously, so it was like he chased him off and it was fine, and then I went back and I told my nightguard so he could warn other girls who might be walking around at night, and that's when he called the police. (Andrea)

Andrea exemplified how female participants assessed their own experiences, and those of other females, as to whether to report to police. This speaks to findings in the literature where females manage their own view of the seriousness and what they choose to report (Gunby et al., 2020). Andrea articulated: *"I just knew that lots of other girls were going to be walking home at that time and I was just lucky I had a friend there with me."* It was only for the safety of other females, that Andrea alerted the nightguard to the unknown man in the vicinity. She did not want to report her incident to the police, but her wishes were overruled by the male nightguard. This references Kelly's (1987) continuum, when women have autonomy over their experiences, and assess the repercussions of whether or not to report. When the assessment is not heard and accepted by men, the female voice is silenced. Thereby, female perceptions of trustworthiness and respect for men are impacted, reinforcing male dominance of public space. This can be problematic when females encounter male police officers, as voice, trustworthiness, and respect, are important elements of procedural justice.

As will be demonstrated in the next section, male dominance is also a critical feature of the way that police employ space in their encounters with young women.

Female Negotiation of Space with Male Police Officers

Most of the participants were conscious that they could not manage the male invasion of space with police officers, in the same way they do with unknown men. They attributed this to the authority that police have. Police officers hold a unique position with regards to space, as they interact with citizens in both private and public spaces. Police officers do not have the same obligations that other citizens do to recognise spatial boundaries, and can legally exercise force if required (Pane & Rocco, 2014).

Generally, the participants considered that the police were responsible for keeping people safe, and this view had not changed since they were young.

I always thought of them as kind of a force for good you know? They've got peoples' best interests at mind, and they're doing good things for the community, and you know like they're the protectors, I guess. (Hannah)

However, in personal interactions with police officers, some of the participants did not feel safe, which impacted the participants' perceptions of procedural justice. Natalie's view of the police was impacted negatively as a result of her interaction with the male officer in the unmarked police car:

I've never had a good interaction with the police. Now it's making me go like, that's just not acceptable. That's not, as far as I'm aware with what I've learnt about the police growing up, that is not how someone should be. That's not what their job is. Their job is to keep you safe and things like that, and as far as I'm aware I don't feel safe with them. (Natalie)

The participants in this study, experienced the police as they would unknown men. Their fear of unknown men was intensified by the authority held by the police. When police officers enter private spaces, they do so as unknown men and public representatives of the state. For example, after Tina's taxi incident had been resolved, three male police officers came into her bedroom and surrounded her bed:

When they came upstairs, I was smashed in bed and then there was like a police officer there [gestures], a police officer there [gestures], a police officer there [gestures], all just staring at me while I was smashed in bed. They were just asking me what my name was, and I was just like, 'My name's [her name here] I need to go to sleep.' They just kinda weren't letting up on the conversation. I was obviously not ok to talk and stuff. I was absolutely fucked, and they were just kinda like kept going, and I just remember feeling in that moment, I was like, I don't respect, I don't have any respect for police officers who kinda come in and do that, 'cause they can see that I'm not in a condition right now, and my partner was there talking to them for me, and I was just like, yeah I dunno, I felt very embarrassed kind of in that situation, 'cause I was like, I was very vulnerable, and in a very vulnerable state. (Tina)

Tina expressed that her vulnerability during this encounter was not taken into consideration, and her voice was not heard or taken into account by the male police officers. Instead, the officers remained in her bedroom and persisted in their questioning. Tina's lack of respect for the police officers was attributed to the vulnerable state she was in, and the space they chose to continue their questioning. The absence of respect from police as perceived by Tina, undermined her perceptions of procedural justice. Further, she articulated that the police response to something relatively minor, was excessive, and no further action was taken:

It was like a Friday or a Saturday night. I was like, surely you guys have kinda better things to do than come sort this out. I was like, surely you don't need to send three officers to this one thing. Like I understand they're not doing solo trips, but like three officers for one thing? It's quite a bit. (Tina)

Natalie recalled police actions towards her one morning, when pulled over on a street in Dunedin, known for its high-density university accommodation and student parties. Natalie was driving some friends to the airport, intending to get some food on the way. While in the unmarked police car, Natalie described the male police officer's behaviour and actions towards her as aggressive. The lack of verbal explanations in answer to her repeated requests for information, added to her distress. Natalie recalled being visibly upset (crying) about the consequences for her parents, as the car she was driving was registered to her

father who worked as a driver. This furthered her feelings of anxiety while locked in the police car:

It was like this utter disappointment in him, or like I felt like he was like, 'Urgh classic stupid girl that lives on [names street], of course she's done this.' You know what I mean? It made me feel real worthless and stupid, or just really like another drop kick.
(Natalie)

Natalie had no choice with regard to the space in which the interaction took place. In the social contract for females, men have power simply by being present. In conjunction with adult dominance, police officers can enforce authority, which may be perceived as aggression by female adolescents. To the women they are interacting with, police may forget that they too are unknown men, and their position or uniform does not detract from that. Being an unknown man with legal authority and strength, as has already been demonstrated, solicits intense fear for young women. Being put into an unknown car by an unknown man already invokes fear and anxiousness, which is then compounded by the presence of the authority of a police officer. Therefore, it is not necessary for police officers to act even more aggressively or in a hypermasculine way, particularly when encountering young females, as experienced by Natalie.

Furthermore, Natalie perceived that the male police officer spoke to her in an infantilising manner. She felt he was patronising and condescending towards her, as if he was speaking to a child. Reflecting on the incident, Natalie assessed the officer's actions towards her as unjust due to her age at the time:

I was just a kid. I was still, I'm still just a kid. We're all you know we're all still learning, I was, I shouldn't have been treated that way at such a young age or I shouldn't have been made to feel that way at such a young age, at such a critical age too. (Natalie)

For Natalie, the incident was an intense and traumatic one. The repercussions of the encounter changed Natalie's livelihood and changed the course of her life trajectory:

I was pushed into this corner and I ended up like getting an eating disorder and stuff like that. Like it's if he'd known, would he, how would he feel now if he'd known that he did that to me? How would he? Yeah. It's just like kinda crazy. (Natalie)

To the police officer it was just one more interaction, whereas in contrast, the repercussions were so real and strong for Natalie, it took a long time to heal from this interaction where both her physical and conceptual space was invaded. Natalie articulated that: *"It's definitely taken a long time to feel this way though like only up until the start of this year, I haven't felt you know, I haven't sorta talked about it and not cried."* It is ironic that in light of Natalie's experience, that gendered stereotypes primarily assign a state of vulnerability to women (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). This is the idea that women are weak and need to be protected. As space is regarded as male space, there is "a significant part of police occupational beliefs about heroic cops protecting vulnerable victims" (Westmarland, 2017, p. 303). These young women did not view themselves as "vulnerable victims," yet concurrently did not feel safe with the police (Westmarland, 2017, p. 303).

However, societally, women also need to appear to be deserving of police protection. Only particular women are worthy of being legally protected, those that succumb to society's expectations of respectable femininities (Malloch, 2004; Radford, 1987). Many of the participants recognised this when articulating interactions that they had with the police.

They [the NZP] talk to the girls, they don't speak to the guys. It's like I feel they kind of portray the culture of, girls are weak, boys are not, because they only discuss, 'Are you ok?' with the girls. They only come up to the girls and go, 'Are you alright?'... Yeah they don't go up to the boys being like, 'Are you ok? Are you being safe right now? Like how many drinks have you had?' I've had that so many times. (Tina)

The discourse around vulnerability is laden with gendered responsibility for women. Specifically, with regards to alcohol, and their behaviour, women have a responsibility to be respectable. The encounter that Natalie had with one male police officer has impacted her entire impression of police legitimacy. As with Tyler's (1990) argument, the one negative

interaction Natalie had with the police officer has impacted her perceptions of procedural justice, and impacted how she views the police as an entity:

I know the police is just this huge force with tons of people, but I cannot help but think of the police as this one person. Like this one person, as far as I'm aware, in my brain represents the whole police. (Natalie)

Natalie did not regard the police as legitimate at all:

That has totally affected the whole way I see the police, from here on out, and I can't imagine it changing anytime soon you know. As far as I'm aware they're people that can't be trusted and that's just the one interaction. (Natalie)

Natalie did not trust the police, perceiving a severe lack of procedural justice. In turn, it has impacted Natalie's conduct towards them and her opinion about her friend being a police officer: *"One of my really, really, close friends is a police officer and I'm just not happy about it. Like I don't look at any of them. I look at all of them just with distaste."* Natalie's experience has affected not only her perception of the police, but also Natalie's attitudes and actions towards them:

Every time I see them [the NZP] I don't show very good. Sometimes me and mum poke our tongues out the window and just, 'cause they just, yeah he just made me feel so worthless and definitely a lot of mental, other like, already having a history of bad mental health that this was just like a catalyst to speeding up lots of things (Natalie)

As demonstrated by the participants, when space is compromised, security is compromised too. Space relations were specifically referred to as something the police could improve upon. It was something that several young women felt was important for police to discuss and to have an awareness of. An example of suggested police dialogue with regard to space was provided by Sefina:

'Hey I need to do this with you, so I need to ask you these questions.' You know. Do they have to say, 'Is it ok?' Or whatever, whatever they have to do, the general things. And then, 'I'm gonna stand right here,' so that's like letting me know that

that's as close as he's gonna get or she, whoever [the NZP] and, 'If you need more space, let me know.' (Sefina)

Julia relayed an incident where her abusive ex-partner's flatmate called the police on her ex-partner, when she had explicitly asked them not to. The male flatmate told the police where Julia was hiding, and two male police officers arrived at the house. When Julia realised the police had arrived, she asked them to wait outside, and excused herself to get a drink of water, and her phone: *"I went inside, had a drink of water, and got my phone, and had it recording, and then recorded the whole interaction."* The police proceeded to question Julia on the doorstep of the house where she was staying, while she was recording the encounter. Julia's recording action demonstrated her severe lack of trust and safety with the police. Julia explained her reasoning for recording the conversation with the police, and connected it to the recent interactions with men she had recently experienced. Specifically, Julia's abusive ex-partner as well as his flat mates:

I felt really unsafe. By the way all of his flatmates are also young men who are in my age range or older, especially the one in question who sent the police is quite a bit older than me and I felt mistrustful and unheard by them as well. (Julia)

Julia described the police as treating the situation in a perfunctory manner:

They kind of just rocked up and were like, 'Hey which one is the one in question? Ok so would you say your partner's been controlling to you in the past? Where do you live?' And I'm like, 'I don't know you random man.' (Julia)

Here with the statement, *"I don't know you random man,"* Julia primarily responded to the male gender of the officer, not his position as a police officer. Many other situations that the participants described as uncomfortable, also prioritised the male encroachment of female space (as opposed to their authority as police officers). Males as police officers with authority and power only increased the interviewees' negative views about male domination of space and of police.

In contrast, when space is respected, a feeling of safety is resumed. When approached by the police, in this case an unknown man, Lydia stated how she felt safer

when the police officers were not so physically close to her: *“The second they come up a bit too close it just changes the way that you, the whole interaction like feels, it’s a big thing for me.”* Lydia viewed the space granted to her by police officers as a sign of respect:

I think I’ve always, one thing that I’m not sure if everyone else notices this, but I’ve always really appreciated when they keep distance. Like not so much, like they don’t have to be like two metres away but just even when I got pulled over the speeding ticket, I really appreciated that he wasn’t right up next to my car in my face you know? Making me feel a lot more terrified than I would have been. ‘Cause obviously I said I already feel a bit nervous around cops and I just feel like one of the ways that it really demonstrates to me, the respect is the boundaries and not getting up close in my face and yeah making me more uncomfortable and in other ways I’ve just always been addressed in a just like normal tone of voice, I’ve never been yelled at by a policeman, or I’ve never been, you know, they always called me Miss or by my full name if they knew it or yeah I’ve never yeah. So those are some of the main ways that I would say that I recognise the respect from them. (Lydia)

Space invasion by male police officers was viewed negatively, whereas when space was given to the participants by the police, it was viewed positively. The invasion of physical and conceptual space that participants experienced with male officers, was not found during interactions with female officers.

Female Negotiation of Space with Female Police Officers

In comparison, when female police officers were mentioned in the interviews, space invasion was not mentioned at all. In fact, female officers were positively discussed. Furthermore, many participants expressed a desire to see a greater female police presence. For example, Tina noted: *“I feel like female officers are like a lot more approachable.”* Particularly, Julia and Lydia expressed that more female police officers patrolling in town on Friday and Saturday nights, and for them to be more involved in domestic incidents would be positive:

I would say more female police officers for sure and it would be nice if it was protocol, if there was domestic violence especially or like abuse towards women

perpetrated by men at least. I understand that you want the same group of officers to confront both the victim and the perpetrator it makes sense to have one of them be a man because the perpetrator is more likely to feel intimidated by and or respect a male officer, but the flip side of that is the victim is probably a lot more likely to feel safe talking to a female officer. So I think at the least there needs to be a female officer present when talking to someone who's been a victim of abuse especially by men. (Julia)

We had this really nice police officer who was like 'cause we went during kind of the middle of lunch was when we passed this checkpoint so it wasn't really busy and she was young. She was like not a lot older than us and we just sat and talked to her for like 20 minutes at the checkpoint until the next car pulled up. So that was pretty yeah 'cause normally you don't do that when you have like a (laughs) checkpoint. Like they're normally like there to do a job so they carry out the job and then wave you through and onto the next one but yeah, this girl we talked to yeah, she was really cool. (Lydia)

Space was not perceived to be an issue with female officers for any of the participants.

Summary

The findings in this chapter have highlighted that the context and physical spaces of participants' encounters with police influenced their perceptions of procedural justice, particularly in regard to trustworthiness and respect issues of space in young women's encounters with police. They have indicated that space is male-dominated and that it has a significant effect on their interactions with police. When young women encounter older male police officers, they bring with them a history of interactions with unknown men in both public and private spaces. They bring with them their accounts of rape and sexual assault, and their daily experiences of micro-aggressions directed at them on the basis of their gender. Although police have the authority to move around spaces in ways that civilians do not, participants attested to police invading their space and how they felt intimidated and unsafe as a result. To young women, who routinely assess the threat of violence from unknown men in both public and private spaces, male police are unknown

men who pose a potential threat to their security. What is more, male police are authority figures by virtue of their age and through being agents of the state. Male police thus present a triple threat to the young women they encounter, where officers are the dominant party in each area: as men (over women), as police (over citizens), and as adults (over adolescents). The next chapter explores the way that police authority across this triple power dynamic is communicated, which is the second theme that emerged from the interview data.

Results Chapter 5 – Communication

This results chapter reports on the second central theme found across the interview data: police as communicators of authority. Communication is a two-way interactive and iterative experience. How communication is delivered and how communication is received, was found to be imperative in this study. Language, body language, and eye gaze of police officers were mentioned prominently in the interviews as methods of enforcing authority. Feelings of being dismissed by police were also frequently drawn attention to by participants, specifically, not being listened to or being belittled. The chapter examines different forms of communication with reference to the participants' experiences with police, which in turn impacted their perceptions of procedural justice (trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality).

Police as Communicators of Authority

I called the police, I called 111 and they didn't answer and they basically called me back an hour later and were like, 'Sorry is everything all goods?' ... had I been the only person to call the police, someone could be dead. Do you know what I mean?
(Natalie)

The young women interviewed discussed police communication in detail, demonstrating that communication was a significant and memorable part of their encounters with the police. Drury (2003) defines communication as: tone of voice, body language, facial expressions, and verbal explanations. For young adolescent females, the research suggests that how communication is conducted is more influential than its content. This concept of how an action is employed is directly linked to procedural justice, which is concerned with how police authority is enacted (Worden & McLean, 2017). As discussed in the previous chapter, the young women often encountered older male officers. Therefore, gender relations were at play in their interactions, as well as inter-generational misunderstandings, and power dynamics between representatives of the state and citizens.

There's a separation between you, a police officer, and a civilian. And I think that's something that kinda needs to change, as it automatically puts you in a good guy,

bad guy situation. Which yeah, that's a power trip that I don't like, that the police have. (Hannah)

Respect

If you just are caring and kind towards someone, you're respecting them. If you're being conscious of how you are around them, if you're being conscious of how they are around you, if you're being aware of how they're feeling or aware of their emotions, if you can read their language, that's you respecting them. If you're considerate of what you're doing around them, that's being respectful. (Tina)

In the interactions between older police officers and young women, issues of respect were particularly pertinent, in whether aspects of procedural justice were perceived or not. Respect was a term employed liberally throughout the interviews, and was discussed in reference to communication with authority figures generally, as well as the police. Respect is a commonly utilised word, yet has a variety of interpretations. It can easily be misconstrued and misunderstood, either culturally or socially. Claire considered respect as: *"Feeling like that person is in some way a role model, probably in that, that person displays qualities that I admire."* While Julia defined respect as: *"Believing someone about their own experiences, and recognising that they have autonomous control over themselves and their actions, and not trying to impede on that or take it away."*

Several participants understood respect to be portrayed relationally and contextually. This raised the question as to the variables that impact experiences of respect. Therefore, it was important to explore how respect, as a principle of procedural justice, was communicated to young women during police encounters. Tina discussed respect within the context of the NTE, and the lack of respect she felt was communicated by police:

But so many times, especially it was more so when I was sober, we'd just be walking down the street and police would kinda just stop us and make sure we were ok. Make sure we were all good and stuff and then I'd be like just normal, being, 'Yeah I'm sober. I'm fine. I've not had any drinks.' And they kinda just, not like disrespect me, but just brush me off. Because they're just like, 'Na, you're drunk. Like you're drunk, go away' kind of thing. And I'm just like, 'Oh yeah. Like I understand that you're

doing your job. I understand that you're just making sure everyone's all good. But I feel like you're not gonna get met with respect if you're kind of treating the person that you're talking to like, with that disregard.' (Tina)

Tina directly attributed the police dismissal and disregard of what she had to say, to a lack of respect in their communication.

Adults as Authority Figures

From a young age, the participants were aware that adults had authority in their lives. All of the participants named at least one parent as a main authoritative figure while growing up. Parental authority was communicated in different ways. Primarily, it was verbal communication, (or the purposeful absence of verbal communication), that was found to be significant in how adults communicated their authority over the participants.

She would apply, usually manipulation. Yeah. I don't know what other words to use. Often stuff like taking things away that are important. A good example would be, we adopted a dog, and when I wouldn't brush my teeth, she'd say she would give it to the pound. (Claire)

My father applied authority through helicopter parenting so through micro-managing of everything, and my step-father was similar, but with a lot more punishments and negative, not negative reinforcement, but like punishing bad behaviour. (Hannah)

I didn't have a lot of rules growing up. For better or for worse, I kind of had to figure a lot of things out on my own. She was quite a loose parent but a very supportive parent, and a very kind one. Yeah, I didn't, she wasn't very strict. She wasn't very strict that's for sure. (Julia)

Claire, Hannah, and Julia stated that their childhood authority figures no longer had any authority in their lives today as young women. Sefina and Tina acknowledged that their parents still had a place of authority in their lives, just not as much as when they were younger. The authority that their parents now had was “welcomed” as opposed to

“allowed” (Sefina). These parents too, communicated authority either verbally, or by a purposeful lack of verbal communication.

So, my mum, she was, she would just yell and scream pretty much. Like that was her way of, she’s quite a strict parent who tried to be a friend but wasn’t a friend, if that makes sense. Yeah, she was quite like, ‘This is what’s happening, if you don’t like it then tough shit.’ Excuse my language. (Tina)

Apply their authority, my dad would, is, the puller of silent treatments. So, if something didn’t go his way, he just wouldn’t talk to us. He still doesn’t talk to us if it’s bad. And my mum also did the silent treatment, but she’s more confronting. (Sefina)

As children grow older, their expectations around authority change as well as their communication with authority figures. Adolescents are consistently told that they should, know better and do better. Frictions often occur as youth have increased freedom, and the activities that they partake in have the potential to have more serious repercussions if something goes awry. For example, young people increasingly participate in driving cars (or being driven by other adolescents), negotiating sexual behaviours and consent, drinking and drug taking. Teenagers are held accountable (and are aware of this accountability) to many different forms of authority: parental, social, educational, and legal (Coleman & Hendry, 1999; Drury, 2003). The control held over adolescents in many facets of their lives, concurrent with their evolving independence, leads to conflicting power dynamics between adolescents and adults (Drury, 2003). Despite adolescents ironically being socially expected to be uncommunicative, as adolescents can physically look like adults, it is easy to forget that they are not yet fully-formed neurologically. It is this power dynamic that underpins adolescent and adult relations, facilitated through communication. Therefore, “adults in authority may be able to define the context, form and meaning of communication between themselves and adolescents” (Drury, 2003, p. 1). The *us and them* attitudes imbedded within police culture can feasibly affect police actions, specifically those directed at adolescents (Chan, 1997; Paoline & Terrill, 2005; Richards, 2020). Police attitudes about young people impact how police employ discretion over young people (Marinos & Innocente, 2008; McAra & McVie, 2005; Richards, 2020).

Participants did not generally perceive that they were looked upon favourably by police, due to the ways in which they experienced communication. This links to the literature when recently, Richards et al. (2019) discovered that police saw young people as "disrespectful and undisciplined" (p. 361). Drury and Dennison (2002) found that police officers interpret young people as not wanting to be in communication with police. Police officers appear to connect communication issues to power dynamics (Dennison & Drury, 1999). Police have described communication problems with adolescents as a result of youth perceptions of police in their positions of authority, as opposed to police employment of power (Drury, 2003). However, in the study, authority did not appear to be an issue, as the participants did not have any problems communicating with female police officers.

Therefore, it is the male employment of authority in conjunction with gender dynamics that was found to be problematic. Many police view young people and young women especially, as a problem to be solved (Richards et al., 2019). In fact, Bolzan (2003) established that police singled out female adolescents as "real bitches" (p. 52). Drury and Dennison (2002) maintain that police considered young females to be more argumentative than young males and "far more mouthy and noisy" (p. 70). Therefore, the finding that participants were nervous and uncertain around police authority should not have been unexpected.

When I'm in town, I feel quite nervous whenever I see police approaching me.

Obviously just 'cause I feel like you're ingrained to be afraid of the police, or like be wary of them ... So yeah, when they kinda come up to me in town that's probably when I feel most scared, most vulnerable. (Tina)

Tina's articulation of how she felt when addressed by male police officers, is a magnification of how young women feel when unknown men approach them on the street. Random men encroaching on the space of young women causes them to be apprehensive enough, however when unknown men come in the form of police officers, and are legally allowed to communicate and enforce authority, females are hyper-alert. Therefore, typical adolescent defensive behaviours towards police in response to being caught off-guard, or provoked when nervous, specifically verbal behaviours, are unsurprising. In general, women are more likely to be fearful of men and are more likely to adapt their behaviour in reaction

to men than vice versa (Ross 2012; Sweet, 2019). Many of the young women in the study referred to feeling vulnerable or nervous when they saw police officers. Several of the participants directly connected the reason for their nerves being the police as authority figures and the ways in which police communicated that authority.

I think I always feel a bit nervous, even if I've done absolutely nothing wrong, and I know I've done nothing wrong. Just because they are an authority, such a big authority figure. So yeah, anytime I see them I kind of have a little bit of butterflies but not really for any apparent reason. (Lydia)

Police as Authority Figures

Police have been authority figures in the participants' lives from an early age. Most of the participants mentioned that they first communicated with the police when they were children and the police visited their schools. These visits were influential in forming an awareness that the police were in authoritative societal positions. It was at school (one state institution), that the police (another state institution), educated most of the interviewees on the issues deemed important by the police. Police communicated to children that they could be trusted to provide safety from a young age. Tina remembered when the police: *"Used to come to school fairs and stuff."* Hannah also recalled when police visited her Intermediate school: *"My first proper run-in, was the Don't do Drugs campaign thing, where police officers would come into Intermediate schools and tell us about how bad drugs are."* Claire recounted:

I have photos from kindergarten of police officers coming in to speak to me and my friends at kindergarten, and we'd dress up in police uniforms and stuff like that. So, I definitely think that where I lived there was a lot of police outreach for sure. (Claire)

The participants acknowledged it was during these school visits, that they gained the impression that the role of police was to keep them safe.

I was always brought up knowing that the police are there if you ever need them. The police are like if I would go to a fair or I'd go to a mall, the idea was, you get lost, you go to the police. So, I grew up with a lot of trust in the police. (Claire)

However, as these young women have grown up, many of their experiences with the police have impacted, and ultimately changed their views of the police. Many participants stated that views of the police communicated to them when they were younger, no longer existed. Several participants went on to say they did not feel safe with police. For Hannah, her trust in the police had been impacted: *“I don’t feel comfortable talking to police anymore. My view from when I was a child and being protectors of our community has changed drastically.”* The idea that the police will keep one safe implies a vulnerability of some sort. As discussed in the final chapter, vulnerability is part of a gendered stereotype that is characteristically applied to women. It is then magnified by police initiatives and messages that women are responsible for their own safety, particularly with regards to sexual crime prevention (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Julia recalled an initiative that was explicit and unusual: *“When I was in primary school there’d be the police officers who’d come round and teach you how to ride a bike and give you a weird pep talk on sexual abuse.”*

Females develop hyperawareness and a fear of crime from a young age, but the same awareness is not instilled in males. Sefina further highlighted this gender disparity when discussing the ways in which male police officers question females:

Just say if we were to turn into men one day, we would know not to pin a girl near a corner in a dark room, like we would just know that. And I know that other people would be like, that’s obvious, but that’s just an example of like ... you wouldn’t meet a girl in an alley way when there’s a streetlight over there. Like you know you wouldn’t corner them in a dark spot of the street, because you know there’s plenty of other options that you could ask them questions. (Sefina)

For young females particularly, vulnerability is intensified as they are not only female, but also adolescents. Adolescents are acutely aware of this difference of power, in which adults hold the authority, particularly with additional “institutional support” (Drury, 2003, p. 2; Emler & Reicher, 1996). During adolescence it is this awareness that can lead to conflicting power struggles between adolescents and adults.

There's a lot that the police could change. Being more respectful I think is a big one. 'Cause I think once you put on that uniform, you know you gain that power. You are very acutely aware of that I guess, and it makes you feel like you somewhat don't have to care as much. (Hannah)

Male police officers further their power, authority, and dominance through presence and language. In the study, participants articulated that the police spoke forcefully to them, by the language and tone of voice employed.

Police Authority Communicated Through Body Language

In the study, body language was found to be a tool utilised to communicate authority. As discussed in Chapter 4, police were found to be invaders of physical and conceptual space for most of the participants. Body language of police was a major way that their authority was communicated, including by their physique. The physical male body is often utilised to communicate this dominance. For instance, society favours males that are tall (at least 6 feet tall) and big (jacked). Males are used to taking up space, contrastingly women are encouraged to take up minimal space (to be skinny, quiet, submissive). For example, when males take up space with their bodies, by implication space is taken away from others, such as with manspreading.¹ Participants frequently referred to the use of body language of police officers, and how they often felt vulnerable in response, throughout the interviews.

Tina correlated her small size in direct juxtaposition to the police being big, as a reason that she is consistently singled out by police:

I think that's a reason why they come up to me quite a lot as well 'cause I'm quite a small person ... I feel like I attract a lot of unwanted attention from police 'cause of my height. (Tina)

Tina resented the attention the police gave her. She expressed how she felt as though they thought she needed protection, but she had an adverse reaction and felt she needed protection from them. Perhaps as Tina does not take up much physical space, she

¹ Refers to, "the act of a man sitting, especially on public transport, with his legs spread wide apart, in a way that means that the people next to him have less space" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

came across to the police as someone they could easily exhibit authority over. Being small, less-than, or invisible, when in contact with the police connected to broader themes of gender dynamics. Conflicting societal messages about femininities endorse “a sense of unsafety entangled with the female body itself” (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020, p. 6). The idea of young women being small or less-than was found to be communicated physically by police, as well as communicated conceptually. This was how Hannah interpreted her interaction:

I have been a bit of a dick like outside of the interactions, but yeah like during the interactions I've been nice. I've been polite. I tried to answer all the questions. I haven't, you know, tried to do anything crazy. It definitely feels like you have to put yourself underneath them like socially, I guess. Like you have to do things like not meeting their eyes, or like making yourself smaller than them, and I'm not sure if that's because I'm a woman talking to men, or if because they're people in authority and I'm not. But yeah, I was definitely like trying to make myself smaller in order to kind of like try to appease what they wanted of me. (Hannah)

Young females are the subordinate in three areas, as citizens, females and adolescents, leaving them even more vulnerable. Hannah responded to the triple power dynamic by actively performing respectable femininities. She was nice, polite, and submissive in her interactions with male police officers. Hannah's attempt to make herself smaller, was to take up less space conceptually and keep herself safe. This performance of safety-work with the male officers is in stark contradiction to the messages portrayed about the police officers keeping citizens safe. This paradox further emphasises the gendered vulnerability that young females experience.

Tina also recognises the power dynamic that police have, and considers that they capitalise on it by means of their body language: “*I just feel like I keep coming back to the authority figure and body language. Yeah, like the authority that they kind of bring, I feel like they play into it quite a lot.*” Therefore, nervousness and feelings of uncertainty around police are magnified for young women, when they see male police officers walking around in the NTE. There was specific mention of the physical size of police officers and how these large groups of men can generate feelings of intimidation for young females. Andrea articulated her feelings: “*I was nervous, and I think I was annoyed 'cause it wasn't me who*

had wanted to talk to them. So, I was obviously nervous, 'cause you know the police you're probably going to be nervous." Tina described her experiences of this in the NTE:

When they come up to me in town I really hate it, like I hate it so much. It makes me feel like, it just makes me feel like embarrassed, makes me feel like I shouldn't be out in town, just like that's the feeling that I get. (Tina)

Honestly all the time when I go out, it's a massive group of them right outside [names place] massive group of them, like six plus. Almost every single time just like standing outside [names place]. The amount of times I've just turned around and seen like a sea of yellow jackets, or like the big high-vis stuff that they wear. I'm just like why are they all standing there? (Tina)

Tina highlighted the way and the style that male police officers walk was also unnerving:

It's just the way they kinda walk up, and I dunno if you've seen them, but they walk with their hands like this in their big pockets, and they walk like that, and they're just so tall, and just like, 'Grr what's going on?' And it's just the way that they kind of approach the conversation is very like, yeah not off putting, but it like makes you feel nervous. Like they don't kind of help settle the nerves and stuff, 'cause I'm sure that they would know that they carry so much authority with them. (Tina)

Young women also detailed situations where male police officers disrespected their personal boundaries. The physical communication of authority in this way magnified feelings of vulnerability for some of the participants. Tina, who experienced the taxi driver incident, described how three male police officers came into her bedroom to question her, and described how they communicated their authority:

One was right at the edge of the bed [gestures], and the other was here at the bottom corner [gestures], and then the other one was here [gestures]. All kind of surrounding the bed, and I was just like this is weird, you could be standing by the door. You could be like stepping away from the bed. It was literally their positioning in my room, is what made me uncomfortable. 'Cause I was in bed, shivering, being

like sick and stuff, this is like embarrassing. It's awkward. I do not feel good. I feel like, very just, you know when someone stands over the top of you? ... It felt real claustrophobic. (Tina)

Andrea also described feeling claustrophobic during her encounter with police. Male police officers had arrived to question Andrea while she was getting ready to go to bed. She recounted: *"I was just in shorts and a vest and I was really cold and I didn't really wanna talk to them at all."* Andrea felt exposed as she wasn't wearing much. She recalled being very cold, dressed in her night attire, in a small room with all male officers: *"When they're [the police] all in the room at once it feels quite claustrophobic."* Andrea's discomfort was ignored by the police: *"I had like a bag of peas on my face and I was like shivering, and I just didn't really feel like anyone was taking that into account."* Andrea continued: *"They [the police] took my clothes although I didn't really see a need for them to do that at all."* The physical presence of the three male officers in the small office, together with the lack of verbal explanation, contributed to a diminishing of Andrea's voice and undermining her sense of procedural justice.

Police Authority Communicated Through Eye Gaze

Eye contact or gaze is pertinent to communication, it is the central "mechanism for the entry into, coordination, and maintenance of face-to-face interaction" (Kidwell, 2006, p. 745). It is a major gauge of whether someone is granted the attention of another (Kendon, 1967, 1990; Kidwell, 2006). Kidwell (2005) further maintains that "gaze directed at another can constitute a method of social control" (p. 421). Tina specifically highlighted eye gaze as a way of communicating authority. She described how the eye contact made her feel uncomfortable and vulnerable. Tina was embarrassed at being the subject of male police attention, in the context of the NTE, and directly linked it to the power that police hold:

I feel like even standing far away from someone, it's like the eye contact. It's legit the body language, if they're facing you, if they're not facing you. Like all that sort of stuff. Like it doesn't look like they're imposing on you but you're so uncomfortable in that certain time but you can't make, say anything or do anything. It's not actually like a thing, but where that comes with the authority, like definitely comes with

power. Yeah, I don't like it when they just stare into your eyes and you can't break eye contact, 'cause it's just like I feel so invaded. (Tina)

Tina explicitly associated body language and eye gaze to the authority and power of male police officers. Male looks and stares can further magnify the visibility of women in the NTE and increase their unwanted sexual attention (Nicholls, 2019). However, the withdrawal of gaze of a citizen during police contact, could indicate “a line of resistance to complying,” which is problematic as that may be misconstrued (Kidwell, 2006, p. 762). The gaze is open to interpretation by the police officer who, in a position of authority, has the power to dictate the consequences or repercussions for the citizen. Therefore, in police encounters young women have to confront the male gaze (that they often try to avoid) even if it is uncomfortable or threatening.

The next three sub sections are explicit examples from the findings of opportunities for principles of procedural justice to be enacted by the police, and how they were perceived by female adolescents.

Not Being Listened to Versus Being Listened to

In communication, a gaze can be a signal of listening and a reciprocated gaze acknowledges who is being spoken to (Kidwell, 2006). Tina was conscious of not being listened to by police officers, while in conversation with them:

The way that they just kind of brush you off. Like you'll be talking to them and they'll be kinda like, 'Yup.' And then just kinda like legit, just turn around and stop the conversation. Or they just like look over top of you. I think 'cause I'm quite short as well, they like always just look over the top of me, kinda ignore, 'cause I'm like under their height range. (Tina)

A number of interviewees mentioned a lack of communication and explanation from police officers around what was happening to them and what the consequences would be. Natalie was conscious of not being listened to by the police officer who stopped her driving in order to breathalyse her:

He wasn't giving me full responses. He was just acting like, yeah, I was just another case. I dunno. It was just like he wasn't really co-operating with me I'd say. He wasn't really communicating very well with me, which made me feel kinda inhumane.

(Natalie)

In this way, the male police officer was dismissive of Natalie, as he did not provide her with the verbal explanations she requested. The absence of verbal explanations directly linked to a lack of procedural justice.

In the aftermath of Julia's domestic incident when she was hiding from her ex-partner, she described how the male police officers did not provide a reason for their persistence in asking for her address:

They [the police] kept asking me, they asked me what my address was, and I didn't feel like I wanted to give it to them, and so I asked why they needed it, and they just kinda kept pushing it. But they didn't give me a good reason for it, and I was standing on the doorstep with my friend and they just kinda kept pushing and pushing. (Julia)

Julia did not feel she was listened to by the police officers who did not seem to understand why she would be reticent about providing her address, when she was hiding from her abusive ex-partner. The study of socio-linguistic communications between genders is not new (Lakoff, 1975). Neither is the study of communication between adults and adolescents. All of these variables need to be accounted for when understanding the communication between adult male police officers and young women. Listening is a quality that has been found to be an indicator of positive communication with adolescents (Dennison & Drury, 1999). However, Loader (1996) maintains that police view communication to be successful when young people have received the message that police are trying to convey, indicating that it mainly goes one way. This one-way communication was experienced by the majority of the participants in this study who described situations of being ignored, not being heard, or not being listened, to by police. Andrea considered these to be: *"Just pretty mundane things, but things that they could have asked me about or I dunno, included me in the conversation."* Consequently, this undermined the perception of procedural justice.

I don't think they really, yeah I don't think they really communicated effectively and gave me like I dunno not the support, but I dunno, just the information I sort of needed to kind of move on from things. (Andrea)

I was like telling them, 'I don't want you in here, like I don't feel comfortable right now, like my partner is here talking for me' and then all of my flat mates were in the room at the same time as well and I was like I do not feel safe, it's not not feeling safe, it's like I do not feel comfortable, like I do not like what's happening right now, and no one was really listening to me. (Tina)

Julia did not feel listened to by the male police officers either, which in turn impacted her views of trustworthiness and respect of the police:

I didn't feel like they really respected me, or cared about what I felt would make me safe, and listen to what I was saying would make me feel most safe, and I didn't trust or respect them to follow through with what I felt would be the best thing for my safety either, but it certainly wasn't a hostile interaction. But I think that's where a lot of the bewilderment and exasperation came from, it felt kind of just ineffective. (Julia)

While Julia was prioritising her own safety, she did not feel that was reciprocated by the police. In addition, she did not feel listened to: *"I felt like my needs weren't really being heard or met but that the individual police officers were kind."* Julia's communication with police and their lack of responsiveness, have compounded to affect her attitude towards the urgency of reporting:

That's still something I haven't done because figuring out how to find a phone number on a website I don't understand, and then talking again to another cold, dismissive, bureaucratic man about something difficult for me is like a really easy task to procrastinate on. (Julia)

Some participants felt belittled and brushed off by the police. Many of the young women stated that they would have preferred more support and understanding:

He [the police officer] was acting like he was really disappointed but at the same time acting like it is no big deal. I dunno that doesn't really make sense but he was just like yeah super disappointed just really like that but not really acting, not really sympathising to the fact that I was really concerned about what was happening and not really like comforting to the fact that I was really distraught. (Natalie)

When Julia expressed concern that her abusive ex-partner was trying to get a gun licence, the police seemed ambivalent. She was told by police to 'Google it' because they 'don't deal with the guns.' Julia was worried for her ex-partner's mental health, and expressed this to a male police officer:

It was a really intense situation and I was really worried for his mental health, and felt really stressed out about that and didn't know what to do so I was talking to the officer about it, and I felt completely just dismissed and unheard and he just said things like, 'You know he could call a helpline if he needs to.' I was like, 'Listen here [names officer], you and I both know the statistics about young men and suicide.'
(Julia)

Julia expressed that she did not feel like her concerns were listened to or taken seriously. Julia also did not trust the reporting process, particularly around the communication of police statements:

I wish when they asked me to give a statement that they gave me a little preamble of how legally binding that is, and what effect that statement will have on me in the future and like that kind of stuff. I felt really intimidated and I had to choose my words super, super, carefully and be really vague in case I said something wrong and I definitely didn't feel safe giving the statement. I felt like confused and rushed, and very pressured. I felt like I was under a lot of pressure to keep myself safe by not saying the wrong thing but also to just say whatever I needed to say to make it be over and make them believe me and it all finish. Yeah, and I told the truth but it wasn't [sighs], I don't think the truth did a good job of actually providing the information they needed to make a judgement on our safety. (Julia)

This contributed to a lack of trustworthiness for Julia, as she did not trust that the police were concerned enough about her safety or those around her. This was also the case for Hannah, who experience police dismissal when making a statement about sexual violence:

They were very dismissive. Blatantly. And you know if anything ever happened, if I ever reported anything, it came back on me. Or the responsibility was mine I guess and like I'm complaining for no good reason. Or like there's no, there's nothing really here to complain about so you know yeah, that sort of stuff. (Hannah)

Julia and Hannah also highlighted that that they were asked to make the statements immediately after traumatic incidents had occurred. In addition, these participants expressed a desire to clarify some details in the statements at a later date but did not, due to fear of being further dismissed by police. For both Julia and Hannah these interactions contributed to a lack of procedural justice being experienced.

Hannah specifically connected her gender to why the male police officers did not take her reports seriously: *"I think that taking my complaints somewhat more seriously than just like a teenage girl bitching, would have been a bit fairer."* How Hannah perceived the incident was not the same way as the police, and Hannah felt dismissed.

Victims of violent crime have been found to perceive procedural justice when police officers are decidedly against the crime that is being reported (Koster et al., 2020). Therefore, Kelly's (1987) continuum would be a helpful tool for the police to understand women's perspectives with regard to the seriousness of sexual violence for the women reporting. The continuum helps to explain how small actions that men enact in public and private spaces, operate to keep women fearful of sexual assault, and under social control. An awareness of these perspectives, could help police enact the principles of procedural justice, and to indicate to the women concerned that they are supportive of women reporting violence, sexual violence, and harassment.

Being Lied to Versus Being Honest

Tina and Natalie both described situations where they were lied to by the police, which eroded their trust in procedural justice. For Tina it was: *"Just the fact that he lied. So,*

I'm gonna say no. I don't think I was treated fairly." For Natalie, who was charged with Driving with Excess Breath/Blood Alcohol (EBA), it was when she later discovered that the male police officer had lied in his written statement of events. When Natalie's lawyer took this complaint to the police, the police officer retracted his statement immediately:

The fact that he lied in his statement was just like the nail in the coffin ... That's it, I don't like the police, as far as I'm aware I'm never going to like them. That's my view on the police. It's never changed and I can't imagine it. That was like two or three years ago and I can't imagine my view changing again. That is with me, everywhere I go. Every time I see police it's all I think about. He lied, and he retracted his statement. Like that's it you know? Nothing happened. Why did he lie? I just don't understand. So that's the one encounter which really sticks with me and bases my, basically just bases my view on how I do any other interaction with the police, always think about that moment there that I had. (Natalie)

This one interaction is fundamental to Natalie's entire view of the police. Natalie did not perceive that she was treated fairly: *"I just definitely don't think I was treated fairly now that I think about the fact that he lied in his statement to the police and he had to retract it. Like that's not fair."* Therefore, demonstrating that although police have power, they are not always regarded as safe, contrary to societal messages conveyed about them. When the police do not adhere to the standards they expect of citizens, this erodes their legitimacy and undermines procedural justice. In another situation, Tina's sister was in an abusive relationship. Tina and her family had called the police several times when worried about the sister's safety. Each time they asked the police to keep their calls anonymous, in order to protect the sister in a tense situation. Every time the police had agreed to keep the family's anonymity, only to renege on it later:

So, we've had to say like, 'Can you please not let her know that we've caused this, because she'll stop communication with us, and it's just going to be worse for everyone.' And they've always kinda finished it being like, 'Yup, your mum called us, your sister called us, your dad called us.' Or something like that and it's just like, it's literally like it could be a very very serious life or death situation, and you're putting your foot in like that. (Tina)

Tina and Natalie both felt a lack of respect and trustworthiness from the police:

I don't trust the police because of that, because I know that they do that sort of stuff, so I'm like I don't think that they pay attention to the finer details in like a big situation that benefit the situation in the end kind of thing. (Tina)

Did he think I was like drunk or something that I wouldn't remember him? I knew exactly what had happened in that situation, I knew absolutely everything that went on, I was fully aware of everything that was going on. So as of that I've just had such a sour taste with the police, I really don't like them. (Natalie)

In their interviews, the lies told to Tina and Natalie by the police, directly affected their perceptions of police legitimacy thereby, a lack of procedural justice.

When Hannah was 13 years old, she was sexually assaulted. In an effort to try and explain her drastic change in behaviour, she made up a story, believing that the sexual assault was not enough to explain her responsive actions. Hannah's story was passed on from her friends, to the Deans, and onto the police. Hannah was found out in the lie, and sentenced to Community Service:

I was still young and like quite naïve. But I was feeling really out of sorts, and it was showing up in my behaviour, and my grades, and I needed a lie to cover it up, because I didn't think what had actually happened was worth my drastic change in behaviour. So, I lied to my friends to explain it. The friends told the Deans at my school. The Deans told the police and then suddenly I was caught in this massive, stupid lie. (Hannah)

When her lie was uncovered, Hannah did not dispute it and the police did not ask her any further questions:

They were like, 'Community Service, punishment, go away.' And in hindsight, I feel like they could have done a bit more to ask why a previously very good child, who was still a child, was like taking such drastic measures. (Hannah)

At the age of 15 years old, Hannah was raped. She reported it to the police the week that it happened:

I got the DNA test and I got all of that done, and they told me that it was my fault, and to leave. So, they kind of really destroyed this action of them being there to help you. (Hannah)

Hannah was blamed, silenced, and dismissed for what happened to her:

I wouldn't fight back when they were asking me questions that like in hindsight were actually very derogatory and offensive. You know like, 'Well, did this actually happen?' You know like, 'Are you sure you didn't want it?' That sort of stuff. I made myself smaller by not saying, 'Hey fuck off, that's not something you can ask right now I don't think.' (Hannah)

They still don't know, I only found the courage to actually talk about it maybe a year ago, because I felt so flattened by the incident, you know? Like I knew that what had happened and the story made up wasn't true. But what actually happened didn't feel a good enough response to begin with, but now I'd also lied to the police about it so gosh I can't say that this tiny little thing had this much impact on, so yeah they didn't know. They didn't ask. (Hannah)

It was all male. Except for one female who sat outside with me while I was having a smoke. Like halfway through giving my statement. 'Cause it was very overwhelming. And then we just talked about doing acid and stuff. So, I think that was one of the only good experiences I had. [Laughs]. (Hannah)

When I had initially made my statement, it seemed like they were already trying to discredit what I was saying by the questions they were asking. You know like, 'Well are you sure you didn't want it? Are you sure this is the sequence of events? Can you repeat this?' Like all that sort of stuff. So, like it already seemed like they weren't believing me but that is said you know with hindsight and poor memory so, that is the vibe they were giving off, but that might just be me adding that on it. (Hannah)

Hannah's age was not taken into account and her voice and her experiences were silenced. This links to the literature where across the whole of NZ, CJS victims are still "disbelieved, discredited and dismissed" (Rowe & Macauley, 2019, p.405). Historically, women's accounts of rape have been continually silenced in patriarchal societies (Jordan, 2011). This is yet another example of men maintaining dominance over women (Jordan, 2011). Hannah connected her history with the police as a child as the reason they did not believe her reports of rape perpetrated against her later in her life:

I think the only thing they [the NZP] saw was my offender and the fact that I was reporting like sexual experiences ... I do think that my first experience when I was 13 has kind of tarnished my, like my trustworthiness to the police, and I feel like my previous, not my previous, my other experiences weren't taken seriously 'cause of that. (Hannah)

Hannah, Tina and Natalie trusted the police to keep them safe, however this trust was not reciprocated. Instead, police dismissal or blame was imparted to the participants. Thereby, Hannah, Tina and Natalie did not perceive procedural justice in these encounters with police.

Singled-out Versus Being Treated Like Everyone Else

Some of the participants recalled incidents where they were singled-out by the NZP, on account of their gender. Sefina described a time when she was at a party when she was 16 or 17 years old, and a fight broke out. One male had instigated a fight with six other males. The police came and separated the fight, and she and her female friend were pulled aside by police officers to provide details:

He was like, 'Are you sure?' and I'm like, 'Yeah I'm really sure.' And then they switched cops. Like I got another cop to talk to me while that cop went in and did whatever he was doing with the people, and they kind of just asked me the same questions again. But I don't know why they separated us 'cause we all said the same story. Like it wasn't, we didn't lie and the odd thing about it was they didn't ask any of the guys that were there that weren't a part of the fight. They only asked the girls that were there. (Sefina)

Natalie articulated being singled-out when she got pulled over by a male police officer who was patrolling near where she lived:

I did wish that he was more neutral to me and not have been such a rude, but yeah. I think just with girls or in any situation, just yeah just be nice. Don't have that police like I am neutral, I am above you, I am the enforcer, just be, I mean it's the same with everyone. If you're nice to someone of course people are going to be nice back to you and of course people are gonna respect what you have to say and stuff. So, it's just I think it comes down to that common decency, just treat others how you wanna be treated. (Natalie)

Natalie did not believe she was treated fairly in her interaction. She also did not perceive neutrality from the male police officer through the way that he dictated his interaction with her and locked her in an unmarked police car. Likewise, Hannah did not believe she was treated fairly by police. However, Hannah did perceive neutrality in her interactions, yet that neutrality was negative:

I don't think I was treated fairly, at all, I think that my treatment was horrible but I think that a lot of women, and I think a lot of people go through something similar so if I think I was treated the same as other people, which I guess is technically fair, then yes, I was treated fairly, but it wasn't just. (Hannah)

Andrea also commented on her treatment by police: *"I wouldn't want people to be treated like I was."* After Andrea's attack, the police had taken the clothes that she was wearing at the time of the attack for further investigation. When they were finally returned to her (after her repeated requests) one of the officers who came to the university hall the night of the attack came back to the hall to deliver the clothes:

He brought them to me at my [building], in his police car, during dinner time and so everyone could like see so like obviously that caused quite like a, that was quite a topic of conversation so that was a bit unnecessary. (Andrea)

It's like glass, everyone saw him pull up and get out and then someone came and said, 'Someone here for you.' And then I went like outside the [names place] and he

was there and he like handed them over in this bag and we had like a brief chat and then he went and then I had to like go back into the [names place] to get my stuff.

(Andrea)

I was quite embarrassed 'cause yeah like I said everyone was downstairs eating dinner and again I felt I dunno I felt nervous 'cause it was the police even though I knew what they were doing there. I was just quite embarrassed and just like 'Urgh.' Didn't feel great but I got my clothes back so I was happy with the end result.

(Andrea)

Andrea's clothes were returned to her by a male police officer, who had questioned her the night of the attack, in a public manner. She did not want others to experience what she experienced during police interactions.

Many of the participants' experiences of not being listened to, lied to, and being singled out, link to negative perceptions of police interactions. However, when the opposite (being listened to, being honest, and being treated like everyone else) is found, these actions contribute to positive perceptions of procedural justice and police interactions.

Most of the other times that I would say is like unfair is in town and stuff and like they kinda just disregard and like they don't want to talk to you so just move away kind of thing. Like I wouldn't say that's very fair. (Tina)

Tina resented this police attention: "You're just singling me out" and found it frustrating.

Repercussions of Police Communication

Some participants articulated hyper-female responses in their interactions with the police, in order to appear as though they were cooperating with the police. This conforms with typical gender stereotypes of women being nice and polite (Connell, 1987). A few interviewees described their performativity in police encounters. Sefina was taught this: "I knew that they were people that you shouldn't smack talk like when I was younger it was always, "Don't get smart like don't get a smart mouth." And that was pretty much it."

Julia also commented:

I felt instinctively inclined to just tell them as little information as possible about me. Sorry how did I treat them? Yeah, formally, politely, but not with trust or respect for what they're doing but respectful to them as people. (Julia)

They [the NZP] were a little bit annoyed at me for being so withholding of information but they weren't rude to me about it and they didn't try and like over I mean this is setting the bar pretty low this is just naming horrible things they didn't do rather than nice things they did do, but they weren't aggressive and overcompensating in a kind of like masculine way to like stop me from acting they were just kind of like, 'Urgh why is she not why is this one not just being really compliant? This is annoying. Like, we don't have a flowchart option for this one ergh?' A little bit. But they weren't mean to me about it which I guess is nice. (Julia)

Julia described another event where she enacted performative femininity:

It didn't even occur to me once that climbing into a like an abandoned construction site not abandoned like night time construction site would be illegal or anyone would have a problem with it I just thought it'd be fun so they both followed me. I was the only girl and then it was my White male partner and my other friend and then yeah. We were all hanging there and someone called the police on us and the police came and told us to come down and I like gave the police very wide eyes and was like excessively polite and kind and, "Oh I'm so sorry I didn't know" and they just kind of let us go without any issues that was another time that I interacted with the police. That was like two years ago. (Julia)

This hyper-feminine conduct contrasts with that of some other participants who acknowledged that after certain police encounters, they now do not go out of their way to be nice or cooperate with the police. Their conduct has been changed as a result of their interactions with the police. Natalie articulated: "So, when the EBA thing happened, I just treated them normally and now every time I see them, I'm like I'm definitely not gonna say I'm polite to them." Furthermore, this demonstrates that individual interactions with the police compound and impact female adolescent perceptions of the police.

Gender Communication of Police Officers

Gendered communication between police and young women was highlighted by some participants. Hannah, who had reported a few incidents of sexual assault, drew attention to male communication during her reports. She felt she would have been more supported if she had reported to a female officer:

I think it was mostly in their telling me what I can do with the cases that I was putting forward or like what I could do with the complaints or what they were going to do about it. I think it was also in their lack of caring you know they didn't give me a female officer to talk to, I had to talk to a male, a male told me what was happening afterwards, the entire process was not done by somebody of my own gender and well you know like, that shouldn't matter too much, I do feel like a female police officer would have slightly more sympathy than a male one. (Hannah)

Sefina recalled a time she was drunkenly walking to a party with a male and female friend. Sefina decided to run off into a rugby field and her male friend ran after her to bring her back. Concurrently, a police car pulled over and a male and female officer started questioning Sefina's female friend who was still on the footpath. The male officer asked the friend why she did not chase after Sefina:

'Why didn't you go and run after her?' And this is when I was on my way back and all I heard, I remember hearing was, 'I'm not running after her in the grass in these heels!' The female cop, just cracked up laughing and apparently the guy cop was just like, 'What are you talking about?' Like he didn't get it, but the female cop was like, 'Aw don't worry.' (Sefina)

The friends found the situation funny because the female officer understood that the female friend did not run onto the pitch because her heels would sink into the grass, which the male officer did not comprehend. The communication gap between genders is clear here and a misunderstanding was ultimately avoided due to the understanding of the female police officer.

Summary

For young adolescent females, the research suggests that how communication is conducted is more influential than its content. When adolescent females encounter police officers, there are often a number of variables not in their favour, mainly their age and gender. Police communication is perceived in a number of ways by young women and in ways that enforce police authority, as adults, as males and as representatives of the state.

However as demonstrated, for female adolescents, police already have intrinsic authority by means of their position and uniform. Male police officers do not necessarily require to communicate any further authority, but instead have the opportunity to communicate procedural justice principles in their interactions with young females.

Results Chapter 6 - Risk

This results chapter reports on the third theme identified: that of male police officers presenting risk, not safety, to female adolescents. All of the participants explained how they negotiated risk during their interactions with police officers. There were different risks relayed by the participants: risks of feeling nervous, risks of the unknown, risks of not being heard, and risks of intimidation that were pertinent in the findings. The chapter begins with a discussion of the gendered dichotomy of being categorised as at-risk or a-risk. The dichotomy links to the gendered responsibility that women have to keep themselves safe and the subsequent blame that happens when they do not. This provides an important context for comprehending the participants' recollections of encounters with police and how it emerged that gendered dynamics were magnified in police interactions. The results indicated that the participants' perceptions of procedural justice were more informed by gender than by age in their interactions with police officers, as risk is part of the price that women pay to exist as female.

Police Perceptions of Risk

In the study, it was found that female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice were impacted by whether police officers viewed them, as *at-risk* or *a risk*. Participants considered to be *at-risk* were offered support by police, whereas those regarded as *a risk* were blamed for putting themselves in risky situations. These findings reinforced the gendered dichotomy of the good woman versus bad woman found in the literature (Chan & Rigakos, 2002). Young women are to "style femininities" that entice men: be independent (but not feminist), drink (but not drunk), be sexy (but not slutty) (Gunby et al., 2017, p. 26). From an early age, women are taught that they are vulnerable to harm and police will keep them safe, which informs police perceptions of young women and young women's perceptions of police. The discretion that police employed with the participants to exacerbate or minimise principles of procedural justice, was shown in the results to be informed by these gendered norms. Thereby, impacting female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice during police interactions.

Police Perceptions of Females At-Risk

A theme from the findings was participant perceptions that police viewed them as *at-risk*. These gendered norms are reflected in societal messages that women receive from a young age. Most participants recounted learning personal safety messages at school, such as stranger danger, and that the police will protect them from harm. Societal messages teach women that they are vulnerable, which can become internalised (Campbell, 2005). Vulnerability is “a failure of self-protection, that opens the self to the potential of harm” and generally has negative connotations (Shildrick, 2002, p. 1). Research has indicated that women viewed the female body as having less “strength, speed and endurance relative to men” (Nicholls, 2019, p. 212). When space is encroached upon, the feeling of being at-risk increases for women. For example, Sefina highlighted the heightened gendered risk when encountering male police officers who are unknown men. Sefina connected how physical distance contributed to her feelings of safety: *“I think as a female, this is just a physical thing, but I’d rather you not come near me.”*

Messages are drilled into women that they are at-risk from unknown men, and have the responsibility to manage that risk. Tina recalled an interaction where police perceptions of her being at-risk differed from her own, and highlighted a gender discrepancy in police treatment:

They [the police] don’t go up to boys being like, ‘Are you ok? Are you being safe right now? Like how many drinks have you had?’ I’ve had that so many times. They come up to me and are like, ‘Are you safe? How are you going? How many drinks have you had?’ And I’m just like, you don’t need to be talking with me right now. Like there’s so many other people here, you’re just singling me out. (Tina)

Tina was irritated by the presumption that because she was out in the NTE, she had been drinking alcohol, when she had not. She resented the attention that she received from police officers, as the males she was with were not subjected to the same scrutiny. Further, Tina was frustrated by the implication that she was not keeping herself safe. This connects to the literature that while women are viewed as at-risk, they are also held accountable for keeping themselves safe (Nicholls, 2019). The lack of neutrality for Tina during this police interaction, undermined her perception of procedural justice.

For many participants, the NTE was where increased police visibility and police contact occurred, specifically against the backdrop of Wellington's entertainment district. A number of the participants mentioned the noticeable police presence, when they started going to parties and out in the NTE.

I'm gonna say around 16-18 and that was just because they [the NZP] were on my sphere. Like the second I started going to parties and maybe things didn't go quite well, or I was out in town where people get drunk on you know Friday, Saturday night, and you see more of them around. (Sefina)

The NTE is where the nexus of a heightened sense of female risk, vulnerability, and responsibility, are displayed and identified in the literature. There is an increased sense of gendered risk in the NTE, as women encounter higher numbers of unknown men than they do in other spheres (Brooks, 2011; Campbell, 2005; Gunby et al., 2020; Vera-Gray, 2018). The NTE facilitates an environment where unwanted sexual attention and unequal power dynamics contribute to gendered vulnerability for women (Gunby et al., 2020). Women's risk management is intricately linked to respectable femininities (Campbell, 2005; Stanko, 1997; Nicholls, 2019). If women have been seen to put themselves in risky circumstances, then they are blamed (Brooks, 2008; Nicholls, 2019). The gendered nature of the NTE is exemplified in societal concerns of how women dress, how much women drink, and how women behave (Gunby et al., 2020). How women dress impacts how they are perceived and for the participants, their performance of femininities was magnified in the NTE. Tina talked about the clothing she now wears when she goes out in the NTE, to be less visible to unknown men, in comparison to the way she used to dress:

Going out, getting dressed for town, I used to be like, so I used to go out when I was underage, and I was like, Oh my God yes, little skirts, little tops. Now I go out and I actually can't think of anything worse. The amount of times I've been groped. The amount of times they've just come up to me and been like, 'Ooo' and I've been like, 'No.' It makes me uncomfortable, and like, I'm just like urgh, guys don't have to think about that. (Tina)

In this way, Tina relayed her experiences of unwanted sexual attention and her management of it by a conscious change to her style of clothing, in order to feel safer. Tina highlighted that heteronormative males do not have to connect their feelings of safety to the clothes that they wear, furthering the gendered disparity in the NTE. What a woman should or should not wear has become intrinsically linked to how they are perceived by others (Campbell, 2005; Stanko, 1997). These perceptions of dress are linked to impressions of morality for females, and add to opinions of whether a female is considered to be at-risk, or a risk, by police.

For Tina, the changes to her dress have made her feel somewhat safer from unwanted sexual attention in the NTE. However, she was ambivalent about the attention she continued to receive from police:

I'm a lot more conservative now, and even now I'm still just like, they're kinda just staring at me. Not undressing me with their eyes, but just like that kind of feeling, like they're just staring at me, and that's it. They didn't say anything. There's no reason for them to be looking. There's other stuff going on. Yeah. It's weird. I just think police officers don't really need to do that. Or if you're staring at someone for a long period of time, if you're not the police officer talking to them, surely, you'd be making yourself useful, and going and talking to someone else in the group. Not just three people staring at one person, like one person talking. (Tina)

Police interactions in the NTE were conflicting for Tina, due to the looks that they gave her. For young women, being stared at is a “negative and risky experience,” particularly by unknown men (Nicholls, 2019, p. 228). When individuals are watched, this can incite a fear of violence, especially when women perceive themselves as being sexually objectified (Moore & Breeze, 2012; Nicholls, 2019). Women have learned that when they are stared at by unknown men there is a male sexual agenda and they must trust their own assessments of safety to manage that risk. Female feelings of fear and invasion when stared at, are further magnified when male police officers stare, as it contravenes concepts that police keep citizens safe. Therefore, when male police officers stare, young women are unsure if the police interpret them as being at-risk or a risk, or even if the police present the risk. This confusion can influence female views of police trustworthiness consequently

impacting their perceptions of procedural justice. Tina attributed the culture of the NTE to her visibility with male police officers:

It's just the culture. Like I could be drunk at 3pm or just walking around town, and it would be so different to how I was treated at that time, versus 3am in town at night. I wouldn't get stopped if I was drunk at 3pm. I'd get stopped if I was sober at 3am. I feel that's a big, big indicator... I've had a feeling he [the police officer] was just talking to me for a certain reason. (Tina)

As seen, it is within the rhetoric of respectable and risky femininities, that vulnerability and blame intersect when police perceive young women to be at-risk. This is prevalent around the sexual double standard for women. In this way, risk and procedural justice discourses visibly interconnect for women in the NTE. The risk young females contend with from unknown men, in combination with police interactions, impact their perceptions of procedural justice. In particular, young women's perceptions of trustworthiness of the police in the NTE. Perceptions of young women at-risk, along with female sexuality and female drinking, are areas that are particularly scrutinised in the context of the NTE.

Police Perceptions of Females as A Risk

A theme from the findings was participant perceptions that police viewed them as *a risk*. Women are perceived as a risk when they appear to be breaking the norms or conventions of socially respectable femininities. Women are considered to be non-risk takers, therefore when they do something that is seems to be inherently risky, society responds negatively and blame ensues. When Hannah reported an incident of sexual violence, the male police officers attributed blame to her, rather than to the perpetrator:

And you know instead of the person, the perpetrator getting in trouble, I was given a lecture about drinking safely, and only being with people I trust. And I'm like, 'one I trusted the dude, also I didn't drink that much.' But yeah, so it's, it's putting the blame back on me for both occasions, is like the running negative theme. (Hannah)

This was not the first occasion that Hannah had experienced blame by the police. It was a risk for Hannah to make herself vulnerable by reporting sexual violence to the police.

Especially as in her reporting of sexual violence incidents to police, she had only ever reported to male police officers. In response, her trauma was minimised by the police, and Hannah was treated as a risk. She was blamed for what happened to her, and blamed for her consumption of alcohol, instead of the male perpetrator. The two responsibilities ascribed to Hannah by police for the rape were: how much she drank, and who she spent her time with. These were both negated by Hannah. This paradox for women, found in the study between alcohol and risk, particularly pertaining to acts of sexual violence, is supported in the literature (Brooks, 2008; Meyer, 2010). Jordan (2004) found that when women report sexual assault to the police, police perceptions of female drunkenness correspond to police perceptions of female credibility.

When women are seen as a risk, and consume alcohol, then women are often viewed as responsible for sexual assault, while paradoxically, alcohol is used to excuse male behaviour (Brooks, 2008). Yet, alcohol has been recognised as the most commonly used date-rape drug, perpetrated by men against women (Hindmarch & Brinkmann, 1999). However, “the premise of alcohol consumption producing vulnerability is selectively applied” (Meyer, 2010, p. 27). Vulnerability was not ascribed to Hannah at the discretion of the male police officers, and she was, in turn, treated as a risk. Drinking does not equate to vulnerability for men, nor for those who are not societally viewed as being at-risk of being raped (Meyer, 2010).

I think it's a tossup between them [the police] sitting me down and telling me it was my fault on that occasion, or the time that I'd, because after that happened, I had another very bad experience and I was like, 'I'm gonna give it one more shot, I'm gonna report this to the police,' and the exact same thing happened. (Hannah)

Hannah was blamed for not keeping herself safe, which is an indictment of her personal failure of safety-work. Women are conditioned to accept responsibility as evidenced through their performance of a variety of safety-work techniques (Brooks, 2008). This links to the literature, when women are sexually victimised, they are blamed for failing to prevent it (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Therefore, there was a transference of responsibility from the perpetrator onto Hannah. Unfortunately, these situations for young women when reporting rape are common (Jordan 2004). Women are aware of the blame that ensues for

them if they have been drinking when they are sexually assaulted (Brooks, 2008). This in turn, can lead to underreporting of sexual violence to the police. By default, when situations are silenced, they are rendered invisible (Jordan, 2015). Societally and legally, alcohol is facilitated to blame victims of rape, although simultaneously, alcohol is employed to excuse the perpetrators of rape (Finch & Munro, 2005).

Hannah hesitated to risk telling the police because she had previously reported a sexual violence incident and been told she was to blame. However, Hannah decided to report anyway:

You're supposed to know your rights before you go in [to the police station], that's your responsibility. Which I feel like is a dumb responsibility to ask like young teenagers of any gender. 'Cause you know, like most of them don't know anything.
(Hannah)

Normalised notions of women dressing up, wearing high heels, and looking attractive to men, are expected when going out in the NTE (Grazian, 2007). Yet, elements of blame are usually bestowed upon women's clothing or drinking (Fox & Sobol, 2000; Meyer, 2010). How much women drink influences how they are perceived in the NTE. Societal perceptions of drinking are used to enforce the broader double standard and ultimately the gendered social contract. For women, the consumption of alcohol enhances their responsibility and blame for their behaviour, while for men, it absolves their behaviour (Brooks, 2008).

Hannah did not perceive alcohol, nor her supposed failure to keep herself safe to be the risk, but rather the male perpetrator was the risk. However, police perceptions of her report did not reflect this. Rather, police views of her behaviour reflected on her judgement with regards to their views about how she should keep herself safe. By blaming Hannah for the harm perpetrated against her, by putting herself in a risky situation and failing to keep herself safe, the male police officers did not take a neutral position. Hannah explains that she is not the only female who has been blamed in this way:

Like bad, because everybody seems to get the same treatment. Like every girl I know, who's been through a similar, this is like coming about specifically sexual assault, but

like every victim or survivor I know, has gone through a very similar process and so everybody's getting equal treatment in that regards. It's just not good treatment.

(Hannah)

In both self-reports of sexual violence, Hannah was not listened to and was not taken seriously by police. Hannah attributed these police responses to the interaction she had with police when she was 13 years old and made up a story to account for her changed behaviour after she was sexually assaulted. In this case, the male police officers questioned her judgement, which negated her voice. The lack of neutrality and invalidation of her voice undermined her perception of procedural justice. Hannah's identification that her experiences with police are similar to those of other young women, furthers a mistrust by female adolescents of the police, consequently undermining their experience of procedural justice.

When young women are perceived by police to be a risk, there is increased responsibility placed on them to keep themselves safe. This further increases their risk of being blamed when their safety is compromised, especially their sexual safety. Just as with alcohol consumption, vulnerability is selectively applied, and simultaneously, women are viewed as at-risk or a risk and categorised as one or the other.

Female Perceptions of Risk

In the study, it was found that female adolescents were conflicted in the ways in which they perceived police officers, either as protectors, or presenting risk. This links to the social contract where men represent both safety and risk for women (Nicholls, 2019). In the research it was found that in police interactions where four participants viewed police as safety figures, procedural justice principles were adhered to. In contrast, the remaining participants did not perceive procedural justice principles in their encounters, and male police officers were viewed as presenting risk.

Females View Police Officers as Providing Safety From Risk

Societal rhetoric to be careful and not walk alone at night, is specific to women and magnifies the fear of harm from unknown men. In that regard, participants mentioned that from a young age, the police were presented to them as protectors of their safety. Some

participants had experienced this sense of protection from the police, while others had not. The fear of the unknown man was evident in the personal experiences that participants recounted. Therefore, gender is a significant variable in how crime and the fear of crime is experienced (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). This was found in the study, where the likelihood of being subjected to harm by unknown men was a reality. Lucy recalled a time when an unknown man started chasing her and her friends, while in a supermarket. Lucy described the incident as: *"Really scary. He started chasing us, and I was crying 'cause I was scared as shit."* Her upset was taken seriously when a female police officer intervened. Despite this being a frightening situation for Lucy, the female police officer was able to allay the fears of the participant through her understanding of the risk women navigate in daily life. Lucy felt her voice was heard, and she was treated with respect, both of which are principles of procedural justice. Lucy's fears were justified when it was later discovered that there was a warrant out for this unknown man's arrest.

In the literature, women's fear of crime is found to be greater than men's, despite having a lesser victimisation rate than men (Hale, 1996). The perceived risk that unknown men pose to women is that of sexual harm (Johnson, 1996). Unfortunately, the fear of sexual violence is justified as the majority of women have experienced some form of sexual violence throughout their lives (Kelly, 1987). However, these crimes are underreported. The fear of sexual harm, and the frequency of sexual harm, are assessed in relation to other experiences, and individuals may perceive them differently. This is conflicting when choosing to report to police, as others will have an opinion about the incident and apportion blame accordingly (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020).

Jane woke up in the middle of the night to find an unknown man in her apartment, where she lived by herself. She asked the intruder who he was, but he did not say. Jane then complied with the intruder's instruction to be quiet, as she considered this to be the safer option to prevent further harm:

Maybe it was good that I was quiet. Maybe if I'd started making a fuss, maybe that would have made things worse, so yeah. But I asked him a couple of times and didn't get a response, and then he shushed me, and then I was like, 'Ok.' So, then I was quiet, and then he went off, and that was the end of the interaction. (Jane)

In this encounter, Jane employed a safety-work technique by choosing to be quiet, an aspect of respectable femininity. This links to the literature, where females perform respectable femininity and self-regulate their behaviour in order to prevent male violence (Chan & Rigakos, 2002; Skeggs, 1999; Stanko, 1997). When Jane reported the incident to the police as figures of her safety, she was disappointed that the police used alcohol to excuse the man's actions:

I was slightly surprised that they kind of didn't take it as seriously because, 'He was just drunk, you know? There was no harm intended.' Whereas I was hoping that they would've put my safety above the drunken mistake a little bit more than they did. But it didn't affect the outcome and they were still very supportive and they were very nice people when I met them. (Jane)

The absolution of the intruder's motives by the police, and reference to the incident as a drunken mistake, resulted in the dismissal of Jane's voice and a diminishing of the seriousness of the incident. While police are presented as figures of safety, experiences have taught women to be hypervigilant in their daily interactions through performing safety-work strategies such as: avoiding walking alone, ignoring sexual overtures, and deflecting incidents of potential harm. Sefina described this gendered hypervigilance as an internal radar: *"Every woman has a good radar. I hope I have a good radar for good people. I don't know. You hope. That comes with learning though, because you've met bad people."*

Sefina identified that gendered risk is always present. However, it is difficult to measure rates of harm from unknown men because of the safety-work that women perform. It is when women's safety-work fails to operate, that incidents of harm from unknown men are recorded (Vera-Gray, & Kelly, 2020). Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of the risk that unknown men pose for women. Although, most of the participants could recount situations where unknown men were a threat to their safety.

Claire expressed her relief at being able to rely on the police to protect herself and her friends. When Claire lived in Wellington city centre, the police often brought her intoxicated friends to her house when police decided they were too drunk to go home. Claire recalled that her friends would say to the police: *"Please take me to my friend's,"* and

they [the NZP] always did. They always brought my friends to my house and would escort them to my door in the apartment."

Claire found this experience with the NZP to be positive and reassuring. Other participants also discussed responsibility for their friends out in the NTE, particularly if those friends were intoxicated. In many cases, the participants recounted that the police often transferred the responsibility of the more intoxicated friend (the one that most visible to the police) onto another female friend that the police deemed to be less drunk. Sefina recalled such an encounter with police:

They [the NZP] were just asking whether she's ok, did I need to take her home? How were we going to get home? Like, 'You just needa make sure that she's ok. Is she ok? Keep outta trouble.' Yeah, it was just things like that. 'Maybe you guys needa go home. Do you guys have like a safe way to get home?' (Sefina)

The discretion employed by the police in transferring the responsibility to Sefina for her friend's safety, highlights an intersection of safety and risk. This can be conflicting for some young women, who have absorbed messages of the police as figures of protection. The transference of responsibility is at the discretion of the police who assert authority in choosing the young woman to undertake the respectable female role, subsequently diminishing their own authority in the interaction as perceived by the young woman.

The intersection between the authority that police officers hold and their discretion in decision-making affected some participants' views of procedural justice, undermining legitimacy. Feelings of legitimacy are compromised when hearing stories of officers acting in contravention of police standards. Julia relayed her friend's encounter with a police officer in a South Island town:

He was smoking a joint while he was driving and he got pulled over by a cop and the cop was like, 'What's that?' and he was like, 'Oh it's a cigarette' and he [the police officer] goes, 'It doesn't look like a cigarette' and then he was really worried that he was going to get in trouble and the cop just threw \$20 into his lap and told him to give him everything. (Julia)

Julia was incredulous that the police officer, in a position of state authority, would buy drugs from her friend. Due to her friend being worried, in conjunction with the police officer's position, her friend complied with his demand.

As demonstrated, participants' views of police officers as providers of safety, were impacted by individual encounters. Participant impressions of police actions enhanced perceptions of procedural justice when police conducted the encounter in a way that was expected as a state appointed authority figure. However, when the actions of police officers were called into question, perceptions of procedural justice were diminished. This diminishing in perceptions of procedural justice with regard to trust, can cause young women to doubt their safety from risk with male police officers in particular.

Females View Police Officers as Unknown Men

For the majority of participants in this study, when they interacted with police, from both perspectives, the other was perceived as a risk. In this intersection of risk, tensions were intensified. Consequently, risk was present for both the female adolescent and the police officer, yet the risk for the female adolescent was more intensified, being the subordinate in the power dynamic. Female participants were found to view male police officers as unknown men. For women, per the patriarchal social contract, risk is set within the context of a power dynamic where they are subordinate.

Participants experienced hierarchical and heteronormative risk during their police interactions. Sefina noted that it was not that she didn't like the police: *"But it's more so be very respectful, if that makes sense? Because you have to be. You can't afford not to be."* Thereby, Sefina implies that she has to be respectful to the police in order to avoid escalation in encounters. However, respect, in order to be a principle of procedural justice, must be given and received. Sefina was aware that she is expected to give respect, but did not expect to receive respect from the police. This reflects an awareness of the unequal power dynamic in an interaction between a police officer and a young woman. As authoritative figures of the state, there was an awareness that the police were in charge and dictated encounters for these young women. Warnings that Sefina received from family members of *"Don't get smart,"* further demonstrate the societal hierarchy of power, where police are the authority and young women are potentially vulnerable in their encounters.

Tina also highlighted the disparity of power between police and young people, when she articulated the overshadowing threat of police group patrols in the NTE:

I dunno if them just standing there is like making a situation worse or if it's they're just waiting to pounce on something when it happens, but yeah, or the other part where you see them is with the [names nightclub] corner as well. Just kinda like 3 of them walking up and down that constantly, but yeah, it's like the big group like at [names place]. I'm like it's pointless, a pointless use of your power, pointless use of being out in town. (Tina)

The power exhibited by the visible presence of male police officers in the NTE, increased Tina's apprehensions of risk, rather than safety. Tina highlighted the authority that police have and how she believes it exacerbates not diffuses situations, because it is male authority:

I also feel like having that much male authority riles up people, riles up especially guys and I feel like it riles them up a lot more. Seeing males seeing them try and be authoritative, being like, 'You can't do this 'cause I'm in charge.' (Tina)

Tina commented on the absence of female police officers in Wellington's NTE: "I never see female officers out in town." This was also noted by Sefina: "I can't actually say I've seen a female cop on [names street]. That is really weird." Therefore, the patrolling of the streets is done by male police officers, and the interactions female participants had with police officers in the NTE were with males. While male officers were viewed with caution by the female participants, female police officers were viewed in a more positive light.

I feel like females have the better approach in that sort of sense, in that sort of regard. I think it would be quite cool to see if maybe, if like every male officer had a female officer, and they both kind of knew what their strengths were in any situation, so they'd be like a bomb team. Just like a team together. (Tina)

When female adolescents and police officers interact, there is a risk intersection, where both perceive the other to be unknown. As perceived by the female adolescents, the magnitude of the risk exists on a continuum. The risk increases for young women, if the

police officer further dominates the social contract by being male and European, the interaction is one-to-one, and if she is intoxicated. In NZ, the magnitude of risk on the continuum is increased with the race profile of the young women, where less leniency is given to those who are Māori (JustSpeak, 2020). Julia recounted the experience of her friend:

A friend of mine experienced police violence in New Zealand when they were I think in like their late teens early 20s they were beaten up by police. They're I think they're Māori or Pasifika they have, like they're Islander. That was something that they talked to me about one time. I don't know the wider context of that situation but I know that they, they also showed me a video that their friend had taken of that happening and it was pretty brutal. (Julia)

The experience of Julia's friend added to those of her own, acknowledging an awareness that not everyone is treated fairly by the police. This further reinforced Julia's negative perceptions of procedural justice, particularly in regard to neutrality. This awareness that not everyone is treated fairly by the police, as backed up through participant examples, or anecdotal accounts from others, which affects their perceptions of procedural justice in regard to neutrality, which leads to questions of the trustworthiness of individual police officers. These individual interactions viewed as unfair compound and, in turn, lead to a lack of respect for police generally, as it has already been established that police represent the state. Tina explicitly links neutrality, voice, and respect, to fairness:

I feel the most unfair thing was the disregard, that's the thing that's stuck with me most. I'm like I dunno if it's because obviously I think like this because I am a female, but I see how other people interact with police officers especially males, and I'm just like, that's not the same treatment that I get. That's not the way that they talk to me. Like that's not them really paying attention to what I'm actually saying as such. Yeah that's really the only thing, that's probably my main reason I don't like talking and discussing stuff with police, 'cause they just disregard it and they don't really respect it. (Tina)

Tina unfavourably compares the way that police interact with her, to the way that they interact with males. Therefore, the absence of the principles of neutrality, voice, and respect, contribute to the absence of fair treatment by police, minimising perceptions of procedural justice for Tina.

Male police officers usually present as unknown men to female adolescents. Therefore, a paradox exists that while police represent the state's attempt to keep society safe, male officers often present as risk to female adolescents.

I don't know why and it's not like they've [the police] ever done anything inherently bad to me, but they don't, yeah, all the interactions I've had with male cops particularly, female cops I don't care and I don't know whether it's because I'm a girl and they're a girl, so we at least have some sort of wavelength. I don't know, but with male cops it's kind of a flip of a coin, but I feel safer if they're my colour, if I can say that? If I'm being truthful. (Sefina)

Some of the participants' feelings of risk were exacerbated by insensitivity towards the locations chosen by male police officers. Male police officers questioned Tina in her bedroom while she was drunk and being sick in bed, reinforcing her feelings of vulnerability. Natalie was locked in an unmarked police car with a male police officer, one interaction that has affected her profoundly to such an extent that whenever she sees any police officer she is reminded of her vulnerability in the encounter:

I can remember his name. I can remember exactly what he looks like. I would like, when I was in [named place], every time a cop car drove past I would look to see if it was him. I was petrified of this man. And the worst thing is that the police are like, always come around [named street] on a night out, and it was just like I don't remember one of the nights on [named street] when I wasn't crying because I'd seen a police officer who'd made me upset, because it reminded me of what had happened, you know? Just everywhere, and I would look out for him. I don't know why I was looking out for him. What was I gonna do, you know? Beg him to not be, take back what he'd done? (Natalie)

Some participants could articulate a particular moment as to why they do not feel safe with the police, while for other participants it was the culmination of a number of observations and experiences, that has led to a position now, where they do not feel safe with the police, in particular, with male police officers.

Summary

The gendered notions of risk, vulnerability, and responsibility were found to contribute to many participants' perceptions of procedural justice (or lack thereof). Since the NZP is predominately male, there is a contradiction between safety and risk, where the participants in this study either viewed the male officers as figures of protection identified by their uniform, or potential danger as an unknown man. In most instances, gendered fears prevailed over an officer's position, impacting female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice. Whether or not procedural justice was perceived by young women, was influenced by whether fears of risk, vulnerability, and responsibility were allayed or exacerbated by their encounters with police. These interactions were further affected by whether the male officers viewed the female participants as risky and promiscuous, or innocent and feminine, in need of protection. Therefore, it is the male use of authority in conjunction with gender that is of significance.

Chapter 7 – Discussion / Conclusion

While there are a myriad of studies exploring procedural justice and its' impacts, there was no prior research on young women's perceptions of procedural justice during their interactions with police. Therefore, this study is unique, and timely. This research was undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic and global BLM movements. Worldwide, governing systemic structures are being questioned, and police are being called to account for their actions both at an institutional and individual level. It is within this context that this study explored young female perceptions of procedural justice during encounters with the NZP. The aim of the research was to explore views held by young women in their interactions with the police. The findings in this study pertain to a small sample of young women, all of whom had different experiences with the NZP. Patterns arose in the participants' encounters with police officers, with regard to gendered dynamics around space, communication, and risk that affect procedural justice.

Consequently, in this study it was found that female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice do affect their experiences with the NZP. However, these perceptions appear to be influenced more by a police officer's gender than their position. In order to establish the importance of this research in a NZ setting, this chapter discusses the study's significant findings. The chapter commences with a discussion of the constant threat for young women, of encountering unknown men in public spaces, and how that threat informs encounters with male police officers. Next, the chapter demonstrates how police communication of authority through procedural justice principles, either exacerbates or minimises gendered subordination for female adolescents. Thirdly, the chapter relays that female adolescents view police as presenting male risk, in contradiction of safety messages that police portray, and how females manage that risk. Finally, how female adolescents perceive adherence to procedural justice principles in single encounters with police officers, corresponds to whether they view those encounters positively or negatively. Thereby, the gendered dynamics that influence single encounters impact young women's views of the NZP as an entity.

The first key finding was that male space imbues female adolescents' perceptions of procedural justice. Through the structure of patriarchy, men are systematically the

dominant sex, to the detriment of women (Chesney-Lind, 2006). Societal space is by default male, where men control law, government, business, and sport (Vera-Gray, & Kelly, 2020). Women are the after-thought, if thought about at all. Male dominance further permeates the NTE (as bouncers who are predominantly male), by unwanted sexual attention and high rates of street harassment of women (predominantly perpetrated by males), and the patrol of public space by police (who are predominantly male). Admission and permission that is granted to women in public space, is at the discretion of their male counterparts.

Likewise, adults admit and permit youth access to public space. Public space is not welcoming or inclusive for young people. Youth are visible to the public and the police, due to their occupancy of public space and gathering in large groups. Groups of young people are often loud and therefore attract more attention, which can be intimidating for passers-by. Adolescents, as with females, are used to being policed by familial and non-familial societal figures, such as state-implemented teachers and police, as well as unknown members of the public. Young people experience fundamental neurological and biological changes, yet are treated either like adults or like children, at the dominant adult's discretion.

All these areas of dominance argue a discourse of protection of their subordinate. Police argue that they are keeping citizens safe or protected, especially with police and political messages such as, 'tough on crime,' and, 'Zero-Tolerance'. The NZP is an institution reflective of the adult, patriarchal structure of society, rather than reflective of the people who comprise NZ society. The predominantly male police force, with impressions of women that are reflective of wider societal thought, tends to an enactment of procedural justice (or not) that is gendered. Despite recent public efforts in NZ to encourage more women to enter the police force, the institution is still male-dominated, both in culture, and in quantity (NZP, 2020). Global structures of masculinity in the police, referred to as the cult of masculinity by some (Fielding, 1994; Silvestri, 2017), have been argued to be one of the reasons that women are underrepresented in the force (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). To date, there is no known police system where women have an equal share of the roles and responsibilities (van Ewijk, 2012).

Female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice in public space are exacerbated by gender dynamics. In this research many young women specifically mentioned that they had never seen a female police officer out on a weekend night in Wellington's NTE. This highlights the likelihood of young females encountering a male officer in the NTE. In the NTE space female gendered vulnerability and gendered responsibility to conform to specific gendered expectations are magnified. In turn, if women stray too far from them, they risk criticism. Most of the participants had a conscious awareness that they were treated differently in social settings than males. They recounted anecdotes of times when societal and familial disparities of treatment between males and females were apparent. Therefore, this awareness impacts perceptions of procedural justice as there is an awareness that a male police officer may not treat a female as they would treat a male, because men do not treat women in the same way that men treat other men.

The second key finding was the influence of the police communication of procedural justice principles to either exacerbate or minimise this existing subordination of young women. In western societies such as NZ, when young women encounter the police there is a triple power dynamic in operation: police have dominance over citizens, men have dominance over women, and adults have dominance over adolescents. For young women of colour, there is a fourth dimension where Pākehā have systemic dominance over non-Pākehā. Race is an extremely important variable and one that has rightly become central to the literature in recent years, particularly in New Zealand. Notably, as the cohort in this study was predominantly NZ European, it was gender that became a magnified element and significantly impacted encounters between young women and the police. Therefore, the experiences for young female adolescents of colour may be viewed as even more distressing. Hopefully, this is an area where future research will be conducted.

The triple power dynamic impacts young female perceptions of procedural justice, which in turn impacts their conduct towards the police. Power dynamics underpin societal structures and influence inter-personal relations at an individual level. The police are part of an institution intended to collectively uphold the laws and values of society, and can do so by legally enforcing those laws and values through force. The police are representatives of the state, however their personal opinions and morals can influence their varying degrees of discretion and therefore their enforcement of these standards, especially for young people

(Lynch, 2012). The subordination of power that young women experience by adult males in a variety of contexts impacts their behaviours. Therefore, when young women interact with the police, it is the police (as the dominant authority figure) who set the precedent for how young women perceive them through procedural justice principles. When a citizen interacts with the police, it is not only a one-to-one situation, it is one citizen encountering the entire police institution, and by default, the entire system. At any point, the police can legally call for backup. For citizens, there is no system or force behind them, thereby highlighting once again the unequal power dynamic that exists between young women and the police.

How authority is communicated through procedural justice principles either exacerbates or minimises this existing subordination of young women. Communication specifically references the principles of voice, respect, and neutrality. For perceptions of procedural justice to occur, it is critical that young women have an opportunity to explain their situation and have a voice when they are in contact with the police. In addition, to be listened to without interruption, to be spoken to in a neutral tone of voice, and employment of respectful body language, are all significant for a young person to believe they have been heard and for procedural justice principles to be adhered to. Communication of authority was found to be relevant in the study as participants reported being ignored, not being listened to, being lied to, and being brushed off, by police. As a result, female adolescent perceptions and their communication with the police, often shifted. Some reported feeling indifferent towards them, while others viewed them negatively.

Despite the importance and impact of systems and structures, individual encounters impact perceptions of procedural justice. Whether young women perceive elements of procedural justice (or not) in their encounters with police, impacts their conduct towards police, either positively or negatively. The participants who had perceived that procedural justice principles (trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality) had been adhered to, were likely to have positive views of the police. In turn, these positive views of the police impacted the participants' behaviour toward the NZP and led to positive outcomes for these young women. Some participants enacted this by going out of their way to converse with police and viewed them as people with a job to do. Lucy had applied to police college as she had perceived procedural justice in her interactions with the police but was aware that this was not the case for everybody, therefore Lucy wanted to change it from the inside:

"Honestly if I become a police officer, I'm gonna change within like, I'm gonna be the change."

Most participants did not experience procedural justice in their encounters and their conduct toward the police was impacted negatively. This highlights the nuanced nature of procedural justice. For example, Hannah articulated she was not treated fairly by NZP when she reported being raped. She compared her experience to other women she knew of who reported incidents of rape. Hannah stated that they had not been treated fairly either, so consequently, she voiced that she was treated equally, on par with those others. Hannah further elucidated that in situations of sexual assault the law that the police upheld was archaic and it could be argued that treating all women equally badly should not imply fair treatment in any instance.

The third key finding was that female adolescents view police as representatives of male risk, contradicting messages of safety that the police portray, which influences female perceptions of procedural justice. Society projects fear of the unknown man onto women. In the interviews, many female participants mentioned unwelcome encounters with the unknown man, Women are presented to both females and males as vulnerable and in need of being looked after. Men are presented with societal messages that it is a man's duty to keep women safe, and walk a girl home. Further, adults justify their protective actions towards adolescents as for their own safety. Male micro-aggressions towards women by both known and unknown men, consciously and unconsciously, further exacerbate these messages. However, is protection just control and dominance under the guise of safety, in both public and private spaces?

Male police officers presented as risk to young females, as the concerns and anxieties over the unknown man were transferred to the police when the participants encountered them. Young females are already on edge and apprehensive when they are approached by an unknown man. The participants also recognised that they were nervous when they interacted with police. Police can interact with young women, anywhere, anytime, in public or in private, and can legally enforce their words through force. Police interaction magnifies a gendered risk that is already present and real for young women with any male. Therefore, when interacting with male police officers, anxiety increases for young

women. These interactions impact young females' perceptions of trustworthiness and neutrality. The fear of the unknown with a male police officer is an amplified fear of the unknown, with an unknown man. Young women do not know what the repercussions of being alone with a male police officer are going to be. Young females are conditioned and socialised to fear strange and unknown men. They are taught to be hypervigilant of their surroundings. Safety work is intrinsic to all sorts of experiences that women have already had with men (both known and unknown). Therefore, during police interactions, there is a transference of the fear of risk from the unknown man to the male police officer, as the male police officer is an unknown man (with authority) to female adolescents. As a result, the women viewed the male police officer more as an unknown male than police.

Police interactions, as measured on Kelly's (1987) continuum, occur on a spectrum. When the participants were asked if they believed they were treated fairly by the NZP, most gave multifaceted answers. Many interviewees did not believe they had been treated fairly, while simultaneously not believing that they had been treated unfairly either. Many explicitly attributed these conflicted feelings about not being treated fairly with their awareness of those treated worse than they were, such as with police brutality witnessed during the BLM protests. As citizen views are so important to impressions of police legitimacy, Kelly's (1987) continuum would be a helpful way to measure and improve police and female adolescent interactions mindful of space, communication and risk. When perceptions of trustworthiness, voice, respect, and neutrality are improved, citizen compliance and cooperation is more likely to be achieved.

These are significant findings for New Zealand. The awareness that gender is an issue not only within the NZP, but with those they police, is significant. All of the safety-work that women are societally conditioned to employ, they also utilise when they encounter male police officers. The participants did not express the same nervousness and anxiousness around female police officers. Consequently, the findings in this study about female adolescents' perceptions of procedural justice indicate that they do impact their perceptions of the NZP, indicating the importance of future research.

This study presents the primary undertaking of female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice with the NZP. The encounters with the NZP experienced by the young

women included a broad range of interactions, many of which occurred during, or immediately after, time spent in the NTE. The participants particularly expressed positive encounters they had with female officers, leading to a recommendation for more female police officers. These views came about from one-to-one encounters some interviewees had with female police officers. When procedural justice principles were adhered to, positive conduct and positive views towards the NZP occurred and when procedural justice principles were not adhered to, the opposite occurred. Therefore, there were correlations between whether procedural justice was perceived and positive conduct. The nuances of 'in-between' situations were illuminated for interactions that did not feel fair or comfortable to the young women, but were not serious enough to report or retaliate against.

Further research is needed with young Māori women, as Māori constitute over 60% of females incarcerated (McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Department of Corrections, 2020). It would be interesting to note the importance of gender as a factor in those studies where race is also a variable. An awareness in the NZP is needed about safety-work and the fear that exists for women about unknown men. In addition, a police uniform is not enough, in and of itself, to reassure young women about their safety with male police officers. Strategies around space, communication, and risk would be helpful with regards to, where young women are questioned (e.g., not in close proximity - like a bed or a car), what they are wearing (e.g., given something warm so they do not get cold), and communicating in calm tones with information explained in a kindly manner. In conclusion, it is anticipated that this thesis is hopeful and presents some awareness and key indicators to help prevent further distressing encounters for female adolescents with the New Zealand Police.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Ethics Approval & Amendment

----- Forwarded message -----

From: <researchmaster-help@vuw.ac.nz>

Date: Mon, Dec 9, 2019 at 3:59 PM

Subject: Human ethics application approval 0000028176. Automated Email, Do Not Reply

To:

Cc:

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This content is unavailable.

Dear ,

Thank you for your application for ethical approval (Do female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice impact their conduct toward the New Zealand Police?, reference 0000028176), which has now been considered by the Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application is approved as of today. Your approval applies for three years from the date of this email.

If you would like to receive a formal letter please contact the HEC Administrator (ethicsadmin@vuw.ac.nz).

Best wishes with the research.

This content is unavailable.

Human Ethics Committee

----- Forwarded message -----

From: <researchmaster-help@vuw.ac.nz>

Date: Fri, May 29, 2020 at 4:11 PM

Subject: Amendment/extensions to Human Ethics Application approved 0000028176 Vs 1

To:

This content is unavailable.

Kia ora Kirsty,

Thank you for your application to amend/extend your human ethics approval.

The amendment/extension is approved as of today. In the case of an amendment, this approval is valid until the end date of your original ethics approval; in the case of an extension, this approval applies until the new end date that you have nominated.

Application ID: 0000028176 Vs 1

Title: Do female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice impact their conduct toward the New Zealand Police?

Primary investigator: Kirsty Lennox

If you would like to receive a formal letter, please contact the Research Office. If you need to make further changes to your project, you will need to apply for another amendment to this application.

Best wishes with the research.

Ngā mihi,
the Research Office

Appendix B - Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Warm up

How long have you lived in Wellington?

What do you like most about living in Wellington?

How old are you?

How would you describe your ethnicity?

Authority

When you were growing up who was the main authority figure in your life?

How did that authority figure apply their authority?

- Can you give an example?

Would you say that person still has authority in your life today? Would you say you respect that person?

- Why?
- Why not?

What does the word respect mean to you?

Police-Initiated Contact

When you were growing up did you know anything about the police?

- If so, what did you know about the police?
- Who taught you about the police?

Have people you know had police-initiated contact?

In your opinion, do you think these people were treated fairly by the New Zealand Police?

Approximately how many times have you been in contact with the New Zealand Police?

When was the last time you came into contact with the New Zealand Police?

Can you describe one memorable experience of police-initiated contact?

- Why was it memorable?

Police-Initiated Contact cont.

What do you remember doing at the time that the New Zealand Police came into contact with you?

Can you describe the moment that you realised that the New Zealand Police were addressing you?

How do you remember feeling during that interaction?

Was there a particular moment during that interaction that stood out?

During COVID-19 have people you know experienced any change in police-initiated contact?

During COVID-19 have you experienced any change in police-initiated contact?

Outcomes of Police-Initiated Contact

What happened to you as a result of that police-initiated contact?

What positive experiences have you had during police-initiated contact?

What positive experiences have you had after police-initiated contact?

What negative experiences have you had during police-initiated contact?

What negative experiences have you had after police-initiated contact?

Do you feel you were treated fairly by the New Zealand Police during police-initiated contact?

Do you feel you were treated fairly by the New Zealand Police after police-initiated contact?

Effects on Behaviour

How do you think you have treated the police during your interactions with them?

Are there positive ways that you have responded to the police during police-initiated contact?

Are there negative ways that you have responded to the police during police-initiated contact?

In an ideal world, what communication methods would be most effective between young females and the New Zealand Police to prevent arrests being made?

Appendix C – Recruitment Poster



HAVE YOU HAD CONTACT WITH THE NZ POLICE?

['Contact' could be a friendly chat with an officer, a street or informal warning, an arrest or pre-charge warning].

1

ARE YOU FEMALE? BETWEEN 16-22 YEARS OLD?

2

DO YOU LIVE IN WELLINGTON?

3

I WANT TO HEAR YOUR STORY

A confidential face-to-face interview should take about an hour. \$20 koha voucher available for participation.

4

TEXT: 021 085 46330

[Criminology: Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee Approval Number #0000028176].

POLICE CONTACT STUDY
INTERVIEW INTEREST

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Appendix D - Participant Information Sheet



Do female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice impact their conduct toward the New Zealand Police?

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Kirsty Lennox and I am a Master's student in Criminology at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

1. To find out what female adolescents consider to be fair treatment by the New Zealand Police.
2. To see if female adolescents believe they have been treated fairly when interacting with the New Zealand Police.
3. To discover whether being treated unfairly affects the way female adolescents behave towards the New Zealand Police.

This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [#0000028176].

How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you have had some form of police-initiated contact within the last five years. Some examples of contact could include: a chat, a street or informal warning, an arrest or a pre-charge warning. If you agree to take part, I will interview you online at an agreed time. Interviews will take place on a video calling application of your choice, such as Zoom or FaceTime. I will ask you questions about your expectations of the police and experiences with police contact.

The interview will take about 1 hour, and a \$20 supermarket voucher will be offered as koha for contributing your time to the research. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later (word for word). Some notes may also be taken during the interview. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 1 September 2020. Withdrawing from the study or the interview will not have any impact on the supermarket voucher that you received as a thank you for taking part. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you. You can also ask any questions about this project at any time.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential¹. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity, but the research data will be combined, and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed two years after the end of the research project. A mobile phone will be used for this project – it will have all information deleted from it at the end of the research project.

The interview may include discussion of illegal activities. In the unlikely event that the Police become interested in my research I may have to disclose any information of this nature you gave me.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Master's thesis and may be used in academic publications, public seminars, presented at conferences and possibly in conversations with Police to improve Police-Youth Relations.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;

¹ Confidentiality will be preserved except where you disclose something that causes me to be concerned about a risk of harm to yourself and/or others.

- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before 1 September 2020;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording;
- receive a copy of your interview transcript;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Student:

Supervisor:

Name: Kirsty Lennox

Name: Dr Fiona Hutton

This content is unavailable.

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research, you may contact

This content is unavailable.

Appendix E – Participant Consent Form



Do female adolescent perceptions of procedural justice impact their conduct toward the New Zealand Police?

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW (This consent form will be held for two years)

Researcher: Kirsty Lennox, Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study at any point before 1 September 2020 without giving any reason, and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed after the interviews have been transcribed.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and their supervisors. Confidentiality will be preserved except where you disclose something that causes me to be concerned about a risk of harm to yourself and/or others.
- I understand that the findings may be used for a Master's thesis, academic publications, public seminars, presented at conferences and possibly in conversations with Police to improve Police- Youth Relations.
- I understand that the observation notes and recordings will be kept confidential to the researcher and their supervisors.
- My name will not be used in reports and utmost care will be taken not to disclose any information that would identify me.
- I would like a summary of my interview. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____