Gender Inequality and Discrimination within Aotearoa New Zealand's Criminal Justice System

Some Professional Support Workers' Perspectives

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Abstract

Sustainable Development Goal number five, 'Gender Equality' aims to achieve gender equality for all women and girls by eliminating discrimination (The United Nations, 2015a). Despite this goal, gender equality remains one of the most widespread inequalities internationally and within Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ). Gender inequality is evident within ANZ's criminal justice system (CJS), and this contributes to development inequalities within ANZ society. Understanding the cycle of carceral entrapment can inform more sensitive approaches to ending discrimination against women and girls and lead to more gender-equitable outcomes.

Although female-focused prison research is increasing, there remains limited literature on women's experiences within the CJS (Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020). Furthermore, very few studies focus on the perspectives of professionals working with incarcerated women and/or women who have been released. These workers hold insights from their years of close association with women navigating the carceral continuum. In response to this gap, this thesis draws from the experiences of these professional support workers to answer the overarching research question, "How does Aotearoa New Zealand's criminal justice system operate to reduce discrimination, in alignment with good development policy and practice?"

To answer this question, a feminist geopolitical approach was used. Primary data was generated through storytelling interviews with eleven professional support workers around ANZ. Interviews explored what the professional support workers understood of women's experiences within the carceral continuum and how they understood these to be related to gendered and racialised inequalities. Findings reveal that discrimination is apparent at every stage of a woman's journey through the CJS. Dominant narratives, power imbalances and control, are key factors prohibiting ANZ's CJS from being more gender equal.

This study shows that ANZ's CJS could learn from international development policies and practices to better respond to gendered inequalities and reduce discrimination.

Acknowledgements

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List of Acronyms

ANZ – Aotearoa New Zealand

BIPOC – Black, Indigenous and People of Colour

COVID-19 – Coronavirus Disease

CJS – Criminal Justice System

GAD – Gender and Development

GGGR – Global Gender Gap Report

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PTSD – Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

SDG – Sustainable Development Goal

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

WAD – Women and Development

WID – Women in Development

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Chapter One: Introduction

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number five (henceforth 'SDG 5'), 'Gender Equality' aims to end all forms of discrimination against women and girls (The United Nations, 2015a). Despite this goal, gender inequality is internationally enduring and widespread (Kabeer, 2015). It continues to impact all societies, including Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ). Here, gender inequality exists in almost all spheres of life (World Economic Forum, 2021) including within criminal justice and carceral systems.

Prisons contribute to and perpetuate gender inequalities directly. This is especially true for Māori[1] women, who are one of the highest incarcerated groups per capita in settler-colonial states (Norris & Nandedkar, 2020). As McIntosh and Workman (2013) have outlined, systemic inequalities frame the experiences of those incarcerated, impacting not only the individuals who spend time in prison but also those connected to them. Therefore, the context of a woman's imprisonment, the pathways that lead to her imprisonment, and her experiences within the prison and the criminal justice system (CJS)[2] need to be explored to understand the cycle of carceral entrapment. Exploring this cycle draws attention to women's experiences and how these experiences are related to and contribute to the perpetuation of gendered and racialised inequalities. Furthermore, better understanding the cycle of carceral entrapment and the role of discrimination within this can inform more sensitive approaches to ending discrimination and achieving gender equality.

Across ANZ's CJS, efforts have been made to address gender inequality and improve the system for women. Some of these efforts include gender-specific programmes and mother and baby units in prison. Despite these efforts, ANZ's CJS is a gendered institution that reflects several agencies' processes, relationships, and

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1 Māori are ANZ's Indigenous population.

2 When I refer to the CJS in this thesis, I mean policing, courts, prisons, and direct correctional institutions. When referencing the wider web of systems, structures, and people that women interact with before, during and after imprisonment, I refer to these as carceral.

values. As such, women continue to experience ongoing inequities throughout their carceral journey (Bentley, 2014). Additionally, throughout the women's carceral journey, there are a variety of professional workers present to support, monitor and care for the women. Many professional workers occupy the carceral spaces inside, outside and around the prison in a wide range of roles, including: prison and probation officers, counsellors, chaplains, as well as professionals who run the programmes and reintegration services.

The professional support workers[3] who participated in this research work with women inside prison and/or who have been in prison. They were not employed by the Department of Corrections (henceforth 'Corrections') at the time of the study and worked within community reintegration and in various support roles within prisons. Their perspectives, shared in the following chapters, come from their years of close work with women navigating the carceral continuum and represent an under-researched source of insights. Their stories challenge most prison research which has been both primarily quantitative and focused on men (Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020).

Working with professional support workers also provided me a way of critically exploring the systems and structures of discrimination and inequality within the CJS. Development studies is concerned with critiquing and improving such systems and structures by encouraging the adoption of tangible practices, policies, and tools. By hearing and analysing their reflections, I aim to contribute to the body of knowledge about the cyclical nature of female incarceration, its relationship to discrimination and ongoing gender inequality, as well as to generate recommendations to reduce gender discrimination in the CJS and improve gender equitable outcomes.

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3 Throughout this thesis, I use the term 'professional support workers' to refer to the work and roles of the participants in this thesis. I have chosen this name to represent the wide range of supportive work that is completed by non-correctional workers. 'Professional workers' is used to refer to all those working inside the CJS, including Corrections staff.

Specifically, this thesis asks the following research questions:

1. How do professional support workers working alongside women who are/have been in prison:
    a. Recognise relationships between women's experiences and wider gendered and racialised inequalities?
    b. Understand women's movements through carceral spaces?
    c. Make sense of women's experiences in carceral spaces?
2. How could professional support workers be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality?
3. How does Aotearoa New Zealand's criminal justice system operate to reduce discrimination, in alignment with good development policy and practice?

In this chapter, I first explore why incarceration is a development issue. I outline the research approach adopted and my motivations for undertaking this work. Secondly, I provide a historical overview of ANZ's CJS and current prison demographics to set the scene. Thirdly, I introduce my conceptual framework and some of the key concepts I mobilise in subsequent chapters. Finally, I introduce the structure of the thesis.

Incarceration is a Development Issue

Prisons represent more than how a country punishes; they are a measure of a country's traits and values (Pratt, 2006). Governments worldwide are often more concerned with locking people away than offering a truly helpful and rehabilitative process. Conditions and treatments towards those in prison do not often serve the needs of those incarcerated (Cullen et al., 2000, 2020; Matthews & Pitts, 1998; Schenwar, 2014). This makes the CJS and incarceration a development issue as women are discriminated against and denied their needs and rights throughout the carceral continuum.

The United Nations (UN) is the world's largest international development organisation and is concerned with ending discrimination and promoting human rights. As such, the UN's frameworks and goals, used throughout international

development discourse are focused on ending discrimination and promoting needs and rights. In 2015, along with the other 192 UN member states, ANZ signed up to achieve the 17 SDGs by 2030 in the journey towards achieving global peace and prosperity (The United Nations, 2015a). Ending gender inequality within the CJS is vital to achieving peace and prosperity.

Motivations for this study

Development studies, as a discipline, has historically focused its attention outwards, with researchers in the Minority World frequently studying the Majority World[4] (Kothari, 2001, 2005). Development has often followed a 'modernising' narrative, where the mainstream theories of development, such as Modernisation, Neoliberalism, and Dependency theories, and their subsequent actions follow a linear process of 'modernising' countries in the Majority World (Kothari, 2005). However, 'modernising' or 'helping' the Majority World is often achieved by implementing policies and development strategies that encourage exploitation, increase dependency between countries, and favour Western values (Chant & McIlwaine, 2009; Kothari, 2005). These processes place those who are 'developed' as superior to those who are not, reinforcing colonial narratives and further highlighting the unequal relationship between the Majority and Minority Worlds (Chant & McIlwaine, 2009; Kindon, 1999; Kothari, 2005).

Development studies' tendency to focus outwards is a key criticism of mainstream development theory, policy and practice and has always been one of my biggest concerns. Mainstream development discourse has always been rooted in colonial and more recently neoliberal beliefs that rely of the exploitation of some countries in order to 'civilise' non-western cultures (Kothari, 2005; Liverman, 2018). Focusing on countries in the Majority World, therefore, implies that those in the Minority World are 'perfect' and that the issues within these countries are not of concern. However,

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4 Throughout this thesis, I use Minority World to refer to countries commonly described as 'Developed' or in the 'Global North' and Majority World to refer to countries commonly described as 'Developing' or in the 'Global South'. This measure is based on population density and actively challenges the negative connotations of other mainstream terms.

Minority World countries, many of whom have been colonised by Western cultures, continue to experience widespread discrimination and inequalities, highlighting the inaccuracies in the above assumption.

Even when development discourse does focus on countries within the Minority World, its focus on urban/rural poverty and basic needs generally overlooks incarceration and those incarcerated. However, as explored throughout this thesis, cycles of incarceration limit people and their families/whānau ability to 'develop' as incarceration promotes inequality, poverty and denies people their basic needs. Researching the CJS from a development studies lens provides important insights as development discourse is focused on rights, power and ending discrimination. It is for these reasons that I was drawn to researching gender-based discrimination and gender inequality within ANZ's CJS.

Feminist geopolitical connection to development

This research is based within a feminist geopolitical epistemology. One reason I decided to work within feminist geopolitics is that it considers space and mobility as political processes (Fluri, 2015), that are being shaped and controlled by institutional and state practices that pry on people with a weaker geopolitical value (Hyndman, 2004). Geographers have become increasingly interested in the relationship between space, state power, and historical legacies of colonisation (Aas, 2012; Martin & Mitchelson, 2009; Schliehe, 2017). Feminist geopolitics aims to decentre the state, state control and state security by shifting the scale to include the care and well-being of people (Hyndman, 2004). Furthermore, feminist geopolitical research is interested in how the state practises exclusion (Mountz, 2002). Exclusion from state systems is particularly relevant to my research as the social exclusion of women in prison results from structural inequalities actioned on a global and local level (Kabeer, 2011).

Additionally, prison is not the end destination for most of those who are imprisoned, as imprisonment is a spatial-temporal process that people continually move through (Martin & Mitchelson, 2009; Petersilia, 2003). Feminist geopolitics, therefore, understands the movement of women across carceral spaces to be a political

process. I explore feminist geopolitics and its relevance to this research in Chapters Three and Four.

Prison Spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand

ANZ's approach to incarceration reflects the impact of both colonisation and patriarchal relations (Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022; Jackson, 1990; Lamusse, 2022; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Taylor, 1997). Together these help explain who ends up in the CJS, how institutions within the CJS operate and the experiences people have when leaving prison. I start this section by introducing carceral spaces and the carceral continuum, before exploring ANZ's history of incarceration and current prison demographics.

Carceral spaces and the carceral continuum

Carceral is used to indicate anything relating to imprisonment. Therefore, carceral spaces are spaces that are connected to prison and the process of imprisonment. These spaces are carceral due to the policing and surveillance of space and, that separation, individualisation and punishment processes extend the prison experience (Massaro & Boyce, 2021). Carceral spaces must be understood more widely than just the prison to encompass spaces such as the home, neighbourhoods, schools, mental health care facilities and reintegration facilities (Massaro & Boyce, 2021; Moran, 2015).

The carceral continuum blurs the line between being inside and outside prison through the relationships, people, institutions, laws, and spaces with which people interact (Gilmore & Gilmore, 2013; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). The carceral continuum is a non-linear experience that encompasses the continuing cycle of people between confinement and the community (Balfour et al., 2018). For many, the carceral continuum starts from childhood, and there is a strong connection between incarceration and histories of state care and institutionalisation (Stanley, 2017). For example, children in state care can experience increased criminalisation and confinement as minor incidents are escalated in ways that they would not be in a private home.

The carceral continuum extends further than just the interaction between incarceration and release. It is about the ways that carceral controls and rationalities are built into other systems of surveillance and control, through police, Oranga Tamariki, the welfare system and even community agencies that provide support post-release. A carceral continuum that is both individual and structural allows for the ongoing production and reproduction of discriminatory actions that perpetuate gendered and racialised inequalities. Largely because systems rely on finding ways of maintaining unequal power relations and control over people (Gilmore, 1999). This is most evident when we consider the experiences of Māori. Therefore, the history of Māori incarceration must be considered.

The history of Māori incarceration

Tikanga Māori was the first law of ANZ and served Māori long before colonisation. It not only encompasses Māori customs and ways of life but mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)[5], philosophy, community and empowerment (Mead, 2016). The concept of prison was brought with British colonisers. The first few prisons were established in Auckland, Wellington, and Russell in 1840 soon after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (the Treaty)[6]; however, carceral sites, such as police barracks and ships were used before (Baldock, 1938; Stanley & Mihaere, 2018).

In the late 1800s, ninety percent of Māori lived in Māori dominated areas. This meant that they did not follow colonial law or systems of justice. Many iwi (extended kinship group) and hāpu (subsection of a kinship group) continued to live by tikanga Māori (Hill, 2012). However, the introduction of colonial 'justice' removed tikanga Māori as

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5 Throughout this thesis, Māori words are translated to English in text. However, it is important to note that translations from te reo (the Māori language) to English are often oversimplified and do not capture their full meanings.

6 The Treaty is the English version of ANZ's founding document te Tiriti o Waitangi (te Tiriti). From a Māori perspective te tiriti was about more than unification. For example, it was seen as an opportunity to further themselves economically and for the Crown to control British citizens. There were different understandings and translations of te tiriti which caused ongoing conflict. Over 500 Māori chiefs signed te tiriti, however, not all Māori singed it, partially because it was never made available in te reo to some only English. Te tiriti continues to be contested to this day.

a valid form of law, replacing it with a system based on punishment and individualism (Mikaere, 2005), and as Māori were forced into urban areas for work after land confiscation and war, incarceration rates increased as Māori interacted more frequently with colonial legislation (Jackson, 1988). Further, after World War II in the 1950s and 1960s, Māori urbanisation and incarceration accelerated (Inwood et al., 2015). Over time Māori women have been targeted with imprisonment as they are both the subordinate gender and race. Therefore, female incarceration must also be explored.

The history of female incarceration

When prisons were first established, female offenders were held in prisons that also housed men (Taylor, 1997). Imprisoning women alongside men put incarcerated women at a greater risk of physical and sexual abuse (Dalley, 1993). In 1913, ANZ opened the country's first women's only prison in Addington, Christchurch (Dalley, 1993). However, many women continued to be incarcerated in separate sections of men's prisons (Taylor, 1997).

From the early 20th century, men's prisons became spaces to rehabilitate *and* punish (Dalley, 1993; Mckenzie, 2013; Taylor, 1997). Women were not included in this initial progression as, for the most part, female offenders were considered 'unreformable' because they were seen to deviate so far from their 'normal' gendered roles (Dalley, 1993, p. 38). As a result, women continued to face mid-19th-century prison conditions where punishment and deterrence dominated (Dalley, 1993). While conditions varied from prison to prison, women faced overcrowding and the use of solitary confinement (Dalley, 1993). Attempting to 'salvage' feminine roles, the forced labour women completed while in prison was often gendered, including housekeeping, childcare, sewing, laundry, and healthcare skills (Dalley, 1993, p. 44).

In the late 1910s, the need for a more geographically central women's prison was raised, as most of the country's population lived in the North Island, and Christchurch was difficult to access. Located on the Miramar Peninsula in Wellington, Point Halswell prison opened in 1920 and closed as a prison in 1945 when the incarcerated women were transferred to Arohata Women's Prison (henceforth

'Arohata') in Tawa, Wellington (Dalley, 1993; Taylor, 1997). The building of Point Halswell Prison saw the adoption of the reformatory and penitentiary prison model. A reformatory was for women who were considered hopeful rehabilitation cases, whereas a penitentiary was for women who were considered unreformable (Hannah-Moffat & Shaw, 2001). Within ANZ, racial discrimination meant that Māori women were more likely to be seen as unreformable and to serve longer sentences compared to their Pākehā (English/European) peers (Dalley, 1993; Taylor, 1997).

This brief introduction to the history of Māori and female incarceration helps to position ANZ's current CJS as reflective of colonial systems and policies adopted during the 19th and 20th centuries (Bull, 2004). As such, ANZ's prisons have always been discriminatory spaces that have produced and reproduced gendered and racialised inequalities. Using those same systems, institutions and policies today does not reflect ANZ's greater demographic diversity or calls for the government to honour obligations under the Treaty/te Tiriti (Hannah-Moffat & Shaw, 2001; Jan-Khan, 2003). ANZ's history with incarceration highlights the importance of exploring discrimination and inequality across the carceral continuum if development outcomes are to be improved.

Current Aotearoa New Zealand prison demographics

In 2021 ANZ's incarceration rate was 169 per 100,000 people in the population (Department of Corrections, 2021a). ANZ's prison population has decreased since its peak in 2018, when there were 10,435 people in prison (The World Prison Brief, 2018). However, the demographics of those incarcerated are clear. Those imprisoned are largely Māori men, with women making up 5.7 percent (438) of the 7,728 people in prison at June 2022 (Department of Corrections, 2022). Men and women are often committed for different kinds of crimes and face different kinds of sentences.

Figure 1.1 below illustrates some of the key demographic indicators of men and women in ANZ's prisons. As shown, women are more likely than men to: be Māori, be sentenced as medium risk or below, commit an offence against property (such as theft, fraud, or deception), be sentenced to short-term sentences (under two years)

and be under the age of 39. Furthermore, women are less likely to commit offences against people (such as physical and sexual violence) and public order offences (such as drugs, traffic, and breaches).
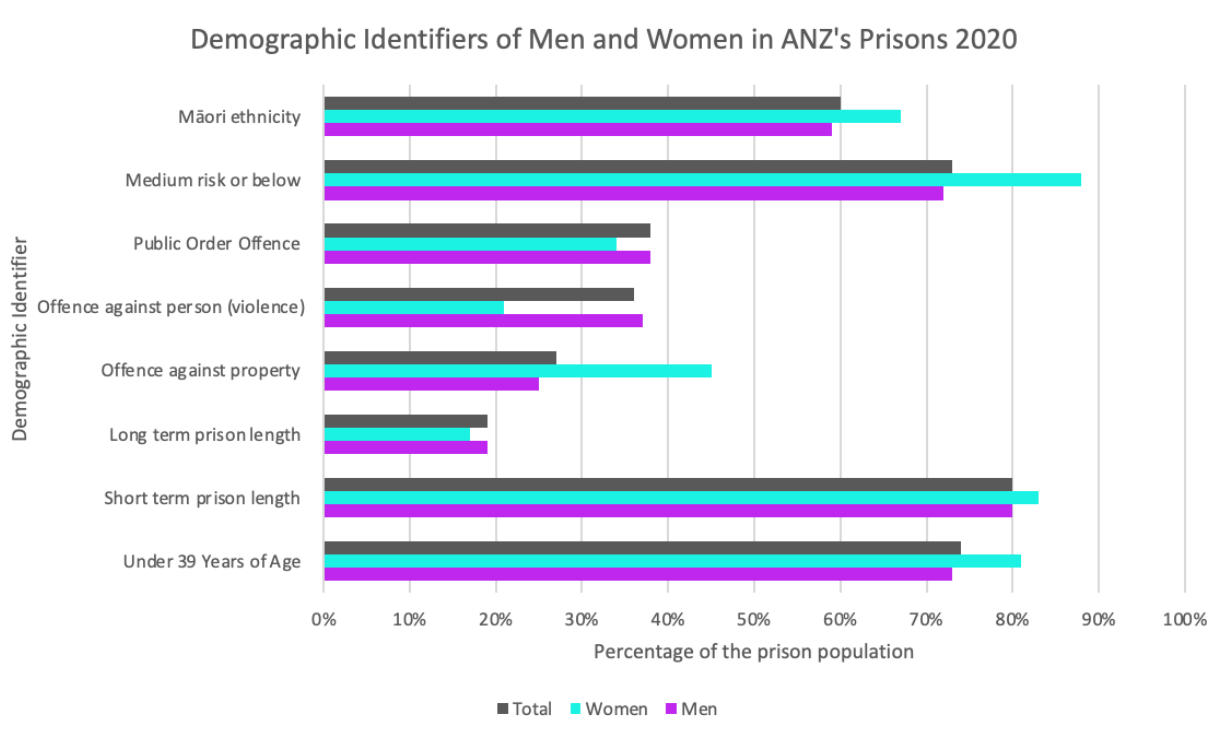
Figure 1.1: Demographic identifiers of Men and Women in ANZ's Prisons 2020. Author sourced from (Department of Corrections, 2021).

Figure 1.2 below shows ANZ's prison population from the 1980s to 2020 split by gender, highlighting that the female prison population has always been much lower than the male prison population. Yet, despite men making up the majority of ANZ's prison population, female incarceration continues to grow at a rate that exceeds their male counterparts (Department of Corrections, 2019). An increasing female incarceration rate is particularly true for Māori women who currently comprise 67 percent of ANZ's female prison population (Ministry of Justice, 2022).

The percentage of Māori men and women in prison has grown exponentially in the past 30 years, even though the prison population has been decreasing (see Figure 1.3[7]).

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[7] Although there is data available for the years prior to the 1990s, it is unreliable. Before the 1990s, ethnicity data was collected based on assumptions of the individual entering prison and, therefore, should not be used to indicate ethnicity breakdowns.
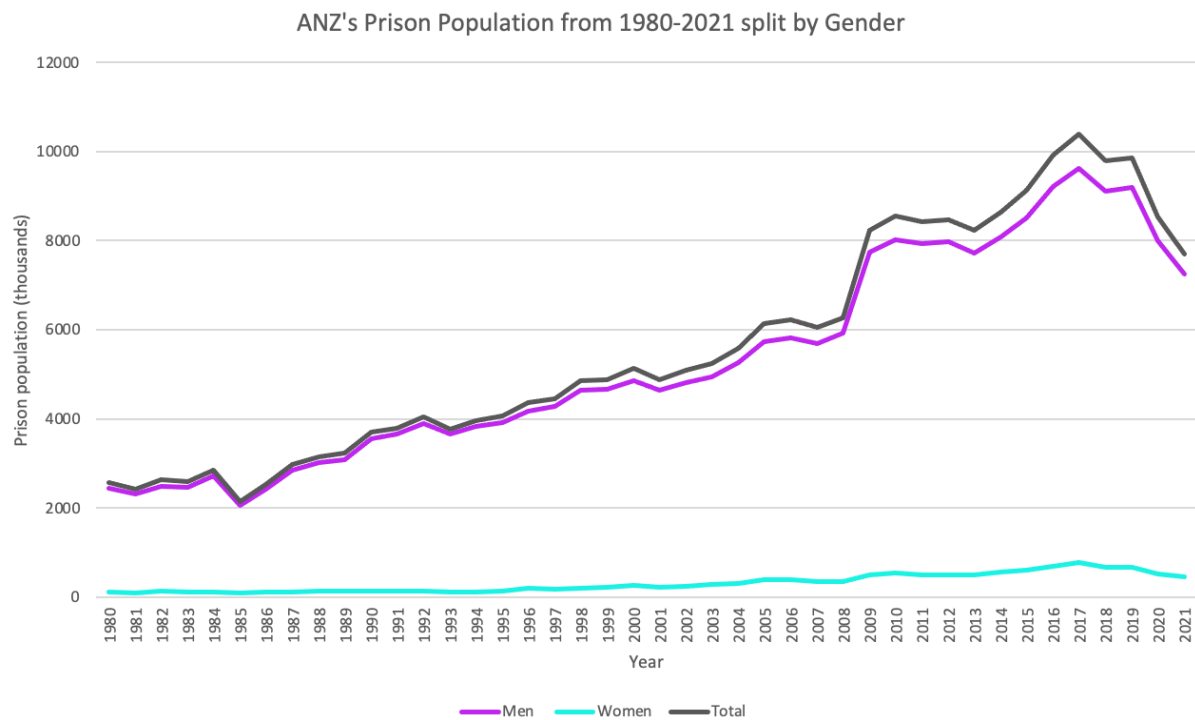
Figure 1.2: ANZ's prison population from 1980-2021 split by gender. Author sourced from (Department of Corrections, 2021e, 2010).
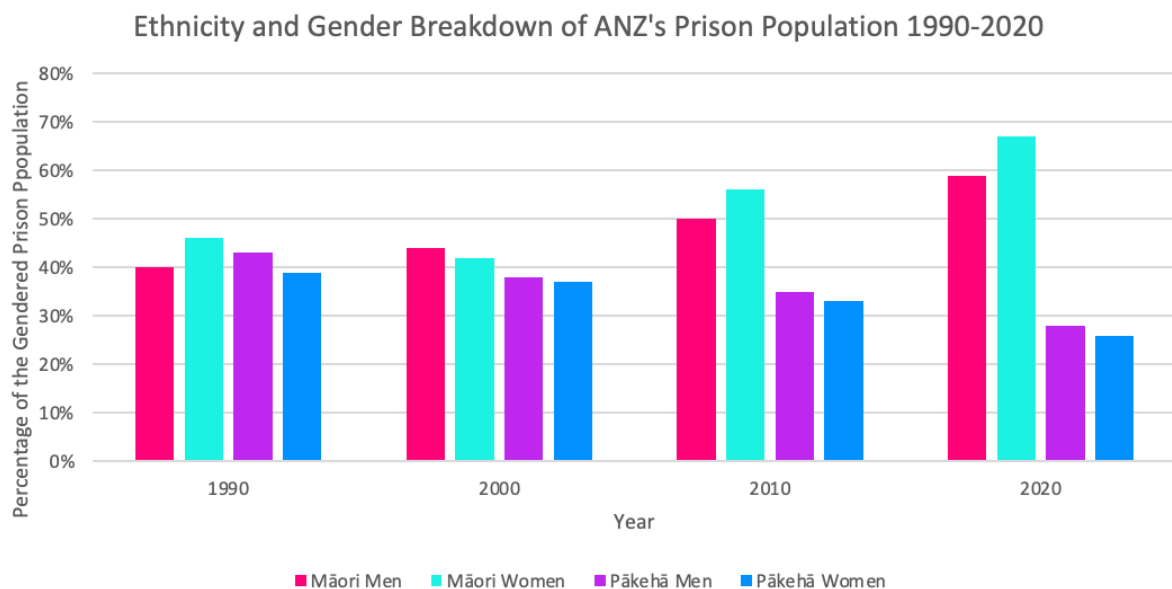
Figure 1.3: Ethnicity and gender breakdown of ANZ's prison population 1990-2020. Author sourced from (Department of Corrections, 2021a; Statistics New Zealand, 1990, 2000, 2010).

Continuities from past to present

As noted earlier, when prisons were first established in ANZ, women and men were housed together. Despite this now being considered a human rights violation, women are still sometimes housed in male prison sites. For example, Arohata Upper is the overflow wing of Arohata Prison that operated between 2017 and 2020 and housed women in an old wing at Rimutaka Men's Prison (Office of the Inspectorate, 2020). Furthermore, the conditions women faced in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as overcrowding and solitary confinement, remain common conditions and treatments (Shalev, 2021).

Similarly to the 19th and 20th centuries, ANZ's women's prisons, programmes and prison work still follow outdated gendered stereotypes that teach women skills associated with domestic work and men skills associated with employment (Kale, 2020). The final parallel I highlight between prison practices as they were and as they are now is the remotely located and small number of women's prisons in ANZ. There are currently only three women's prisons, and they are located away from densely populated areas. Women are therefore forced to move across the country, leaving their children, family/whānau and support behind (Bentley, 2014; Kale, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017). Women face inequalities and discrimination from their imprisonment just based on the small number of prison sites.

Ending Discrimination

The first target of SDG 5 is to "end all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere" (The United Nations, 2015a). ANZ's CJS is of particular importance when analysing discrimination as some of the most marginalised, stigmatised, disadvantaged and discriminated against societal groups are in prison (Bentley, 2014; Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Gibson, 2022; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Russell et al., 2021). Furthermore, those who have been incarcerated experience increased discrimination both during their imprisonment and upon release. Ending discrimination is vital in the process towards achieving gender equality. Therefore, for ANZ to achieve its commitment to the UN's SDGs, discrimination and inequality must be addressed in all aspects of ANZ's life, including inside the CJS.

To help me explore these interrelationships in this research, I have developed a conceptual framework (Figure 1.4) which communicates how I understand discrimination and gender inequality to interact with the other key concepts. The blue boxes identify the key causes of discrimination and the green boxes key outcomes of discrimination that this thesis covers. Power imbalances, dominant narratives and colonisation are particularly significant as these feature heavily in the findings chapters to come.
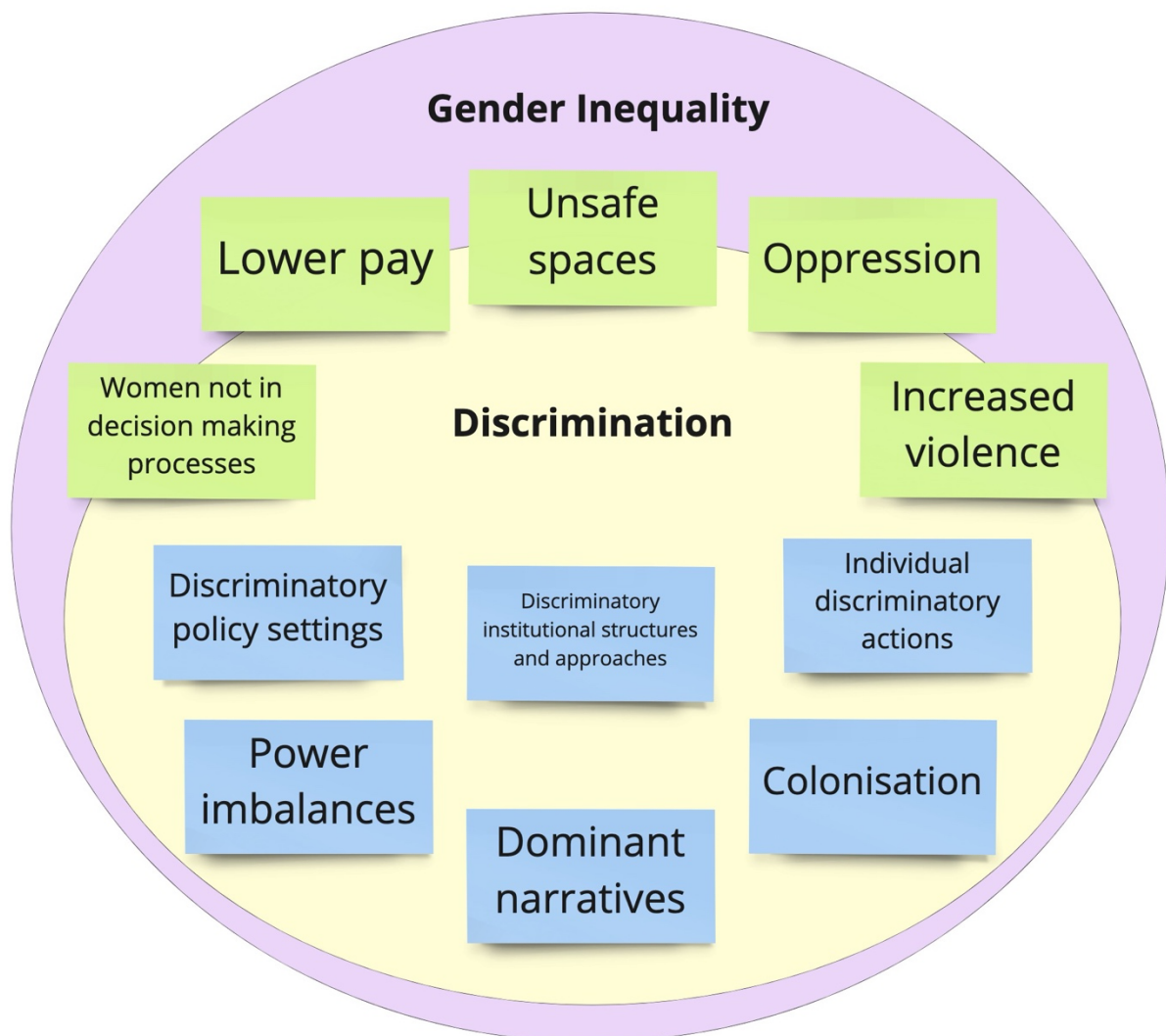
Figure 1.4: Conceptual Framework.

Although not depicted in Figure 1.4, several concepts interact with and inform the causes and outcomes of discrimination within the CJS: gender, equity and equality, race, and space.

Gender is constructed through different social interactions and is a process through which individuals construct their understanding of themselves (Kabeer, 1999; Namubiru, 2020). Gender is also a concept focused on the characteristics, norms, behaviours, needs, and roles associated with a binary of being male or female, as well as the social and symbolic relationships between men and women (Namubiru, 2020). Feminist theorists have long argued that the gender binary should be replaced with the idea that gender differences are fluid and open to change. Butler (2013) and McDowell (1997) drew attention to how gender identity is constructed differently depending on the space and the power dynamics at play.

At its simplest, equality means that every group is given the same resources and opportunities, whereas equity recognises that not all groups are equal (Legroux, 2022; Thomas et al., 2022). Gender equality means that women and men have equal rights, responsibilities, and power of influence in every area of life (Cid & Leguisamo, 2021). Gender equity, therefore, understands that some women and gender-diverse people are not at the same starting place as men and, therefore, may need more resources or opportunities than men, or other women, to achieve equality (Gaye et al., 2010). However, equity and equality must be used together as working towards both equity *and* equality would mean people having equal rights to freedom, dignity and respect, as well as everyone being given what they deserve based on their needs and circumstances (Ala-Uddin, 2021). This thesis, therefore, references both gender equity and gender equality, recognising that to achieve gender equality, gender equity must also be considered.

Race, like gender, is a socially constructed concept that has been used to create different social identities and maintain hierarchies of racial superiority (Kobayashi & Peake, 1994). Furthermore, race is only given meaning as a category of difference, it is not essentialist[8] or biological (Patel, 2020). Race is important for this thesis and connected to the conceptual framework, as colonisation is one of the key causes of discrimination and gender inequality in ANZ. Development discourse continues to be slower than other disciplines at recognising its colonial origins. Questions about

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[8] Within this thesis, essentialist language refers to the categorisation of groups (such as Māori or women) as having common characteristics that are inherent and unchanging.

decolonisation and racialised inequalities have been left out of mainstream development theory and practice (Patel, 2020). Throughout this thesis, I address how race, racism and colonisation are evident throughout the CJS and carceral spaces.

Related to gender and race is the concept of the patriarchy or systems of male dominance (Johnson, 2004). Within ANZ, those who identify as Pākehā men currently wield the majority of power, including in: political situations, the family, institutionally and economically (Brandth, 2002). White male dominance means that ANZ's systems, structures, institutions, spaces, and decision-making processes are characterised by behaviours, needs, and norms based on white masculinist experiences and knowledge. Throughout this thesis, I address how male dominance is seen throughout the CJS and carceral spaces.

Finally, the concept of space is essential. People experience space differently depending on their personal feelings, opinions and connections (Bondi & Davidson, 2004). For example, male-dominated spaces can feel unsafe for women (Datta, 2021). Although space is generally understood as physical space, it can refer to a range of areas, including emotional, cognitive, social, political, as well as spiritual or moral space (Acarón, 2016). Analysing the management of space is crucial in understanding carcerality, the workings of discrimination and how these both sustain and perpetuate wider gendered and racialised inequalities. Furthermore, how people experience space can speak to the power dynamics, discrimination and oppression at play (Briginshaw, 2009). This is because, as noted above, gender and racial identities are constructed and experienced differently depending on the spaces occupied. Understanding that people experience space differently means I have been able to explore how spaces across the carceral continuum inform one another and how professional support workers understand women's experiences and movements across different carceral spaces.

Chapter Summaries

The rest of this thesis is structured as follows:

The following *Chapter Two: Gender Inequality and Discrimination in Development* reviews and analyses literature on gender inequality and discrimination in international development discourse. In this chapter, I draw out potential lessons and good practice from international development practice that could be applicable to ANZ's CJS.

Chapter Three: Gender Inequality Across the Carceral Continuum situates this thesis within ANZ by bringing international development and criminology literature together to discuss gender inequality and discrimination across the carceral continuum. Here, I explore how women are discriminated against in the spaces they may occupy before, during and after imprisonment.

Chapter Four: Research Approach outlines the epistemology, methodology, methods, and ethics of this research. It includes participant introductions and research limitations.

Chapter Five: Discrimination within the Prison analyses participant stories and language to highlight evidence of discriminatory systems and structures (such as, dominant narratives and the prisons as paradoxical spaces) that reinforce and reproduce gendered and racialised inequalities. Within this chapter, I provide insights into how policy and practice within the prison can be improved.

Chapter Six: A Cycle of Carceral Control then explores how participants understood women to experience and navigate spaces inside and outside of prison. It pays close attention to how they talked about discrimination, control, and inequality across the carceral continuum affecting women's lives and opportunities. Taken together this chapter shows where and how women are controlled, managed, and discriminated against throughout their journeys with the carceral continuum.

Chapter Seven: Connection to Development builds from the specifics of the findings in Chapters Five and Six and relates them to wider development discourse. Within this chapter I discuss my three primary research questions. I explore how professional support workers understood and made sense of women's experiences and movements across carceral spaces, some ways professional support workers can be supported to reduce discrimination, and finally, how ANZ's CJS operates to reduce discrimination, in alignment with good development policy and practice.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion recaps this thesis, answers my research questions and rationale, research approach and key conclusions. It argues that ANZ's CJS is a cyclical and unequal system that discriminates against women, not just while they are inside the prison but in the wider spaces they occupy within the carceral continuum. Finally, I outline areas for future research.

Chapter Two: Gender Inequality and Discrimination in Development

Development studies has historically focused its attention outwards. However, as explored in the previous chapter this fails to recognise and respond to the inequalities and discrimination present within one's own country. International development has extensive experience in developing policies and practices to guide its activities. These have evolved over time as the understanding of effective policy and practice has grown. In this chapter, I explore the evolution of development goals, policy and practice, particularly in relation to consideration of gender and efforts to reduce gender inequality. I draw out potential lessons and good practice from international development practice that could be applicable to ANZ. At the end of this chapter, I explore discrimination and gender inequality within wider ANZ society. This section provides the context necessary to explore how women in the carceral continuum experience both discrimination and gender inequality in subsequent chapters.

Improving Gender Equality is a Longstanding Goal for International Development

Improving gender equality and removing gender discrimination is an international development goal. Ending discrimination against women and girls requires policies and practices that uphold rights, hold people to account, and prohibit discriminatory behaviour.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were created by the UN in the year 2000 and the SDGs in 2015. Together they offer an approach to international development that strives for social justice by improving equal rights and opportunities for all (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015). Gender inequality is an issue to be addressed and as such, is in both sets of goals: the MDGs as goal 3, 'Promote gender equality and empower women' and in the SDGs as goal 5, 'Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls' (The United Nations, 2015a, n.d.).

Since the MDGs and SDGs have been in place, there have been gains in some areas. For example, between 2000 and 2015 over one billion people have been lifted out of extreme poverty (The United Nations, 2015b). Furthermore, there are a few successes relating to SDG 5. These are that: the global prevalence of child marriage has declined by around 10 percent in the past 5 years, the global share of women in lower and single houses of national parliaments reached 26.2 percent, an increase of 3.8 percent since 2015, and the share of women in managerial positions worldwide increased from 27.2 percent to 28.3 percent between 2015 and 2019 (The United Nations, 2022). However, progress in many other areas of achieving gender equality is falling behind. Setting goals is a way of ensuring that there is a focus on the things that are important. While setting goals is necessary, it does not in itself guarantee success. The way in which the goals are developed and implemented, and by whom, is crucial.

While there are some gains, a fundamental concern with both the MDGs and SDGs is that the goals are rooted in a top-down development approach that excludes local and Indigenous voices (Liverman, 2018). One problem with a top-down approach is that the goals do not necessarily represent those they are designed to help, which is likely to limit their effectiveness. For example, Vanuatu has created 15 of their own SDGs that are specific to their country, culturally important and encourage more people-centred approaches with a less economic focus (Department of Strategic Policy, Planning and Aid Contribution, 2016; Global Alliance for the Future of Food, 2021). A second problem with the top-down approach is a concern that development approaches, like colonisation, are focused on spreading ideas that originate in the Minority World to the Majority World with the aim of 'civilising' and 'helping' non-western cultures (Kothari, 2005; Liverman, 2018). More diverse and inclusive approaches are required if change is to be achieved.

The SDGs can therefore be thought of as a system of colonial and neoliberal power. As such, it is unlikely that they can achieve ethical social justice without challenging the systemic oppression, power relations, and exploitation upon which mainstream international development continues to rely (Sultana, 2018). Furthermore, the SDGs prioritise economic growth. This priority often results in development that creates and maintains inequalities and injustice as economically-driven and Eurocentric

approaches push for the homogenisation of cultures and exert a 'right' way to live (Ala-Uddin, 2021; Bulloch, 2014; Henry & Pene, 2001). International development and the SDGs are fundamentally rooted in the ideology of neoliberalism which encourages policies, practices, and indicators to focus on the individual as the locus of change, not the transformation of wider structures which perpetuate inequality. For example, the SDGs position women and girls as inherently vulnerable rather than disadvantaged by unequal power relations and systems (Liverman, 2018). Within ANZ, an example of a neoliberal structure that encourages policies and practices that focus on individual responsibility is the CJS. I explore this connection more in the following chapter.

In 2015, ANZ's government committed to the UN's 17 SDGs and as such should be striving to achieve them where possible. Although the current ANZ government has implemented changes within the country that aim to achieve the SDGs, such as, the adoption of a living standards framework and net-zero carbon act (Hon Mahuta, 2021) little attention has been paid to gender, or incarceration. Women and girls continue to experience inequality and discrimination throughout all spheres of ANZ society. Furthermore, neither Corrections nor the Ministry of Justice are obliged to report on how they contribute to meeting the SDGs, despite the populations they care for being some of the most marginalised, stigmatised, and oppressed groups in ANZ.

From this review, I can conclude that to achieve gender equality, the voices of those in a system (such as the CJS) and impacted by it must be heard. They can inform policy approaches and practice, help others to understand the power dynamics at play and how these relate to the production and reproduction of inequalities and discrimination. It is also crucial to explore what is needed to change these power dynamics. These points are especially valuable in relation to the power dynamics of ANZ's CJS.

Gendered Development Policies

Evolving development policy and practice

Over the last fifty years, development policy and practice has moved from a place where women were not considered separately from men, to an understanding that women must be included in decision-making processes and involved in development practice. In this section, I explore how gendered development policies have progressed from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD). I have not included Women and Development (WAD) in this comparison as WID and WAD are very similar. Throughout this section I explore what is considered good policy and practice within development studies to provide the necessary context for a consideration of discrimination and inequality in prisons and the CJS, as well as subsequent recommendations.

WID and GAD are development policies that emerged throughout the 1970s and 1980s to counter patriarchal mainstream development policies (Rathgeber, 1990). They sought to centre women, employ a less economic focus, and be guided by feminist theories. During the 1970s, WID started to gain attention within the international development sphere as an alternative development model. Following Boserup's work, gender was understood as a variable in economic work (Rathgeber, 1990). Despite its variants attending to welfare, equity, anti-poverty, and efficiency, in the 1980s, international development practitioners influenced by Majority World feminists advocated for a shift away from women's roles in development to a focus on addressing the unequal power relations between women and men as evidenced within structures and systems underpinning women's subordination. Thus, GAD became the preferred gender-based development policy (see Table 2.1) (Ala-Uddin, 2021; Jaquette, 2017).

Table 2.1: Comparison of key elements of Women in Development and Gender and Development policies.

Women in Development	Gender and Development
• Based on modernisation theory and as such was economically focused (Namubiru, 2020).	• Instead of being economically focused, GAD places more importance on gender relations, feminist political activism, and sees women as agents of change (Momsen, 2004).
• Oversimplified the nature of women's work by not considering the reproductive side of women's lives (Rathgeber, 1990).	• Considered the productive and reproductive side of women's lives. Seeing the work done by men and women as equal (Rathgeber, 1990).
• Based on integrating women into development processes without restructuring the process of development (Momsen, 2004).	• Encourages people to think of gender and gendered differences as more than just integrating women into male-centric development policy, practice and structures (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015).
• Although WID played an important role in promoting equal access and providing more opportunities for women, it only addressed the outwardly visible forms of inequality and not the root causes (Namubiru, 2020).	• Addressed the structural causes of gender inequality and of women's subordination, such as how 'men' and 'women' are socially constructed and how these constructs gender roles, expectations, stereotypes and biases (Sushma & Sanapala, 2014).
• Focused on an equal treatment approach to development that prioritised how women could catch up to men in development and as a result favoured laws that protected men (Namubiru, 2020; Rathgeber, 1990).	• Emerged out of concerns that anti-poverty and equality-based approaches (such as WID) did not address the power relations and gendered systems of inequality (Momsen, 2004).
• Focused on women in the Majority World and portrayed and categorised women as one homogenous group who were helpless victims of the patriarchy (Jaquette, 2017).	• Focused on both the Majority and Minority Worlds, recognising that women experience oppression differently depending on differences such as ethnicity, class, sexuality and environment (Ala-

	Uddin, 2021; Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Struckmann, 2018).
• Concerned with improving access to resources for individual women (Jaquette, 2017; Sushma & Sanapala, 2014).	• Placed emphasis on the social relationship between men and women instead of viewing women in isolation (Jaquette, 2017; Sushma & Sanapala, 2014).
• Although WID was also concerned with women's needs and issues, the needs of women in Majority World countries were often identified by WID theorists in the Minority World (Koczberski, 1998).	• Concerned with the interests, needs and rights of women within development policy and practice. Specifically GAD distinguished between 'practical' gender needs (things that would improve women's lives within their existing roles) and 'strategic' gender interests (that seek to increase women's ability to take on new roles and empower them (Momsen, 2004).

Criticisms and improvements

Despite the progress that GAD made on WID, GAD policy still has room for improvement and has received criticisms. Development policies and approaches to development have often focused on women's work, their bodies and the spaces they can access. Furthermore, GAD never had much scope to address the differences listed above as it became too focused on the gender binary splitting the world into two groups 'men-in-general' and 'women-in-general' (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015, p. 402). Splitting the world into two genders became a key criticism of GAD, especially as the gender binary was increasingly understood as fluid (Reddock, 2000).

Another criticism of GAD is that it remains Western and white, with one of the core beliefs being that women in the Majority World are oppressed and controlled by the patriarchy (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Singh, 2007). GAD often overlooked how women in the Minority World are also controlled by the patriarchy, despite gender inequalities being present worldwide (Singh, 2007). Although the patriarchy is one of the systems of oppression that women experience, it is not the only reality that women live within (Singh, 2007).

More recently, a helpful framework has been adopted into feminist development policy. *Intersectionality* is used to understand how different parts of a person's social or political identity or lived experience, combine to create different forms of oppression and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). Such an approach helps to understand that differences between people within the same social groups can result in different experiences of oppression, marginalisation or violence (Crenshaw, 1990). Intersectionality has uncovered the racism and white privilege present within feminism and highlighted the need to be inclusive of diversity as society is not one homogenous group (Cooper, 2016).

Since the 1990s until the present day intersectionality has become a primary and important analytical tool for feminists (Nash, 2008; Subramanian et al., 2022). As Nash (2008) articulates intersectionality has become the 'gold standard' for 'analysing a person's experiences of both identity and oppression' (p. 2). I talk about intersectionality more in Chapter Four where I explore its relevance to my research and working within ANZ.

Although both GAD and intersectionality improved on WID, their discourses were not fully adopted into mainstream development policy or practice. As far back as the 1990s, Rathgeber (1990) argued that despite institutions acknowledging gender inequality as an issue worth addressing, only surface-level changes were made institutionally to improve the position of women. Women have been 'inserted into development within international and national development agencies, national governments, state systems and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). However, equity for women in these institutions and more generally has still not been achieved. This is because power structures and organisations would need to be rebuilt from the bottom up to truly implement GAD or a more progressive gender-based policy.

Further, as Kabeer (1994) argued, analysing gender inequality within development goes further than just looking at male prejudice, it should look at the institutional basis of male power and privilege which sustain and perpetuate discrimination. International development currently focuses on assisting women to fit into male-dominated structures, but as Verloo (2005) and Namubiru (2020) have argued, fitting women into male-dominated structures fails to challenge the deep-rooted causes of

gender inequality and sustains discriminatory practices. For example, when an organisation or institution markets itself as 'gender-neutral' such a term conveys their recognition of women but frequently fails to make the changes needed to achieve gender equality (Acker, 1990) because it is not gender-sensitive or gender-informed.

The Situation in Aotearoa New Zealand

ANZ is often regarded a relatively gender equal country. In the yearly Global Gender Gap report[9] (GGGR) ANZ has consistently ranked in the top ten most gender-equal countries since 2015 (World Economic Forum, 2015). Furthermore, in October 2022 for the first time in ANZ's history, women outnumbered men in Parliament (Radio New Zealand, 2022b). Yet, despite these successes women continue to experience gender inequality and discrimination within ANZ as evidenced in Figure 2.1. Other than in education based indicators where women are in an advantageous position, women in ANZ experience lower employment rates, higher unemployment rates, lower home ownership rates and are less likely to be employed than men if they do not have a school qualification or higher.
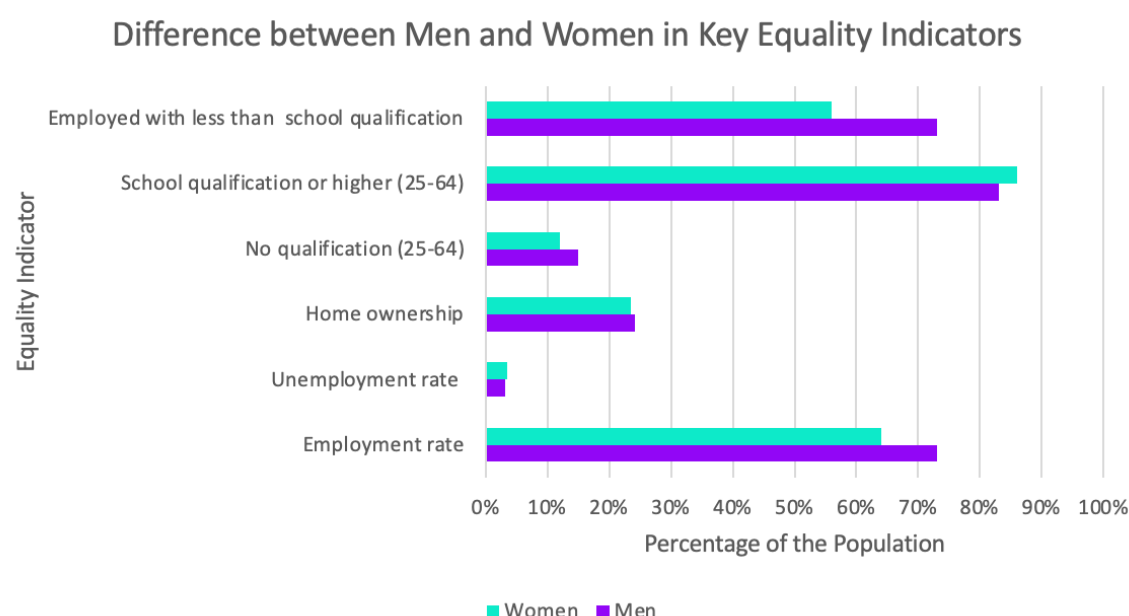
Figure 2.1: Differences between Men and Women in Key Equality Indicators, ANZ. Author sourced from (CoreLogic, 2022; Ministry of Education, 2022; Statistics New Zealand, 2022a, 2022b).

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[9] The GGGR measures women's economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment (World Economic Forum, 2022).

To understand these current trends, it's important to consider the country's economic history. Since the introduction of neoliberal economic policy in 1984, inequality in ANZ has increased significantly (Webb, 2022). One area that highlights this growing inequality is the increasing gap between the economically richest and poorest people. As Bruce (2013) explored in his documentary 'Mind the Gap', the cost of living went up when wages did not. More recently, Rashbrooke (2018) has argued that ANZ's income inequality has increased exponentially and will continue to do so.

Neoliberalism as an ideology encourages people to think about their self-interests over the interests of society and many authors have argued that this has resulted in ANZ transitioning from a social-welfare oriented to a very individualistic society (Bryan Bruce, 2013; Olssen, 2009; Rashbrooke, 2018; Webb, 2022). As Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) have argued, societies with a more equal distribution of income have better health and fewer social problems including less violence, poverty and imprisonment. ANZ is now one of the most unequal countries in the Minority World, where the top richest 10 percent of the population hold over 50 percent of the country's wealth (Zhuang, 2022). Increasing inequality of this kind means that some groups of people become reliant on state funding and support, reinforcing cycles of dependency, debt, and state control. They may also turn to crime as a way to meet their needs.

This recent increase in inequality has its antecedents in the country's colonial history. Māori have experienced increased economic inequalities since ANZ was colonised (Cram, 2013). Increased and systemic inequalities have stemmed from a range of factors, including: a loss of men in the colonial wars, the undermining of economic independence and self-sufficiency through the confiscation of land and resources, and the denigration of rights, language, culture, and culturally appropriate services (Cram, 2013; Poata-Smith, 2013; Wilson et al., 2021). For example, national education and healthcare systems are colonial institutions that rarely meet the needs of Māori, are frequently racist, and unwelcoming (Wilson et al., 2021).

Such colonial institutions tend to also contribute to the criminalisation of Māori through the 'school-to-prison pipeline' which refers to the disproportionate tendency of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds to become incarcerated because

of punitive measures in schools (Gordon, 2015). Furthermore, over long periods of time Māori women were targeted in schools for domestic work and to provide unskilled labour which established a continued cycle of underachievement and poverty for them and their whānau (Quince, 2010).

Within this context, another colonial institution is the CJS. High rates of Māori offending have been connected to adverse early life, familial and environmental factors, marginalisation, socio-economic class, and structural and institutional racism. However, these must all be understood within the wider context of colonisation (McIntosh & Workman, 2017). As McIntosh and Curcic (2020) have explored, structural violence within ANZ of which the carceral continuum is but one part, is closely linked with intergenerational cycles of inequality and imprisonment (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). As a colonised country these cycles are seen more within Māori communities and within the lives of Māori women. While all women continue to experience inequalities and discrimination, women who are Māori and who have been imprisoned are likely to experience more discrimination and inequality. This situation provides the impetus for this thesis to focus on their experiences within the CJS and carceral continuum (as witnessed by professionals who support them) as a means to reduce discrimination and improve gender equality.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I explored the history of gender inequality in development discourse. I argued that because mainstream society generally considers international development as only useful for the Majority World, ANZ may not consider using development frameworks and policies for issues within its own country. However, 'developed' countries such as ANZ should consider development frameworks and policies as they are attempting to address issues of inequality and discrimination. Furthermore, I illustrated that gendered policies such as GAD and intersectionality are a part of good development practice. The wider context of inequality and discrimination explored above is important for understanding how life differs for women who have been in the CJS and prison. As I will go on to argue in the following chapter, ANZ's CJS draws parallels to WID and is an example of a 'gender-neutral' structure that women are forced to fit into.

Chapter Three: Gender Inequality Across the Carceral Continuum

As introduced in Chapter One, the carceral continuum is the spatial and temporal cycle of criminalisation, imprisonment, and release. The carceral continuum blurs the line between life inside and outside prison through the control and management of spaces as well as cycles of violence and criminalisation (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Furthermore, the carceral continuum is intrinsically linked with control, as it focuses on the control mechanisms people experience before, during and after their imprisonment (Moran, 2015). Throughout this chapter I explore the carceral continuum in more detail paying attention to the inequalities and discrimination women experience throughout their journey. Alongside discrimination and inequality, I pay specific attention to space. How women experience different carceral spaces is important within the context of this thesis as women occupy a variety of different spaces (such as the home, their neighbourhoods, prison, and reintegration services) in their movement through and interaction with the carceral continuum. In doing this, I highlight that ANZ's CJS is not currently meeting SDG 5 which aims to achieve gender equality by ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls. As such there is room to improve ANZ's current policies and practices surrounding discrimination in the CJS.

First, I discuss some of the experience's women have before they are imprisoned. Here, I focus on the inequalities and discrimination women experience before their imprisonment, such as increased early interactions with state systems, spatial policing, criminalisation, and violence. Then, I explore spaces within the prison institutions themselves, paying specific attention to how prisons are both gendered and discriminatory spaces that produce and reproduce gendered and racialised inequalities. Finally, I discuss the spaces where women experience discrimination after they are released from prison. Within this, I focus on the control and management of women in reintegration spaces as well as public and private spaces. The following discussion is important for our thinking on development as it illustrates how women experience discrimination across the carceral continuum and where gender-specific policies and practices could focus.

Before Imprisonment

Internationally, incarcerated women experience discrimination, marginalisation, deprivation, victimisation and stigmatisation more than other social groups (Bentley, 2014; Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Gibson, 2022; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Russell et al., 2021). For women in ANZ, some of the intersecting forces that contribute to, and uphold, systems and structures of inequality include colonial continuities, growing inequality, discrimination, and gendered violence. McIntosh and Workman (2017) have argued that women who are in prison: have likely come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, are poorly educated, are on state benefits, and have had experiences with drugs and alcohol. Although men also experience these factors before imprisonment, women-specific disadvantages are often overlooked when understanding poverty and discrimination as gender is not included as a variable (Kabeer, 1994; Trani et al., 2016).

Some communities experience policing in different ways

State power and control are not experienced evenly, with some communities experiencing discrimination and control more than others (Massaro & Boyce, 2021). Therefore, spatial policing enforced by the state is one way that women experience discrimination and control before their imprisonment is through spatial policing. Spatial policing is the management of where people can access and what they can do (Künkel, 2017).

Loyd and Bonds (2018) have argued that in the United States of America (USA) there are racialised patterns underlying police intervention that see communities of colour experience increased surveillance, control, and monitoring by police. In ANZ's settler context, Māori communities also face police violence and discrimination at higher rates than their Pākehā peers (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). There is mounting evidence that ANZ's police are racially biased, especially towards the most marginalised and discriminated against communities (Hendy, 2021). The police are aware of this bias and are currently completing a major investigation into their treatment of Māori and Pasifika (Radio New Zealand, 2021b). Policing not only responds to existing hierarchies of race, gender, and socio-economic inequalities but also creates and reinforces them (Massaro & Boyce, 2021). People who experience

disproportionate levels of police surveillance can find that their lives become shaped by experiences of intimidation and harassment and that their decisions and relationships are controlled and restricted through their monitoring by police and other state institutions (Massaro & Boyce, 2021).

While some communities experience over policing as explored above, under policing also occurs. For example, throughout ANZ there is limited policing of domestic violence, despite ANZ ranking the worst OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) country for family violence (Hager, 2020; Rahmanipour et al., 2019). The uneven distribution of police surveillance and control only perpetuates community marginalisation, discrimination, disadvantage and inequality (Massaro & Boyce, 2021; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). For Māori women this can be particularly harmful as they may experience over policing in some areas and under policing in others.

Discrimination, inequalities, and violence before imprisonment

The Human Rights Act 1993 protects people in ANZ from discrimination in a range of areas. However, some forms of discrimination, such as state violence, are excluded from this Act. For example the state is often responsible for the power relations and processes of oppression and discrimination that communities experience as forms of violence (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Feminist geopolitics (the epistemology for this thesis) pays attention to how fear and violence are experienced across national, local and personal spaces (Hyndman, 2004). Violent oppression is used to exert control over certain groups, often the most socially, economically, politically marginalised, and discriminated against people (Pain & Staeheli, 2014). As Pain and Staeheli (2014) have argued, all forms of violence can be legitimised by the state and state institutions.

Prisons and police are institutions of violence (Loyd, 2012). An increased reliance on the state for law enforcement has seen the normalisation of gendered, sexual and racialised violence within society and within ANZ's CJS. The normalisation of state violence against certain social groups highlights how much control the state has over the lives of the people they 'protect'. Feminist geopolitics responds to day-to-day

state inflicted pain by analysing how the state uses slow violence policies to exclude, discriminate, and harm the well-being of its members (Dowler, 2013; Hyndman, 2019).

Slow violence and structural violence are two key forms of violence seen throughout this research. Slow violence is violence that occurs gradually over a long period of time and is so constant that it is normalised (Davies, 2022). Davies (2022) argues that slow violence and structural violence are interconnected, as both of them operate silently, and out of sight. The prolonged duration of slow violence, and the normalisation of structural violence, has caused institutionalised racism, sexism and the increasing inequality in marginalised populations to go largely unaddressed within mainstream society (Davies, 2022).

Within settler-colonial states, slow and structural violence and are often used against Indigenous groups. Common examples of this violence include: the separation of children from families, prolonged detention, and a lack of policies that target the increasing inequities that Indigenous and minority groups experience (de Leeuw, 2016; Hyndman, 2019). Within this the bureaucratic legitimacy given to violence only heightens its normalisation. As I demonstrate in subsequent chapters, the violence and discrimination women experience inside ANZ's CJS has been normalised due to dominant narratives, power imbalances, and discriminatory actions, policies and institutions.

Yet, the CJS is structurally linked with systems, such as Oranga Tamariki and the welfare system through extended carceral controls. As such, the experiences people have with the CJS and imprisonment must be understood as being connected to other state institutions and systems (Martin & Mitchelson, 2009). Increased state intervention will only intensify their experiences of dependency and institutionalisation (Baldry, 2010; Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Hannah-Moffat, 2009). When state dependency and interventions increase, the state becomes a part of a person's everyday life (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020).

Criminalisation is another way that some groups experience state enforced violence and discrimination. Criminalisation is the process of turning certain behaviours into

crimes and certain individuals into criminals. Within ANZ, Māori have been criminalised since the country was colonised. The ongoing positioning of Māori as 'Other' who require state controls and discipline, has resulted in the criminalisation of Māori (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). Furthermore, the criminalisation of Māori results from structural violence (such as colonisation) that has harmed Māori more than other social groups (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Māori women are criminalised more so than Māori men or Pākehā women based on both their gender *and* race (Quince, 2010). Criminalisation within ANZ is grounded in the dominant narrative that Māori are more likely to commit crime (Stanley & Mihaere, 2018). However, this narrative fails to consider the intersecting and varied factors that may produce particular behaviours in the first place. It also fails to acknowledge the crimes committed by those in powerful positions, such as, tax evasion, corporate crimes, climate crimes, and abuse in institutions.

Such experiences contribute to social harms and, as the cycle of violence suggests, harm only reproduces further harm (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). The cycle of harm and victimisation, therefore, results in criminalisation, because one's social-cultural position in society influences the official responses to one's offending (Coughlan, 2020). Furthermore, criminalised women have often experienced victimisation through abuse, poverty, addiction, mental health issues, and the ongoing impacts of colonisation. However, this victimisation is often overlooked by those working inside the CJS (Coughlan, 2020). At both macro and micro scales, the cycle of violence reproduces itself (McIntosh and Curcic, 2020).

Additionally, the intergenerational nature of incarceration is a form of legalised discrimination and violence. The cycle of incarceration is felt beyond those imprisoned, often affecting their children, families/whānau and communities (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; Russell et al., 2021; Western & Pettit, 2010). McIntosh and Curcic (2020) have stated that the carceral continuum is not only experienced through the physically and outwardly visible cycle of incarceration but also through the intergenerational impacts of incarceration. For example, the children of those imprisoned learn the norms, values and behaviours associated with prison, with it becoming a normalised part of one's identity and culture (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020).

Although people may internalise discrimination and disadvantage as individual issues, they are a part of the wider systems of oppression and carceral control.

Prisons as Gendered and Violent Spaces

Spaces have been gendered throughout time and across different cultures (Massey, 1994). As Bondi (1992) argued, the contrast between masculinity and femininity is one of the most commonly understood binaries in social thinking and has been mapped onto how space is conceived, perceived, and experienced. Masculine space often represents or reflects the characteristics associated with public, productive labour, and feminine space the characteristics associated with private, reproductive labour (Liani & Herlily, 2021). Space is not only physically gendered through infrastructure and design but is socially gendered through an individual's understanding of said space and the bodies within it (Longhurst, 1999).

Prisons are designed for men by men. However, it is not that the prisons are built by some men to meet other men's needs, but that prisons are designed to reduce the perceived risks, behaviours and threats that these other men represent. For example, men's pathways into crime are often through friends, gangs, violence (physical and sexual) as well as drug and alcohol use (Byrne & Trew, 2008). The programmes provided for them inside prison are therefore, designed to speak into these pathways for instance, anti-violence programmes and drug treatment programmes focused on male drivers of crime.

In contrast, women's pathways into crime are usually a response to personal problems (such as emotional or relational), financial problems, or drugs and alcohol related (Byrne & Trew, 2008). Their pathways are not catered for once they are in prison. Women in prison experience higher levels of security despite being on average lower risk offenders who have committed non-violent crimes, as noted above (Bentley, 2014). What's more, they are often subject to the same solitary confinement practices as men (Shalev, 2021).

Within ANZ, all three women's prisons hold those who are classified as minimum to high/maximum risk (Department of Corrections, 2018b, 2018a, 2018c), meaning

those who are classified as lower risk experience a level of security not needed for their risk category (Bentley, 2014). Increasingly securitised spaces designed for those who are classified as violent or high-risk are more enclosed, restricting movement around the prison and interaction with others who are confined (Shalev, 2021). Increased security for these particular individuals means that most women in prison experience more surveillance and control than necessary.

Further, many women who are incarcerated are mothers or may be pregnant. While certain sections of women's prisons do accommodate women-specific needs (such as mother and baby units), prisons are increasingly designed to fit a universal 'gender neutral' model (Bartlett & Hollins, 2018; Carlton & Segrave, 2011), which frequently refers to a male-centric prison design. While it is well understood in prison research that women have different needs than men and that such a universal response to incarceration will not work for all those incarcerated (Bentley, 2014; Gainsborough, 2007; Gundy et al., 2013; Kale, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Moore & Scraton, 2016; Skiles, 2012), this focus continues to be considered the 'norm' into which women are placed (Acker, 1990; Kern, 2021; McCorkel, 2003).

In addition to prisons being gendered spaces, they are also discriminatory spaces. They produce and reproduce gendered and racialised inequalities despite research identifying that gender equality can only be achieved by correcting institutionalised forms of inequality and discrimination such as practices that privilege masculinities (Namubiru, 2020).

One way that prisons are discriminatory is that many women inside the carceral continuum also experience a violence continuum, in which harm reproduces harm (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Prisons cause women long-term harm by forcing them to separate from their families/whānau and support systems, frequently resulting in increased state interventions and controls over the latter.

Prisons do little to alleviate the experiences of violence from which women in prison may emerge yet, prisons are frequently positioned as providing safety to women. The idea that prison is safer for women disregards the constant surveillance, punishment and discipline to which they are subjected (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020;

Russell et al., 2021; Scraton & McCulloch, 2008). Recent examples of Correctional violence in prisons include: the excessive use of pepper spray, 'cell busters' (gas 'bombs' to remove women from their cells), and long periods in solitary confinement (up to four months) all of which breach human rights laws (Radio New Zealand, 2020, 2021a).

This control, punishment and surveillance of women inside prison can replicate and even extend women's experience of violence and abuse before their imprisonment (Carlton & Russell, 2018; Russell et al., 2021), or result in ongoing trauma post-release. The representation of prisons as safe spaces for women therefore relieves society and the state of the responsibility to change wider structural causes of inequality and discrimination which produce the conditions for violence in the first place (Russell et al., 2021) and which sustain the conditions for violence into which women return.

Another way that incarceration perpetuates the violence continuum is that prisons encourage criminal behaviour (Balfour et al., 2018). Although the process of imprisonment aims to deter people from engaging in further criminal behaviour, imprisonment often: worsens mental health problems, makes people more prone to aggression, makes it harder to find employment once released, causes more trauma, and exposes people to more violence, discrimination, and oppression (Balfour et al., 2018; Bentley, 2014; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). As a result, imprisonment exacerbates the inequalities women already face and imprisonment in and of itself is an experience that can drive people to reoffend (Carlton & Segrave, 2011, 2016; Russell et al., 2021).

Discrimination After Release

There is a common assumption that once a person leaves prison they are free. However, the prison itself is only one point along the ongoing and non-linear carceral continuum (Moran, 2015). As noted above, many aspects of prison continue to impact on women and their communities long after their release. Throughout this section, I highlight what 'freedom' looks like for some of the most controlled and surveilled people in society.

Control and discrimination in living spaces post-release

Incarceration is not a singular event in someone's life (Moran, 2015) and assuming so means that process of imprisonment and release can be separated from state control even though they are interconnected (Carlton & Segrave, 2016). 'Re-entry'[10] to society is part of the carceral continuum as the impacts of incarceration extend into the spaces that people interact with once released from prison.

In ANZ, there are quite intense processes when someone 're-integrates', through parole conditions, reporting requirements and ongoing interactions with state and community agencies. However, the impetus to change is placed on the individuals. As such, it can appear as though it is the individual's responsibility for which post-release path they take (Gibson, 2022). Individualising the post-release experience makes clear to the person who was imprisoned that they have very limited, or in some cases no, support (Gibson, 2022). Individualising the 're-entry' process is a result of neoliberal ideas that value individuals addressing their own problems (Balfour et al., 2018) which I discussed in the context of international development and the SDGs in the previous chapter. Neither international development or ANZ's CJS address the wider structures and systems of inequality, points I come back to in Chapter Five.

For those who participate in community-based reintegration services, different 'reintegration' barriers may present themselves to those above. Reintegration services only further ingrain carceral control and surveillance as they allow criminal justice agencies and their contractors to continue managing some of the most marginalised groups in society (Balfour et al., 2018). For example, excessive parole conditions and extended supervisions enforce requirements that maintain the monitoring and surveillance of those leaving prison (Balfour et al., 2018). This forces people to maintain regular contact with state systems and institutionalises

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[10] Throughout this thesis, I use 'reintegrates'/'re-entry' because it is what the literature and the participants have used. However, I am critical of this term as many of the people leaving prison have never been 'integrated' in society to begin with and so they do not have something into which to 'reintegrate' to upon their release.

disadvantaged communities (Balfour et al., 2018). The process of 're-entry' can be seen as 'punishment's twin' as strategies and programmes that are entrenched with surveillance and control prohibit people from fully 'reintegrating', in turn making reincarceration almost inevitable (Byrd, 2016, p.1).

Post-release accommodation, that is supplied through community agencies or other state endorsed programmes, aims to help rehabilitate those leaving prison. However, the programmes set up to help can themselves become structural and systematic barriers to 're-entry' (Balfour et al., 2018). As a result, post-release accommodation and support may reinforce the cycle of carceral control through routine check-ins, restricting the spaces women can occupy, who the women can see and what the women can do (Carlton & Segrave, 2016). The discrimination and challenges women experience post-release are connected to wider structural inequalities that many would have already experienced before being imprisoned (Gibson, 2022). As Carlton and Segrave (2016) have argued, the cycle of imprisonment is reproduced through structural inequalities that have been entrenched in the imprisonment/release process. Therefore, imprisonment and release build upon one another, making it more difficult to break the cycle the more times someone is imprisoned.

Gendered discrimination and inequalities after release

The experience of release is therefore also gendered, and stereotypes reinforce gender-based discrimination (Namubiru, 2020). Women who have been in prison are more likely to experience greater levels of marginalisation and discrimination than men (Gibson, 2022). For example, women are more likely to experience poverty, high rates of debt, and are more vulnerable to unsafe employment opportunities than men (Gibson, 2022). Moreover, there are some specific issues that women experience disproportionately. These are: increased social stigma, lack of social and familial connection, as well as increased psychological impacts, which are only made worse by women experiencing greater challenges accessing mental and physical health services (Baldry, 2010; Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020). Due to cycles of poverty and violence, women are extremely likely to return to similar (or worse) levels of social deprivation that they experienced before their imprisonment (Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022).

Additionally, women are far more likely than men to return to being the primary caregiver (Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Gibson, 2022). Both inside and outside of prison stereotypical gender roles are expected of both men and women, with women often placed into roles of caring. For example, when men are imprisoned, women often support them, care for any children present, and run the house. However, when women are in prison this is often not reciprocated, resulting in women attempting to run their homes from inside prison (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Other women become excluded from their loved ones as children are more likely to be taken into state care when the mother is imprisoned.

Once released, dominant gender roles and expectations continue to underpin women's daily lives, shaping how state controls and state interventions impact upon women. For example, gendered expectations may result in women spending more time at home in private spaces as they are expected to pick up gendered work such as childcare (Kale, 2020; Liani & Herlily, 2021). Yet, caring for children can further inhibit a woman's ability to find employment which is already difficult for people who have been in prison and even more difficult for women (Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017).

Here it is important to address how conceptions of what constitutes public and private spaces contributes to the gendered stereotypes and biases surrounding 'women's work'. Public spaces are those spaces understood to be open, accessible, in which anyone is entitled to be physically present, and associated with productive work. Private spaces are those that are rarely exposed and often associated with private dwellings, individually-owned property, reproductive work, and not accessible to everyone (Gregory et al., 2009). Public spaces are therefore also understood to be 'masculine' and private spaces 'feminine' (Liani & Herlily, 2021).

Surveillance is one way in which public and private spaces overlap. This is because, surveillance reinforces the power hierarchies between the state and incarcerated women, as certain spaces encourage different levels of control (Koskela, 2000). For example, women leaving prison are not able to make decisions about their own lives due to the monitoring and conditions enforced by parole and reintegration conditions (Balfour et al., 2018; Carlton & Segrave, 2011; Gibson, 2022; Massaro & Boyce,

2021). As such, many women do not experience public spaces as any freer than the 'private' spaces they occupied inside prison. Additionally, the private spaces women occupy on home detention or electronic monitoring may become more 'public' through routine visits and surveillance that brings punishment into the home. Women must often create new dynamics about what is considered 'home', especially if they are based in reintegration accommodation or cannot return to family/whānau due to parole restrictions.

The Professional Support Workers

As noted earlier, the CJS is an unequal system built and sustained on discrimination and oppression. It is, therefore, important to reflect on how professional support workers (usually volunteers) are positioned to contribute to, and/or challenge, the discrimination and inequality women experience across the carceral continuum. In the chapters that follow, I reflect on what research participants shared with me about their observations and experiences, but here I want to recognise that this group of professional support workers has valuable, and largely overlooked knowledge, and that they are navigating a highly complex and multifaceted arena.

Working inside the CJS is not easy and can also normalise certain approaches to justice and care, which inadvertently maintain or reinforce dominant power relations. For example, the CJS relies on community agencies to help women 'reintegrate' into mainstream society. As discussed throughout this chapter, reintegration services are involved in the control and management of women as they often dictate what spaces women can occupy. As noted, they can act as an extension of carceral controls that can prevent women from successfully 'reintegrating' (Balfour et al., 2018; Gilmore, 1999). Further, although Corrections and community agencies do work collaboratively, community agencies are often reliant on very limited state funding. In this reliance, community agencies are: constrained in what they can do by Corrections' funding criteria, dependent on the carceral system for their funding to continue (Gibson, 2022), and are frequently chronically underfunded which limits their ability to address or counter the gender inequality or discrimination they may encounter (Kale, 2020).

Within interpersonal interactions, professional support workers are frequently positioned as what Koopman (2008) refers to as a 'good helper'; someone positioned as a saviour to those in 'need' (p. 284). In this context, the 'good helper' role may appear beneficial and to be resisting the power and control associated with prisons. This is often what makes it appealing to those concerned about justice. However, without critical awareness the good helper can also perpetuate 'Us' and 'Them' or 'Other' narratives in which they (usually white women) seek to do good without realising the power they hold or the hierarchies they enforce by being both the subordinate gender and dominant race (Heron, 2007).

Thus, professional support workers who work inside prisons and throughout the CJS, as part of many different agencies can provide valuable insights into the workings of the carceral continuum throughout a woman's life. They can also reflect on the role of agencies beyond the state which allows me to consider the workings of discrimination and gender inequality across the carceral continuum. In what follows, I bring appreciation to the professional support workers who chose to participate in this research and respectfully explore how good people can be brought into discriminatory practices through institutionalisation, as a means to consider the implications for women in prison and for achieving development outcomes such as SDG 5.

Chapter Conclusion

Women experience discrimination and inequality throughout their lives and across the different spaces that they interact with in their journeys through the carceral continuum. Furthermore, the discrimination women experience in their lives before imprisonment, such as through spatial policing, and cycles of violence is only made worse by imprisonment. As such women leaving prison often experience more marginalisation and discrimination than before they were imprisoned. As highlighted throughout this chapter the continuity of state control, power imbalances, violence, poverty, social exclusion, employment stigma and gendered expectations blur the line between spaces inside and outside prison. Going forward in this thesis, incarceration is not viewed as a singular experience. Understanding incarceration to be a point within the non-linear carceral continuum allows for the exploration of

women's experiences across carceral spaces and over time. Finally, it is important to learn from the professional support workers' experiences as they are an under researched group who hold valuable insights of women's experiences with the carceral continuum. I explore this further in the next chapter where I discuss my research approach.

Chapter Four: Research Approach

This research explores gender inequality and discrimination within ANZ's CJS to consider whether the CJS aligns with good development policy and practice associated with working towards SDG 5. I explore how professional support workers (as defined in Chapter One), who work/have worked with women inside prison understand the women's experiences with the carceral continuum to gain a deeper understanding of the discrimination and inequality women experience across the carceral continuum.

As this research focuses on the cyclical nature of female incarceration, the approach, methodology and methods have been selected for their centring of women. I start this chapter by introducing my epistemology. Here, I explore the importance of feminist geopolitics for this study. Then, I illustrate why a feminist methodology was chosen. Following this, I discuss my positionality, the intersectional research principles that have guided this research and my approach to ethics. In the section on my data collection methods, I outline the participant recruitment process, data collection, the interviews, mind mapping and the data analysis method. Finally, I introduce the participants and the limitations of this research.

Epistemology

There are many ways of being a feminist, engaging in feminist praxis and producing feminist research. One unifying aspect of feminist research is that it seeks to challenge male dominance, creating space for women's lives, their experiences, and their stories. This orientation in turn exposes the gendered inequalities found throughout society (Henne, 2017; Moss, 2002). As my research focuses on gender inequality within ANZ's carceral continuum it was important to me to work within a framework that centres women and that focuses on gender inequality. As a result, I chose to work within a feminist geopolitical epistemology.

Although feminist geography first emerged in the 1970s, it was not until 2001 that feminist geopolitics was written about (Dowler and Sharp, 2001; Hyndman, 2001). As

Hyndman (2001) has argued, feminist geopolitics is not an alternative theory to geopolitics but rather "an approach to global issues with feminist politics in mind" (p. 210). Feminist geopolitics is the intersection between political geography and feminist geography. It is concerned with the everyday lives of those who have been historically overlooked, opposing systems of inequality and acknowledging how different spaces (including the body, home, local, national and international spaces) influence one another (Dowler & Sharp, 2001).

I chose feminist geopolitics as the framework for this thesis because it recognises the politicisation of the CJS, of women who are in prison, and those who work with the women. Feminist geopolitics provided me with a framework that focuses on total equality, thus demonstrating its importance, not just for women but other groups who have been disadvantged and marginalised by the state. Furthermore, feminist geopolitics provided me a framework through which to think of women as beings with multiple identities, and who extend beyond the restrictive dominant narratives they are so commonly placed within.

Feminist Methodology

Although there are many ways to conduct feminist research, there are a few commonalities that are considered fundamental in conducting good feminist research. Some of these include: addressing positionality, power and hierarchies, highlighting human diversity, critiquing mainstream forms of knowledge and striving for social change (Henne, 2017; Johnson, T & Madge, 2021; Moss, 2002). The desire to change and challenge inequality and discrimination via feminist research was one reason I chose to complete this research. To represent this desire, my second research question focuses on how professional support workers can be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality.

Feminist research encourages the researcher to think more widely about their positionality, the production of knowledge, who creates and holds it and how it is situated in the context of the research (Moss, 2002; Sultana, 2007). Feminist research works to dismantle the power dynamics that are inherent to researcher/participant relationships. As detailed in the next section, questioning the

role of the researcher is one way feminist researchers have addressed networks of power and privilege (McDowell, 1992; Mukherjee, 2017).

An important part of conducting feminist research is also acknowledging women's experiences and focusing on gender as an important variable (Mauthner, 2020). Furthermore, feminist research has identified state institutions, stereotypes, and social constructions as tools used by the patriarchy to further oppress and marginalise women (Fluri, 2009; Mountz, 2002; Rousseau, 2013).

Working within a feminist methodology has therefore, provided ways for me to respond to the neoliberal, patriarchal and colonial norms within mainstream development discourse and ANZ society. Interviewing professional support workers allowed me to explore the CJS as a whole and question how those working inside this system contribute to the production and reproduction of gendered inequalities and whether they were aware of their positioning within this discriminatory system.

Positionality

Feminist and critical geographers are particularly interested in self-reflexive practices that analyse the research process and seek to disrupt the power relations and hierarchies that so heavily characterise academic research (Moss & Al-Hindi, 2008; Mukherjee, 2017). Although positionality and reflexivity have been continuously acknowledged as important parts of ethical research (Harding, 1991a; McDowell, 1992; Moss & Al-Hindi, 2008; Mukherjee, 2017; Sultana, 2007), the researcher remains in a relatively powerful position (Mukherjee, 2017). This is one reason feminist geographers place importance on establishing a relationship with their participants and building trust.

I am a young, able bodied, cisgender, Pākehā woman living in ANZ and am currently completing my Master's degree. Being aware of my positionality throughout this research and thinking reflexively about my experiences has helped me engage honestly with my research and participants. This is because thinking reflexively of one's own position encourages an open research process, which in turn helps

develop the researcher-participant relationships that are so important in feminist research (Finlay, 2002; Fisher, 2015; Gordon, 2021).

In addition to considering the identity-based biographical aspects of my own positionality it was important to address and understand the participants' positionalities and identities (Mukherjee, 2017; Sultana, 2007). Sultana (2007) has argued that knowledge is always partial as the knowledge produced through research is within the 'context of the individuals' intersubjectivities as well as the physical, social, political and institutional spaces they occupy' (p.382). Furthermore, Harding (1991b) and McDowell (1992) have stated that because academic knowledge is socially situated, the researcher and participants are bound together in hierarchical relationships typical of the racist, classist, and sexist society in which academic work is produced. Therefore, the researcher and participant are defined in relation to one another, as well as the political and institutional systems surrounding them (Mountz, 2002). The findings of this research will, therefore, always be partial. Although patterns may be apparent within the participants' stories and quotations that follow in subsequent chapters, these may not be spatially or temporally representative of the experiences of all professional support workers helping women in and outside of prison.

Intersectional Research Principles

In Chapter Two, I introduced intersectionality, and defined it as a framework used to understand how different parts of a person's identity combine within different forms of oppression and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality is a valuable analytical tool for feminist researchers as it can be used to analyse gendered experiences and structures of power that impact individuals who face multiple forms of marginalisation (Subramanian et al., 2022). Throughout this thesis, I specifically analyse gendered experiences and structures of power within the CJS and am guided by the principles of intersectionality.

As my research is focused within ANZ, working within an intersectional framework has meant also being guided by research principles that are aware of gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability. As this is a Master's thesis I was constrained in what I

could do and who I was allowed to work with because of my age, inexperience and position. I received VUW Ethics Committee approval to work with professional support workers who work/worked alongside women in prison. Throughout my research I found the seven ethical principles for working with Māori, coined by Smith (1999) and later explored by Cram (2001) helped support my integrity and the aims of feminist research as discussed above.

The first principle is "Aroha kit e tangata", meaning "a respect for people". I ensured this by arranging interview times that suited participants best. Secondly, "He kanohi kitea" which means "the importance of meeting with people face-to-face." Although the COVID-19 pandemic restricted my ability to meet face-to-face, I met with each participant on Zoom before each interview to introduce ourselves. The third principle is "Titiro, whakarongo… kōrero" meaning "look, listen… speak." I upheld this by encouraging participants to share what they felt was important. Fourth, "'Manaaki ki te tangata", which means, "a collaborative approach to research". I hope this research positively impacts participants' organisations. Fifth is "Kia tupato", meaning "to be politically astute, culturally safe and reflective of my outsider status." To uphold this, I remained reflexive of my positionality throughout my research. Sixth, "Kaua a takahia te mana o te tangata" meaning "do not trample on the mana (prestige, authority, influence) of the people." Participants could provide feedback on the mind maps during the interviews and on their interview transcripts. The final principle is "Kaua e mahaki", meaning "do not flaunt one's knowledge" (Cram, 2001, p. 42-48).

Ethics in Practice

Each participant was provided an information sheet, consent form and an outline of the questions that they were asked (See Appendices A, B, and C). The information sheet outlined that the participants would remain anonymous throughout the research, and that pseudonyms would be used throughout my thesis. Participants were able to choose their pseudonyms. Given ANZ's small population size, and even smaller population of professional workers inside the prisons, choosing pseudonyms provided participants some anonymity. For those who worked for an organisation, any information that identified the organisation would not be used. The information

sheet also stated that participants did not have to answer questions that they were uncomfortable with or felt they could not answer, and that they were allowed to pause or stop the interview at any point. All participants were informed and consented to being audio and visually recorded over Zoom during their interviews. Participants were able to withdraw from my research before the 1st of July 2022. All eleven participants gave written or recorded verbal informed consent, prior to the interviews taking place.

Data Collection Methods

Participant recruitment

Nine out of eleven participants were recruited through a snowball approach. In May 2021, I was fortunate enough to be introduced to Ruby (pseudonym) who previously worked at Arohata and who eventually went on to introduce me to four other participants (Ann, Emily, Jean, and JR – all pseudonyms). Looking for other participants, towards the beginning of 2022, I reached out to a few community-based organisations around ANZ that provide support for women in the CJS. This outreach resulted in the recruitment of my remaining six participants. I first met with Bob (pseudonym) in January 2022, and he supported recruitment of participants (Anya, Marcus, and Shaun – all pseudonyms). Robert and Fleur (pseudonyms) were recruited separately. Other than Ruby and Bob, I approached the other participants by email.

Data collection

It is more important to consider what methods work best for the research instead of using methods that fit a predetermined mould (Johnson & Madge, 2021). I therefore decided to use interviews to collect my data as I thought they would be the most effective way to engage with participants.

Before interviewing each participant, I held a less formal pre-interview meeting. This was a chance for us both to meet and develop some whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships and relating to one another). Meeting with each participant at least once before the interview meant I had time to go over my

research aims, the information sheet and consent form, and for the participants to ask any questions they may have had. Due to the ongoing impacts of COVID-19 all pre-interview meetings, and interviews were conducted on Zoom for health and safety reasons. I discuss the restrictions of interviewing on Zoom in the limitations section at the end of this chapter.

The interviews

When I created my interview questions, I followed the storytelling interview method. This is because I wanted to dismantle the power dynamics at play as much as possible, and provide each participants with the chance to inform me of what they thought was most relevant and important at the time (Blythe et al., 2013). I originally decided to conduct storytelling interviews instead of structured, or semi structured interviews as I liked that storytelling emphasises the importance of collaboration between the 'story teller and the listener' (Blythe et al., 2013, p. 10). Storytelling interview questions are usually broad so that interviewees can share their experiences without restriction (Blythe et al., 2013).

Storytelling is often used as an important way of communicating and passing knowledge between generations (Blythe et al., 2013). Furthermore, storytelling is used as an important tool to connect individuals, and as a form of resistance to structural oppression (Kohl, 2022). Storytelling recognises that individuals are unique and that everyone understands life differently, even if the individuals are retelling the same event (Blythe et al., 2013; Kohl, 2022; Lea Gaydos, 2005). Stories are filled with emotion, personal meaning, connection and identity, and as a result they not only explain life events, but give meaning to people's experiences (Kohl, 2022; Krauss, 2005; Lea Gaydos, 2005). Using storytelling as a method encourages the researcher to think critically of the experiences being shared and what they mean to people (Blythe et al., 2013; Smith & Sparkes, 2009).

Throughout the interviews one of the storytelling elements that presented itself was that participants felt comfortable and welcomed to share long stories of women with whom they had worked. These stories were particularly moving and filled with emotion which in turn, gave weight to the stories they chose to share. The findings

chapters of this thesis include some of the stories that were shared with me. I have left many of these in their full form so that the meaning and connection behind them are not lost, while also removing any potential identifying features to protect the women and workers concerned.

While I designed my interview questions to be broad, to encourage participants to share their stories with me, my ability to conduct the interviews impacted the way they were delivered. Before my Master's research, I had never interviewed anyone before, so this experience was completely new for me. As a result, my interviews followed similar routes. I found myself asking similar prompts and more or less sticking to my interview guide. For this reason, I believe the interviews I conducted more accurately fit between storytelling and semi-structured interview approaches, rather than being strictly in storytelling mode.

I conducted all eleven interviews through May and June 2022. As the interviews took place on Zoom, I conducted them all from either my office at university or my home. Each participant had the same ability to complete the interview wherever suited them best. Each interview began with me reintroducing myself and my research before moving onto the questions. Interviews lasted between sixty and ninety minutes. At the end of each interview, I offered the participant a koha (gift) for taking the time to be interviewed and as token of appreciation and thanks. For those that accepted, koha was mailed to them in a card I handmade.

After my interviews were complete, I provided participants with the opportunity to look over and comment on their transcripts. For those who did want to see their transcripts, I asked them to get back to me with any changes within two weeks. I wanted participants to feel secure and confident with what they had shared with me. A few participants asked for certain stories to be omitted after the interview, but no participants changed their transcripts.

Mind mapping

Throughout each interview, I mind mapped the key focal points from each participants' stories as they were talking. Carquard (2013) has indicated that

because both maps and stories consist of multiple beginnings, middles, and ends that overlap one another, maps are a powerful way of storytelling (Thompson, 2021). Visual aids, such as mind maps, help the researcher understand the different meanings people associate with experiences, interactions, and spaces (Turner, 2021). Furthermore, mind maps have been used as a way to address researcher/participant power relations as by visually noting key concepts, participants' experiences are privileged (Wheeldon & Ahlberg, 2019).

Mind maps provided me with a way to visualise the main ideas that participants mentioned throughout their interviews. As Fearnley (2022) has stated, mind mapping the main ideas can quickly show how they relate to one another. As my research is concerned with the carceral continuum and cycle of imprisonment, visually mapping what professional support workers thought of this cycle exposed patterns and connections not just within one interview but across the participants' responses. Following the structure of my interview, the ideas I noted in my mind maps fell into the categories of: before, during, and after imprisonment. Within these sections I noted: what the professional support workers' relayed about the interactions that women had had with state agencies and community agencies, how they perceived the women felt during these interactions and in their movements within the carceral continuum, why the women were in prison, what prison and life after prison were like for the women in their care, and what support they knew the women to have or not have.

The most common theme to come up across all eleven interviews was that women cycle in and out of prison. Physically annotating where concepts sat and how they interacted with one another meant I was actively encouraged to listen to what participants emphasised and how different stories or experiences were interconnected. The mind maps became important in the coding of, and development of themes from my interviews as I could visually see connections and frequency of mention. A collated version of all eleven mind maps can be found in Appendix D.

After each interview, I shared the mind map I drew with the participant, talked them through what was pictured and asked if anything should be changed, moved, or added. This activity encouraged a more collaborative research approach, and for

about half of the participants, seeing their mind map prompted them to share additional stories they thought were important.

Data analysis

Initially, I thought I would use narrative analysis to analyse participants' stories. This was because narrative analysis is concerned with interpreting and analysing stories to understand and make sense of the experiences being shared and the layers of meaning found within them (Wiles et al., 2005). However, as my interview questions developed and as I conducted my interviews, it became clear that thematic analysis would be a more appropriate method. This was because interesting and important patterns were presenting themselves across my data; a fundamental part of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

After I finished transcribing my interviews and had had them checked and approved by participants, I used NVivo to code them, following a bottom-up or inductive thematic analysis approach informed by prior research questions which aligned with feminist research and prioritised participants' voices (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Moss, 2002; Vanner, 2015). I chose an inductive rather than deductive (top-down) thematic approach to code the data as I did not want to code participants responses into preconceived themes. Allowing codes and themes to present themselves from what participants thought was most important meant their voices were more likely to be heard.

Following Creswell and Creswell's (2018) steps to coding qualitative data, I read through each transcript before coding them, to get a feel of what was being said, the tone of the ideas and credibility of the information. I found this a particularly useful way to reconnect with each interview, as for most of the interviews some time had passed between when I transcribed and coded them. Bottom-up coding was an interesting task and resulted in the production of many codes. As a result, it was not possible to jump straight from my preliminary codes to my themes, and an additional grouping step took place. I collated my codes and printed them out so that I could manually sort them into 60 second level codes. NVivo records how much material has been assigned each code. My second level codes were therefore, grouped

based on the most recurring preliminary codes so that they reflected what participants had said. Following this, I used the online whiteboard tool, Miro, to map all 60 codes and how they related to one another. It was during this process, that clusters started to form which eventually became my primary themes.

Ethics of Representation and Introduction of Participants

In preparation for the chapters to come, this section introduces the participants and the context in which I have chosen to discuss and analyse my findings. Throughout this thesis, I have used pseudonyms in place of participants' actual names. These were chosen by the participant themselves. Specific ages have been generalised for anonymity purposes and places of work have also been anonymised.

Ann

Ann is a Pākehā woman in her 80s and has worked for a community agency for over fifty years. For ten of those years she worked with people in the CJS. In addition, she has supported women in the community after being released from prison.

When asked what her favourite thing about working with the women was, Ann replied: *"Seeing them have hope, have some hope now in their lives… because a lot of them have never had hope before, and just seeing a glimmer of hope you know?"*

Anya

Anya is a woman in her 50s of Pākehā descent. She is currently working in the reintegration section of a community agency. With a passion for people, Anya has been working in the care sector since graduating university. She has worked with both men and women in the prison space for over five years.

When asked what Anya thought the best thing was about working with the women she replied: *"Being able to see the success stories that come through, those that um, make that change or break that cycle *hand gestures a circle*, or, or see… the necessity to move and change."*

Bob

Bob is a Christian Pākehā man, who has worked with a community service in reintegration for fifteen years. Throughout this time, Bob has worked with both men and women and has worked to improve and grow his agency's reintegration service.

When asked what the best thing was about working with the women, Bob replied: *"I think the best thing about the women is that they, they want to connect a little bit faster than the guys … the relationships are based on connection, their relationships are um, live or die."*

Emily

Emily is in her 70s and is a Pākehā woman. She noted she has always had a passion for prison work and has worked inside a woman's prison for 22 years. Throughout that time Emily worked in a variety of roles within the prison as well as in community reintegration.

When asked what the best thing was about working with the women, Emily stated, *"It was building up relationships… it's not a one off thing, it takes time to get their trust, and I guess that's something I've really been passionate about… I suppose it's that building up relationships with some amazing women."*

Fleur

Fleur is a woman in her 30s who identifies as being of Māori and Samoan descent. She has been working with a community reintegration service for a year and a half, working with both men and women.

When asked what her favourite thing about the women she's worked with was, Fleur replied: *"I think it's the relatability, like regardless whether you're a woman that's, who's incarcerated.. women generally have things that they can relate to anyway such as their children, um you know, the family matters, financials, the background."*

Jean

Jean is a Christian Pākehā woman in her 70s and although she is retired now, she worked as a volunteer with both men and women in prison for 26 years. Throughout

this time, Jean had little to do with those leaving prison, as most of her time was spent inside the prison itself. She started working in the prisons when her church began running services inside.

Jean thought the best thing about working with the women was *"Seeing change… I liked when I heard positive things."*

JR

JR is a Pākehā woman whose Christianity drew her to volunteering in the prisons. JR is in her 70s and no longer volunteers in the prisons, after being there for a number of years. She only worked with women.

When asked what her favourite thing about working with the women was, she replied: "*They just you know, you go in there expecting to help them and bless them you know, and tell them about Jesus and all this stuff and you come out of there SO blessed yourself, and you know, you come out of there and you're just filled with joy!"*

Marcus

Marcus is a Christian Pākehā man in his 50s and who has been working in community reintegration for nine years. Throughout this time Marcus has worked with men and women, inside and outside of the prison itself.

When asked what the best thing was about working with the women, Marcus replied: *"Seeing them succeed. You know?... I've seen some that have made contact with their parents again, family, um some that have had their children returned to them and life's been really great."*

Robert

Robert is a Pākehā man in his 90s and has been working with both men and women within the CJS for over forty years. Most of Robert's work has been focused on finding alternatives to prison. As a result of the discussions we had, Robert was not asked what his favourite thing about working with the women was.

Ruby

Ruby is a Pākehā woman in her 70s and has worked in the prisons for 31 years. Over this time, she has worked both with community agencies and as a prison chaplain. Since her retirement, and throughout her career she has supported women on the outside. Ruby has worked with men and women, however, mostly with women.

Ruby noted that building trust was her favourite part of working with the women, stating: *"I worked with men… so I had a bit of practice there, but women it takes a long time to get their trust, but if you've got it, you've got it."*

Shaun

Shaun is a Māori man in his 50s and has been working within community reintegration for fifteen years. Shaun's focus is on reintegration, and as a result, he has not been inside any of the prisons. Throughout his experience he has mainly worked with male offenders, but has been working with women since his service started supporting women.

When asked what his favourite thing about working with the women was, Shaun replied: *"They've been great self-starters… they have a, a focus on what they want to achieve."*

Preface to the findings

The participants in this research were kind, caring and thoughtful people. Each of them genuinely wanted what was best for the women they work/have worked with and cared deeply about the women they had met. Most participants referenced long-standing friendships with women who were in prison that resulted from them working within the CJS. The findings in the following chapters are therefore presented not to analyse or comment on any of the individuals themselves. Rather their words and my thematic analysis of their stories attempts to attend to power relations within the wider systems of which they are positioned. Many quotes represent wider systems of power and control and are not necessarily the beliefs of the individuals who are quoted as saying them.

Workers and volunteers within the CJS generally have little protection, are often poorly paid or not paid at all, and have access to limited resources and funding. Furthermore, as noted previously, workers operate within a neoliberal and colonial system that encourages individual responsibility and racialisation. As a result of working in these conditions, many of the participants' quotes throughout Chapters Five and Six, are ambivalent. Participants sometimes contradicted themselves and there was a lot of dissonance about what is done, what they wish could happen, and how they speak of the women. It is not surprising that those who work within a system that is so focused on risk, control and safety, unconsciously uphold and have internalised elements of these dominant narratives.

I have privileged the voices of the Māori participants throughout my findings. As these voices are often silenced within the Corrections space, academia and policy, I thought it important for them to be represented more fully here. Although I have tried to fully represent the participants' stories within this thesis, as the researcher, I ultimately chose what to include and, therefore, what I determined to be of importance.

Research Limitations

There were a number of limitations to my research. First, my small sample reflects a particular cohort of professional support workers who were mostly Christian (7/11), retired (6/11) and from the Wellington region (6/11). Given their location, most of their stories reflect their observations and perceptions of the carceral experiences for women in the lower North Island, though these still provide a sense of the broader carceral continuum that women experience across the country. Second, interviewing on Zoom took some getting used to and was not as personable as meeting face-to-face. However, most participants expressed gratitude that the interviews were online given COVID-19. In the end, and because of the pre-interview meetings, not meeting face-to-face was less of a limitation than I was expecting. Thirdly, one of my interview questions talked to marginalisation. This could have been more clearly focused on racialised inequalities within the CJS. I included intersectional aspects such as race, class, sexuality, and ability in one question, so less attention was paid to racial inequalities than I expected. Finally, and as noted under the participant

recruitment section of this chapter, the inability to interview women who have been in prison themselves meant that women who are most affected within the CJS are represented only indirectly in this thesis. Their important voices were not able to be heard directly.

Many of these limitations' present opportunities for future research that would complement this study. Despite these limitations, the findings in subsequent chapters provide important and interesting insights into how some professional support workers understood women's experiences inside the carceral continuum. They also offer valuable opportunities to reflect on the persistence of discrimination and gender inequality in ANZ's CJS.

Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the purpose of my research, explored why I chose to work within a feminist geopolitical framework, as well as how and why I used a feminist methodology. I then discussed my positionality as the researcher, outlined that this thesis is guided by principles of intersectionality and that within ANZ this means paying attention to race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability. The final sections of this chapter outlined how I conducted my research, detailing the participant recruitment, data collection and data analysis methods. Next, I introduced participants in preparation for the chapters to come and outlined the limitations of my research.

The following chapters explore the findings of my research. Chapter Five discusses discrimination within the prisons, and Chapter Six explores the cycle of carceral control that women experience. Finally, Chapter Seven connects ANZ's CJS to development discourse arguing that ANZ's CJS does not align with good development policy and practice.

Chapter Five: Discrimination within the Prison

This chapter examines the discriminatory systems and structures that reinforce and reproduce gendered and racialised inequalities within the prison. In this chapter, I show that prisons continue to operate in gendered and racialised ways that discriminate against women, reducing the system's ability to effectively support their rehabilitation. From my interviews, I have identified two key areas where discrimination and gendered approaches are apparent. First are the assumptions and dominant narratives recounted by some participants about women in prison, such as presenting the women as less than adult, hard to work with, as individually responsible for their situations and unable to change. Second is that prisons are spaces designed for men that do not meet the needs of women. In exploring these themes within this chapter, I hope to provide insights into how policy and practice within this prison space can be improved and, in this way, make a contribution to ending discrimination and achieving gender equality in ANZ.

Content warning: Some of the stories in this section refer to sexual assault. Some readers may, therefore, find this material unsettling.

Assumptions and Dominant Narratives About Women in Prison Limit Their Possibilities[11]

To disrupt and change current social systems, feminist geographers work to understand power, the mechanisms of power and power hierarchies (Bilgen et al., 2021; Jakimow, 2022). Language holds a lot of power. The continued use and repetition of certain words normalises them within systems, structures and practices even if they are discriminatory (Bilgen et al., 2021). For example, the use of outdated

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[11] When referring to the dominant narratives surrounding women in prison it is important to note that there are different beliefs and ideologies within ANZ and not all communities share the same views. When talking of mainstream society and dominant narratives, I am referring to the views that are most clearly replicated in dominant media and in political rhetoric associated with the Pākehā dominant majority as descendants of settler-colonists.

language can be seen to be reinforcing power hierarchies as discriminatory language undermines and belittles women. Especially within the carceral context it also reinforces an 'Us' and 'Them' narrative of those holding the power, and those who are 'powerless'.

In the prison context, one way that women in prison experience ongoing discrimination is through the dominant narratives and assumptions that surround and act to define them. Dominant narratives reflect punitive beliefs that encourage longer sentences, and favour imprisonment. This is especially so for women who are seen to have breached gender norms or assumptions. These narratives and assumptions produce and reproduce gendered biases, stereotypes, roles, and expectations that enforce gendered and racialised inequalities. From professional support workers' stories, I identified four dominant narratives that reflect ANZ's approaches to imprisonment which I explore further below.

1. Women are infantilised

The infantilisation of women refers to the process of adults treating women as less than adult despite them being adults. Infantilisation is a form of discrimination as it dismisses a person's age and maturity and is linked to the objectification of women. In terms of language, infantilisation was evident in some participants' use of 'girl' or 'lady' when referring to the women with whom they have worked.

The use of 'girl' or 'lady' in everyday English has been so normalised that it often goes unquestioned and unnoticed. However, words that were once used to equate men and women no longer mean what they originally did in English. For example, lady no longer holds the same 'status' as gentleman, and girl is no longer used in the same situations as boy (Huot, 2013). The female version of these gendered words no longer holds the same level of power; instead, they are commonly used to undermine women's worth in society. 'Girl' often signifies youth, and 'lady' often signifies well mannered (Huot, 2013). The dominant societal narrative for women expects youthfulness, gracefulness, politeness and nurturance (Atuahene, 2021). When these characteristics are attributed to 'girl' or 'lady', 'woman' then embodies age, responsibility, independence, maturity, and power (Huot, 2013). Yet, because

mainstream society expects women to be youthful, nurturing, and polite, 'girl' and 'lady' become normalised terms that are sometimes even considered flattering.

It is, therefore, notable that eight out of eleven participants used gendered terms, such as girl or lady, throughout their interviews. Participants who used girl, and lady, sometimes used women/woman/wahine as well. However, when talking about men throughout the interviews all participants only referred to them as men, never boys, or gentlemen. As Ann stated halfway through a story about her history of working in prison, '*girl*' was used to refer to an adult woman: *"There was a girl from, well I say girl she was probably in her early 30s."*

Although Ann noted that the woman she was referring to was in her 30s, she did not correct herself and say woman. The use of girl in this sentence highlights the normalisation of using girl and woman interchangeably, even though as argued above they do not mean and are not understood in the same way. Within the carceral context, using girl and woman interchangeably reinforces the narrative that women are in need of parental/guardian care and help. In turn, this can legitimise the use of prisons and perpetuate more subtle forms of sexist discrimination.

2. Women are seen as harder to work with than men

Throughout the interviews it was noted by many that *"Staff and that even now prefer [to work with] men to women" (Ruby).* The view that women are more difficult to work with than men has been a frequently heard comment within correctional spaces since at least the 1990s (Baines & Alder, 1996).

Within Minority World societies, gender has long been considered a binary (masculine or feminine) with very little cross over (Francis, 2010). The gender binary refers to the traits and characteristics that are commonly associated with men and/or women. Therefore, people can be considered not feminine or masculine enough when expressing traits or characteristics associated with the other gender (Francis, 2010). For example, women who are described as being loud, bossy or assertive are often considered too masculine, or difficult to work with. This phenomenon is

particularly common for women of colour, as Wade-Jaimes and Schwartz (2019) have noted.

The assignment of mostly masculine characteristics to women in prison was common among participants. When asked about what Emily had observed of the prisons themselves, she stated:

> *I mean talking to staff they say they'd rather work in the men's prison than the women's, or it's easier to work in the men's prison than the women's because the women's prison… women are more manipulative, loud, bossy, demanding… probably not as physically, probably not as physically threatening though there are some, but demand and that's being a woman, being a mum, running their homes, to fight for a lot of their lives, you know. So, um, sometimes I feel they're [prison staff] quite tough on them but then sometimes I see how the women react as well so it gives and goes.*

Women were considered harder to work with because of their perceived emotional/mental/psychological traits and immaturity. Interesting differences can be drawn between the language people used to refer to male prisoners and female prisoners. Women were labelled loud and manipulative, however, men were described as *"Physically threatening" (Emily), "Bigger and tougher" (Jean), "The bread winner" (Shaun),* or as stereotypically manly (Symkovych, 2022). The gendered language used here highlighted that traditionally masculine words were used to undermine women. The gendered language also recognised that women needed to embody so-called masculine traits in order to survive inside the CJS, to continue working from inside the prison and to keep caring for their families.

3. *Individualised responsibility*

One dominant narrative within the CJS and mainstream society is that crime and criminality are largely issues of individual responsibility. JR's response below illustrates this idea: that women in prison '*choose*' to commit crime. In her interview, JR shared the story of a woman who, when she was a child, was raped by her father every day for six years. Unfortunately, this story is not an individual occurrence as 75 percent of women in prison have been victims of sexual, domestic or family abuse in

childhood and/or adulthood (Department of Corrections, 2021d). Despite acknowledging that the experiences this woman had were so traumatic that JR does not understand how she managed to continue living, JR still stated that nothing could be done to help her before being imprisoned. She stated:

> I, I, I've said this to her, I don't know how you managed to put one foot in front of the other for all those years… Well I don't think they [the State] could do anything before, that's ah, people need to live their lives you know. <u>They're gonna choose their path.</u>

Stating that people, like this woman, will *'choose their path'* ignores the ongoing impacts of wider issues (such as sexual violence and trauma) and effectively essentialises women as criminals, or as people without the strength to change (see next point).

However, most of the women who end up in prison are part of a wider unequal system that disadvantages and discriminates against some people more than others. Intersecting structures and injustices such as colonial continuities, sexism, growing inequalities, and violence, intersect with one another to create a wide web of damaging and discriminatory forces that impact on the women's lives (Bentley, 2014; Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Gibson, 2022; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Russell et al., 2021). Despite this situation, most participants did not see women as part of a discriminatory system, but rather they viewed women as individually responsible for their actions and reasons for imprisonment.

Within neoliberal state systems and societal norms, individualised responsibility has thus become a common narrative (Balfour et al., 2018). For example, most of the programmes offered inside prison focus on self-responsibility as evidenced by Corrections' continued focus on 'self-determination' (Department of Corrections, 2021a, p. 39). When asked about the control mechanisms and punishments used inside prison, Fleur stated:

> One of our current clients, who's now back on our file is um, oh back in our care, so when she first went there [prison], this is a wahine who went in [prison], negative thoughts, everything was against the system, and she used to say to me all the time

> *'oh they're [state authorities] against me, they don't want to work with me', and it took her sometime of being inside and actually doing the programmes, working with her case manager, and the staff inside, it took her to realise her own…. Or to come to her own conclusion that.. if she.. let's put it this way, if she wants to get out [of prison], then she needs to look at herself.*

As Fleur has noted, it was the programmes inside prison that encouraged this woman to *'look at herself'* and individualise her experience and history as her own responsibility. Yet interestingly Fleur also indicated that *"She's [the woman] back inside [prison]"*. Such an observation perhaps indicates that the programmes and their focus on self-responsibility did not work to help her stay out of prison.

Viewing the women as individually responsible happened within community reintegration spaces also. Within the current criminal justice model, community agencies play an important role in the rehabilitation of men and women who leave prison (Carlton & Segrave, 2016). They help them to find accommodation, employment and, as Shaun stated, *'find their feet'.* However, participants often indicated that even with supports in place, the women are individually responsible for the pathways they take after prison. For example, when asked about breaking the cycle of imprisonment, Marcus replied:

> *It is difficult and we [the community service] can try as hard as we like and put as many supports in but it's actually the individuals choice of which path do they want to go down again you know?*

Yet, as previously discussed, women both prior to committing crimes and post-release from prison are likely to experience more marginalisation, higher rates of debt and poverty, more limited access to employment, increased social stigma, and more difficult social and familial connections than men (Baldry, 2010; Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020). Women's experiences of social harms and discrimination have a bearing on what and how much individual responsibility they can take (Carlton & Segrave, 2016).

4. Women are seen as unable to change

As explored above, individualised responsibility establishes how essentialised notions of 'criminal' have become. This then supports the idea that women cannot change. When combined with the risk aversion of state agencies and adjacent community agencies, seeing the women as unable to change can have negative impacts for everyone inside prison but especially for women. State agencies working alongside Corrections are encouraged to respond to events with short-term planning in mind as Corrections' main priority is keeping the community safe (Department of Corrections, 2016a). However, short-term planning does not provide women the space to demonstrate they have changed as they are continually viewed as criminals. Furthermore, there is an institutional perception that women who pass through the CJS need to be controlled because the women are feared, and Corrections prioritises control and security (Covington & Bloom, 2003; Gilmore, 1999).

Bob highlighted that agencies and state officials are risk averse and do not believe the women can change in his story below.

> *So, we had a young lady who had three times been in prison before our service started and … she was referred to our service. Um.. she'd had children taken off her in the past, um and none of them were due to her behaviour it was all to do with her partner and um neglect and abuse and things. Um, anyway she'd had a huge drug and alcohol um.. history um, very violent um, she'd done muggings, all sorts of carry on, and anyway this.. last time before we had her. Um, she got pregnant before she went into prison and so during her whole lag she was pregnant and she was not on drugs, she was not on alcohol for the first pregnancy out of.. this was her fourth child… and she had a real love for this child, it was quite different… and the field worker said to me 'I'm really concerned because the social worker spoke to me and said that there's a meeting they're having about uplifting this child as soon as the child is born', and … anyway… the three of us went, those of us supporting … sitting round the table in this room in the hospital and meanwhile this young lady knew none of this was happening. There were probably another eight people tied up with Child, Youth and Family, psychologists, doctors, nurses, social workers, everybody, and um, there was her file stuffed on the middle of the table, and not once did they have a conversation about you know, what are the other options? It was like 'so we need to*

put these things in place if she kicks off, we've got probation involved', and all sorts of carry on, and … I just said 'hey, um.. how many of you have read the file?' and two people around the table put their hand up and I said, 'so you're making a decision about somebody's life on hearsay and conversations with other people?', I said 'we've worked with this lady for nearly six months now and the difference in transformation and the social worker at the prison … said she's not the same person and here you are going to take the only thing that's keeping her sane, and straight, and her purpose of living, you're going to take that off her? Without any communication, without anything?' … and I said, 'we've put all these other things in place', and I said, 'you're not even giving her a go', and I said 'have any of her children been at risk with her? Have any of them been hurt by her?', you know? And they said 'no', and I said, 'no I know, because I know all the facts', and I said, 'you know but you're taking this child off her because all her other children have been removed', I said 'she can have the other children come back to her, it's going to take time but we need to manage this.'… Anyway, the good news was that she was able to come back to the house with us after she'd had the child, the child was still allowed to live with her, there were arrangements made that the grandparents would have a lot of involvement… but you know where was that voice for her if we weren't involved in her life? She would have been another statistic of a mother losing her child.

By viewing women as unable to change, Corrections and the other agencies involved in these discussions primarily saw the woman as 'offender' or 'criminal'. Ruby also identified this tendency in her interview, noting that, *"People change, but the system and society says they don't".* Women who are in prison, and who have been released are constantly discriminated against based on their prior experiences with little opportunity to show they have changed (Gibson, 2022).

As such women's identities are reduced to them being 'criminals'. Yet, as explored throughout this chapter, there are often wider structures and systems of inequality and discrimination that cause people to turn to crime, sometimes out of necessity. Although intersecting identities and histories of discrimination may provide reasons for offending, these histories are often overlooked. For example, Shaun noted, *"I'm not really about the nuts and bolts that happen over there, or um, or what happened beforehand, I'm just focused on the here and now".* However, the *'nuts and bolts'* of life before prison can provide valuable insights into the discrimination women have

experienced throughout their lives, and the choices they have felt compelled to make.

Prisons As Paradoxical Spaces

As noted in an earlier chapter, prisons are designed for men, but it is commonly thought that women 'need' prison, even when it is also acknowledged that prisons do not generally meet women's needs. Prisons can therefore be understood to be what Rose (1993) calls a paradoxical space. Paradoxical space offers the opportunity to see what appear at first to be mutually-exclusive categories (such as needing prison/prison not meeting needs) to be overlapping in paradoxical and contradictory ways (Mahtani, 2001).

Women need prison

Prisons are often considered a safer space for women than mainstream society as being imprisoned provides them with a break from the discriminatory and unequal structures, systems and experiences impacting their lives outside prison.

The idea that prisons are safer for women than their lives outside contradicts the earlier narrative that women are seen as individually responsible where wider structures and systems of inequality were ignored. This dichotomy identifies that prisons are cast as spaces of salvation for women who have made bad choices while living in more difficult situations. However, as Anya noted in our interview, most women have lived in difficult situations. "*Very few people come in here [prison] and say 'I had a wonderful upbringing. I had two parents who loved me and I had everything I needed'*".

Eight out of eleven participants noted that prison was a way for women to escape. As Russell et al (2021) and Segrave and Carlton (2010) suggest, this is not an uncommon belief. When asked what impact the prisons have on the women inside, JR stated:

The women that I've worked with, prison has been a haven. They [the women] are taken out of their situation, they don't have any responsibility. They don't have drugs.. well most of them, the ones I've worked with don't have drugs, they don't have violence, they don't have you know, people plying them with things. They've got food, they've got security, they've got safety, they come in there [prison] and it is a haven, and they often say I'm so glad that God put me in here because it's saved my life. I've heard that a number of times.

Viewing prison this way, disregards the constant surveillance, control, punishment and discipline inherent to the prison environment and fails to recognise the discrimination, oppression and marginalisation women in prison experience (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; Russell et al., 2021; Scraton & McCulloch, 2008). Furthermore, it fails to acknowledge the widespread negative impacts of prison and imprisonment for the women's families/whānau and community (Koopman, 2008). The idea that women need prison as a break, to rest, or to escape life outside has evolved because of inadequate attention on the discriminatory structures and systems that uphold and reinforce inequities that make prison seem 'safe' (Russell et al., 2021). However, spaces that intend to provide a break from harm and adverse events are not necessarily safe spaces (Gibb, 2022). This is because the systems of oppression and marginalisation that most women in prison experience outside prison, through poverty, control, drugs, and violence cannot be solved by placing women in another discriminatory system, in this case prison.

Prisons do not meet women's needs

In addition to the idea that women need prison to provide a safe space from their lives outside discussed above, most participants noted that many women they had met throughout their careers *needed* prison to teach them skills (albeit gendered skills). Despite this, when asked if the prison itself responded to the needs of women, ten out of eleven participants noted that it does not. For example, having worked in an ANZ women's prison for over 30 years, Ruby was particularly focused on the needs of women noting that, "*Women have special needs, right? Their needs aren't taken into account. They have extra needs than men.*"

As Ruby identified, the needs of women in prison differ to the needs of men. Women in prison are more likely than men to: have experiences with sexual and physical abuse; have experienced post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in their lives; have been diagnosed with a mental health issue in the past 12 months; be the primary carer for children (Department of Corrections, 2021d). Additionally, as one participant reflected, *"Their [the women's] reasons for drug using are often different than the guys" (Anya).*

Prisons exemplify and recreate gendered inequalities, not least in terms of perpetuating systems designed for men. As happened in the early development policies (such as WID), the focus on women in criminal justice practices has been largely concerned with how women could be inserted into male structures, instead of exploring the issues of gendered power (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Namubiru, 2020). Despite implementing some gender-specific programmes, most carceral strategies and frameworks remain male-centric and do not respond to the needs of women (Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Kale, 2020).

Women-only programmes exist but are limited in scope. Some of these programmes include, Kowhiritanga, a group-based programme which targets the attitudes and behaviours that contributed to women's offending and Te Ira Wāhine, a trauma-informed kaupapa Māori addiction treatment programme (Department of Corrections, 2021d). However, there are limitations on how many women can participate in these gender-specific programmes, and many women leave prison without experiencing them (Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022).

Additionally, the programmes that are provided for women are often based on gendered skills and stereotypes. Many participants thought women should be taught stereotypically gendered skills such as cooking, sewing, parenting and laundry while in prison. Although women do need to learn these skills as general life skills, men do too. Men will work in the laundry and kitchens in men's prisons as part of their general work plans. The difference is that they do this work alongside learning other skills such as carpentry, construction, and forestry. As Jean noted *"At the men's prison, they make houses, and this is a wonderful job to have because they get tradie training, they'll get work anywhere even if they have been in prison".*

If men were also taught sewing and parenting skills, these programmes could be considered general life skills programmes. However, by only providing these programmes for women they are viewing them as women's skills. For example, Bob talked about the work women complete in the prison:

> *I think all the, like the parenting [programme], particularly for those young mothers and things like that are all really good. I think the cooking and the.. the jobs in the prison, and the kitchen stuff because they get a really good skill set within the kitchen. Um the laundry one … I think.. the laundry work itself is, is obviously hard work and its.. but again it's giving people a skill … Um, with and a lot of them used to do sewing classes and things again which are a skill set, and helped do the sheets and things like that, for the, um the place. So I think those practical things that some people might see as a job, they're actually a skill set as well and they can get qualifications out of those things which is really good I think. There are some who might say oh you know it's women's work so of course they can do laundry and cooking and sewing but there's a lot of women in the community who can't do those things these days and so it's a, it's a skill set that I think is really important.*

Deep rooted assumptions restrict career opportunities for women and often inhibit a woman's ability to move out of traditionally feminine workspaces (Wilson, 1998). The work opportunities men have in prison provide them with productive (instead of reproductive) skills that they need and are more likely to be useful in gaining employment after their release. Whereas, the programmes on offer for women do not meet women's needs or support women's wider access to workspaces upon their release. By not providing the programmes and skills needed to access a wider range of workspaces after imprisonment, women are more likely to reoffend as they have not been provided the necessary tools and experiences to succeed in spaces outside of prison (McIntosh & Workman, 2017).

However, the problem is not just that women have different needs or that the programmes do not meet women's needs, it is that the entire CJS is gendered. A few participants noted that because prisons are designed by and for men, they are unable to cater to the needs of women. Robert reflected on the wider system:

> *Well it [the CJS], well from what I've seen so far, it can't [respond to the needs of women] because it's mostly run by men.*

Even Corrections acknowledges that:

> 'Our prisons have been largely developed to accommodate men, with policies that don't differ between men and women despite their significant differences, and some of our programmes for the most part are not gender-responsive or informed by the trauma that many women have experienced throughout their lives' (Department of Corrections, 2021b).

Women require official responses that attend to the gender-specific needs I have highlighted throughout this section (Department of Corrections, 2021d). Despite acknowledging that ANZ's prisons discriminate against women by not catering to their needs, little has been done to implement programmes, policies and/or strategies that are gender specific and effective (Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017).

Lacking attention to intersectional aspects such as race

In addition to Corrections not meeting the needs of women in prison generally, the needs of Māori women specifically are also often overlooked. For both men and women, Māori are the most incarcerated ethnicity, with Māori women making up 67 percent of all women sentenced to prison (Ministry of Justice, 2022).

To acknowledge the wider discriminatory structural forces at play for imprisoned Māori, Corrections has implemented a variety of strategies aimed at improving outcomes. Two of these strategies include: Hōkai Rangi, the 2019-2024 Corrections' strategy, and Wāhine: E rere ana ki te pae hou (Women rising above a new horizon), the 2021-2025 Women's strategy (Department of Corrections, 2019, 2021d). However, as argued by Russel et al., (2021) in the Australian context, imprisonment does not reduce racial injustices, it worsens them. This is because Indigenous women (and Black, Indigenous, People of colour (BIPOC)) are already likely to experience increased injustices without the added stigma of being an offender as

well. For women, whose gender inequalities intersect with racial inequalities, they are more likely to be discriminated against and entrapped within the carceral continuum.

With this knowledge as a basis and having asked questions regarding racial inequalities in the interviews, I expected to present findings that aligned with the extensive literature and Corrections' own frameworks that identify Māori women as a particularly vulnerable group within the CJS. While some participants noted that more Māori are in prison as Anya reflected, "*When you look at the statistics and the amount of people that are in there [prison] that are, of Māori or Pasifika background, there's a higher percentage, absolutely for sure".* Most participants did not comment much on ethnicity or racialised inequalities[12]. In fact, most participants did not articulate the impact race may have on a woman's experience with imprisonment at all. When asked if the CJS responds to the needs of women who experience marginalisation for more than just their gender Shaun replied: *"I uh, I can't answer that eh."* And on a similar note, Marcus stated "*I don't know if I've actually got anything concrete in that..."*

Lacking attention to the intersectional differences and needs of women in prison could mean that for women who experience both gendered and racialised inequalities, ANZ's prisons are more discriminatory and are even less likely to meet their needs.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have identified two themes arising from participants stories. First was that dominant narratives and assumptions upheld by mainstream society, Corrections, and the professional support workers (such as, the women being infantilised, seen as difficult to work with, individually responsible, and unable to change) discriminate against women in prison. Second was that prisons are

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[12] The absence of ethnicity-based answers is not necessarily representative of the participants. Although I expected Māori specific answers throughout interviews, I could have worded some questions to be more clearly focused on Māori.

paradoxical spaces because women are said to need prison, but prison does not meet their needs. These themes highlight two key areas where discriminatory systems and structures continue to be used to reinforce and reproduce gendered and racialised inequalities within the prison. In the next chapter I build on this analysis by exploring how women experience and navigate spaces inside and outside of prison and how discrimination, control, and inequality across the carceral continuum impact on their lives and opportunities.

Chapter Six: A Cycle of Carceral Control

In Chapter Five, I explored how gendered assumptions and discrimination operate within our prisons and negatively impact outcomes for women in prison. In this chapter, I build on this analysis by exploring how women experience and navigate spaces inside and outside of prison and how discrimination, control, and inequality across the carceral continuum impact on their lives and opportunities. As before, I discuss life before prison (including the role of poverty and violence, and the intergenerational nature of imprisonment), then, I consider the control and discrimination women experience inside prison, and finally, I explore some of the discriminatory barriers that women face upon their release from prison that result in the extension of carceral control. Throughout these sections I reintroduce slow violence and explore how it is intrinsically connected to the control, management, and discrimination of women. Taken together this chapter shows where and how women are controlled, managed, and discriminated against throughout their journeys with the carceral continuum.

Cycle of Imprisonment

All participants noted that women cycle through prison and that many of the women they have worked with have been inside more than once. Fleur noted, *"Everything is about cycles".* JR said, *"I've seen them [women] just cycle back into prison"*, and Jean stated that, *"Sometimes there's quite a long time between when they come in and out [of prison]".* These observations align with wider literature that shows that a prison sentence is often not a singular occurrence. Instead, it is just one point along the carceral continuum (Carlton & Segrave, 2016; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; Russell et al., 2021).

As seen in Table 6.1 below a high number of women are likely to be re-imprisoned or re-sentenced after being released from prison (Department of Corrections, 2021a). These are relatively high rates compared to other OECD countries.

Table 6.1: Percentage of women re-imprisoned and re-sentenced within a 12-month and 24-month period in ANZ. Author sourced from (Department of Corrections, 2021a).

	12 Month Period	**24 Month Period**
Re-sentenced	30 percent	46 percent
Re-imprisoned	15 percent	24 percent

Additionally, there are almost an equal number of female remand prisoners (208) as female sentenced prisoners (230) (Department of Corrections, 2021c). Around 90 percent of remand prisoners have previously been managed by Corrections (including imprisonment, community sentences, and probation) (Department of Corrections, 2016b). The combination of high recidivism rates and a large proportion of prisoners on remand therefore, supports participants' statements and wider literature that female offenders cycle through the CJS (The Productivity Commission, 2021).

Pre-Prison Spaces

Intergenerational nature of imprisonment

The intergenerational nature of prison is well understood and widely researched within criminology (Bentley, 2014; Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Massaro & Boyce, 2021; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Wakefield & Uggen, 2010; Western & Pettit, 2010). Despite this work, the intergenerational and societal impacts of incarceration are rarely acknowledged more widely (McIntosh & Workman, 2017) even though they contribute to ongoing discrimination and inequalities. For example, families/whānau with an incarcerated member are likely to experience increased financial hardship and are also more likely to be imprisoned (Western & Pettit, 2010). As such, prison can become a normalised institution within a family or community (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020).

Given their closeness to women in the carceral system, eight out of eleven participants commented on the intergenerational nature of imprisonment and the wide-reaching impacts imprisonment causes for the children and family/whānau of

incarcerated women. For example, JR noted that, *"Sometimes whole families are all in there [prison] all at once, the grandma, the aunty, the granddaughters."* This is not a new situation. Richards (2014) found that 56 percent of women incarcerated in Christchurch Women's Prison in 2008 had a family member in prison. The fact that this is a common observation indicates that families being incarcerated together is an ongoing and intergenerational issue. Marcus added to the idea of families being in prison, or *'in crime'* together stating that:

> *A lot of the background [of the women he has worked with] is with the big crime families. Those ladies they said to me that all they've ever known is crime.*

One of the intergenerational impacts of imprisonment is that the prison institution and crime itself becomes normalised within the lives of children who, as a result, learn the norms and values associated with crime and prison life (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). For example, Anya noted the impact and importance of language stating that, *"If you talk with young kids whose parents or family who've been involved with authorities, the negativity starts young."* McIntosh and Curcic (2020) have noted that in blurring the language and relational boundary between spaces 'inside' and outside, the prison and imprisonment can be seen as inevitable.

Cycles of poverty and violence

It is often difficult to separate offenders and victims when analysing crime and criminality in ANZ as histories, experiences, and cultural context often mean that victims and offenders are the same people (Workman & McIntosh, 2013). The 2021 New Zealand Crime and Victims Survey has identified that the social and demographic indicators used to identify who is most likely to be victimised are the same for those likely to be offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2021). Some of these indicators include that a victim/offender is more likely to be unemployed, a single parent, living in the most marginalised/deprived social groups (defined as decile 9 and 10 areas), Māori or Pasifika, and under the age of 30 (Ministry of Justice, 2021). Participants noted that it was not uncommon for the women they have worked with to, *"Have come through that lower socio-economic path of life" (Bob)*. Moreover, ongoing intergenerational impacts of poverty and discrimination often caused people

to turn to crime out of necessity (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). As Jean identified, "*The money they can make in crimes is much bigger than they'd make on minimum wage.*"

The normalisation and entrenchment of macro-level structural violence and state violence (such as poverty) is especially acute for Indigenous people. The connections between poverty and several categories of crime (such as theft or violence) are well researched (Dong et al., 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Patterson, 1991; Wakefield & Uggen, 2010; Workman & McIntosh, 2013). For example, economic disadvantage and its related marginalisation can result in the normalisation of micro-scale violence such as domestic violence (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). In ANZ around 70 percent of women in prison have witnessed or been the receiver of sexual and/or domestic violence (Department of Corrections, 2021d). Additionally, women can become involved in domestic violence by protecting themselves or fighting back (Douglas & Fitzgerald, 2018). When asked about the underlying issues women in prison commonly experience, Fleur replied:

> *One is most definitely domestic violence, especially for those [women] who grew up in domestic violence… It's like a mirror effect or um, 360 or whatever you want to call it… domestic violence is already there and it's something that they've [the women] seen um growing up and it's something that um they endure when they enter into a relationship with their significant other.*

Adverse early life events such as witnessing/experiencing violence, experiencing poverty and exposure to substances abuse are often argued to be a cause of adult offending (McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Workman & McIntosh, 2013). If someone suffers violence as a child or adolescent they are more likely to experience more violence or draw on violence as a tool in adulthood as violence has become normalised (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). As Jean noted, "*They [the women] often have violence in their background… and then they have chosen a violent partner 'cause that just follows the same pattern.*" As a result, violence can be normalised within relationships, and women can become stuck in a cycle of being the receivers of both domestic violence and poverty.

Discrimination and Spatial Policing within the Prisons

A prison or a zoo

One theme that presented itself in the interviews was the dehumanisation of women inside prison. Dehumanisation is the process of depriving a human being of their human qualities, personality or dignity (de Ruiter, 2021). It is easier to treat someone inhumanly if they are not referred to as human in discourse or practice (Worrall, 2002). For example, when people and institutions dehumanise women who commit crimes, they constrain their identities to 'offenders' (Worrall, 2002) or even liken them to animals. It then becomes easier to blame the women for their situation rather than remain critical of the discriminatory systems and structures that envelop their lives (Murnen, 2000).

Such dehumanising language was evident in some participants' responses, even as they expressed care and concern for the women with whom they worked. For example, Ruby noted that, *"It's dog eat dog. They [the women] don't really care who they take down"*. Similarly, Fleur stated that she had, *"Often heard from people inside. 'it's dog, eats dog'"*. Further, when asked to reflect on the spaces inside the women's prisons, Bob replied:

> *I think you've gotta take somebody whose hard because if you continue to put a lion or a tiger in a cage you're going to always have that lion or tiger who's a bit aggressive. You give them a little bit more space to spread out and lie in the sun and everything else, you're going to get so much better value for your money that you're spending in that space, you're going to be such a better person out of it.*

Although he was using this analogy in the context of wanting more room and open spaces for the women (demonstrating his concern for their welfare), Bob's use of *'lions'* and *'tigers'* to describe the women in prison also served to dehumanise them by comparing them to animals locked in small zoo cages. Both prisons and zoos are commonly depicted as spaces to confine and control 'wild and dangerous bodies' (Morin, 2015, p. 74). As Rasmussen (2015) has argued, the caging of both animals and humans is often done in order to protect others, which aligns with Corrections' number one goal, public safety (Department of Corrections, n.d.).

The likening of women in prison to animals that need additional controls is one potential reason that women experience increased levels of security than men or than is required for their security classification (Bentley, 2014). For example, when asked about whether there were any differences between the men's and women's prisons, Marcus responded:

> Security is a bit tighter at women's sometimes, especially when you're on a radio [communication device used in prison]. If you're entering the prison you've got to follow, you've got to be on the radio all the time and all that, whereas at Christchurch Men's [prison] I used to not even get a radio sometimes until I got told off.

Despite this more stringent approach to security, women in prison are on average lower risk offenders than their male counterparts and so should be housed in prisons that represent these lower security ratings (Bentley, 2014).

This gendered approach to the management of perceived risk is exacerbated in a settler-colonial context where dehumanisation and racism go hand-in-hand (Elers & Jayan, 2020), Māori women often receive higher risk classifications as they are considered more dangerous and in need of control than their Pākehā peers, despite Pākehā women having a slightly higher conviction rate for dangerous crimes (Deckert, 2020). Subsequently, Māori women, who make up the majority of the female prison population, experience increasingly securitised prison spaces in which their movements and interactions are restricted (Shalev, 2021).

The above discussion re-emphasises how prisons add to the cycle of control that women experience by reinforcing harmful stereotypes and associations, such as women being high risk and even non-human. Thus, their imprisonment is considered necessary to protect 'us' from their dangers. In short, dehumanisation operates to divert attention from women's' interests, needs and rights (de Ruiter, 2021, 2022). Furthermore, the dehumanisation of women in prison plays into the rubrics of discrimination as dehumanising an individual, or group of people can encourage and normalise discriminatory behaviours, actions, systems, and structures (Moradi, 2013; Tran et al., 2018)

Women continue to experience spatial policing inside the prison

Some participants noted women in prison were distrusting of Corrections' staff, not least because some officers engaged in harmful controls and violence over them. For example, Ruby "*Saw a woman dragged in handcuffs down the corridor*", while Jean remembered how an officer threatened a woman with "*another week*" if she put her foot "*one inch outside that cell*".

These accounts of staff behaviours show aspects of the spatial policing inside prisons and the layers of control experienced by women. Ruby provided another example of how women are controlled within the prison, highlighting a lack of consideration for the woman's needs:

> *I do think.. sometimes they [prison staff] set them [the women] up like, you know they [the women] can have video calls to partners or family or whatever and I remember going in the wing once, not long before I left and um this woman... she had a, was to have her partner, she was in her 60s, about 60 and he was late 60s in Christchurch. He travelled 45ks 'cause he had to go to probey [probation] to have it. It was in an AVL [Audio Visual Link for distanced visiting] and it was, say it was ten o'clock. And she was standing there and she said, 'oh I've got a 20 minute video with my partner', and she said 'it's ten past ten now I keep saying when, when can I have my um, thing [video call]' and they [Corrections staff] say 'oh we're so busy'', and there were five officers sitting in the wing in the office we could see, and so they [Corrections staff] can set them [the women] up. Or they just don't care you know? And I feel that's an, that's a real unfairness.*

Participants reflected on how officers engaged in excessive force, controlled the spaces, and denied women their rights. These power imbalances within the prison increase discrimination (Thompson & Campling, 1996), subjecting women to the everyday spatial policing of bodies and relationships under confinement.

Discrimination in Post-Prison Spaces

For women in particular there is a lack of support both in preparations for and on release (Gibson, 2022). Many women leaving prison return to insecure housing,

precarious (or no) employment, financial stress and abusive homes (Petersilia, 2003).

Discrimination in accessing workspaces

Most participants noted that employment was a particularly strong barrier for women 're-integrating' into mainstream society.

Eight out of eleven participants remarked upon the punitive societal beliefs and negative prejudices surrounding 'criminal' women, that negatively impact women whilst in prison, and on their release. Emily noted that, "*I haven't heard of many [women] getting jobs … there's a stigma and there's no two ways about it".* Ruby stated that, *"They're almost ostracised before they go out [of prison], getting jobs is just hopeless."* Even when women may have been successful in accessing work, Marcus identified they faced restrictions when he told me, *"I've had many people that get turned down [by probation] 'oh no, they can't do that, that job's not going to be suitable for them'."*

Fleur also spoke about the difficulties women experience regarding employment post-release. She reflected on the impact gendered employment has on women leaving prison:

> *It's always hard around employment because um.. nine times out of ten, employers, on an application it has, have you committed a criminal offence? And if you tick yes, it's an automatic thing, it's a no… There's certain jobs that say yes, um and then there's do you know what I'm saying? So they [the women] might come out [of prison] and there's only construction, we're just using that as the example, and you know, construction they always have a high turnover, they need people to go here, and there, and there's a lot of them so they're most likely to say yes… So your chances again um, have lessened in the employment sector unless, unless um one, there's someone willing to give you a go and understanding, two you have an agency to advocate on your behalf or help you find employment through um.. the job seekers or working agencies or Work and Income.*

Fleur reflected on how some industries – like construction – can be easier to access. However, as a male-dominated industry (only 13 percent of the construction workforce is female) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2022), this work may not be as attractive to women, particularly as they fear gender bias, sexism, discrimination, and abuse from co-workers (Lester, 2010). As previously noted, majority of the women in prison have experienced sexual and/or domestic violence. They may not wish to enter male-dominated workspaces.

Jean identified that this work-based prejudice also dovetailed with discriminatory prejudice in other areas:

> *Its, it's all about, um, you know prejudice, like women meeting prejudice, not only from employers but from doctors, from, from people in their neighbourhood, yeah. Once, once word gets out [that they were in prison], people don't trust them. Um, not being able to even get volunteer work… It's actually quite huge, not even being able to do things like babysitting. Yeah, it's, it's a problem, that's the biggest problem is their reputation.*

For women leaving prison societal prejudice is a particularly strong barrier to successfully 'reintegrating'. This is because prejudice can prohibit women from accessing absolutely necessary provisions such as employment, healthcare and building local community.

Discrimination in accessing homes and other living spaces

All five participants who worked inside the prison noted that there was little to no support for women once they have been released. They saw that women were often spatially separated from their families/whānau, and that supported living spaces were hard to access. Ruby noted that, *"They've got nothing, absolutely nothing"* while Emily saw that *"Some women are really desperate for somewhere to go".* Often women must move away from their families, friends, and supports. In talking about one woman, Ann said, *"She was kept away mainly from any of her old contacts".* However, the women find leaving their lives behind difficult, and as JR stated, *"It takes an incredible amount of will to not go back to that life."*

When 'reintegrating' into society there is a lot to think about for both men and women. However, as discussed previously, women who have been in prison are often more likely to inhabit spaces where they experience discrimination, poverty, high rates of debt, high rates of mental health issues, and high rates of substance abuse. They are also more vulnerable to unsafe workspaces and living spaces than men who have been in prison (Baldry, 2010; Bentley, 2014; Department of Corrections, 2021d; Gibson, 2022; Kale, 2020). For example around 60 percent of women leaving prison do not have somewhere safe to go, and so many women return to unsafe spaces (Gibson, 2022). 'Reintegration' for women needs to consider that women often: seek or require stable longer-term housing, wish to relocate, have their children settle with them, and need more intensive wrap-around emotional and practical support (Gibson, 2022).

Although the wider literature (Baldry, 2010; Bentley, 2014; Gibson, 2022' Kale, 2020) and Corrections itself state that women have higher needs when 'reintegrating', and experience increased barriers to 'reintegration', some participants felt that reintegration was more difficult for men than for women. When asked about the differences between male and female offenders after their imprisonment, Shaun stated that, *"I think with the addiction side of things and the mental health, it's more so [present] with the men".* Shaun was not alone in this assumption. When asked about if there were any differing needs and experiences between male and female offenders, Marcus replied:

> *Um probably men have more high needs than women. Um, maybe cause women can.. I don't know they [the women] seem to, some of them seem to come out [of prison] and pick up a life… So they've gone to prison for six months and then they just continue their life from when they went to prison… They just don't need the extra support that sometimes the men do. Um, they just go, they just seem to have it. It's always easier for a woman to find somewhere to live than it is for a male to find somewhere to live …So they seem to have a bit of an edge in that reintegration seems to be a bit more easier for them I suppose than the male just cause of the gender, yeah.*

Although some people still believe that 'reintegration' is easier for women, assumptions are changing and there is a greater understanding of women's gender-specific needs. Bob illustrated this greater understanding, noting in a conversation about the services his organisation provides that:

> *I think particularly in the early days [of Bob's community service operating] there has been a bias on parole boards, a bias on the way that Corrections work that actually most women will get a bed… and yes they might get a bed, but it's not necessarily the best bed for them. Um, you know whereas guys they struggle a little bit to get other accommodation on release. You know, but we don't want somebody to you know use their body to get a bed in an unsafe environment just because they don't want to be on the street.*

Although community agencies aim to help those leaving prison, the established programmes, spaces and systems can also become structural barriers to rehabilitation and intensify carceral controls (Balfour et al., 2018). Gibson (2022), for instance, has emphasised that despite occupying different spaces, community agencies are bound to prisons and the CJS as they often rely on the state for funding. As a result, community agencies have become an important part of maintaining control on behalf of the CJS (Balfour et al., 2018). Part of how they extend carceral control or act as a barrier to 'reintegration' is that the women continue to be spatially monitored and surveilled, often with the knowledge that if they do not cooperate they will likely be reimprisoned (Balfour et al., 2018; Gibson, 2022). For example, women's ability to access absolutely necessary amenities, such as living spaces or rehabilitation programmes, are dependent on their compliance with certain rules. When asked about what may influence the women in their care returning or not returning to prison, Bob replied:

> *So with the women coming through our service we might provide ah, a, accommodation and with that accommodation is rules, and the rules might be no drinking, or no alcohol. It could be no drugs, or no one staying overnight. Um, you've got to be tolerant towards people and, and there's all these sorts of things. Um, it's women that tend to break the rules the most.*

Bob notes that 'reintegration' rules may reflect law-abiding behaviours but also the policing of space or association (for example, in controlling who the women can see and what the women are able to do in their own space). Yet, making decisions for oneself and building positive relationships helps create lasting change (McIntosh, 2017).

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has showed that women are controlled, managed, and discriminated against throughout their journeys with the carceral continuum. Through this, I illustrated that the inequalities and discrimination women experience impact their lives and opportunities long after they have been imprisoned. Some of the ways that women experience discrimination in the carceral continuum are: intergenerational cycles of imprisonment, poverty and violence, dehumanisation, spatial policing and gender biases. Furthermore, spaces inside and outside of prison are interconnected and reflect the gendered and discriminatory nature of the carceral continuum. This is made evident by the fact that the discrimination women experience pre-prison is only made worse by the imprisonment process. Women experience discrimination throughout each step of their carceral journey. This indicates that there are a multitude of spaces that need to be focused on, not just the prisons if ANZ is to achieve SDG 5.

In the next chapter, I consider how and why arguments around international development are important to our thinking about criminal justice and prisons.

Chapter Seven: The Criminal Justice System and International Development

At the start of this thesis, I argued that incarceration is a development issue. More broadly, ANZ has committed to achieving the UN's SDGs, with the priorities of ending discrimination and achieving gender equality for all women and girls. Although in some areas (such as the number of women in parliament or the percentage of women with a school qualification or higher) ANZ is becoming more gender equal, the CJS is one significant area where discrimination and gendered inequalities continue to be widespread. As previous chapters have shown, imprisonment perpetuates inequalities and increases discrimination. This is because, prisons and more broadly the carceral continuum are systems of discrimination and oppression that reinforce: intergenerational cycles of poverty, violence and incarceration, gendered stereotypes, harmful narratives, and social exclusion. ANZ cannot achieve SDG 5 without ending discrimination within the CJS and creating a gender equal system.

In this chapter, I consider my findings in relation to wider development discourse, particularly in relation to discrimination. I discuss the three primary research questions that have guided this thesis. I start by exploring women's experiences and movements across carceral spaces and how the professional support workers understood and made sense of these movements. Following this, I discuss some ways professional support workers can be supported to reduce discrimination and provide some recommendations for creating a more gender equal CJS. Finally, I bring together the discussions and analysis to explore how ANZ's CJS operates to reduce discrimination, in alignment with good development policy and practice (SDG 5).

Women's Movements Across the Carceral Continuum and How These are Understood by Professional Support Workers

This thesis has illustrated that women experience discrimination throughout their journey within the carceral continuum, both over time and within different spaces.

This section discusses the research question "How do professionals working alongside women who are/have been in prison:

    a. Recognise relationships between women's carceral experiences and wider gendered and racialised inequalities?

    b. Understand women's movements through carceral and social spaces?

    c. Make sense of women's experiences in carceral spaces?"

Women in the carceral continuum are often categorised as one homogenous group with similar life experiences (Kale, 2020). However, women's carceral experiences reflect broader structural inequalities, such as poverty, violence, racism, and sexism that women experience outside the prison. A woman's journey in the carceral continuum must, therefore, be considered from an intersectional lens to represent the women's diverse histories and experiences and to acknowledge the broader intersecting context of inequality.

As the evidence presented in previous chapters shows, women in prison have largely been discriminated against throughout their lives and in a variety of spaces, even before they interacted with the CJS for the first time (such as through violence and poverty) (Bentley, 2014; Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Gibson, 2022; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; McIntosh & Workman, 2017; Russell et al., 2021). However, even when participants did reflect on the broader inequalities that women experience, it often came connected with a negative dominant narrative that positioned the women as the problem. The fact that women experience gendered and racialised inequalities through wider systems and structures that are not commonly thought about or discussed by participants indicates that the participants may not be consciously aware of how women's intersectional histories and experiences within the carceral continuum are related to these wider inequalities. For example, most participants did not comment on racialised inequalities despite wider literature and Corrections stating that racialised inequalities are important in the experiences women have inside the CJS.

Women's experiences and movements within the carceral continuum are seen as distinct and separate but they are not

The movement of women across carceral spaces reinforces the inequalities explored above, as the process of imprisonment reproduces discrimination and inequality.

Prisons are constructed to be physically and geographically distinct and separate spaces (in their built form and location). The myths, narratives, and practices (as demonstrated in the previous two chapters) present a version of prison that is seen as 'separate'. The narratives of the prison as a distinct place can fuel a complimentary narrative that those who are incarcerated are also distinct or separate. In this narrative, women's prior actions and life experiences are placed out of context. Long-lived relational, social, or economic factors are disregarded in favour of a view that women are 'problems to be solved'. By being put into prison the women are no longer seen as being part of wider systems of oppression and inequality.

Participants did not often articulate how women's experiences in different spaces influence their overall experiences in the carceral continuum, and how these impact one another. While participants talked about how women inside the CJS are often stuck in a cycle, there was no clear narrative about how spaces inside and outside of prison reinforce cycles of discrimination and carceral control. Understanding spaces to be different, and not overlapping or interacting with one another, meant it was commonly assumed that experiences within a particular space stop and have no further effect on that person when they leave that space. For example, participants noted that women experienced violence in their homes, or in their lives before imprisonment. However, this violence was referenced as greater than, and separate to, the violence the women may have experienced in prison. Additionally, many participants imagined that once women leave prison, the control they experienced inside stopped at the gate, and was not connected to, or carried with them, into their lives outside. There was little reflection of how multiple forms of violence – within and outside prison – compounded for women. However, the discriminatory institutional structures and systems women interact with throughout their carceral journey

perpetuate discrimination and gender inequality by creating unsafe spaces and exposing women to more violence.

While participants generally understood women's movement through carceral spaces to be separate and experientially distinct, they are not. The movement of women across carceral spaces connects imprisonment with the wider carceral continuum. Feminist geopolitics (the epistemology of this thesis) provides a way of analysing how different spaces such as women's homes, community settings and prisons influence and inform one another (Dowler & Sharp, 2001; Hyndman, 2004). Feminist geopolitical and criminology literature both establish that experiences across the carceral continuum (such as violence) are reproduced across multiple spaces (Hyndman, 2019; Massey, 1994; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020; Pain & Staeheli, 2014). For example, women who experience slow violence through the state, such as poverty and structural racism, are more likely to experience violence in the home or turn to violence as a tool for themselves (McIntosh and Curcic, 2020). They are more likely to be imprisoned, and to experience violence both during prison sentences and in their lives outside. Experiencing violence across the carceral continuum is one way that the line between being inside and outside prison is blurred (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020).

Women's experiences are understood differently depending on their closeness to professional support workers

There is a body of geographic literature that argues intimacy or closeness breeds compassion and warmth (Lawson, 2007; Massey, 2004; Mitchell, 2007; Raghuram, 2019). This phenomenon was apparent in my research with participants generally seeing that control of women in prison was needed and that punishments including imprisonment were sometimes required. However, when they focused on an individual woman's experience with imprisonment, control, or punishment (for example, the child removal story Bob shared on page 65/66) participants seemed less convinced of the necessity of such mechanisms. Here, they became more critical of the carceral continuum, perhaps as they had seen more closely the impacts imprisonment and wider carceral systems had on the women in their care.

Smith (1998) has noted that 'insiders' are commonly viewed differently to 'outsiders' (p. 18). Participants in this thesis viewed those they had less interaction with ('outsiders') as different to the women they were closer with ('insiders'). Having closer connections with women and being able to see the wider versions of their lives is one way to challenge gender discrimination within the carceral continuum. This suggests that spaces of confinement should be developed so that they foster closeness and connection and that ANZ's CJS should move away from discriminatory policies, systems, structures and approaches to incarceration that 'Other' women or that position them as 'outsiders'.

Feminist geopolitics, emphasises care and well-being of people as more important than state security and control (Hyndman, 2004). A CJS that is people centred, and focused on well-being, connection, connectivity, and community would align more with Māori justice (that prioritises relationality and community) and could shift the dominant correctional narratives that are focused on risk, security, and control to create a system built on care and relationality.

Opportunities for Reducing Gendered Inequalities within ANZ's Carceral Continuum

One of the key aspects of feminist research is that it promotes social justice and strives to change women's lives for the better (Moss, 2002). As illustrated throughout this thesis the professionals working alongside women in prison/who have been released from prison are influential in how women experience and move through the carceral continuum. This is because they provide care and support for women across different spaces, at often critical times (such as when 'reintegrating'). This is a challenging role. Based on this research, I have identified some ways that professionals working with women in the CJS can be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality and some additional recommendations for creating a more gender equal CJS. This addresses my second research question:

> "How could professional support workers be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality?"

Within the CJS collaborative working between the state and community groups can be problematic as it dilutes community potential, extends carceral surveillance, and community agencies are restricted by the state due to power imbalances (Balfour et al., 2018; Carlton & Segrave, 2016). Professional support workers, working in community organisations, NGOs or as volunteers often have very little protection, are generally poorly paid or not paid at all and have limited access to resources and funding. Often the resources and funding they do have access to are controlled by the state (Gibson, 2022). Those working inside the CJS but who are not employed by Corrections are therefore expected to comply with the state guidelines or risk their funding being cut. The underfunding of community organisations limits their ability to address or end discrimination and enhance gender equality as their resources are focused on staying afloat (Kale, 2020). However, there are a few opportunities for how professional support workers can be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality.

Community agencies could be resourced to be more aware of how they and their services contribute to the discrimination and inequality women experience. For example, and as illustrated throughout the previous chapters, professional support workers did not often reflect on their own assumptions, the language they used, or their approaches. However, dominant narratives and individual discriminatory actions are important ways that discrimination and gender inequality continue to be widespread within the CJS. As such, additional training and support could be provided for professional support workers for them to reflect on their assumptions, language, and approaches.

A potential way of supporting professional support workers to reflect on their practice could be for prison reform groups and other activist NGOs to connect with professional support workers and vice versa. Professional support workers hold a lot of power and are therefore influential in the discrimination and inequalities women continue to experience inside the CJS. The power that these professionals hold, could be used to help break down the dominant narratives and assumptions surrounding women in prison. Creating new narratives that are empowering and non-discriminatory could start from those working with the women and prison reform groups before spreading to mainstream society and the state. Although structural

change (such as non-discriminatory policies and approaches) is needed to achieve gender equality and end discrimination within the CJS, individual change is also needed.

Prisons produce and reproduce inequalities and discrimination for all those whose who move through them but especially for women (Carlton & Segrave, 2011, 2016; Russell et al., 2021). Therefore, I do not think that prisons could ever be gender equal spaces. For the CJS to ever become a gender-equal system that is free from discrimination several changes are needed. To start, the CJS would be people centred and community focused in which resources are spent on initiatives and interventions that help reduce wider inequalities and break the cycles of incarceration, violence, and poverty early on in life and *"Getting that ambulance at the top rather than the bottom" (Ruby).*

In recognition that professionals working inside the CJS are not able to create the structural changes needed to create a gender equal system, I have generated six recommendations for how the CJS could be a less discriminatory and more gender equal system. These recommendations are not necessary aimed at the state as I believe to create a truly gender-equal approach to criminal justice the state needs to be de-centred. The voices of people in prison, but particularly Māori voices, Māori justice, and community-based approaches must be prioritised.

The following recommendations are common within prison abolitionist/critical literature on women in prison. My research has therefore, confirmed these reflections and ideas. I acknowledge that many of these recommendations have been actioned as pilots or trials within ANZ's CJS. However, for real change to be achieved they need to become the predominant approaches in ANZ.

1. Ending gender-based discrimination and gender inequality needs to be prioritised within ANZ. In alignment with the SDGs this could include implementing frameworks that specifically focus on gender equality and that have tangible and actionable indicators.
2. Criminal justice policies and practices could focus on reducing the wider gendered and racialised inequalities women experience outside of prison

instead of focusing resources on the prison itself. These could include: more comprehensive strategies aimed at reducing gender-based violence, supporting women into employment, and creating safer spaces for women.

3. Community bases/centres could be funded outside of the prison. The 1989 Ministerial Inquiry into Prisons, identified a need for community-based habilitation centres that provide independent and therapeutic programmes within ANZ's criminal justice approach (Roper, 1989). Many participants articulated that these centres would be beneficial and could be used to both support women before going to prison, and as an alternative to imprisonment.

4. More widespread intensive wrap around support that is community led and free from surveillance and managerial control is needed for the women in the CJS as well as their families/whānau. Participants identified this as something that was vitally important for preventing further harm and breaking intergenerational cycles of imprisonment.

5. Current criminal justice policy and practice aimed at women in prison does not widely consider what the women, or those working closest to them, think is necessary when implementing changes. However, those 'on the ground' often have important insights into how to structurally improve unequal systems. The CJS could therefore, include women and professional support workers in decision-making processes.

6. To challenge the colonial nature of the CJS, as well as its discriminatory policies, structures and approaches to imprisonment and justice, Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine informed approaches could be adopted. These could include a greater shift to Māori justice and community-based justice models. Although there are examples of this happening such as, marae justice (restorative justice programme), and the Rangatahi (youth) courts, Indigenous models need to become the predominant approach.

This research has focused on identifying the gendered and racialised inequalities within ANZ's CJS. As such, a feminist research approach was adopted for its centring of women and focus on intersections such as race. Despite this, findings were predominantly concentrated on gendered, instead of racialised inequalities. However, as previously stated, majority of the female prison population is Māori. The importance of specifically focusing on Māori women has become even clearer after

completing this work. Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine informed approaches provide opportunities for future research.

Aligning Aotearoa New Zealand's Criminal Justice System with Good Development Policy and Practice Could Support Some of the Changes Needed

At the start of this thesis, I explored the history of gender equality and discrimination within international development discourse. There, I highlighted that development policy and practice has evolved over time from not considering women as separate to men, to being more inclusive, progressive, and representative of the diversity of women in development. This section explores whether ANZ's CJS is in alignment with good development policy and practice as well as why being aligned with development is crucial in achieving SDG 5 'Gender Equality', which aims to achieve gender equality for all women and girls by ending all forms of discrimination, by 2030. Within this section, I discuss my third research question:

> "How does Aotearoa New Zealand's criminal justice system operate to reduce discrimination, in alignment with good development policy and practice?"

Under the SDGs, governments are expected to establish national frameworks for achieving the goals (Ihimaera-Smiler, 2020). Although ANZ has created frameworks for other SDGs (such as the Climate Change Commission for SDG 13 'Climate Action'), ANZ has not done so for SDG 5. ANZ is considered a relatively gender equal country because it is in the Minority World and ranked fourth in the 2022 GGGR (World Economic Forum, 2022). Many of SDG 5 targets are therefore not a national priority. However, women within ANZ experience ongoing discrimination and inequality throughout their lives and, as shown in the previous two chapters, women held in prisons experience increased amounts of discrimination and inequality.

Parallels between the criminal justice system and gendered development policies

Many parallels can be seen between ANZ's CJS and the gendered development policy WID, which I introduced in Chapter Two. For example, WID and dominant CJS approaches tend to homogenise, categorise, and stereotype women, failing to

acknowledge intersecting life experiences or identity characteristics (Jaquette, 2017; Kale, 2020). These approaches produce and reproduce gendered and racialised inequalities. For example, the areas of ANZ's CJS that women interact with do not currently fully acknowledge the histories and life experiences of women in prison. Therefore, criminal justice policies continue to be developed without fully considering the women's perspectives, voices, and experiences. However, continuing to build upon unrepresentative policies only fails to engage with and understand the communities most affected (Jackson, 1990; Jan-Khan, 2003). By relying on stereotypes, assumptions and dominant narratives for new policy changes and developments women in prison continue to experience discrimination and inequalities.

Another way that the discrimination of women in the CJS parallels WID is that prisons are designed for men. For example, gender specific programmes, strategies and frameworks within the CJS remain male-centric and do not respond to the needs of women (Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Kale, 2020). As I argued throughout Chapter Three, within male-centric institutions progress towards gender equality is often only made through surface level changes that do not address the structural and systematic inequalities that specifically disadvantage women (Rathgeber, 1990). For example, Corrections' 2021-2025 women's strategy talks about being 'designed specifically for women' and 'based on evidence' (Department of Corrections, 2021, p. 10). However, evidence (from both wider literature and participants in this thesis) suggests that one of the most important things for women in prison, is their ability to see and connect with their children or to maintain personal relationships more widely (Carlton & Segrave, 2016; Gibson, 2022; McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Despite this being well known, Corrections has actively gone against this knowledge in practice. In September 2022 Corrections announced that sentenced women currently located in Arohata (near Wellington) would be moved to either Christchurch Women's Prison or Auckland Women's Regional Correctional Facility so that staff could be relocated to cover staff shortages at Rimutaka Men's Prison (Radio New Zealand, 2022; Stuff Media, 2022). Women have been moved further from their families/whānau and children, despite closer proximity to family/whānau and support being vitally important to their wellbeing and rehabilitation. This decision not only highlights the disproportionate harms on women

and their families/whānau, but also shows that women's needs have once again been side-lined for those of men and of Corrections.

Despite the evidence that gender-responsive models and gender-specific environments are required in how we respond to crimes, very few changes have been made to achieve these ends. International development has extensive experience in developing policies and practices to guide such activities and could be used to inform more appropriate responses. Above I discussed two ways that the current CJS compares with WID. In Table 7.1 below, I compare a variety of other ways the CJS currently operates and how it could be improved if informed by the gender development policy, GAD. This table identifies some of the key concepts that were introduced in Table 2.1 in Chapter Two.

The below table has been created, not to show how GAD solutions can be implemented within the boundaries of a continuing prison system, but to reflect on what GAD can offer criminological thinking in terms of moving away from a prison-based criminal justice model.

Table 7.1: Revisiting the Criminal Justice System through WID and GAD frameworks.

Parallels between WID and the CJS	GAD presents opportunities for change
• ANZ's police currently stereotype and categorise women based on racist and sexist biases (Hendy, 2021). This results in the over criminalisation of Māori women (Quince, 2010).	• GAD recognises that women experience oppression differently depending on intersectional differences (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Struckmann, 2018). ANZ's police could adopt this framework so that women's intersectional experiences are considered.
• The CJS does little to address the root causes of inequality, especially as imprisonment only increases inequalities and discrimination (Carlton & Segrave, 2011, 2016; Russell et al., 2021).	• GAD emerged out of concerns that unequal power relations and gendered systems of inequality were not being addressed (Momsen, 2004). GAD could provide criminology a way of addressing the structural causes of gender

	inequality, and redefining gendered roles, expectations, stereotypes, and biases within mainstream society.
• The current CJS model is based around inserting women into male-centric spaces, institutions, and processes without fully considering the differences between men and women (Bartlett & Hollins, 2018; Carlton & Segrave, 2011).	• Prisons are masculine spaces. GAD encourages people to think about more than just inserting women into male-centric policies, practices and structures (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015). Therefore, GAD presents an opportunity to move away from prisons to create women-centric structures, such as community centres that directly address women's needs.
• The CJS currently removes women from their family/whānau, support networks and children despite knowing these connections are vitally important for their wellbeing.	• GAD does not view women in isolation but connected to others around them (Jaquette, 2017). Understanding the importance of supportive connections and keeping women in the community could help reduce women ever coming into contact with the CJS.
• The CJS tries to incorporate Indigenous knowledge and practices (such as, Māori justice) into colonial justice but within the constraints of an ongoing prison based CJS (Department of Corrections, 2021).	• GAD considers Indigenous feminisms and local knowledge important for development (Jaquette, 2017). ANZ's CJS could adopt this approach and move towards a prison free CJS that favours Māori justice.

As illustrated above, ANZ's CJS does not currently align with good development policy and practice as it continues to discriminate against women and in turn reinforces gendered and racialised inequalities. Therefore, development policies such as GAD can add to how ANZ approaches criminal justice and the carceral continuum more broadly as it encourages the representation and inclusion of women in decision-making processes, policy, and practice. For example, GAD could: help the police move away from stereotyping and categorising women, establish community-based alternatives to prison, keep women closer to their support

networks, address the structural causes of gender inequality and move towards Māori forms of justice.

Although GAD provides some possible ways for the CJS to move away from state control and imprisonment, it has received criticisms. Therefore, adopting GAD frameworks into criminological work needs be done with a critical lens, that prioritises the needs, rights, and wellbeing of women.

What would it look like for Aotearoa New Zealand's criminal justice system to be aligned with good development policy and practice?

As previously discussed, a key criticism of mainstream international development discourse is that it largely focuses on countries in the Majority World. However, this fails to recognise the inequalities and discrimination within one's own country. Within ANZ, gender-specific policies and practices aimed at gender equality often do not consider international development frameworks. However, this is a missed opportunity as even though such frameworks are imperfect, they reflect over fifty years of concerted efforts to address gender inequality and discrimination. Development policies such as GAD, are based on principles of inclusion and representation that challenge patriarchal systems and structures. Therefore, creating policies within ANZ that uphold these principles could help both, ANZ's CJS operate in less discriminatory ways and aid ANZ's progress towards achieving SDG 5.

Fully achieving SDG 5 'Gender Equality' is not possible without gender equality being prioritised at local, community and personal levels and without systems that monitor and enforce change. A CJS that operates to reduce discrimination is a possible way of enforcing this change. Being informed by lived experience presents an opportunity for criminal justice policy and practice. This is because top-down approaches actively exclude local and Indigenous voices. Working from the bottom-up, by actioning the concerns of women within the CJS will help create policies that directly respond to the needs of women and that are actively designed to combat the inequalities and discrimination they have experienced in their lives. Achieving SDG 5 will require both top-down and bottom-up approaches to ensure that women on the

ground are represented in structures, strategies, and decision-making processes aimed at ending discrimination and achieving gender equality within the CJS.

A CJS that incorporates good development policy and practice provides an opportunity for this system to avoid the criticisms of mainstream development. Mainstream development is often centred around power even to its detriment (Sultana, 2018). Within ANZ's settler-colonial context, it is important to understand and address legacies of colonisation and the power imbalances that have resulted from colonisation when learning from and implementing development policies and practices. ANZ's CJS is a colonial one. Many of the policies, practices and institutions within the system are racialised, encourage racialisation, and inadequately respond to racial inequalities both in mainstream society and within the CJS (McIntosh & Curcic, 2020). Corrections is aware of this; however, adequate steps have not been taken to ensure these inequalities are restructured or that encourage the prioritisation of Māori justice.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relevance of this thesis to wider international development and criminology literature. It has done this by exploring how the findings from the previous two chapters connect back to development studies and answering this thesis' key research questions. The CJS does not currently align with good development policy and practice which encourages the representation and inclusion of women in decision making processes, policy, and practice. This provides a lost opportunity for ANZ. A greater focus on good development policy and practice would increase the focus on grounded, embedded approaches. It would support a greater focus on the principles of te Tiriti and focus on adopting principles of Māori justice that counter dominant colonial systems and practices by being community-based, people-centred and focused on relationality. It would support a more inclusive approach in which the lived experience of women is reflected in policy and practice across the carceral continuum, and which takes account of the gendered and racialised inequalities they may have experienced throughout their lives.

International development has experience creating policies and practices that respond to discrimination and gender inequality. By adopting some of these approaches, ANZ could recreate its CJS as a more gender equal one in which the needs of women, their children, and their families/whānau are paramount and in which the focus moves away from prisons and imprisonment to supporting all women to achieve their potential.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Thesis Review

Guided by a feminist geopolitical epistemology and using a feminist methodology, this thesis explored how discrimination and inequality are manifest within ANZ's CJS. It drew on the observations and perspectives of some professional support workers working alongside women who have been or who are in prison to illustrate dominant narratives and power relations at work. As a thesis in development studies, it argued that incarceration is a development issue and examined whether ANZ's CJS aligns with good development policy and practice aiming to achieve SDG 5; the ending of discrimination against women and girls and gender equality for all.

At the beginning of this thesis, I analysed how international development and criminology literature come together to provide a foundation for analysing gender inequality across the carceral continuum and how women are discriminated against throughout this journey. Through the findings chapters I argued that women within the CJS are not only discriminated against and controlled throughout their lives but that dominant narratives within mainstream society impact how women experience the CJS and how they are treated throughout the continuum. Finally, the discussion chapter explored the research questions of this thesis. It discussed how workers understood the women's experience in carceral spaces, how professional support workers can be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality, recommendations for creating a more gender equal CJS, and how ANZ's CJS operates to reduce discrimination in alignment with good development policy and practice.

Research Questions and Key Findings

This research sought to understand the cyclical nature of female incarceration, its relationship to discrimination and ongoing gender inequality as well as to generate recommendations to reduce gender discrimination in the CJS and improve gender equitable outcomes. To explore the above, the following questions were generated. These questions were discussed more thoroughly in the previous chapter. Here I

briefly outline the answers for each of these accompanied by this thesis' key findings (table 8.1 below).

Table 8.1: Summary findings against research questions.

Question	Summary Finding
1. How do professionals working alongside women who are/have been in prison: a. Recognise relationships between women's experiences and wider gendered and racialised inequalities?	Women in prison have been discriminated against throughout their lives and in a variety of spaces, even before they interacted with the CJS for the first time. However, even when participants did reflect on the broader inequalities that women experience, it often came connected with a negative dominant narrative that positioned the women as the problem. Women experience gendered and racialised inequalities through wider systems and structures that were not commonly thought about or discussed by participants. Thus, indicating that the participants may not be consciously aware of how women's intersectional histories and experiences within the carceral continuum are related to these wider inequalities (such as racialised inequalities).
b. Understand women's movements through carceral spaces?	Despite literature stating that different carceral spaces are not separate, participants did not reflect on how they are connected, or how these connections impacted on women's experiences or movements. Therefore, participants largely reflected on women's movements through carceral spaces to be separate, individualised, and necessary. While participants talked about how women inside the CJS are often stuck in a cycle, there was no clear narrative about how spaces inside and outside of prison reinforce cycles of discrimination and carceral control. Understanding spaces to be different, and not overlapping or interacting with one another, meant it was commonly assumed that experiences within a particular space stop and have no further effect on that person when they leave that space.
c. Make sense of women's	Participants in this research generally saw that control of women in prison was needed and that punishments

experiences in carceral spaces?	including imprisonment were sometimes required. However, when they focused on an individual woman's experience with imprisonment, control, or punishment (for example, removal of a child) they seemed less convinced of the necessity of such mechanisms. Here, they became more critical of the carceral continuum, perhaps as they had seen more closely the impacts imprisonment and wider carceral systems had on the women in their care. Having closer connections with women and being able to see the wider versions of their lives is one way to challenge gender discrimination within the carceral continuum. This suggests that spaces of confinement should be developed so that they foster closeness and connection.
2. How could professional support workers be supported to end discrimination and enhance gender equality?	Community agencies could be resourced to be more aware of how they and their services contribute to the discrimination and inequality women experience. For example, and as illustrated throughout the previous chapters, professional support workers did not often reflect on their own assumptions, the language they used, or their approaches. However, dominant narratives and individual discriminatory actions are important ways that discrimination and gender inequality continue to be widespread within the CJS. As such, additional training and support could be provided for professional support workers for them to reflect on their assumptions, language, and approaches.
3. How does Aotearoa New Zealand's criminal justice system operate to reduce discrimination, in alignment with good development policy and practice?	ANZ's CJS does not align with good development policy and practice, which encourages the representation and inclusion of women in decision making processes, policy, and practice. This provides a lost opportunity for ANZ. A greater focus on good development policy and practice would increase the focus on grounded, embedded approaches. It would support a greater focus on the principles of te Tiriti and focus on adopting principles of Māori justice that counter dominant colonial systems and practices by being community-based, people-centred and focused on relationality. It would support a more inclusive

	approach in which the lived experiences of women are reflected in policy and practice across the carceral continuum, and which takes account of the gendered and racialised inequalities they may have experienced throughout their lives.

Key findings

Below I have outlined the key findings of this research. Many of the recommendations in the previous chapter were generated in response to these findings.

1. Despite the material and geographic separation of prisons, ANZ's CJS is not homogenous, unitary or separate from wider spaces in society. Spaces across the carceral continuum interact with and inform one another which results in the intergenerational and cyclical engagements of some women within it.
2. Dominant narratives within the CJS work to preserve an illusion of separate spaces, which overlook important gendered and racialised inequalities.
3. Greater recognition needs to be given to the dismantling of binaries, such as those for gender, or inside/outside prison in the journey towards creating a non-discriminatory and gender equal CJS.
4. Dominant narratives perpetuate gendered inequalities and increase discrimination against women in ANZ's CJS as they produce and reproduce gender biases, stereotypes, roles, and expectations.
5. Discrimination has been engrained in the CJS through reoccurring policies, practices and dominant narratives. This highlights that it is not only individuals who experience the continuing nature of carcerality but that the prison as an institution is part of a structural cycle also.
6. Prisons are not designed for women and do not cater to their needs. As shown through this research, prisons are violent spaces that fail to rehabilitate or reform those who are held within them. Programmes, conditions and treatments in prisons do not cater to women's specific needs. Despite this, participants mostly believed that prison was necessary for the women inside.

7. Participants to this research often held women individually responsible for their imprisonment, despite the wider systems of inequality, criminalisation and discrimination that structure their lives.
8. Women are discriminated against, controlled, and managed throughout their journey within the carceral continuum. This contributes to increased gender inequality and layers of victimisation.
9. Understanding prison as either safe or unsafe fails to acknowledge the control, violence and punishment exerted on women both inside and outside of prison
10. Criminalised women are often dehumanised and subject to racism. This contributes to logics of increased security and risk containment towards them, across CJS responses.

ANZ's CJS is a complex and heterogeneous system within which professional support workers are under-resourced, highly committed, and caring. In addition, their actions are highly constrained. The findings above are therefore presented not to analyse or comment on any of the individuals themselves. Rather in an attempt to attend to power relations within the wider colonial and neoliberal systems of which they are positioned. Participants were often ambivalent in their responses, contradicted themselves and switched between what is done, what they wish could happen, and how they spoke of the women. The professional support workers are doing the best they can under challenging conditions. My work is not positioned to criticise them but is something that resources more reflective practice in relation to language, power, and possibilities to agitate for change.

This study has demonstrated that ANZ's CJS is a cyclical and unequal system that discriminates against women, not just while they are inside the prison but in the wider spaces that occupy the carceral continuum. As a result of these ongoing inequalities, ANZ is not on track to achieving SDG 5 'Gender Equality'. This makes incarceration a development issue and an area that ANZ should prioritise moving forward.

Future Research

The findings of this thesis support what wider literature has found about women's experiences with the carceral continuum. Despite this study's contribution to the research related to female incarceration and gender inequality within ANZ's CJS, there is still a need for more female-focused research on women who are criminalised and who are targeted for criminal justice controls, including prison.

One area for future research could be to more closely analyse the relationship between religious faith and those working inside the CJS. Seven out of eleven participants were religious and many of the organisations that are allowed to enter and operate within prisons or establish community reintegration programmes are faith-based. Some of the participants in this thesis credited religion or the Bible as their reason for entering prison work, I believe there are rich discussions to be had on the role of connection, love, and salvation in how we respond to those who are incarcerated.

Additionally, it would be beneficial to explore similar themes with other professional workers who are employed by Corrections to discover if the narratives and power relations at work in this thesis are replicated or challenged. Some research has been completed in this space, such as Bowling's (2022) thesis that focuses on Māori former prison officers. However, more research is needed in this space.

Finally, much more research with women who are in/have been in prison is needed. It is vital to learn from the experts (those who are incarcerated) and to inform prison reform and abolition. As identified in the previous chapter, Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine informed approaches could provide important insights into the specifics of Māori women's needs and experiences.

Closing Statement

While completing this thesis, it has saddened me to hear the realities many women face within the CJS and to know that this system perpetuates discrimination and inequality. The CJS is a system that generally operates out of sight and is largely talked about favourably within mainstream society. Exploring this system and

understanding the gender discrimination within it, in order to contribute in some small way to improving gender equitable outcomes has therefore, provided me a way of thinking more critically about this system, its structure, policies, and practices and how it influences and interacts with other state systems. Even though ANZ is a 'developed' country that may not think it necessary to implement policies and practices that respond to the SDGs, it must. Gender inequality and discrimination continue to be pervasive. Until widespread structural and societal changes are encouraged and implemented, women within the CJS will continue to experience marginalisation, discrimination, and deprivation more than other social groups, and this needs to change.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Research Information Sheet

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

How do those who work with women who have been in prison understand movement through carceral spaces?

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (KEY WORKERS)

Tēnā koe
You are invited to take part 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 / Ko wai ahau?

Ko Tangi Te Keo te maunga e rū nei taku ngākau
Ko Owhiro te awa e mahea nei aku māharahara
Nō Te Whanganui-a-tara ahau
E mihi ana ki ngā tohu o nehe, o Te Whanganui-a-tara e noho nei au
Ko Meg Ward tōku ingoa
Nō reirā, tēnā koe

My name is Meg Ward and I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. I am not Māori, however, I have introduced myself with a Pākehā pepeha, this is not because I am claiming ownership of the land but because I feel connected to it. This research project works towards my thesis which focuses on the cycle of female imprisonment in Aotearoa New Zealand.

What is the aim of the project / He aha te whāinga mō tēnei rangahau?

This project explores the issue of gender inequality in Aotearoa New Zealand's women's prisons. Paying specific attention to the experiences of the workers that work alongside women who have been in prison. There is little research on women in prison, I hope that my research findings will help us understand how those that work with women who have been in prison think about the criminal justice system, what role gender plays, and what can be improved.

Your participation will support this research by providing background knowledge and expert accounts of the experience of working with women who have left prison.

This research has been approved by the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee RM application ID: 0000030014.

How can you help / Ka pēhea tō āwhina mai?

You have been invited to participate because of your experience working with women who have been released from prison in Aotearoa New Zealand. If you agree to take part, I will ask you

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questions about your experiences of working with women who have been in prison and how prison impacts those women post-release. More specifically I would like to hear your thoughts on the cycle of women's imprisonment.

If you agree to take part I will interview you over Zoom. Although I would have liked to interview you face-to-face, Zoom is the more responsible approach given the COVID-19 pandemic. The interview will take around 90 minutes. I will audio and video record the interview with your permission and write it up later.

You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 1st July 2022. If you withdraw the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you and not included in any academic publications nor my final thesis.

What will happen to the information you give / Ka ahatia ngā kōrero ka tukuna mai?

This research is confidential. This means that all the research data will be combined and summarised together and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. I will be attentive to ensure that no specific details will be used that could be identifiable 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 completion of this study (3rd December 2024).

If you like, I will provide you with a copy of your transcribed interview which you are welcome to make comments on. Upon completion of my research, I can provide you with a summary of the thesis also.

What will the project produce / He aha ngā hua o te rangahau?

The information from my research will be used in my Master's thesis. There is also a possibility that I may use the findings for academic publications or conferences if the opportunity arises during my degree or in the year following.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant / Ki te whakaae mai koe, he aha ō mōtika hei kaitautoko i tēnei rangahau?

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;
• ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
• withdraw from the study before 1st July 2022;
• ask any questions about the study at any time;
• receive a copy of your interview transcript;
• read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
• be able to read any reports of this research by contacting the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact / Mehemea ngā pātai, he raruraru rānei, me whakapā ki a wai?

If you have any questions or concerns, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact me. You may also contact either of my supervisors at any time.

<u>**Student:**</u>

Name: Meg Ward

Email: Meg.Ward@vuw.ac.nz

<u>**Supervisor 1:**</u>

Name: Prof Sara Kindon

Role: Academic Supervisor

School: Geography, Environment and Earth Science

Phone:

Email: Sara.Kindon@vuw.ac.nz

<u>**Supervisor 2:**</u>

Name: Prof Elizabeth Stanley

Role: Academic Supervisor

School: Social and Cultural Studies

Phone:

Email: Elizabeth.Stanley@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information / He kōrero whakamārama mō HEC

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington HEC Convenor by emailing hec@vuw.ac.nz

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Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

How do those who work with women who have been in prison understand movement through carceral spaces?

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW (KEY WORKERS)

This consent form will be held for two years.

Researcher: Meg Ward, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, He Herenga Waka 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 a video and audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study at any point before 1st July 2022, and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on the 3rd December 2024.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisors.
- The findings may be used for a Master's thesis and possibly for academic publications and presentations at conferences.
- The notes, recordings, and transcripts will be kept confidential to the researcher and the 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 copy of the transcript of my interview.   Yes o   No o

- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email   Yes o   No o
  address below.

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Appendix C: Interview Questions

1. **I'd like to start by finding out a little more about you, could you please tell me a bit about yourself, your age, ethnicity, and gender, as well as your role and the work your organisation does?**

   <u>Prompts throughout the answer</u>
   a) Demographics (age, ethnicity, gender)
   b) What types of people do you work with? Men? Women?
   c) How long have you worked with these people?
   d) Please tell me about how you came to work here
   e) Why did you come to work with these people?
   f) What is the best thing about working with the women?

Thanks for sharing your background with me, now we will move to questions focused on the women you have worked with. Depending on how you would like to approach these questions, it may help to think of one or two stories you've experienced or if you prefer you could think more generally.

2. **Please tell me about the background experiences of women who are in prison that you have worked with.**

   The sort of thing I'm thinking of here could be how they ended up in prison, and what their life was like before they went to prison.

   <u>Prompts throughout the story (to be used if needed)</u>
   a) What are their general experiences in relation to different state systems? (Justice/Corrections, Education, MSD/Welfare, Child, Youth and Family/Oranga Tamariki, Health)
   b) Did they have early interactions with these systems? (e.g., through family/whanau involvement)
   c) What would be the impact of interacting with these systems?
   d) Have you observed any inequalities that are reinforced or worsened through the interaction with the state systems you've mentioned?
   e) Speaking from your professional experiences how does gender influence a person's interactions with state systems?
   f) Have you observed any unequal distribution of resources or oppression from the systems we have been talking about?

3. **From your experience of working with women in prison what have you observed of the prisons themselves? Thinking about how they operate and what their impact is on the women you've worked with.**

> **If you have not seen inside the prisons what do you understand of them from those you have worked with.**

Prompts throughout the story (to be used if needed)

a) Have you got any reflections on the control mechanisms, punishments or interventions used in prison?

b) What do you think of the programmes offered to women inside prison?

c) What role (if any) does gender play in the treatment of women while inside prison?

d) What inequalities are reinforced/ maintained or worsened as a result of the design of prison spaces?

4. **We've talked about prison and their operation, now I'm interested in exploring how other agencies operate within the prisons? What is their role?**

> **Here I'm thinking about state agencies/ systems or communities agencies like your own.**

Prompts throughout the story (to be used if needed)

a) Which state agencies or community agencies (like your own) enter the prisons to work with those inside?

b) How often do women in prison interact with these agencies?

c) What inequalities are reinforced/ maintained or worsened as a result of agencies' actions?

d) What do you think of the agencies that work inside prison? How effective are they? What makes them effective?

5. **What do you think of the support available for women once they have left prison?**

> Prompts throughout the story (to be used if need.

a) What state agencies or community agencies (like your own) are available for women after their release?

b) Do women have to find these agencies or do the agencies find them?

c) What are the general experiences of women in relation to their release from prison?

d) Could you tell me what you think about the extended supervisions and controls used within the criminal justice system? (Thinking about probation, extensive supervision, home detention)

6. **So following on from what you've just shared with me I'm interested in knowing more about how prison continues to impact the women you have worked with once they have been released from prison.**

a) You've mentioned mainly positive/ negative impacts of prison is there anything else from the other side?

7. **What do you think the stories and experiences you've shared with me today tell us about the current criminal justice system, and how it specifically impacts on women?**

8. **Reflecting on what you've explored for me today, do you think the criminal justice system responds appropriately to women's specific needs?**

> Follow up questions/ prompts (to be used if needed)

a) What works well to support these women's needs?

b) What work still has to happen?

c) What would you say are the gendered differences (experiences and needs) between the men and women you work with?

d) Do you have any reflections on how these gendered differences are seen across the criminal justice system?

9. **How do you think the criminal justice system responds to the needs of women who experience marginalisation for more than just their gender? (e.g., Māori women, Pasifika women, women with disabilities, transgender women, people who identify as non-binary)**
   a) How does this differ from those who identify as Pākehā women?
   b) Within the system what works well to meet the needs of these women?
   c) What work needs to be done to respond to the specific needs of these women?

10. **Based on your experience, if funding was not an issue what should be done to improve the experiences women have before, during and after their imprisonment?**

11. **Are there any other experiences or information that you would like to share with me that you think is important or that has been missed?**

Appendix D: Collated Mind-maps from Interviews

Before Prison

- Crime provides more money
- Oranga Tamariki
- MSD
- Interactions with the state
- Fear
- Women women poorly educated
- Multiple offences before incarcerated
- Sex work
- Low self esteem
- Sexual violence/ assult
- Trauma
- Abuse
- Domestic violence
- Petty theft
- Gangs
- Drugs
- Small crimes
- Dysfunctional families
- Women are victims
- Come from crime families
- Violent offending
- Childhood neglect

During Prison

- Fear
- Safe
- Secure
- Relaxed
- Bored
- PARS
- Dress for Success
- Reading services
- Counselling
- Restful
- Education programmes
- Cultural programmes
- Drug treatment
- Usable programmes were effective
- Doctor
- Connection
- Kowhiritanga
- Positive relationships
- Self care units
- Chaplaincy services
- Skills based programmes
- Inequality made worse
- Routine
- Some case workers are positive
- WINZ
- Short sentences
- Drug treatment worse now
- No support when entering prison
- Oranga Tamariki
- Prison staff
- Not enough counsellors
- Prisons are inaccesisble

After Prison

- Fearful of probation
- WINZ
- MSD
- Oranga Tamariki
- Most women on benefits
- Probation
- Fear
- PARS
- Gap when leaving prison
- Controlled by probation
- Salvation Army
- AA
- Good release plans
- Lack of love
- Employment
- Seeing children
- Goals
- Religion
- Unemployment
- Out the gate
- Reintegration services
- Jobs
- Community support
- Societal prejudice
- Negative friends
- No support
- Positive friend, family and support
- Employment stigma
- Negative relationship
- No accommodation
- Long term accommodation
- Domestic violence
- Long term support

Key for Appendix D

State agencies interacted with	Community agencies interacted with

Average programme inside prison	Life before prison

Beneficial prison programmes	Important for successful release

Emotion felt by the women	Positive aspect of prison

Negative aspect of prison	Results in re-imprisonment