



**Navigating Intimate Trans Citizenship while Incarcerated in Australia and the US**

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| Abstract:        | <p>Trans women incarcerated throughout the world have been described as “vulnerable populations” due to significant victimization, mistreatment, lack of gender-affirming care, and human rights violations, which confers greater risk of trauma, self-harm, and suicide compared with the general incarcerated population. Most incarceration settings around the world are segregated by the person’s sex characteristics (i.e., male or female) and governed by strong cis and gender normative paradigms. This analysis seeks to better understand and appreciate how the ‘instructions’ and the ‘authorities’ that regulate trans women’s corporeal representation, housing options and sense of self-determination implicate and affect their agency and actions in handling intimacies related to their personal life. Drawing upon lived incarcerated experiences of 24 trans women in Australia and the US, and employing Ken Plummer’s notion of intimate citizenship, this analysis explores how trans women navigate choices and ways ‘to do’ gender, identities, bodies, emotions, desires and relationships while incarcerated in men’s prisons and governed by cis and gender normative paradigms. This critical analysis contributes to understanding how incarcerated trans women through grit, resilience, and ingenuity still navigate ways to embody, express and enact their intimate citizenship in innovative and unique ways.</p> |

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7 **Navigating Intimate Trans Citizenship while**  
8 **Incarcerated in Australia and the US**  
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## Abstract

Trans women incarcerated throughout the world have been described as “vulnerable populations” due to significant victimization, mistreatment, lack of gender-affirming care, and human rights violations, which confers greater risk of trauma, self-harm, and suicide compared with the general incarcerated population. Most incarceration settings around the world are segregated by the person’s sex characteristics (i.e., male or female) and governed by strong cis and gender normative paradigms. This analysis seeks to better understand and appreciate how the ‘instructions’ and the ‘authorities’ that regulate trans women’s corporeal representation, housing options and sense of self-determination implicate and affect their agency and actions in handling intimacies related to their personal life. Drawing upon lived incarcerated experiences of 24 trans women in Australia and the US, and employing Ken Plummer’s notion of *intimate citizenship*, this analysis explores how trans women navigate choices and ways ‘to do’ gender, identities, bodies, emotions, desires and relationships while incarcerated in men’s prisons and governed by cis and gender normative paradigms. This critical analysis contributes to understanding how incarcerated trans women through grit, resilience, and ingenuity still navigate ways to embody, express and enact their intimate citizenship in innovative and unique ways.

## Key Words

trans women, incarceration, intimate citizenship, agency, Australia, USA

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Incarcerated trans persons, trans women especially, are commonly characterized as “vulnerable populations” (Brown, 2014, p. 339) that experience significant inequalities and numerous violations including but not limited to lack of gender-affirming care, various forms of harassment and assault, and in some cases, erasure of their gender (Brömdal, Clark, et al., 2019; Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2016; Phillips et al., 2020; Sumner & Sexton, 2016; White Hughto et al., 2018). Worldwide, carceral institutions explicitly seek to govern, control and dictate how incarcerated trans women engage within the carceral setting - with the carceral system and staff, and other incarcerated persons. Albeit embedded within a narrative and ethos of optimizing safety and security,

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3 policies and practices based upon (hetero/cis)normative frameworks are implemented that  
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5 in effect work to restrict the ways trans women express, enact, and embody their *intimate*  
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7 *citizenship* whilst incarcerated (Rosenberg, 2017; Rosenberg & Oswin, 2015; Sumner &  
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9 Sexton, 2016).

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11  
12 As critical analysts, trans rights scholars, allies and clinicians, including trans  
13  
14 people with lived experience of incarceration, we are concerned with the ways in which  
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16 trans women navigate being, belonging and relationships within men's incarceration  
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18 settings, often characterized as hyper-masculinized and hyper-sexualized environments  
19  
20 (Rosenberg & Oswin, 2015). Although trans men and gender diverse persons in carceral  
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22 settings are also of concern, our paper focuses on trans women as they are  
23  
24 disproportionately affected by discrimination, violence and other forms of victimization  
25  
26 restricting their access to material and financial resources, including employment and  
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28 housing, translating to some trans women turning to street economies and sex work for  
29  
30 economic survival (Garofalo et al., 2006; Grant et al., 2011; Hugtto et al., 2018).  
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32 Collectively these experiences, coupled with biased policing practices (Grant et al., 2011;  
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34 Wolff & Cokely, 2007), place trans women at higher risk of arrest and incarceration  
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36 (Hugtto et al., 2018; Sevelius & Jenness, 2017). Once incarcerated in men's settings in  
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38 both Australia and the US, trans women are at significant risks of experiencing sexual  
39  
40 and physical abuse, harassment, assault and indifference where their femininity is both  
41  
42 devalued and routinely punished (Brömdal, Mullens, et al., 2019; Grant et al., 2011;  
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44 Lynch & Bartels, 2017; White Hugtto et al., 2018; Wilson et al., 2017). In light of the  
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46 many significant harms incarcerated trans women experience while serving their sentence  
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3 in men's settings and drawing on Ken Plummer's concept of intimate citizenship (1995,  
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5 2003, 2005) this analysis seeks to better understand

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7  
8 the decisions [trans women] have to make around *the control (or not)* over  
9  
10 one's body, feelings, relationships; *access (or not)* to representations,  
11  
12 relationships, public spaces, etc.; and *socially grounded choices (or not)*  
13  
14 *about* identities, gender experiences, erotic experiences. It does not imply one  
15  
16 model, or pattern or one way (Plummer, 1995, p. 151) (emphasis original).  
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22 Employing the aforementioned notion of intimate citizenship, this cross-national piece  
23  
24 seeks to critically analyze the ways in which strong cis and gender normative policies,  
25  
26 and sense of self-determination collectively implicate and affect trans women's agency  
27  
28 and actions in navigating intimacies, in settings, that by design, restrict trans women's  
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30 opportunities and choices with respect to their "personal life" and self-determination  
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32 (Plummer, 2005, p. 77). To this end this paper is framed by the following research  
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34 question exploring:  
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39 In the context of cis and gender normative paradigms, how do incarcerated  
40  
41 trans women navigate intimate citizenship and choose what to do with their  
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43 gender, bodies, identities, representations, emotions, desires and relationships  
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45 in Australia and the US?  
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50 As such, this analysis seeks to demonstrate how trans women navigate ways to embody,  
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52 express, and enact their intimate citizenship through the ways in which they "choose"  
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54 what they "do" with their gender, bodies, identities, representations, emotions, desires  
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3 and relationships while incarcerated in men's settings in innovative and original ways.  
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### 5 **Incarceration of trans persons**

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8 Trans women are disproportionately incarcerated in Australia and the US compared to the  
9  
10 general population (Brömdal, Mullens, et al., 2019; Grant et al., 2011; Lynch & Bartels,  
11  
12 2017; Van Hout et al., 2020; White Hughto et al., 2018; Wilson et al., 2017). In the US,  
13  
14 the lifetime estimates of trans women being incarcerated range from 19%-65% across  
15  
16 studies (Garofalo et al., 2006; Grant et al., 2011; Reisner et al., 2014), compared to  
17  
18 approximately 2.5% of the general population (Maruschak & Minton, 2020). In Australia,  
19  
20 the number of trans women who have been incarcerated is difficult to ascertain as no  
21  
22 large-scale survey has been conducted, including lack of transparent and publicly  
23  
24 available data. Of the limited available information, it is estimated that less than 1% of  
25  
26 the Australian prison population identify as trans (Australian Institute of Health and  
27  
28 Welfare, 2015; Butler & Simpson, 2017; Lynch & Bartels, 2017). Through a Right to  
29  
30 Information process, the team nevertheless gained information on the overall number of  
31  
32 trans persons incarcerated in Queensland, Australia between 2014 and 2020. This process  
33  
34 revealed 68 trans persons (unclear how many of these are trans women) had been  
35  
36 incarcerated, with several of them experiencing multiple incarcerations in-and-out of the  
37  
38 prison system. In light of the cyclical nature of incarceration and release, including the  
39  
40 elevated risk and vulnerability of trans women in men's prisons, some trans women may  
41  
42 elect to not disclose their trans history, collectively leading to underreporting and  
43  
44 counting of incarcerated trans persons and trans women (White Hughto et al., 2018).  
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51 Incarceration settings around the world, including Australia and the US, generally  
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53 segregate and place people in either male or female facilities according to their legal sex  
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3 (i.e., male or female) and more specifically their genitalia rather than gender identity  
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5 (Brömdal, Mullens, et al., 2019; Kilty, 2020; Sevelius & Jenness, 2017; Van Hout et al.,  
6  
7 2020; White Hughto et al., 2018). Hence, trans women who have not engaged in the legal  
8  
9 process of affirming gender through gender-affirmation surgery (e.g., vaginoplasty,  
10  
11 orchiectomy) are generally placed in men's settings, regardless of where they wish to be  
12  
13 housed. As a result, trans women across the globe incarcerated in men's settings report  
14  
15 experiencing violence, abuse, harassment and assault in correctional settings (Brömdal,  
16  
17 Mullens, et al., 2019; Rosenberg & Oswin, 2015; Van Hout et al., 2020). Although much  
18  
19 of this mistreatment occurs at the hands of fellow incarcerated individuals (James et al.,  
20  
21 2016), mistreatment is also perpetrated by correctional staff and healthcare providers  
22  
23 (Clark et al., 2017; Grant et al., 2011). Trans women incarcerated in male settings also  
24  
25 report that disclosure of their trans identity greatly increases risk of being raped and/or  
26  
27 coerced into sexual activities by other incarcerated people – experiences that correctional  
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29 staff frequently neglect to report or prevent (Brömdal, Mullens, et al., 2019; Gorden et  
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31 al., 2017; Grant et al., 2011; James et al., 2016; Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2016; Lydon et  
32  
33 al., 2015; Lynch & Bartels, 2017; Phillips et al., 2020; Rosenberg & Oswin, 2015; Van  
34  
35 Hout et al., 2020; White Hughto et al., 2018; Wilson et al., 2017). A 2011 study of 6,454  
36  
37 trans and gender non-conforming people in the US found that among the 749 trans  
38  
39 women who had been incarcerated, 38% reported they had been harassed, 9% physically  
40  
41 assaulted, and 7% sexually assaulted by correctional staff (Grant et al., 2011). Gender-  
42  
43 based mistreatment of incarcerated trans women by correctional officers and healthcare  
44  
45 providers is also prevalent in the form of misnaming and/or misgendering (i.e., using the  
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47 incorrect name and/or pronoun – at times intentionally) as well as restricting access to  
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3 gender-appropriate clothing, grooming items, and even medically necessary, gender-  
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5 affirming medical and psychological healthcare, including hormone therapy (Brömdal,  
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7 Mullens, et al., 2019; Clark et al., 2017; Kilty, 2020; Lydon et al., 2015; National Center  
8  
9 for Transgender Equality, 2018; Tadros et al., 2020; Van Hout et al., 2020; White Hughto  
10  
11 et al., 2018). Jenness and Gerlinger (2020) emphasize that even though trans women are  
12  
13 “subjected... to harassment and ridicule” (p. 191), clothing, cosmetics, hair style and  
14  
15 products are essential to expressing an authentically gendered self. The World  
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17 Professional Association of Transgender Health (Coleman et al., 2012) also conclude that  
18  
19 self-expression through items relating to appearance are critical for some trans  
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21 individuals in “alleviating gender dysphoria” (p. 8-9), and arguably contribute to better  
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23 mental health and wellbeing.  
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29 In the US and Australia, the practice of placing trans women in “protective  
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31 custody” for extended periods as a measure of “safety” and “protection” from abuse from  
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33 other incarcerated people, also known as “administrative segregation”, “administrative  
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35 detention” or “administrative confinement” is also commonplace (Brömdal, Mullens, et  
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37 al., 2019; Kilty, 2020; Lydon et al., 2015; Mann, 2006; National Center for Transgender  
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39 Equality, 2018; Van Hout et al., 2020; White Hughto et al., 2018). The aforementioned  
40  
41 physical, verbal, and sexual abuse, lack of access to gender-affirming healthcare, erasure  
42  
43 of gender identity, and unnecessary use of protective custody frequently experienced by  
44  
45 incarcerated trans women has been linked to dire health consequences for this population.  
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47 Indeed, many incarcerated trans women have been found to have elevated levels of  
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49 depression, anxiety, and other salient mental health conditions, as well as engaged in self-  
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51 harm, attempted suicide, and surgical self-treatment (e.g., auto-castration) in an attempt  
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3 to cope with their untreated gender-related medical needs and care (Brömdal, Mullens, et  
4 al., 2019; Brown, 2010; Gorden et al., 2017; Kilty, 2020; Mann, 2006; National Center  
5 for Transgender Equality, 2018; Phillips et al., 2020; Tadros et al., 2020).  
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### 8 **Embodiment, expression and enactment of intimate citizenship**

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10 In his seminal work on identity management, Goffman (1961, p. 4) introduces the  
11 concept of “total institutions” to describe organizations such as the military, carceral and  
12 mental health institutions, which can be characterized as “encompassing” and “totalistic”.  
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15 Regarding incarcerated persons Goffman suggests:  
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19 The self in this sense is not a property of the person to whom it is attributed,  
20 but dwells rather in the pattern of social control that is exerted in connection  
21 with the person by himself and those around him. This special kind of  
22 institutional arrangement does not so much support the self as constitute it  
23 (1961, p. 4).  
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35 Cis and gender normative paradigms underpinning “total institutions” work to discipline  
36 relationships by insisting that only opposite binary gender beings share intimacies with  
37 each other and highlight how incarceration settings, by design, restrict a trans woman’s  
38 opportunities and choices with respect to their “personal life” and self-determination  
39 (Plummer, 2005, p. 77). Such gender normative and regulative corporeal policy  
40 conditions restrict incarcerated trans women’s “agency” and “actions” in “how the  
41 intimate can be imagined, portrayed and represented” (Plummer, 1995, p. 155; 2005, pp.  
42 76-78). Centered around Plummer’s notion of intimate citizenship (2001, 2003, 2005)  
43 this analysis seeks to better understand the ways in which trans women navigate decision  
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3 making regarding “the control” they have over their “body, feelings, [and] relationships”,  
4 including their “access...to representations, relationships, public spaces, etc.”, and their  
5 “socially grounded choices” regarding their “identities, gender experiences, erotic  
6 experiences” (Plummer, 1995, p. 151) while incarcerated in facilities for men.  
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12 As argued by Bonjour and de Hart (2021), the notion of citizenship in political  
13 and academic spheres is generally understood to comprise formal relations between an  
14 individual and a collective (‘the nation’) or state. Marshall’s (1950) conception of  
15 citizenship as a status whereby individuals are granted rights and responsibilities frames  
16 this relationship as public and fixed. A citizen relates to the collective or state via  
17 membership, which implies rights, identification and participation. Viewed through this  
18 lens, totalistic carceral institutions are “forcing houses for changing persons” (Goffman,  
19 1961, p. 12), the overarching purpose of which is to reshape the flawed identity of the  
20 incarcerated person to produce a compliant and socially acceptable citizen.  
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35 Feminist theorists have critiqued the conceptualization of citizenship as public  
36 and fixed, advocating instead for an understanding of citizenship that encompasses the  
37 personal (Pateman, 1998; Plummer, 2001; Vogel, 1994) and performative (Isin, 2017).  
38 The concept of *intimate citizenship* has been utilized to explore relations between citizen  
39 bodies and the state, highlighting the role of family and gender in shaping legislation and  
40 practices that govern personal relations such as family policies, disability rights,  
41 reproductive rights, gender and sexual expression and enactment, and sex tourism  
42 (Bonjour & de Hart, 2021). Intimate citizenship addresses “emerging concerns over the  
43 rights to choose what we do with our bodies, our feelings, our identities, our  
44 relationships, our genders, our eroticisms and our representations” (Plummer, 1995, p.  
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3 17). Plummer theorizes the ways in which the “public” concerns of citizenship –  
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5 belonging and entitlement – are contested and reinforced in “private” lives through  
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7 intimate contexts such as sexuality, gender, bodily autonomy, and relationships. Plummer  
8  
9 (2005, p. 90) argues that for citizenship to exist, there must be the possibility of “being  
10  
11 recognized as belonging and participating in a group where one is expected to do certain  
12  
13 things – obligations – in return for certain rights. One achieves the status of citizen  
14  
15 through this.” Furthermore, recent scholarship has challenged the notion of citizenship as  
16  
17 a fixed legal status, mobilizing the concept of “performative citizenship” (Bonjour & de  
18  
19 Hart, 2021, p. 7) to conceptualize citizenship not as a status that describes what people  
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21 *are* or *have*, but as something that people *do* through the claims they make and policies  
22  
23 and practices that they contest (Clarke et al., 2014).  
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29 However, the conceptualization of citizenship as personal and performative also  
30  
31 draws attention to the importance of individual agency in shaping one’s experience of  
32  
33 citizenship. As Plummer (2005) emphasizes, autonomy of choice is the key to enacting  
34  
35 intimate citizenship, which depends on how one is placed in respect to the public and  
36  
37 fixed aspects of citizenship: status and resources. He describes the “subjective experience  
38  
39 of inequalities” that places people in “hierarchies of esteem” (Plummer, 2005, p. 77).  
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42 Applied to sex segregated carceral settings, and due to cisnormative constraints which  
43  
44 dictate how trans women may embody, express and enact their trans identity, they are on  
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46 the one hand highly visible and esteemed sexual targets, and on the other hand lack status  
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48 and/or resources. Within these institutions, they exist low on the hierarchy of esteem,  
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50 rendering them structurally invisible and subject to “symbolic assaults to [a] sense of  
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52 self-worth and efficacy” (Anderson & Snow, 2001, p. 399). Despite these restrictions on  
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3 their intimate citizenship, Plummer argues individuals “always have some kind of  
4 ‘agency’; however, the choices and the actions are indeed severely limited,” and often  
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6 linked to inequalities such as “disempowerment, brutalization, coercion, and a massive  
7  
8 lack of autonomy” (2005, pp. 76, 78). This agency and self-determination, albeit limited,  
9  
10 in actively embodying, expressing, and enacting their intimate self, is at the heart of this  
11  
12 study. Thus, this analysis contributes to greater understanding of how trans women within  
13  
14 both nations through grit, resilience and ingenuity demonstrate agency by seeking to  
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16 embody, express and enact their trans intimate citizenship in creative and original ways.  
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### 22 **Methods and Analytical Framework**

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24 This critical analysis draws on two sets of semi-structured interviews with formerly  
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26 incarcerated trans women: 1) a study with four trans women conducted in Queensland,  
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28 Australia in 2018-2019, funded by the HIV Foundation Queensland; and 2) a study with  
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30 20 trans women conducted in the US in 2015, funded by the Yale Fund for Gay and  
31  
32 Lesbian Studies.  
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35 Both studies recruited participants through multiple purposive sampling  
36  
37 strategies, which included posting paper and electronic recruitment flyers at community  
38  
39 organizations and trans-specific websites and list-servs. Eligible participants were aged  
40  
41 18 years and older; self-identified as a woman, trans woman, or on the trans-feminine or  
42  
43 male-to-female spectrum; were assigned a male sex at birth; had not legally affirmed  
44  
45 gender; had been incarcerated at least once in Queensland, Australia or in a New England  
46  
47 state, US (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maine) men’s watch house,  
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49 jail, or prison (henceforth, incarceration setting) typically in a single/double occupancy  
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51 cell or protected areas such as administrative segregation/solitary confinement (Federal  
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3 Bureau of Prisons, 2018; Queensland Corrective Services, 2021); all having sexual  
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5 abstinence-enforcing policies rather than offering safe sex options such as condoms; and  
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7 at the point of the interview had been incarcerated within the past five years for three  
8  
9 days or more.  
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11  
12 After providing written informed consent, informants participated in interviews  
13  
14 exploring their incarceration experiences and how they went about doing their gender,  
15  
16 identities, body, emotions, desires and relationships while incarcerated in a men's setting.  
17  
18 The one-on-one, in-depth semi-structured interviews ranged from 45–120 minutes and  
19  
20 were conducted by AB and TP in Australia and by JWH in the US. Interviews were  
21  
22 audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. To protect anonymity, participant names were  
23  
24 anonymized with pseudonyms, and participants received a gift card as compensation for  
25  
26 their time. Both research projects were approved by their individual university's ethics  
27  
28 boards – University of Southern Queensland's Human Research Ethics Committee  
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30 (H17REA147) and by the Fenway Health (Institutional Review Board of record) and the  
31  
32 Yale University Institutional Review Board (Project ID 734437-1).  
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38 To make meaning of the 24 trans women's lived carceral experiences in Australia  
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40 and the US, the data was analyzed as one large set of data due to the similar aim of both  
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42 nations' research projects seeking to appreciate the lived experiences of trans women  
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44 incarcerated in male settings, including comparable interview questions, and similar  
45  
46 condom prohibiting and cis and gender normative carceral policies used in both  
47  
48 geographical settings, when housing trans women who have not legally gender-affirmed.  
49  
50 This paper uses thematic analysis in “generating” and “defining” themes (Braun &  
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52 Clarke, 2019, p. 593). More specifically, Braun and Clarke (2019) encourage scholars  
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3 making use of thematic analysis to do so with the help of their revised six-step guide<sup>1</sup>.  
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5 While, the six phases were “applied flexibly” and informed by our theoretical  
6  
7 frameworks, the steps were chronologically applied with the end goal of capturing the  
8  
9 “uniting idea” of a theme (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 593). As a result, the thematic  
10  
11 analysis yielded three major themes, which together define the relationships that  
12  
13 incarcerated trans women navigate when enacting their intimate citizenship: (1) Trans  
14  
15 Institutionalism – Self and the total institution; (2) Trans Intimacy – Self and relations  
16  
17 with others; and (3) Trans Bodily Sovereignty – Expressing femininity. These themes  
18  
19 consider how participants engaged in trans intimate citizenship while incarcerated are  
20  
21 thereby regulated by cis and gender normative institutional policies and practices that  
22  
23 punish non-normative relations and affect trans embodiment and gender expression.  
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## 28 **Findings**

### 29 *Trans Institutionalism – Self and the total institution*

30  
31 All of the trans women interviewed described how cisnormative housing policies could  
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33 be innovatively and proactively translated to effect alternative housing possibilities  
34  
35 within the male setting. Especially among US participants, the ability to navigate housing  
36  
37 policies often depended on how familiar the person was with the male incarceration  
38  
39 setting and system, their previous history of being placed in the general population or  
40  
41 protective custody, and what advice they had received prior to incarceration. Those who  
42  
43 knew more about the system and had been negatively affected by being celled in  
44  
45 protective custody knew they could choose to be housed in the general population  
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47 instead, so proactively sought to serve the majority of their sentence in general  
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49 population. However costly, Ebony (US) described the route to effect such a choice:  
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3 I refused to be locked down for 23 hours [in protective custody]. So, they  
4 actually made me go through a process. I had to first talk to the lieutenant and  
5 then I had to like write a written request and then they would have the doctor  
6 come and talk to me. I had to sign a release form saying that anything that  
7 happened to me on the unit that they're not responsible for. That I am  
8 willingly making a choice to go into general population knowing that because  
9 I'm transgender that I could be raped... physically harmed, and... I know  
10 these things can happen and that I will not hold them responsible for anything  
11 that happens to me in general population... Every time that you decide you  
12 don't want to go to protective custody, you have to sign a form saying that  
13 you accept whatever happens to you.  
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30 Others resisted protective custody on ethical and ideological grounds, refusing to share  
31 space with people who had committed heinous crimes. For example, Jasmine, Alicia,  
32 Ebony, and Sierra (US) describe those in protective custody as people who “rape babies,”  
33 “child molesters” and “rapists, pedophiles ... [or] snitches,” and did not want to be  
34 associated with, or mistaken for committing such crimes. In contrast with the argument  
35 for protective custody, they point out that being celled with people who had committed  
36 such atrocious crimes was far from safe. In a similar vein, Brittany, Evie, and Abbey  
37 (US) strategically “butched up” or stopped taking their hormones so that they could be  
38 transferred from protective custody to general population. Evie specifically expressed  
39 “they told me if you take this estrogen you're going in the protective custody. And then I  
40 was just like ... I'm going regular, honey. These hormones, I love myself, but [for the]  
41 living arrangement I'll let it go.”  
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3 Elsa (AUS) shared one experience while being housed in a high protection  
4 incarceration setting with some of the state's "high-profile offenders", "sex offenders"  
5 and "pedophiles". To ensure her safety, she had been informed that she would not be put  
6 in the general population or allowed to share a cell with anyone. However, when  
7 approached by a man on her high protection block to "go and ask them [correctional  
8 officers] if you can double up with me" Elsa confidently declined the offer as it would  
9 have jeopardized her safety and said, "I don't want to double up, I'm happier to be on my  
10 own." Those who went into protective custody, either because they were placed there, or  
11 for fear of being raped or abused, survived their time by sleeping, seeking to be invisible,  
12 refusing to socialize, and staying in their cell as much as possible. For instance, Rosa  
13 (US) expressed: "just isolate me. I feel like that would be the best thing for me ... Let me  
14 know when I can do my 20-minutes shower and let me know when I can eat. And bring it  
15 to me. Perfect. I'll be fine, I'll isolate – I'll talk to myself."  
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33 Across both geographical populations, and regardless of how they were housed,  
34 several of the participants tried to stay safe, avoid trouble, and survive their sentence by  
35 staying away from other incarcerated people as much as possible. Elle (US) "learned to  
36 stay away from lifers ... because they'd do anything to keep you up in there. And you  
37 know, if they can't have you, no one can have you." Alicia (US) chose to "stay out of  
38 trouble and stay underneath the radar." Others see this to require a temporary  
39 detransition: knowing that their trans femininity in a male prison would put them at risk,  
40 some participants actively chose to defeminize. Tina (US) firmly expressed: "I do not,  
41 would not want to identify as trans in jail. I do not think that would be smart"; she also  
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3 recommended that other trans women going into a male prison should not disclose this to  
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5 anyone.

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8 *Trans Intimacy – Self and relations with others*

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10 *Engaging in romantic relationships and indulging corporeal desires.* A third of the  
11  
12 participants across both geographic locations voluntarily engaged in romantic  
13  
14 relationships of some form. Evie (US) shared:

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18 I have hooked up in the prison sexually [with] ... this one guy. And I did a lot  
19  
20 of time with him ... I ended up just playing house with him ... We did hook  
21  
22 up ... it was something I wanted ... I felt comfortable. We did things in  
23  
24 transition like ... being in the shower ... And maybe a coffee or you know I  
25  
26 would make his bed. He would make my bed. We would prepare like these  
27  
28 little ... institutional dishes.  
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33 Elle and Ebony (US) also describe the formation of serious romantic relationships in  
34  
35 protective custody with men housed in the same space. Cassandra (US) explains the  
36  
37 blossoming of romance with a man who offered her food when she had no money for  
38  
39 canteen. Three of the participants, Alicia, Cassandra (US) and Luna (AUS), explained  
40  
41 learning how to trick the correctional officers so that they could spend the night with their  
42  
43 partners. Luna explains:  
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47  
48 ... at one stage I was in a cell with another trans woman, and we would swap  
49  
50 cells ... with your boyfriend again in another cell or some guy ... and we'd  
51  
52 ... trick the guards. So, hide in the [cell] ... when [they] lock you in the cells,  
53  
54 they've got maybe 100 cells to lock. So, they just want to do it quickly and  
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3 they're just really looking for two bodies in the cell, when they lock the cell.  
4  
5 So, sometimes ... you'd have to line up with other people and that way you'd  
6  
7 get to spend the night with your boyfriend ... and I'd come into your cell and,  
8  
9 the other one would go ... the trans woman that you were in with that was in  
10  
11 another cell, would have to, do you know what I mean? It was tricky [but] we  
12  
13 were resourceful.  
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18 As condom use is prohibited in both Queensland and the states where the US  
19  
20 incarceration settings part of this study were located, participants described ways that  
21  
22 they would manage the safety of their sexual encounters while incarcerated. For example,  
23  
24 Alicia (US) and her partner mutually demanded proof they were each free from any  
25  
26 sexually transmitted infections, while Cassandra (US), who was living with HIV, would  
27  
28 always use a "glove" to protect her partner during sex.  
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32 Some participants expressed that they desperately wanted to "get laid" and have a  
33  
34 "boyfriend" while they were incarcerated (Martha, US), fully knowing that most of these  
35  
36 relationships were limited to the correctional setting and would not translate into a lasting  
37  
38 relationship on the 'outside'. However, others refused to engage in any form of romantic  
39  
40 or corporeal relationships, as they set particular "standards" and did not want to "bend  
41  
42 over" for anyone as it would be "denouncing" (Nadia, US) or reduce themselves to the  
43  
44 level of "fuck[ing] everyone" and because "there are a lot of diseases in jail" (Jemma,  
45  
46 AUS). Quite dissimilar to this ethos, Sandra (US) who for the first time experienced  
47  
48 being viewed as a woman compared to in the "free world", now felt affirmed in  
49  
50 expressing her femininity and sexuality:  
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3 You know I felt like I was a star ... and I learned how to hustle, but more  
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5 importantly, just having the sex, was just freeing for me because I interpreted  
6  
7 [sex] for love, I thought this was love ... So, when someone didn't stay  
8  
9 around, I didn't care 'cause I know in an hour, I'll be in someone else's cell  
10  
11 ... So, I thought I was beautiful ... every queen there thought they were the  
12  
13 only one which was good.  
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18 Sandra also built trust with the correctional officers so that she was able to influence the  
19  
20 decision about with whom she would share a cell. She reports that she would “manipulate  
21  
22 the boys” into wanting to share a cell with her:  
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25  
26 I thought I was an intelligent person, I would manipulate the boys, you know.  
27  
28 So, and that's what I ended up doing ... I've had guys [that would] start  
29  
30 trouble with their roommates so he could be moved out of the cell, they  
31  
32 would go and say, “we're not gettin' along.” They'd go “who do you get  
33  
34 along with, who do you want in there?” “Uh put Sandra in there,” “Sandra do  
35  
36 you wanna move?” “Yeah, I'll move.”  
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41 Sandra's sophisticated navigation of the system suggests an active engagement in her  
42  
43 intimate citizenship, one she did not feel permitted to pursue in the “free world.”  
44

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46 *Transacting corporeal services.* Participants in both countries who were familiar with the  
47  
48 prison system and had been incarcerated for petty crimes such as survival sex work or  
49  
50 stealing to support their drug addiction, navigated their intimate citizenship by engaging  
51  
52 in transactional sex for goods and services. Luna (AUS) expressed “I did not have my  
53  
54 family support. So, I'd go into prison I'd be on my own more or less. So just having  
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3 access to getting, [and] buying things was very difficult for me because I have to do sex  
4 for favors [including, accessing] ... cigarettes, electrical items, money, drugs,  
5  
6 protection.” She was not alone in trading sex for goods and favors. Elle (US), Sierra and  
7  
8 Taylor (US), also survived their prison sentences by offering sex and their bodies for  
9  
10 canteen. Elle expressed that she would, “[b]asically do what I did on the streets, flirt  
11  
12 around with the guys. Give them a little something-something here. You know, [I]  
13  
14 basically did what I had to do to – to survive up in there or have the things that I want.”  
15  
16 Similarly, Nadia (US) expressed how she gave oral sex for food and goods to an officer:  
17  
18 “a lieutenant [was] bringing me Kentucky Fried Chicken and a pack of Newports and  
19  
20 sending everybody to [the] gym and letting me stay. And then I gave him oral sex.” Some  
21  
22 participants, however, reported that they were not willing to trade sex for goods while  
23  
24 incarcerated. For instance, Jasmine (US) stated that she was not willing to have sex with  
25  
26 the men or the correctional officers on her block, due to the risk of HIV, and instead  
27  
28 offered non-contact sexual favors, such as “a flash of a tittie” in exchange for canteen  
29  
30 goods.  
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38 The participants also described “strong-arm sex” (Taylor, US), where one  
39  
40 engaged in sexual activities in return for protection (Ebony, US; Luna, AUS). This  
41  
42 included performing sexually appealing catwalks for correctional officers (Taylor, US),  
43  
44 as well as entering into a contractual corporeal relationship for protection: Ebony (US)  
45  
46 explained how her strong-arm sex experience meant she was “auctioned off” in return for  
47  
48 safety:  
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52 And what would happen is, guys that knew they were gonna be there for a  
53  
54 while would do what any guy would do when they see a woman. You know,  
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3 try to pick her up. So, the guy would like, I wanna say auction you off, but  
4 they would communicate that they were gonna choose you as their girl, and  
5 you would be protected or whatever, but they would expect certain needs  
6 fulfilled.  
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14 Some of the trans women, regardless of where they were housed, and despite their  
15 sexuality and pressures to respond, navigated the discourse of transacting corporeal  
16 services by declining to engage with requests from men including correctional officers  
17 who sought sex in return for goods, services, and favors. For example, when Ebony (US)  
18 was in protective custody she refused several correctional officers offering her food and  
19 McDonalds in return for sexual acts. Luna (AUS) also shared how a prison officer came  
20 into her cell one night and wanted her to undress for him:  
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31 ... the prison officer come into my cell at night [and] the other prisoners  
32 could see him opening my cell and coming in. So, then I had a witness to  
33 what was happening ... and he just asked me to take my clothes off ... And I  
34 said, "Why?" And he said, "I just want to see what you look like without your  
35 clothes on." And I sat there and sank ... I felt really vulnerable because I was  
36 in such an isolated position. And then he had the power and ... I just said,  
37 "Look I'm not comfortable doing that I don't want to do that" ... he asked a  
38 couple more times, he said, "Oh just for a little bit, it won't take long." And I  
39 just said, "Look I, I just don't want to do it and I don't feel comfortable." And  
40 so [he left] ... the next day I complained about it and they didn't really do  
41 anything, so I asked for a specific complaints form. So, I put in a report for  
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3 my complaint form ... and asked them to give me a copy of it and [then]  
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5 pretty much straightaway they were acting on it and come and told me that,  
6  
7 that afternoon ... I was being moved.  
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10  
11 Luna stressed that she knew she had to complain formally with a copy of the complaint in  
12  
13 her hand, and only then would the correctional officers act on it, otherwise “they would  
14  
15 have been quite happy to sweep it under the carpet or try and ignore it.”  
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### 18 *Trans Bodily Sovereignty – Expressing femininity*

19  
20 Participants described elaborate and unique ways to embrace, express, and perform their  
21  
22 femininity while incarcerated. Most of the carceral settings did not allow the participants  
23  
24 to access clothing, grooming, hygiene, and commissary items, including undergarments  
25  
26 consistent with their gender expression. While both Jemma and Elsa (AUS) were allowed  
27  
28 to wear their own underwear, Jemma explains that this was limited: “they took my bra off  
29  
30 me because they reckon it was lingerie and it’s sexual ... [but then] they gave my  
31  
32 underwear back [and I had to] wash them in the sink every night to wear them every day  
33  
34 ... I wasn’t wearing male [underwear].” Similar to Jemma, Taylor (US) was able to  
35  
36 access women’s underwear but through different means “I had some inmates [also her  
37  
38 friends] making me... sexy underwear.”  
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44 Makeup was considered contraband in all the participants’ carceral settings.  
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46 However, many of the of the US participants described creative ways that they made their  
47  
48 own cosmetics in order to express their femininity. Taylor (US) expressed “[I] wasn’t  
49  
50 willing to give up my femininity,” even though she knew that she might be caught and  
51  
52 penalized, and would go into canteen and with the help of “magic markers do my nails,  
53  
54 and [with the help of] coffee, mix it up and then with a toothbrush put mascara on and  
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3 with the fishnet...laundry bags, make fishnet stockings.” Alicia (US) “would buy M&Ms  
4  
5 ... and ... wet the M&Ms and take the [red] color of the M&Ms and ... use them like  
6  
7 lipstick,” as well as make her own eyeliner:  
8  
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10  
11 So, around the windowsill there is like a black type of ... glue or whatever.

12  
13 But ... with the pen that you had you took some of that black glue and then

14  
15 you took ... Vaseline that you would get from like the nurses ... and you

16  
17 would put a little bit of Vaseline [into the mix] and ... when you put the

18  
19 Vaseline on it, it would actually make it like black eyeliner.  
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24 Elle (US) was not allowed to wear jewelry, so instead she would “take bread ties and  
25  
26 make little earring[s], little bows.” Half of the participants expressed their femininity by  
27  
28 growing nails (Cali, US), shaving off unwanted body hair (Alicia, Elle, Sierra, Brandy,  
29  
30 US; Jemma, AUS), and grooming their head hair (Taylor, Brandy, Cali, Nadia, US;  
31  
32 Jemma, AUS). Jemma spent a large portion of her morning styling her hair:  
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36  
37 I’d wake up at 5:00am and brush my hair until about 6:30am ... because I get

38  
39 self-conscious, and I was in a jail full of men and I was the only girl, so I’d

40  
41 brush my hair [for] hours .... [and] try and look as good as I can without

42  
43 makeup and any of that stuff in male clothes.  
44  
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47 Although Ebony (US) was in protective custody, she still enacted her femininity while  
48  
49 exercising in her cell, even if it was only for herself “[I] would do little things... like  
50  
51 walk [as if it was a] runway or something in the cell. Like walking around... because  
52  
53 that would be [my] only time to exercise so [I] would walk around in a circle... as if [I  
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3 was] modelling you know, but just for [my] own entertainment and you know, that would  
4  
5 be [my] workout.”  
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8 Due to the hyper-masculinized and sexualized carceral environment, Elle and  
9  
10 Sandra (US), both with a history of incarceration, took on the role of protecting trans  
11  
12 women and providing advice on how to survive their sentence. In Sandra’s case, she had  
13  
14 acquired the name “Queen Bee” because of the accumulated respect she had gained  
15  
16 among other incarcerated persons (and staff) through the years, and because she “paved  
17  
18 the way” for other trans women housed on her block:  
19  
20

21  
22 I paved the way as Queen Bee because I'd been in every prison and I'd been  
23  
24 entrapped in that environment so long, that you know they...had to respect  
25  
26 me, then you know you respected the people that were around me and, in my  
27  
28 atmosphere, and those were usually my daughters. I called them ‘these are my  
29  
30 daughters.’ And, because of me being in and out, in and out, like I could not  
31  
32 survive six months in the 30-year period. This was my miracle here.  
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38 Sandra also earned the reputation of “don’t mess with me” due to the number of fights  
39  
40 she had won with men, including knocking one unconscious. Other participants such as  
41  
42 Sabrina, Brandy, and Cassandra (US) also earned their respect when unapologetically  
43  
44 slapping or lashing out at men who had insulted them in various ways for being a trans  
45  
46 woman. Others would choose to correct and educate correctional officers who either  
47  
48 seemed ignorant about trans people and who kept misnaming and misgendering them  
49  
50 (Alicia, Cali, US and Jemma, AUS). Similarly, as in Brandy’s case (US), she educated  
51  
52 other incarcerated persons about what it meant to be a trans woman and how she could  
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3 present herself when enabled to express her femininity.  
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## 5 **Discussion**

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8 The purpose of this paper was to explore the ways in which trans women incarcerated in  
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10 men's carceral settings in Queensland, Australia and the US overcome systemic  
11  
12 vulnerabilities and navigate their intimate citizenship through innovative ways of  
13  
14 performing gender, identity, bodily, corporal and emotional sovereignty, and  
15  
16 relationships with others while governed by strong cis and gender normative paradigms  
17  
18 restricting embodiment of self. Albeit severely limited and often inhabited by violence,  
19  
20 abuse, harassment and assault in correctional settings, the findings from these two studies  
21  
22 showcase how 24 trans women from two Westernized countries demonstrated agency and  
23  
24 autonomy in directing their personal lives while incarcerated in men's settings.  
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28  
29 The traditional conceptualization of citizenship as public and fixed implies a top-  
30  
31 down power dynamic, whereby the terms of citizenship (rights and responsibilities) are  
32  
33 dictated and enforced by the State. This dynamic is challenged by the feminist  
34  
35 conceptualization of 'intimate citizenship' which is personal and performative, thereby  
36  
37 acknowledging the agency of its citizenry to challenge and create new terms by which  
38  
39 individuals' citizenry can be enacted. The narratives presented in this paper illustrate self-  
40  
41 sufficiency and innovative and proactive ways to subvert institutional policies and  
42  
43 practices by exerting influence over spatial assignment, embodying, expressing and  
44  
45 enacting femininity, and engaging in socio-emotional, strategic, romantic and friendly  
46  
47 relationships. Even in the most totalistic of environments our analysis demonstrates how  
48  
49 through grit, resilience and ingenuity, incarcerated trans women are able to find  
50  
51 innovative ways to subvert this positioning and assert their intimate citizenship.  
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3 The high degree of control that total institutions (Goffman, 1961) exert over the  
4 choices available to their inhabitants, coupled with the forced participation in their  
5 regulating and re-educating practices, often positions the institutional claims of  
6 citizenship in direct conflict with trans women's claims to intimate self-determination.  
7  
8 Plummer theorizes the ways in which the "public" concerns of citizenship – belonging  
9 and entitlement – are contested and reinforced in "private" lives through intimate  
10 contexts such as sexuality, gender, bodily autonomy, and relationships. He explains: "if  
11 'intimate citizenship' seems an oxymoron, it also suggests a potential bridge between the  
12 personal and the political" (2003, p. 15).  
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24 The concept of "citizenship" of total institutions, designed to homogenize identity  
25 claims of individuals and limit choices in order to reproduce a socially acceptable  
26 citizenry, is inherently problematic. Plummer (2005, p. 90) argues that for citizenship to  
27 exist, there must be the possibility of "being recognized as belonging and participating in  
28 a group where one is expected to do certain things – obligations – in return for certain  
29 rights. One achieves the status of citizen through this." In carceral contexts, the personal  
30 is subjugated to the political; "belonging" to the total institution prescribes severely  
31 restrictive obligations and entitlements. However, if we view citizenship as not merely  
32 public and fixed, but also as personal and performative, then intimate citizenship within  
33 the carceral context depends on the extent to which there is choice over where, when,  
34 with whom, and how to use those spaces (Fenster, 2005, pp. 222, 227). As we have  
35 shown, opportunities for contesting a total institution's claims through intimate contexts  
36 such as sexuality, gender, bodily transformations and relationships are highly restricted;  
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3 nevertheless, trans women in our studies have found novel ways of asserting claims to  
4 intimate self-determination.  
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7  
8 Trans women's intimate accounts represent new understandings of performing  
9 intimate citizenship within the hetero, cis and gendernormative constraints of total  
10 institutions. Invoking Plummer's conception of "intimacy" as "a term to refer to an array  
11 of arenas in which we 'do' the personal life – doing bodywork, doing gender, doing  
12 relationships, doing eroticism, and doing identities" (Plummer, 2005, p. 77), we have  
13 illustrated the original ways in which trans women exercise agency over their personal  
14 lives. Although the participants' testimonies alluded to a frequent use of protective  
15 custody among the US cohort compared to that of the Australian cohort, the testimonies  
16 of Ebony, Sierra and Cassandra (US) nevertheless demonstrate how they were able to  
17 exert some level of control over their spatial assignment in regard to their placement in  
18 protective custody, general population, and in some cases, even with whom they were  
19 accommodated with (the latter also relevant to Luna and Elsa (AUS)).  
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35 Limited access to care among incarcerated trans persons has been described as a  
36 form of "double punishment," insofar as trans people are punished "first by the pervasive  
37 discrimination in the judicial system that continues to fail to give due legal recognition of  
38 trans people's right to dignity and self-identity, and second by the often 'cruel and  
39 unusual' mistreatment of them in the prison" (Erni, 2013, p. 139). It is common to see  
40 accounts of exploitive and violent relationships in trans carceral scholarship. However, in  
41 her description of "playing house" Evie (US) challenges the hegemonic stereotype of  
42 exclusively harmful relationships involving trans women in carceral settings, illustrating  
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3 an alternative expression of care as a form of enacting intimate citizenship through  
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5 mutual and caring romantic relationships.  
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8 Trans women in our studies have also demonstrated dominion over their  
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10 expressions, embodiment and enactment of femininity across carceral geographies.  
11  
12 Masculinization of the carceral setting severely limits trans women's expressions and  
13  
14 embodiment of gendered identity. Choosing to privilege safety and security over freedom  
15  
16 of identity expression, Tina (US) makes a reflective and conscious decision not to  
17  
18 identify as a trans woman while incarcerated. On the other hand, and across geographical  
19  
20 settings, Taylor, Evie, Alicia, Cassandra, Sierra (US) and Jemma (AUS) testify to the  
21  
22 innovative lengths that they go to in order to present themselves as feminine through the  
23  
24 creative use of makeshift make-up, exfoliation, hairstyles and personal styling.  
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29 In these myriad ways, we have illustrated how through authentic expressions of  
30  
31 self-determination trans women in both studies and geographical settings have subverted  
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33 the totalistic control exerted by carceral institutions to perform intimate citizenship in  
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35 even the most non-agentic of circumstances.  
36

### 37 **Conclusion**

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40 Incarcerated trans women are typically positioned as “vulnerable populations” (Brown,  
41  
42 2014), who are victims of a cisnormative system that does not recognize their identity.  
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44 However, this analysis has shown how the enactment of intimate citizenship by trans  
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46 women in Australia and the US challenges the notion of ‘citizenship’ as exclusively  
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48 public and fixed, even within a totalistic institution. Within the cross-geographical  
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50 incarceration settings, these trans women assert their familiarity with both the formal and  
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52 informal rules of the carceral environment, forging vertical and horizontal connections  
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3 which enable them to assert themselves as intimate citizens. These findings also  
4  
5 underscore there is further room for trans women to actively embody, express and enact  
6  
7 their intimate self which could be realized by both nations embracing a whole-  
8  
9 incarceration-setting approach upholding the needs and rights of trans women (Brömdal,  
10  
11 Clark, et al., 2019). In light of these findings, it is important to highlight that much of the  
12  
13 literature on gender diversity and carceral experiences focus on trans women, and  
14  
15 although some of these experiences may be felt by other trans and gender diverse  
16  
17 identities, further research is needed to better understand their challenges while  
18  
19 incarcerated and how they in turn assert themselves as intimate citizens. To end, and  
20  
21 considering the overrepresentation of Black, indigenous, and people of color in  
22  
23 incarceration settings within and outside Australia and the US (Lynch & Bartels, 2017;  
24  
25 Reisner et al., 2014), future inquiry of intimate citizenship could focus explicitly on the  
26  
27 relationship between Plummer's (2005) notion of intimate inequalities in relation to the  
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29 many intersections at play within the "vulnerable populations" (Brown, 2014, p. 339) of  
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31 incarcerated trans women.  
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### Notes

1. This six-phased guide of thematic analysis consists of familiarizing your-self with your data; generating initial codes; generating (initial) themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; and producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2019, 593).

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26 sports, contemporary sexuality education to promote the health and rights of LGBTIQA  
27 Sistergirl and Brotherboy folk. Dr Brömdal is currently leading a number of funded/non-  
28 funded and co-designed research projects in partnership with LGBTIQA Sistergirl and  
29 Brotherboy communities and government stakeholders within and outside Australia, and  
30 presently co-leads an international research team investigating the lived experiences of  
31 formerly incarcerated trans persons in Australia and the US.  
32

33  
34 **Sherree Halliwell** (she/her/hers) is a social policy and practice researcher at the  
35 University of Southern Queensland and Non-executive Board Director of a leading  
36 Australian disability, mental health, palliative and aged-care organisation. Her core  
37 research interests encompass family relations, disenfranchised youth, and disparities in  
38 policies and social care provision directed towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer  
39 (LGBTQ+) communities.  
40

41  
42 **Tait Sanders** (Tait/they/them) is a PhD candidate at the University of Southern  
43 Queensland whose research interest includes exploring experiences and knowledges of  
44 detransition and (un)becoming trans. As a critical trans theorist, Tait's research is situated  
45 within a trans paradigm focused on exploring how a sense of gendered embodiment and  
46 belonging are affected through detransition. As a registered counsellor Tait works with  
47 adults and young people engaging with their experiences of gender and sexuality.  
48

49  
50 **Kirsty A. Clark** (she/her/hers) is a social and psychiatric epidemiologist. She serves as  
51 an Assistant Professor of Medicine, Health & Society and Public Policy Studies at  
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54 especially suicide, impacting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+)  
55 populations and developing evidence-based interventions to disrupt the course of such  
56 disparities.  
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3 **Jessica Gildersleeve** is an Associate Professor of English Literature at the University of  
4 Southern Queensland. Her research addresses the relationships between ethics, trauma  
5 and the constructions of narrative and her most recent books include *The Routledge*  
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7 *Things* (2019).  
8

9  
10 **Amy B. Mullens** is an Associate Professor at the University of Southern Queensland,  
11 School of Psychology and Wellbeing (Centre for Health Research). She is a  
12 Clinical/Health Psychologist, working across public, private and community settings for  
13 over two decades—including extensively with priority communities (LGBTIQ+,  
14 incarcerated persons) and chronic health conditions (prevention, screening management),  
15 health behaviors, mental health, substance use, and sexual health/HIV. Amy has co-  
16 authored 35+ peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters (total citations=867; h-  
17 index=13). Her collaborative projects with industry/academic partners ultimately focus  
18 on improving lives and wellbeing, with external funding as Primary/Co-investigator  
19 exceeding \$1.4 million in research funding.  
20

21  
22 **Tania M. Phillips** is a researcher at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ),  
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24 Bachelor of Psychology (Honors) First Class (USQ) in 2018. Her research interests  
25 include chronic diseases, HIV, minority and marginalized groups (e.g., LGBTIQ+,  
26 culturally and linguistically diverse), and regional and disadvantaged populations. Recent  
27 publications include papers in the transgender and incarceration space, most noted lead  
28 author of a book chapter on the lived experiences of incarcerated transgender women in  
29 US prisons published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2020, and another book chapter fourth  
30 coming in 2022.  
31

32  
33 **Joseph Debattista** has been employed in the fields of Sexual Health and Blood Borne  
34 Viruses, and Alcohol and other Drugs within Queensland Health since 1989. As Sexual  
35 Health, HIV and Hepatitis Coordinator for the Metro North Hospital and Health Service,  
36 he has managed a number of public health programs, research and epidemiological  
37 studies, and health promotion initiatives targeting sexually transmissible infections, blood  
38 borne viruses, and broader sexual health issues, working collaboratively with diverse  
39 community and client groups. He has authored or co-authored 79 peer reviewed journal  
40 articles.  
41

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43 **Carol du Plessis** is a Clinical Psychologist and a Senior Lecturer in the School of  
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45 Queensland, Australia. Carol's research specializes in qualitative small sample and  
46 narrative methods, and she is passionate about sharing the stories of vulnerable and  
47 marginalized communities. Her current research projects include work on the experiences  
48 of transgender incarcerated people, lived experiences of suicide attempt survivors, and  
49 methods of teaching counselling online.  
50

51  
52 **Kirstie Daken** is a PhD candidate in the School of Psychology and Counselling at the  
53 University of Southern Queensland, Australia, as well as a research assistant, clinical  
54 psychologist registrar, and has extensive research experience working on a range of  
55 projects in the areas of health promotion, health psychology, sexual health, and chronic  
56 illness as well as an interest in clinical psychology and minority and at-risk populations.  
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3 **Jaclyn M.W. Hughto** is an Assistant Professor of Behavioral and Social Sciences and  
4 Epidemiology at the Brown School of Public Health. She has expertise  
5 designing/conducting epidemiological mixed-methods research; and developing/testing  
6 behavioral interventions to reduce sexual risk and substance use behaviors, optimize  
7 medication adherence (medications for opioid use disorder; antiretrovirals for HIV  
8 prevention/treatment), and enhance engagement in care for diverse populations. To date,  
9 Dr. Hughto has authored 88 peer-reviewed publications and 4 book chapters. As an  
10 expert witness, she has utilized her research findings to advance civil rights protections  
11 for gender minority populations.  
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