Trans Prisoners Info Sheet #1

Issues faced by Trans, Non-Binary and Gender Non-Conforming People in Prison



Bent Bars Project

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The Bent Bars Project is a letter-writing and solidarity project for LGBTQ+ prisoners in Britain. We provide direct support to LGBTQ+ prisoners, build community across prison walls, and raise public awareness about LGBTQ+ prison issues. We are a small, completely volunteer-run organisation which has been running since 2009.

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Introduction

The purpose of this information sheet is to provide some context to better understand the experiences of trans, gender non-conforming and non-binary people in prison.¹ This information sheet is one of three and we encourage you to read all of them.

Trans and gender non-conforming people face high levels of discrimination, inequality and social exclusion and this can result in targeted policing, criminalisation and imprisonment. When in prison, trans and gender non-conforming people are often subject to increased isolation, harassment, violence and denial of health care. This is especially the case for trans people in poverty, trans people of colour, those with disabilities and those with little family or community support.

The imprisonment of trans and gender non-conforming people is not a new issue, but recently there has been an increase in public interest around trans prisoners. Greater awareness and informed discussion is to be welcomed. However, as with much reporting of prison-related issues in general, a lot of media coverage around trans prisoners has been characterised by sensationalist reporting, misleading claims, and decontextualised statistics.

The Bent Bars Project is particularly concerned about misrepresentations of trans prisoners in the media, not only because this reinforces harmful stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes towards trans people in general, but also because such misinformation has a direct impact on trans people in prison and can contribute to wider patterns of bullying, harassment and discrimination.

The information below has been compiled and evidenced from a range of sources and is informed by the Bent Bars Project's experience of offering direct support to LGBTQ+ prisoners for more than ten years.

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A note on terms

The Bent Bars Project recognises that people use a diversity of terms to refer to themselves and their sexual and/or gender identities. We also recognise these terms are often context specific and can change.

For the purposes of this document, we use LGBTQ+ as a broad umbrella term to encompass this range of identities. When we refer specifically to 'trans' rather than LGBTQ+ we are highlighting the specific experiences of people who identify or express gender differently from what is traditionally associated with the gender or sex they were assigned at birth - such as people who are transgender, non-binary, or otherwise gender non-conforming.

For a more detailed breakdown of terminology see this helpful glossary by Julia Serano.

1. Discrimination against trans people in society more broadly

The issues that trans and gender non-conforming people face inside prison are broadly similar to the issues faced outside prison - inequality, discrimination, marginalisation and a lack of services and support.² However, in prison, these issues tend to be exacerbated by the conditions of confinement. Because of restrictions on people's freedom and lack of access to resources, prisoners' capacity to navigate these issues is significantly diminished and their access to community support is limited. Tightly controlled prison regimes also mean that many of the coping strategies people might take for granted outside of prison are simply not available. You can't spend time outdoors, run a bath when you want one, do some gardening, cook, binge watch Netflix, talk on the phone easily, go on social media or spend time with your friends.

Just like in the wider outside community, trans and non-binary people are a minority in the prison system, which is not designed with gender diversity in mind. The prison system frequently fails to understand trans people's needs, and as a result trans people are often seen as a 'problem' in the system (as are other minority groups within prison) rather than seeing the system as a problem.³ This can lead to trans people either being made invisible and closeted while in prison, or becoming hypervisible and subjected to targeted harassment and violence, due to stigma, prejudice and lack of support. This contributes to increased isolation for a community of people who are already isolated and have limited support structures outside of prison.

2. Risk of criminalisation

The criminal justice system disproportionately targets groups who experience inequality and social discrimination.⁴ This includes trans people who face high levels of inequality and discrimination, and are more likely to experience poverty, unemployment, homelessness, violence and mental ill-health – factors which significantly increase likelihood of criminalisation and imprisonment.⁵

In the correspondence Bent Bars regularly receives from LGTBQ+ prisoners, many disclose histories of discrimination, harassment and abuse which are directly linked to the factors which led to them to prison. This is consistent with evidence from other jurisdictions that indicates trans people are disproportionately likely to come into contact with the criminal justice system.⁶ For all of these reasons, the Bent Bars Project believes that trans and gender nonconforming people are particularly vulnerable to heightened policing and criminalisation. The targeting of marginalised groups means they often become overrepresented within the criminal justice system. However, like other minority and marginalised groups in prison, trans people are more often victims of crime than perpetrators.⁷

3. Coming out in prison

Just as it is difficult to 'come out' outside of prison, it can be even more difficult to come out inside prison. There is widespread fear of stigma and abuse from fellow prisoners and staff. Prisoners may have heard abusive or degrading comments directed at themselves or others or they may have witnessed or experienced threats of violence, which often means the prison environment does not feel safe to express oneself. This fear can mean that other prisoners might also remain closeted while in prison, which can also add to feelings of isolation and a sense that you are the 'only one'. Community, which can be an important place for solidarity and support when coming out, can be very hard to create and maintain in prison.

Because prisoners are locked in cells for extensive periods of time and denied ways to engage their minds, prison is also sometimes the first time that people have time and space to reflect on their lives. Some people begin to more clearly identify their feelings around gender or sexuality for the first time. Prison can be quite hostile to such exploration, and even more so for trans people who are often subject to a presumption of disbelief around their gender identities.

More generally, prisons are spaces where it is difficult to be vulnerable or to explore aspects of your identity that you are struggling to come to terms with. People may feel safer being perceived as 'tough' while in shared spaces, and exploring different ways of expressing themselves can be challenging, or even dangerous.

4. Prisons as sex/gender-binary institutions

Prisons are organised and run on a broad assumption that sex/gender is binary, for example the system is typically divided into men's and women's prisons. This poses a problem for trans and gender nonconforming people for a number of reasons, including that it does not reflect the diverse reality of human gender expression and experience. As a result, the question of where and how people are held in prison is often a key concern for trans, non-binary, intersex and gender nonconforming people. Trans prisoners are also at risk of being held in segregation, even though official policy suggests that this should not be the case. Trans prisoners may be held in Vulnerable Prisoner Units - sometimes due to their gender identity and risks to their safety in the prison, or because of their offending history. Segregation and isolation, even when purportedly done for an individual's own safety, have well documented negative and harmful effects. 12

Current prison policies in Britain allow trans people to be held across the prison estate, in both prisons designated for men and prisons designated for women. Placement depends on a range of factors.¹³ Some trans women are held in prisons designed for women, but as far as the evidence is available, most trans women are held in prisons designated for men. Nearly all trans men are held in prisons designated for women.¹⁴ Non-binary people are generally held in the prison that corresponds to their legally recognised gender.

It is important to be aware that some trans people wish to be held in prisons that correspond to their gender, but others do not (i.e. there are some trans women who prefer to stay in men's prisons and many trans men who prefer to stay in women's prisons). The reasons why someone may or may not want to move across the prison estate are complex and are often related to broader factors. These include: the variable conditions across the prison estate; the proximity of the prison to one's home community; access to programmes that are part of their sentence planning; the ability of prisoners to develop networks of support and survival; and fear of change.

Most policy attempts to address the question of where to place trans people in the prison estate are inadequate as they inevitably rely on a system structured around binary gender/sex. Regardless of what placement decisions are made by the system, prisoners are entitled to a duty of care that doesn't rely on increased isolation or one-size fits all solutions. This duty of care is not always met.

5. Health care in prison

Access to quality healthcare in prison is difficult for all prisoners across the prison system. According to official prison policy, prisoners are entitled to the same level of NHS care as people outside of prison. However, there is often a wide gap between official policy and actual practice regarding health care, for both trans and non-trans prisoners.¹⁵

Access to gender affirming health care can be particularly difficult for trans prisoners. This is in part because, both inside and outside prison, trans-specific healthcare is often misunderstood and treated as non-essential, rather than as necessary care for trans people's wellbeing. As trans people are well aware, there are often long waiting times and significant barriers to accessing trans related health care outside of prison. ¹⁶ These barriers are far more acute inside prison.

Trans prisoners regularly disclose problems with accessing basic needs, such as hormones, gender affirming care, and appropriate personal items and clothing. Many also report difficulties securing appointments with the Gender Identity Clinic and gatekeeping from authorities.¹⁷ It is very rare for prisoners to be able to access gender affirming surgery while in prison. Bent Bars is aware of only one instance in which top-surgery was permitted for a prisoner. Bent Bars is also aware of several cases of trans women prisoners attempting self-surgery (i.e. self-castration) out of desperation.

6. Gender self-expression in prison

Current prison policy in England, Wales and Scotland affirms that trans prisoners should be able to live in their affirmed identity regardless of which type of prison they are held in. 18 This is in keeping with the Equality Act, which protects trans people regardless of what stage they are at in transition. However, prisoners frequently report having to battle for basic items.

Prisons often justify restrictions on the basis of 'security' issues, even when it includes things like wigs, padded bras and other gender-supporting clothing. The lists of items available for purchase in prison are often based on default assumptions about gender (e.g. it can be difficult to access boxer briefs in women's prisons) and often people have to disclose their gender identity in order to access particular items that are not on the 'women's list' or 'men's list'. Not having access to basic items can have negative consequences, including feelings of distress, not having one's gender taken seriously and problems providing evidence in order to legally change gender.

If people wish to legally change gender, they need to acquire a Gender Recognition Certificate (GRC), which is a long, complicated and bureaucratic process. Trans people in prison experience major barriers in obtaining a GRC, particularly because of the requirement to live in-role for two years, which prison regimes often make difficult. A recent court ruling acknowledged this problem, and ruled that the state has a positive duty to facilitate and not obstruct legal recognition of trans people in their affirmed gender. While the 2004 Gender Recognition Act has been under review, with proposals to remove barriers to get a GRC, it is unclear if or when these reforms will be enacted.

7. Sex in prison

Sex is a regular feature of prison life as it is of non-prison life. People in prison have sex for a variety of reasons, including sexual attraction, intimate relationships, distraction, pleasure and also for trade/exchange. It it also important to bear in mind that sexual identity in prison can also be fluid, and may or may not be related to the types of sex people are having. For example, some men who have consensual sex with other men in prison do not necessarily identity as gay.

The way that sex is controlled in prison is opaque, inconsistent and incoherent. Staff responses to sexual relationships vary greatly across the prison estate, with some staff taking a 'don't ask, don't tell' approach and others taking a more scrutinising approach.²¹ Sex in prisons, and the regulation of sexuality in prison, can be used as a form of discrimination and harassment.

It is not uncommon for queer, trans and gender non-conforming people to be more negatively scrutinised and monitored around sexual intimacy in prison. For example, a more masculine presenting woman may be penalised and moved prisons for having sex with a more feminine straight-presenting cellmate.

Trans people's intimate relationships in prison are often subject to very high levels of scrutiny both within prison and by the media, particularly sex involving trans women. For example, a highly sensationalist case reported in the media in 2019 involved a trans woman who was moved to a men's prison when it was discovered that she was having consensual sex with another woman.²² It is very unlikely that a non-trans woman would have been treated comparably.

As in the world outside, the line between coercive and consensual sex is sometimes unclear. The prison context can often heighten complex dynamics around power, communication, exchange and survival. Sexual relationships in prison can therefore sometimes be a form

of comfort, intimacy and security, and other times be sites of bullying, harassment and vulnerability. However, a clear line can be drawn in cases where staff are sexually involved with prisoners as this is always considered an abuse of power.

8. Violence, abuse and discrimination

Prisons are violent places and trans people are particularly vulnerable to harm and abuse. Trans people in prison regularly disclose to the Bent Bars Project that they experience high levels of verbal and physical harassment, abuse and discrimination.

Research by various organisations, including Amnesty International, the Irish Penal Reform Trust, the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, the Association for the Prevention of Torture, and Sylvia Rivera Law Project have all documented similar problems in other jurisdictions. These groups have acknowledged that trans people and particularly trans women are at especially high risk of physical and sexual abuse when in police custody, prison and detention.²³

For example, according to a recent report by the Association for the Prevention of Torture, LGBTQ+ people are particularly vulnerable to an array of risks when deprived of their liberty and are "disproportionately subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment, because they fail to conform to socially constructed gender expectations."24 The Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, who investigate complaints and deaths in prisons in England and Wales, reported in 2016 that "Transgender prisoners are among the most vulnerable, with evident risks of suicide and self harm, as well as facing bullying and harassment."25

These findings are consistent with what trans people who are in contact with the Bent Bars Project also disclose to us. Following the recent increase in negative media reporting around trans prisoners, the Bent Bars Project has been hearing reports that harassment, abuse and discrimination have increased, particularly within the women's estate.

9. Sexual violence in prison

The threat of rape and sexual violence in prison is very real. It is very difficult to know how widespread this issue is because of stigma, barriers to reporting and fear and mistrust of prison authorities. Being labelled a 'grass' in prison also carries a particular stigma, which can impact disclosures.

Just as sexual violence outside of prison is vastly underreported, sexual violence in prison is often even more underreported. As such, official statistics on sexual violence should be treated with caution.²⁶ While there is limited research in the UK, findings from other jurisdictions indicates that LGBT people in general and trans people in particular are subject to high levels of sexual assault and violence in prison.²⁷

10. Deaths in custody

Surviving prison is not a given; on average someone dies in prison in England and Wales every four days.²⁸ Bent Bars is aware of 9 officially recorded deaths of trans women in prison since March 2007. Seven of these were in the male estate and two were in the women's estate.²⁹ Of the seven trans women who died in the male estate, five were recorded as self inflicted and two as 'natural causes'.³⁰

During this time period there were 93 deaths in the women's estate overall (37 were self-inflicted, 48 were non self-inflicted and 8 await classification). During the same period, there were approximately 2,367 deaths in men's prisons overall.

Prisoners released from prison also have high mortality rates, and while there are no accurate statistics on how many trans people have died since leaving prison, the figures may be comparable to the broader numbers of recorded deaths. INQUEST reported that between 2010/11 and 2016/17, 116 women died while under probation supervision following release from prison.³¹ Little is known about the deaths of those released from prison and the Prison and Probation Ombudsman do not routinely investigate or produce reports on deaths of people on probation.

As with other statistics collected, it is also difficult to aquire accurate figures as not all trans and gender non-binary people have disclosed their identities to the authories collecting the data, or their families. The Bent Bars Project is aware of several unofficial cases of transidentified people who have died in custody - including trans men - but their trans status was not publicly known and so they are not formally counted as trans deaths in custody. For more information about the challenges of collecting information about people's identities in prison, see our Trans Prisoners Info Sheet #2: FAQ.

11. Prison culture amplifies discrimination

Prisons have their own culture and internal power dynamics. In prison who is really 'in charge' depends on a complex balance of factors. There are both official prison rules and also unofficial rules and expectations. Any form of perceived vulnerability can also be an exacerbating factor in prison power dynamics.

Trans prisoners, in either the male or female estate, are very unlikely to have the most social power on any unit, and often report feeling isolated and alone. It is not uncommon for heightened and sometimes malicious accusations to be made against gender and sexually non-conforming prisoners, or for LGBTQ+ prisoners to face harsher consequences or be reported more frequently than their non-LGBTQ+ peers.

For these reasons some trans prisoners prefer circumstances where trans prisoners are 'clustered' together within a particular wing or prison. However, there are risks that such clustering can contribute to broader cultures of division and isolation by group. Separation

can also increase feelings of animosity between prisoners, particularly when it is perceived that some groups are being given 'special treatment' or when the separation reinforces stereotypes that particular groups pose a risk or danger to other prisoners.

12. Consequences of resistance in prison

Prisoners are subject to very high levels of scrutiny, surveillance and observation, and trans people are often subject to even higher levels of monitoring. Within prison environments, any non-compliance with or active resistance to rules can be officially recorded as bad behaviour. There are clear structural power imbalances in what is and is not recorded and sometimes official records do not align with what actually happens.

Resistance to prison rules can be a form of survival for some prisoners - either in trying to assert their rights, pushing back against unfair treatment, or simply for their own emotional survival or sense of integrity. Groups who face systemic discrimination are especially likely to be labelled as 'problems' by the institution and face harsher consequences for non-compliance or acts of resistance. It is a challenge for prisoners to contest official accounts, which can have a serious impact on their capacity to move through their sentence planning, and if they are on an indeterminate sentence, their release.

For further information

Trans Prisoners Info Sheet #2: Frequently Asked Questions

Trans Prisoners Info Sheet #3: Solidarity / Things You Can Do

All infosheets are available on our website: www.bentbarsproject.org.

References

- 1 The Bent Bars project supports people held in prisons, immigration detention centres, secure hospitals and other places of forced confinement.
- 2 Stonewall (2018) <u>LGBT in Britain Trans</u> <u>Report;</u> House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee (2015) Transgender Equality Report.
- <u>3</u> For example, when prison authorities cannot determine which prison estate a trans person should be placed in due their gender, they frequently place trans prisoners in segregation or isolation as a way to "solve" the problem.

 See: Lamble (2012), Rethinking gendered prison policies: Impacts on transgender prisoners. Also see endnote 11 below.
- <u>4</u> Prison Reform Trust (2019) <u>Bromley</u> Briefings Prison Factfile.
- 5 Stonewall (2018) LGBT in Britain Trans Report; House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee (2015) Transgender Equality Report.
- Association for the Prevention of Torture (2018) Towards the Effective Protection of LGBTI Persons Deprived of Liberty: A Monitoring Guide; Carr, Nicola and Siobhán McAlister and Tanya Serisier (2016) Out on the Inside: The Rights, Experiences and Needs of LGBT People in Prison Irish Penal Reform Trust; Mogul, Joey and Andrea J. Ritchie and Kay Whitlock (2011) Queer (In) Justice: The criminalisation of LGBT people in the United States, Becaon Press; For a visual explanation of how trans people get funnelled into the criminal justic system, see Sylvia Rivera Law Project (2017) Flowchart: Disproportionate Incarceration; See also Sylvia Rivera Law Project (2012) 'It's a War in Here': A Report on the Treatment of Transgender and Intersex People in New York State Men's Prisons.
- Z Bashford, Jon and Sherife Hasan, Christina Marriott and Lord Patel (2017) Inside Gender Identity: A report on meeting the health and social care needs of transgender people in the criminal justice system. Community Innovations Enterprise.
- 8 See: Bent Bars Newsletters, particularly Issue #1 Coming Out in Prison.
- $\underline{9}$ See: Bent Bars Newsletters, particularly Issue #2 Being Well, Being Safe.

- <u>10</u> Prisons & Probation Ombudsman (2017)Learning Lessons Bulletin: Transgender Prisoners.
- Ryan, Jane (2016) Transgender Issues in 11 the Criminal Justice System Legal Action Group; The 2019 Ministry of Justice Guidelines stipulate that 'it is not adviseable to use Care and Separation as a method of managing risks to individuals who are transgender.' The policy also states that if individuals need to be held in an environments separate from the main regime before a case board has been convened that 'every effort must be taken to avoid isolation such as in Care and Separation Units or in in-patient healthcare units just because they are transgender and where, for instance, there is no clinical reason for them to be there'. See also the Scottish Prison Service 2014 Policy which stipules that 'restrictions to association with other people in custody should be avoided wherever possible.'
- 12 See for example, Arkles, Gabriel (2009)
 Safety and Solidarity Across Gender Lines:
 Rethinking Segregation of Transgender People
 in Detention Temple Political & Clvil Rights Law
 Review 18: 515-560.
- 13 For policy in England & Wales, see:
 Ministry of Justice (2019) The care and managment
 of individuals who are transgender; For policy
 in Scotland, see Scottish Prison Service (2014)
 Gender Identity and Gender Reassignent Policy;
 Northern Ireland does not have a formal policy and
 addresses trans prisoners on a case by case basis.
- According to official Ministry of Justice statistics, in March - May 2019 there were 34 transgender prisoners in woman's prisons in England and Wales, 30 of whom reported their legal gender as female and 4 as male. When asked about the gender with which the prisoner identified, 11 identified as female, 20 as male and 3 did not provide a response. There were 129 transgender prisoners in men's prisons, 2 who reported their legal gender as female and 125 as male, with 2 not providing a response. When asked about the gender with which the prisoner identified, 119 identified as female, 0 as male and 10 did not provide a response. See HM Prison and Probation Service (2019) Offender Equalities Annual Report 2018 to 2019. See also Offender Equalities Annual Report: 2017 to 2018.

- 15 See for example, INQUEST's 2018 submission to the House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee Report on Prison Health care.
- 16 Healthwatch (2020) Trans Healthcare: What can we learn from people's experiences?; Pearce, Ruth (2018) Understanding Trans Health Polity Press.
- 17 Bashford, Jon and Sherife Hasan, Christina Marriott and Lord Patel (2017) Inside Gender Identity: A report on meeting the health and social care needs of transgender people in the criminal justice system; Bent Bars Project (2015) Submission to the Transgender Equality Review
- Ministry of Justice (2019) The care and managment of individuals who are transgender; Scottish Prison Service (2014) Gender Identity and Gender Reassignent Policy.
- 19 For a summary of the judgment, see Judgment Analysis: Jay v Secretary of State for Justice; For the full judgement, see Jay v Secretary of State [2018] EWHC 2620 (Fam).
- 20 For England & Wales, see Reform of the Gender Recognition Act 2004 Consultation; For Scotland, see Gender Recognition Act 2004 Review.
- 21 See for example, Stevens, A. (2015) Sex in Prison: Experiences of former prisoners. See also Out on the Inside: The Rights, Experiences and Needs of LGBT People in Prison Irish Penal Reform Trust.
- 22 The news coverage of this case was highly sensationalist due in part to the nature of the trans woman's conviction. See for example: Dresch, Matthew (2019) 'Transgender prisoner sent back to men's jail after romping with fellow inmate' published in the Mirror, 3 June; Mills, Jen (2019) 'Trans murderer returns to male prison after having sex with female inmate', published in the Metro, 3 June; Wells, Tom and Sims, Paul (2019), 'PRISON ROMP SHOCK Transgender killer romped with a female inmate weeks after switch to women's jail', published in the Sun, 2 June. It is unlikely that a non-trans woman with a comparable conviction having sex with another woman would have generated the same media interest.
- 23 Ryan, Jane (2016) <u>Transgender issues</u> in the criminal justice system Legal Action Group; Association for the Prevention of Torture (2018)

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 Deprived of Liberty: A Monitoring Guide; Carr,
 Nicola and Siobhán McAlister and Tanya Serisier
 (2016) Out on the Inside: The Rights, Experiences
 and Needs of LGBT People in Prison Irish Penal
 Reform Trust; Black and Pink (2015) Coming out
 of Concrete Closets: A Report on Black & Pink's
 National LGBTQ Prisoner Survey; National Centre
 for Transgender Equality (2018) LGBTQ People
 Behind Bars: A guide to gnderstanding the Issues
 faced by transgender prisoners and their legal
 rights; Amnesty Interational (2005) Stonewalled:
 Police Abuse Against LGBT People in the US
- 24 Association for the Prevention of Torture (2018) Towards the Effective Protection of LGBTI Persons Deprived of Liberty: A Monitoring Guide.
- <u>25</u> Prisons & Probation Ombudsman (2016) Learning lessons bulletin: Transgender Prisoners.
- <u>26</u> See for example, Ministry of Justice (2018) Sexual assaults reported in prisons: Exploratory findings; See also Howard League for Penal reform (2014) Coercive Sex in Prison.
- 27 See for example, Carr, Nicola and Siobhán McAlister and Tanya. Serisier (2016) Out on the Inside: The Rights, Experiences and Needs of LGBT People in Prison. Irish Penal Reform Trust; Association for the Prevention of Torture (2018) Towards the Effective Protection of LGBTI Persons Deprived of Liberty: A Monitoring Guide; Human Rights Watch (2016) 'Do you see how much I'm suffering here?': Abuse against transgender women in US immigration detention; see also sources in footnote 20.
- 28 See INQUEST, (2019) INQUEST calls for action as self-inflicted deaths, self-harm and violence in prison continues to rise.
- 29 INQUEST reports that 7 trans women died within the male estate between March 2007 March 2018. See INQUEST (2018) Still Dying on the Inside: Examining deaths in women's prison. Since then, Bent Bars is aware of two additional deaths of trans women in the women's estate.
- 30 For an indication of the kinds of circumstances that surround deaths in custody, see reports from INQUEST, such as the report from the inquest following the death of Vikki Thompson: https://www.inquest.org.uk/vikki-thompson-closing
- 31 See INQUEST (2018) Still Dying on the Inside Report and 2019 update.



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