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Fathering in a New Zealand Prison

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Sociology, the University of Auckland, 2019.

Abstract

There is evidence to suggest that maintaining father-child contact while in prison is positive for both men and their children. In New Zealand there has been no recent research looking at how men father in prison. It is not sufficient to rely on overseas research, as New Zealand has a unique male carceral population with at least half of the prisoners being indigenous men. This study draws upon narrative interviews with 38 fathers confined in one of New Zealand's largest prisons. Each father also provided quantitative data on his level of contact with his children from prison. The narrative interviews allowed the collection of stories revealing how the men were fathered, how they fathered before prison and finally how they father in prison. The stories are analysed using Bourdieu's theory of practice which explains differences in fathering practice through the intersection of habitus, capital and field. An understanding of the fathers' masculine habitus is supplemented by Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity. This theory helps to explain the construction of masculinities in different contexts, including how some men with marginalised masculinity displayed maternal-like caring behaviour towards their children.

The prison field is designed to disrupt men's habitus, make them feel out of place and their lives disjointed. For most men in this project it achieved this aim. The fathers were stressed by trying to cope with both the insecurity and violence in the prison field, and their families outside prison. This led men to father in different ways depending on their individual habitus and its interaction with the prison field. Most men had some contact with at least one of their children. Some fathers phoned, wrote to and saw their children as much as possible; while others isolated themselves completely from their families. All the men in the project wanted more contact with their children.

The practical implications which arise from the findings of this research centre around transforming the prison field into a space which supports rather than interrupts the father-child relationships. The responsibility to make these men's lives visible requires the dissemination of this knowledge to the wider community and policy makers.

Acknowledgements

This has been a long process with some hesitations along the way, but throughout my supervisors Professor Alan France and Dr Alice Mills have been knowledgeable, inspiring and above all supportive. Their bravery in taking on a student new to both sociology and qualitative research was amazing and I will be always grateful to them. I have loved our discussions and will miss them.

I began as a volunteer at Mount Eden Corrections Facility (MECF) and was soon swept into the programmes department where the idea for this research first began. It has gone through many transformations since then but I am very grateful to the programmes' staff at MECF for their support. A special thank you to Cathy Watson (MacLeod), Samantha Patel and Anja Isaacson who remained enthusiastic about the research despite set-backs during what proved to be a difficult time for them at the prison.

I have written mostly at home and have been supported by good friends and coffee. A special thank you to Cynthia Smith for her proof reading under tight time constraints, you were wonderful.

The most enjoyable part of this research was talking with the fathers who were so willing to tell their stories. I will always be grateful for your openness in talking about difficult subjects with a stranger. It is now my responsibility to ensure that your stories do not remain bound in this thesis but are set free to try and affect change.

Finally, to my family especially my husband, you have been my constant, patient, and enthusiastic cheerleaders from the beginning. Thank you. My only regret is that my mother who started this story, and my father always my supporter, are not here to see it finished.

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Table 1: Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnicity	Number of Children
Adam	33	Māori	2
Andy	28	Tongan	2
Ant	26	Tongan	5
Ben	55	Cook Island	5
Caleb	23	Tongan	1
Cecil	35	Māori	2
Charlie	35	Māori	3
Connor	39	Samoan	4
Dan	25	Samoan	1
Eli	40	Māori	3
Gordon	29	Pākeha	3
Harry	20	Tongan/Māori	1
Henry	49	Māori	7
Hunter	20	Tongan	1
Isiah	40	Pākeha	5
Jack	46	Tongan/Māori	8
Jake	40	Māori	1
John	35	Pākeha	1
Liam	45	Pākeha	3
Luke	20	Tongan	1
Marlon	23	Fijian Indian	1
Matt	22	Samoan	3
Michael	40	Māori	5
Nick	23	Samoan	3
Oscar	18	Māori	2
Pat	37	Māori	4
Paul	38	Pākeha	3
Peter	24	Māori	3
Reece	36	Māori	3
Rob	40	Pākeha	2
Ryan	23	Māori	2
Sam	24	Māori	1
Stephen	23	Māori	1
Terry	26	Tongan	1
Tim	28	Māori	3
Tyrone	25	Pākeha	3
William	29	Māori	3
Zac	28	Māori	1

Abbreviations

DOC	Department of Corrections
MECF	Mount Eden Corrections Facility
SHCG	Spring Hill Corrections Facility
UAHPEC	University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

Glossary of Māori Terms

Pākeha	New Zealanders of European descent
Marae	Meeting ground, focal part of Māori communities
Tāne	Man
Tangi	Funeral
Te reo	Māori language
Tikanga	Māori customary beliefs and practices
Whāngai	Māori customary practice where a child is raised by kin members other than their birth parents (McRae & Nikora, 2006)
Whānau	Family or extended family
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship and sense of connection among an extended family group (Moorfield, 2013)

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Initial Story

The impetus for this project was a family story that I had never heard before. The story was told to me by my mother after I began volunteering at Mount Eden Corrections Facility (MECF) in Auckland. She talked about visiting her father seventy years earlier in the same prison. She remembered how her mother took her and her younger sisters on two buses, and the slow walk to the prison gate, with no waiting room. She recalled the unfriendly attitude of some of the corrections officers, serving to make the shame the family already felt even more acute. Her father had been the family's sole breadwinner, and her mother was suddenly forced to depend on social welfare payments and charity donations. My grandfather only served one sentence, so although the prison visits and the long walks to the Salvation Army to get food are still clear in my mother's memory, they did not become a regular pattern. For many men and their families in MECF today however, prison, release and reimprisonment are a cycle that seems to have no end. For example, a long term reimprisonment rate of 54 percent for Māori, and 43 percent for non-Māori, was cited recently by the Waitangi Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:11). This statistic reflected the lives of offenders who had re-entered the community, but were returned to prison within five years, having been convicted of at least one new offence.

1.2 Prison Parenting Programme

I trained and worked as a child psychologist, and so when subsequently offering my services as a volunteer at MECF I was co-opted to help evaluate the parenting programme they were running for fathers. Some of these fathers had experienced a cycle of reimprisonments, and were trying to make changes in their family life. The parenting programme had originally been designed in New Zealand for use with parents living in the community. As I became familiar with the literature on fathering from prison and observed

and listened to the stories of the men as they went through the programme, I realised how inappropriate it was for these fathers. It had not been adapted to meet the needs of men who were not living with their family, but were instead locked up in prison. The curriculum was primarily focused on management strategies parents could use to modify their child's behaviour. For example, how to stop a teenager texting during dinner. The imprisoned fathers were instead interested in learning how to build or maintain their relationships with their children. They wanted to know how to write a letter to a seven year old that they had not seen since they were arrested. The parenting programme was designed to guide parents with middle-class lives, and it was these parents who were portrayed in the story vignettes and videos. Many New Zealanders like to think we live in a classless society (Gendall, 2009) but there can be no denying the existence of difference in the way people live their lives (Bourdieu, 1998a). This difference indicates class, as the differences "are not inevitable or freely chosen but are produced by the way society is set up" (Atkinson, 2015:184). Before coming to prison, the men in the parenting programme at MECF had two things in common; they were fathers and they were involved in crime. It was clear after spending some time with them in the classroom that, with a few exceptions, their lives were also similar in other ways. They were economically disadvantaged, had left school with no formal qualifications, and even before imprisonment, had few prospects for upward mobility. The middle-class lives portrayed in the parenting programme videos were so alien to their own that they found them funny.

The same parenting programme was widely employed in New Zealand Corrections facilities at the time. Fathers enrolled for the programme hoping to gain skills to help them build relationships and connect with their children from prison. As it was designed to be used with middle-class parents in the community, it could not successfully meet this need. By failing to address the men's parenting issues this programme further subordinated these

imprisoned fathers. MECF ended their contract with the providers of this generic parenting programme and sought to replace it with a programme written specifically for their population. The main obstacle to this was the paucity of information on how New Zealand men father from prison.

1.3 Fathering Practice of Imprisoned Men

The starting point for designing any new programme or policy is information (Loper & Tuerk, 2006). There has been an expanding literature both in New Zealand and overseas, detailing the largely negative outcomes for the children of imprisoned men (Arditti, 2016; Gordon, 2011; Murray, Farrington, & Sekol, 2012). There have also been a smaller number of overseas studies focused on quantifying the level of contact between imprisoned fathers and their children (Swanson, Lee, Sansone, & Tatum, 2013; Tripp, 2009). The three New Zealand based studies with a Corrections focus investigated the effect on children of having an imprisoned father (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011; Lawrence, 2013). These studies did not interview the imprisoned fathers, and were primarily interested in the father-child relationship, and contact from the child's and caregiver's perspective. It seemed necessary to undertake a New Zealand based study, rather than rely on overseas research, because our Corrections environment is unlike that of the countries we usually identify with. We "...continue to experience one of the highest incarceration rates in the western world" (Deckert, 2017:1) and 62 percent of those imprisoned are Māori and Pacific people (Department of Corrections, 2017c). The following paragraphs explore these two factors which serve to make imprisoned fathering distinctive in New Zealand.

Firstly, looking at the growth in our prison population numbers, in mid 2012, when I began volunteering at MECF there were 8,088 male inmates in New Zealand prisons (Department of Corrections, 2012). As I write this introduction, the figure has risen to 9,836 male prisoners (Department of Corrections, 2018c). This increase in the prison population is

not a temporary blip, it has been steadily rising for the last five years (Department of Corrections, 2018c). In March 2017, New Zealand's imprisonment rate was 212 people per 100,000, while Australia's was 169, and in England and Wales, it was 146 (Institute for Criminal Policy Research, 2017). The increase in our rate of imprisonment is out of step with these countries. Between 2014 and 2017, New Zealand's prison population increased by 12 percent per 100,000, in comparison to three percent in Australia, and a small decrease in England and Wales (Institute for Criminal Policy Research, 2017). It would appear that most of the imprisoned men are fathers. Although the Department of Corrections (DOC) do not routinely collect this information, in a fairly recent New Zealand study with a subsample of 269 male prisoners, 72 percent of these men had children (Gordon, 2011).

The second unique characteristic of the New Zealand Corrections environment is the high proportion of Māori prisoners. This is not a recent development and “forms part of an international problem regarding the situation of indigenous populations who have experienced colonisation” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:14). Māori make up 16 percent of the New Zealand population, but account for 50 percent of the prison population (Department of Corrections, 2018c). The Māori rate of reoffending is also higher than non-Māori (Department of Corrections, 2017b). Recent figures, show that 63.2 percent of sentenced Māori prisoners who had been released were reconvicted within two years. The percentage of non-Māori reconvicted over the same period was 49.5 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:11). The imprisonment and reimprisonment of Māori fathers removes them from their communities and their whānau. This has been happening for over thirty years, but the increase in imprisonment and reimprisonment means it is steadily getting worse. In 2015, the DOC's failure to specifically address the high level of Māori reoffending led to a claim being lodged against them at the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal ruled that the Department (representing the Crown) had not appropriately prioritised or targeted the reduction of Māori reoffending

through its programming and budgeting, and had failed to actively protect Māori interests (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:87). The Department was also found to have been inequitable in its attempts to reduce Māori reoffending when compared to non-Māori. This resulted in prejudice against Māori. The Tribunal concluded that

Disproportionate rates of Māori reoffending are exacerbating a cycle of social dysfunction that our nation can ill afford. To some extent the general acceptance of these statistics for such a long time has led to a normalising of Māori reoffending and imprisonment rates and the social consequences that arise. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:14).

The imprisonment rates for Pacific people are also high: 11.6 percent of the prison population (Department of Corrections, 2018c), while they only comprise 7.4 percent of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Gang membership is a significant entry point for Pacific men into prison, with approximately 40 percent of the Pacific men in prison in October 2017 being gang affiliated (Gluckman, 2018:21). Social deprivation and related family violence appear to confound the offending and imprisonment especially of young Pacific men (Ioane, Lambie, & Percival, 2016). However, all these factors affecting Pacific imprisonment are also present for Māori, and the Pacific experience of imprisonment appears to be overshadowed by the high number of Māori men imprisoned, and often reimprisoned.

Despite the uniqueness of New Zealand's carceral situation the DOC did not have accurate institutional knowledge on imprisoned men's fathering practice. As demonstrated by the statistics quoted above, this information had either not been collected, or was not being used to guide programme and policy decisions. More than half the men who were imprisoned and subject to the rehabilitation policies and practices of the DOC reoffended within two years of being released. In 2012, the DOC introduced a five year plan, the target of which was the reduction of the reconviction rate by 25 percent within the first 12 months after release. Although there was initial progress towards this target (D. Lewis, Consedine, &

Hickey, 2017) it only served to increase the disparity between Māori and non-Māori reoffending rates (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:63). By June 2016 progress had slowed, and this plan was abandoned just prior to the release of the Waitangi Tribunal report. The DOC launched a new initiative; to reduce reoffending specifically among Māori. This has an optimistic target of reducing Māori reoffending by 25 percent by 2025, with targeted funding and partnerships with Māori providers (Department of Corrections, 2016).

Some of these initiatives postdate the research in this thesis and show that the DOC is attempting to address New Zealand's high rates of imprisonment and reimprisonment, especially among Māori. However, as Dr Fiona Cram, one of the witnesses for the claimant at the Waitangi Tribunal, stated, prisoners themselves are “a vital component of (programme) co-design” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017:70) but do not appear to be being engaged in this way by the DOC. The lack of knowledge around the fathering practices of our unique prison population in New Zealand reinforced my desire for this to become the focus of my research.

Although the priority in this research was to listen to fathers, how they parent from prison affects their children. As fathers serving custodial sentences in New Zealand are a large and growing group, the number of children affected by their imprisonment is also increasing. New Zealand does not collect statistics on the number of children experiencing parental imprisonment. The most recent estimation was in 2010, when it was gauged that at any one time up to 20,000 children in New Zealand have a parent in prison and most of these will be fathers (National Health Committee, 2010). As many sentences are short it is likely that as many as 30,000 children a year experience parental imprisonment (Harpham, 2011). It is calculated that more than half these children will be Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). The emotional, social and economic consequences of having a father imprisoned have been written about widely, both in New Zealand and overseas (Gordon, 2009; Kjellstrand & Eddy, 2011). The ways parental imprisonment affects children appears to be very complex. There is

no clear appreciation of the pathway between a father's arrest, imprisonment and the negative outcomes for his children. Researching how these men were fathered, how they fathered outside prison and how this and the prison environment influences their imprisoned parenting may lead to better understanding about this process. I had hoped to add the children's voices to this project by interviewing some of the children of the imprisoned fathers. However, these children were seen as a vulnerable group by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) and the DOC. These committees appeared to have two roles, protecting the children participants, but also the reputation of their own institutions (Chakraborty, Nansen, Gibbs, & MacDougall, 2012). Despite the ethical issues, it was important to give the children an opportunity to talk about their relationships with their fathers. "Children know a great deal about their own lives and childhood, and they are capable of participating in detailed research processes" (Abebe 2009:452). Unfortunately, the narrow recruitment process prescribed by UAHPEC made this impossible. These issues are covered in more detail in chapter five.

1.4 What Research Questions?

Having established the need for research on how this increasingly large group of New Zealand men father, the next step was to decide what questions to ask. The initial purpose of the study, to collect information on imprisoned fathers for the development of a parenting programme suggested a narrow framework, where the research questions are shaped directly by the concerns of a programme or policy. This constraining of the research domain exemplifies the 'problem-solving model' of research, where there is a very straightforward and linear relationship between knowledge and policy (K. Young, Ashby, Boaz, & Grayson, 2002). Although appealing at first to a novice researcher; especially one with a quantitative background, as this model is generally linked to strongly positivist oriented research; there are also drawbacks. Put simply the 'problem solving model' involves identifying an issue,

devising a methodology for collecting data pertaining to that issue, using the data to devise a programme around the issue, and finally evaluating the programme. This model is designed to produce a clear rational pathway between an identified issue, and the resolution of that issue. The difficulty is that the lives of those who live inside prisons, and the lives of their families, do not generally follow clear or rational pathways. A programme, no matter how well designed is not going to be delivered under the same conditions to a homogeneous group of offenders, and therefore the outcomes are going to differ. More importantly than this, the narrow focus of this type of research allows no space for any explanatory power. No programme can answer the question of why a father offends in the first place, or why he reoffends (McNeill, 2004). Or in this research, how a father maintains a relationship with his children from prison. The decision was made in this project to use the research questions to broaden, not narrow the scope of the study. This also extended the relationship between knowledge and policy, and once again drawing on Young's typology I chose to use the 'enlightenment model' (K. Young et al., 2002). A rather grand title for a beginning investigator, but following this model allowed me to address the research issue indirectly, and further focus on providing some background and context for thinking about the problem (K. Young et al., 2002). This seemed very appropriate for an exploratory study in an area where there was a paucity of knowledge. Hilde Tubex further underlined this approach, concluding that prison research is at its best when "rather than ... finding solutions to policy problems, it provides information and a conceptual framework within which the problem can be studied and understood" (Tubex, 2015:14).

1.5 Introducing Bourdieu and Masculinity

There are many different ways to father and many different influences on how a father parents. Men are socialised by their own fathers and families into the role a father plays, especially in terms of masculinity (Doucet, 2009). Cultural background, ethnicity, and class

are also factors in men's fathering practice (Pattnaik, 2013). The context of their own family, especially the other parent, further influence how men father (Fagan, Day, Lamb, & Cabrera, 2014). Therefore, to create Tubex's (2015) conceptual framework it was necessary to understand not just how the men father in prison, but how they fathered in their own communities, and the beliefs they bring with them about parenting from how they themselves were fathered. The theory necessary for this analysis appeared to be more aligned to sociology than criminology. I chose to use a theory developed by Bourdieu, a sociologist who, although very concerned with social inequality, is not generally associated with carceral topics. Using Bourdieu's framework could be described as a heuristic experiment as it is a novel way of trying to understand the changes in these men's fathering in terms of Bourdieu's theory of practice. His theory is consistent with the enrichment model, where providing a context for exploring the issue of imprisoned fathering means going beyond a simple description of individual men's fathering practice. Bourdieu's theory is based on three interrelated concepts: habitus, capital and field. Together these concepts guide the analysis of social practice, "(Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice" (Bourdieu, 1984:101). How a man fathers from prison, or is involved in any social practice depends on the interaction between his disposition or habitus, the capital he has, and the field or social space he finds himself in (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu's theory of practice is explored in more detail in chapter four, but a brief explanation of the key concepts as they relate to this project follows.

Habitus is a way of describing a father's embodied "ways of being" which primarily come from his birth family, but can also be embedded at later stages of life. It is the link between a father's history and social structure, including his class and ethnicity and his social practice, in this case fathering (Bourdieu, 1998b:81). Capital combines with habitus to shape both a father's parenting choices and responses within certain social spaces or fields. Capital has four forms: economic, social, cultural and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986). Economic capital

is both money and resources. Social capital comes from the network of relationships a father belongs to. In this project it could include both his family and criminal or gang connections. There are two defining features of cultural capital, firstly it is specific to a field, and secondly it has the power to set an individual apart. Cultural capital involves a variety of resources which broadly revolve around education and can include “verbal competence, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences and knowledge about the school system” (Swartz, 1997: 74). Depending on the field, cultural capital can also be ascribed to being a competent fighter, or having a criminal record. These forms of cultural capital may be prized in the prison field, but have a negative value in most other fields. Finally, other forms of capital can be transformed into symbolic capital. An individual with symbolic capital is perceived as legitimately deserving recognition, deference and power in a field (Swartz, 1997). The last component is the field, where the social practice takes place. The fields are organised around specific capital, the amount and type of capital an individual has determines his position in the field. This project looks at how men parent in two fields: the street and the prison. The street field is not literally “the street” but an area where criminal and gang activity takes place (A. Fraser, 2013; Sandberg, 2008b).

Using this interaction between habitus, capital and field allows an exploration of how these individual men father. Bourdieu has been criticised for providing an overly deterministic view of social practice (Jenkins, 1992). The future of the fathers in this project was not determined when they were born, but unlike theories of individualisation (Giddens, 1991) it also seems unlikely they were entirely free to “construct their own biographies” (Bathmaker, 2015:64). The criminal lives they led and the decisions they made around parenting were within the boundaries of what they saw as possible given their habitus, and capital, and the fields they entered (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Apart from the work of Wacquant, a student and then collaborator of Bourdieu, the theory of practice has rarely been

applied to issues of inequality and imprisonment (Wacquant, 2001, 2010). This theory supported by Bourdieu's core tools of habitus, capital and field will form one of the two threads running throughout this thesis.

The other important issue is that of masculinity, an organising construct, which has a strong relationship with both fatherhood and criminality. Having some understanding of how men first constructed their masculinity in their birth families, and the influence of this on their fathering will allow a clearer view of their practice as fathers. Although Bourdieu wrote about gender within the framework of habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu, 2001) it is generally acknowledged that he did not fully explore this area (Chodos & Curtis, 2002; McNay, 1999; Reay, 2004). Bourdieu saw a strict binary division between genders (Bourdieu, 2001). Despite theorising the possibility of an individual's habitus changing under certain circumstances (Bourdieu, 1990b), Bourdieu envisaged no flexibility in the gendered habitus, with masculine domination being constant and universal (Bourdieu, 2001). This conclusion is at odds with both feminist thought (McNay, 1999; Reay, 2004) and also the work on multiple masculinities by Connell (Connell, 1995, 2000). To overcome this theoretical gap, explorations of masculinity in this thesis are supplemented by Connell's formulation of masculinity and femininity as "inherently relational concepts, which have meaning in relation to each other, as a social demarcation and a cultural opposition". (Connell 2005:43). Connell conceives of different forms of masculinity, but these forms are not equivalent. Instead they are arranged hierarchically, originally with 'hegemonic masculinity' being

...the one specific form of masculinity in a given history and society-wide setting that legitimates unequal gender relations between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities. (Messerschmidt 2018:143).

However, more recent masculinity studies have led to a reformulation, with the concept of ‘multiple hegemonic masculinities’ constructed in different ways (Messerschmidt, 2018). These hegemonic masculinities share the legitimization of men subordinating women and femininity in favour of masculine ideals. Traditional fathering shaped by hegemonic masculinity allows a man to feel that as long as he can financially provide for, and physically protect his child he is a good father (Magaraggia 2013). However, for many men in this project their ethnicity or economic class may make this ideal difficult to realise (Connell, 2000). Despite this, because of the way they were fathered they continue to prioritise providing for, and protecting their children. These values remain strongly tied to their view of fatherhood and masculinity. If they are unable to attain this ideal in the traditional way, through a secure, well paid job, many turn to crime (Gibbs & Merighi, 1994). There are established theoretical and empirical links between the social construction of masculinities and crime (Majors & Billson, 1992; Messerschmidt, 2000). Gaining some understanding of each man’s masculinity and changes in their construction of masculinity will allow a clearer view of their fathering practice. As these men came from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds this will also be reflected in how they were fathered and how they display their masculinity.

1.6 The Research Questions

The following two research questions are consistent with the ‘enlightenment model’ of research detailed above. They are also in line with Bourdieu’s theory of exploring the men’s habitus and capital and the fields they operate in, in order to begin to understand their practice of parenting.

Question One: What is the fathering practice of the men in this project both outside and inside prison?

There are only a few qualitative studies that focus on fathering from prison (Skar, von Tetzchner, Clucas, & Sherr, 2014; Tripp, 2009). Most of the research in this area is

concerned with collecting quantitative data on contact between the father and one of his children (Clarke et al., 2005; Day, Bahr, Acock, & Arditti, 2005). In this project I have attempted to widen this focus substantially in two directions. Firstly, by looking beyond the prison walls to understand something about how these men had been fathered themselves, as well as the way they fathered before they were imprisoned. Secondly, the study gathered contact and visiting information for all the men's children not just one, as this gave a fuller indication of their fathering (Tripp, 2001).

Question Two: What can account for this practice?

Bourdieu's theory with its interrelated concepts of habitus, capital and field was specifically designed to elucidate social practice. In this project it provides some explanation of why these men father as they do. To begin to understand how it is for these men to be fathers, it was necessary to understand both the changing social spaces or fields they are situated in, first in the community, and then in prison; and the evolving habitus or unconscious dispositions they bring to their fathering practice (Bourdieu, 1990b:52-66, 1991:37-42). It is the interrelationship of these three concepts that can help to explain both the fathering practice of an individual, and a group of men whose life experiences may differ but who share the structure of these experiences with others (Bourdieu, 1990b:53). Bourdieu and Wacquant outlined the three levels of analysis required to achieve this understanding (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:104-107). The first task is to analyse the field especially with respect to power. In this project the street and the prison fields are explored. Secondly, the positions of the individuals in the field need to be mapped relative to their holding of relevant capital in the field. The final level of analysis is the individuals' different habitus and how this has influenced their trajectory into the field. Although the data is collected on the individual, this is to help build up information on the field which may permit some broader

understanding of social practice, which in this project, is how men parent from prison. It also grants an insight into the individual.

It is the knowledge of the field itself in which they evolve that allows us best to grasp the roots of their singularity, their *point of view* or position (in a field) from which their particular vision of the world (and of the field itself) is constructed. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:107).

The Bourdieusian analysis of why the men in this project father in certain ways will be complemented by an understanding of the masculinities they construct. Masculinity influences not only fathering practice but also men's relationships with other men, and with women, especially their child's mother. Recent masculinity studies have emphasised the possibility of multiple local hegemonic masculinities, which legitimate unequal gender relations (Messerschmidt, 2018). There are also multiple non-hegemonic masculinities, such as protest masculinities which may be more relevant for the men in this project who lack economic power (Messerschmidt, 2018). Research has revealed the "ever-changing negotiability of masculinity to account for current social and cultural transformations" (Buschmeyer and Lengersdorf, 2016:144). In this project this reinforces the need to try to understand the men's masculinity across the different fields they enter, in their families, in the street field as criminals, and in the prison field.

1.7 Narrative Methodology

To find out about the lives of these imprisoned fathers I returned to the original impetus for this project, a family story. The ability to tell stories develops very early in children without explicit instruction (Cohler, 1982) and it appears to be the primary way people make sense of their experiences (Gee, 1985). Using personal narratives in this project seemed appropriate as I was asking the fathers to talk about an emotional and difficult topic and making sense of these experiences in a story may make it easier for them (Riessman, 1993). This methodology has already been used successfully in research with prisoners and

former prisoners in New Zealand and overseas (Crewe, 2013; McKendy, 2006; Nakhid & Shorter, 2014).

I had originally planned to talk to imprisoned fathers in two prisons, MECF and Spring Hill Corrections Centre which unlike MECF was run by the DOC and had a unit for Pacific prisoners. At both facilities I wanted to interview imprisoned fathers, some of their children and the children's mothers or caregivers. I also intended to undertake a small group interview of corrections officers at both prisons. Permission was not granted to enter the Spring Hill Corrections Facility, and changes at MECF led to the corrections officers' interviews proving impossible. Recruitment restrictions imposed by the UAHPEC also severely limited participation from family members of fathers in MECF. After an extended process of consultation with the DOC, and then the UAHPEC, and MECF, 38 men were interviewed individually. They were encouraged to tell stories both about how they were fathered, and how they fathered their own children. These narratives were analysed using the method advocated by Riessman (1993). This form of narrative analysis focuses not only on the content of the men's stories, but also how the story was told, and why that particular story was disclosed. This promoted an understanding of the men's habitus and capital, the interaction between this and the various fields they entered and together how this influenced their parenting. It also highlighted the structural issues such as class and ethnicity which impacted upon these men's fathering.

1.8 Outline of the Subsequent Chapters

Using the twin threads of Bourdieu's theory of practice and masculinity to uncover the story of imprisoned fathering in a New Zealand prison is exploratory. While the concept of hegemonic masculinity has frequently been used to analyse the behaviour of men in prison (Evans & Wallace, 2008; Ricciardelli, 2013), Bourdieu's theory has generally been employed to research the classroom (Bathmaker, Ingram, & Waller, 2013) or boardroom (Friedman,

Laurison, & Miles, 2015). The first five chapters of the thesis explain why and how I manage to wind these two threads together to facilitate my understanding of how this group of mostly Māori and Pacific men father, and were fathered.

The men in this study grew up in families, and in common with New Zealand and international research, some lived in the community with at least one of their children before being imprisoned (Gordon, 2011; Kjellstrand, Cearley, Eddy, Foney, & Martinez, 2012) and want to return to their families on release. Chapter two therefore looks at the studies on contemporary fathering, and the different influences on fathering including class, ethnicity, masculinity, and institutional policies around fathering. The research on class, ethnicity and masculinity is organised around the concepts of habitus and capitals which are embodied within each father and interact with the field to affect fathering practice. There is a focus on reviewing New Zealand research, including the limited literature on Māori fathering and family life, and fathering by gang members. Chapter three reviews the literature specific to fathering from prison. Most of this research has focused on how paternal imprisonment affects children (Murray et al., 2012), and evaluations of parenting programmes and policies to help ameliorate these effects (Hoffmann, Byrd, & Kightlinger, 2010). There have been far fewer studies interested in how fathers view themselves and how they are involved with their children from prison (Clarke et al., 2005; Tripp, 2009). With a Bourdieusian focus this chapter looks at research on the prison field and how the carceral space limits or enables fathering. There is information on contact between fathers and their children and what influences this, as well as the impact of this involvement on both children and their fathers. As there are limited New Zealand studies to draw from, research on imprisoned fathers in Australia, the UK and the US is also used.

Chapter four focuses on Bourdieu's theory of practice. This chapter explains the three thinking tools of habitus, capital and field in more detail. It also outlines some of the

challenges to this tool kit, which has led it to being “ransacked, selectively applied, mashed with other ideas and twisted as empirical findings dictate” (Atkinson, 2012b:170). This has led to concepts such as ‘Black capital’ and ‘family habitus’. As well as reviewing these hybrid ideas this chapter also suggests areas where Bourdieu’s theory requires some work, for example, to explain movement across multiple fields and flexibility in the gendered habitus. Connell’s concepts of multiple masculinities and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) are introduced to augment Bourdieu’s theory in this area. They are described in more detail along with the recent conceptual and empirical challenges to hegemonic masculinity.

Having established the framework for the research, chapter five outlines the methodology that is used to collect and analyse the data. The chapter begins by briefly delving into the epistemology and ontology of the project, as an explanation for the qualitative methodology, and ultimately the narrative method of analysis (Riessman, 1993). Riessman’s narrative analysis allows a focus on the men’s own accounts of their fathering practice, while at the same time looking for patterns across their parenting experiences to see what can be learned about fathering from prison (Riessman, 1990). As the researcher, I also need to be reflexive and open “so subjectivity which is a part of all social research is a visible part of the project and available to the reader for examination” (Miller & Glassner, 2011:96). I employed Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology, which is explained in this section. The accountability it demands seems especially appropriate, as there is a large social distance between the fathers and me. The last part of this chapter explores the constraints placed on this research both by the UAHPEC and the DOC. It also looks at the difficulties of researching in prison even after entry has been granted.

The next four chapters present the findings of the research through an analysis of the fathers’ stories. Chapter six begins by looking at the men’s family field, to discover how they were fathered. This chapter is also the first to explore the men’s habitus, which is primarily

embedded in their birth family. Many of the men had similar stories about their childhood, including the intermittent presence of their birth father, the use of drugs and alcohol in the family, and their fathers' involvement in gangs. In chapter seven these men have progressed to become fathers themselves and are working in the street field. By using the fathers' narratives, this chapter tentatively maps the men's individual positions in the street field according to the type and amount of capital they have. This mapping is exploratory as it has not previously been undertaken in criminology. It allows some insight into the relationship between the fathers' position in the field and fathering practice. Chapter eight, centres on fathering from prison looking specifically at the prison field. The field is analysed using Crewe's (2015) framework to reveal how imprisonment felt for these men, and how it affected their fathering. This chapter concludes by reviewing the type and amount of contact between the fathers and their children. This is more fully quantified in the appendices. The last of the findings are presented in chapter nine. The misalignment between these fathers' habitus and the prison field causes difficulties for many fathers. These are initially explored theoretically and then in more depth through four men's stories. These stories illustrate how the lack of fit between the imprisoned fathers' habitus and the prison field can impact not only on their relationship with their children in prison but also with their own feelings of mental wellbeing.

In chapter ten, the two research questions are answered with reference to the men's stories and the collected contact data. By using Bourdieu's theory of practice and a framework of multiple masculinities there is some understanding of why these men father as they do. These stories are not usually heard and I feel a responsibility to these men to disseminate this knowledge more widely. The project findings have practical implications for correctional changes which would enable imprisoned fathers and their children to maintain or rebuild their relationships.

Throughout his life each man's habitus is "expressive of his particular social origin and trajectory" and his life course is a continual interaction between this habitus and the social fields he operates in (Grenfell 2014:163). Through their own stories and using the lens of habitus, capital and field, it is hoped the next nine chapters will throw some light on how these fathers' difficult lives "produce an infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable... (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:55)" but there may also be some pattern in their diversity which will provide an insight into imprisoned fathering beyond these 38 men.

Chapter Two: Fathering in New Zealand

2.1 Introduction

The focus in this chapter will be on exploring the context of heterosexual fathering in New Zealand. Although this project is concerned with how men father from prison, there also needs to be a discussion of what shapes and frames fathering, and the changes that have taken place in terms of how fathering is perceived and ‘lived’ in New Zealand. As we shall see in the later chapters understanding the ecological context of fathering will shed light on the how and why practices of fathering in prison. With only a few exceptions the men in this study were born, and grew up within families in New Zealand towns and rural communities. When they became fathers they usually lived with at least some of their children before their arrest and imprisonment. Understanding their parenting practices before they entered prison is critical in order to fully understand how they parent in prison. The chapter will start by outlining some of the key changes in both the policy field and the cultural field that have encouraged a gentle shift in what it means to be a father in New Zealand. This will be followed by a discussion on how class, gender and ethnicity play a role in the creation of an individual’s habitus and capitals, and how these in turn influence fathering practice, especially in New Zealand.

2.2 The ‘Field’ of Family Policy

Family policies applied in New Zealand have a major influence on men’s fathering in the family and work field. The policies work on the premise that good and responsible fathers contribute financially to their children. None of the policies seem concerned with balancing the work and family care of both parents. The intersection between habitus, capital and field means these policies do not affect all men equally. For example, a man in a higher position in the work field may be more able to take advantage of the flexible working arrangements under the Employment Relations Act (2007) than a factory worker who must operate a

machine for eight hours. Callister & Fursman, (2013) for example, outlined the three family policy areas which currently limit a father's ability to assume a more hands-on caring role with his children. These are the laws around paternal leave after the birth of a child; the availability of flexible working arrangements; and legislation around caring for a child after separation or divorce.

2.2.1 Paternal leave

Cross-national research has shown that to be successful, paternal leave should be specific to the father, paid at a high rate and be flexible (Featherstone, 2010). New Zealand paternal leave meets only one of these criteria. Currently two weeks of unpaid leave are earmarked for fathers. But without payment attached to it, it is not widely used (Callister, 2007). Data from a 2014 study, showed that although 83 percent of fathers took leave at the time of their child's birth, most of this was annual leave as they could not afford to take unpaid leave (Growing up in New Zealand, 2014). Legislation enacted in 2018 extended mothers' paid leave to 22 weeks, and to 26 weeks by 2020 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2017). One of the rationales for this extension advanced by the Ministry for Women was that by transferring some or all of this leave to their eligible partner, mothers could encourage fathers to be part of early caring for their baby (S. Harris, 2018). Though laudable, the fulfilment of this aim appears doubtful, when in practice, with 18 weeks available, only one percent of the leave had been transferred to fathers (SPRU, 2015b). By not ring fencing this leave for fathers, but leaving it up to mothers to transfer it, this scheme reinforces the view that mothers are the primary caregivers and fathers are the helpers (O'Brien, 2005).

New Zealand is one of very few countries in the world where paternity leave is offered but not remunerated (Addati, Cassirer, & Gilchrist, 2014). Countries like Norway, which decades ago legislated for specific quotas for paternal leave, with high income replacement figures, now have more gender equitable work-family practices (Haas & Hwang,

2007). In 1993 before the quota, the uptake of paternal leave in Norway was less than four percent; in 2009 after ring fencing father only leave, it rose to 89 percent (Brandth & Kvande, 2009). Closer to home, Australia introduced two weeks of paid paternal leave in 2013. An evaluation 12 months later found 36 percent of new fathers had taken advantage of the leave (Martin et al., 2014). This same study reported some early positive changes in both fathers' and employers' attitude toward paternal leave and fathers' involvement in childcare, although this did not necessarily continue when they returned to work.

2.2.2 Flexible work arrangements

Workplace flexibility can encourage better work-family balance for men and women. Overseas it has been shown to encourage fathers to spend less time at work, and more time with their children (Tanaka & Waldfogel, 2007). In New Zealand legislation was introduced in 2007, and later refined, to allow more flexible working arrangements for all employees. The Act supports employees requesting alternative ways of structuring their work, allowing fathers to increase time with their children by creating a more flexible workday. Although this legislation is gender neutral, it appears to have been used infrequently by fathers and favoured by mothers, who generally work in more family friendly environments (Cribb, 2009). To a large extent this may be attributed to workplace culture and values which emphasise commitment to work at the expense of family time (Callister & Fursman, 2013) although it appears that these values are also held more generally beyond the workplace.

2.2.3 Laws relating to non-residential fathering

The majority of separated or divorced fathers are in a secondary parenting role with mothers caring for their children in more than 80 percent of single parent families (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). Although the New Zealand Care of Children Act (2004) promotes the ideal of co-operative parenting, unlike the Australian legislation it falls short of suggesting the appropriate level of contact for a non-residential father. In New Zealand there was an

expectation, that without specifically legislating for it, that the new Act would lead to more shared care arrangements, but this does not appear to have occurred. The statistics in this area are minimal. These policies affect all fathers, however some researchers have argued that this effect is not an equal one (Hastings & Matthews, 2015). Middle-class men are positioned to have the skills and capital necessary to access policy information, communicate with others including their employers and obtain maximum benefit for themselves.

2.3 The Cultural Fathering Practices in New Zealand

The dominant and traditional parenting role in most Western countries is that of the ‘breadwinning father’. This fathering concept appeared after the industrial revolution when the division of labour re-enforced gender divisions. The ‘breadwinning father’ was seen as taking sole responsibility for the financial needs of his family, going out to work, while the mother remained in the home caring for the children. The idea of the breadwinning father has historically reinforced the gender divisions between men and women, and despite serious strain over the last four decades it still continues to be central to the fathering practice of many men. The strain began in the 1970s with changes to the employment patterns of both men and women. Many men lost their jobs in heavy industries, and at the same time there was a surge of employment opportunities in the service sector (Latshaw, 2011). Women entered the workforce in large numbers to fill these vacancies and have remained, while many men, especially low-income men, continue to be unemployed or underemployed (Strangleman, 2005).

2.3.1 The ‘new’ emerging father

‘Dual income’ families are now the norm in New Zealand, and although men continue to contribute the larger proportion of the income, few fathers have sole responsibility as the family earner (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). The economic driver of being a breadwinning father may have long disappeared, but for many men it continues to be integral to their

fathering and their perceptions of their own masculinity (Dowd, 2012). This appears to be especially true for Māori and Pacific fathers, although the research in this area is dated. Māori fathers in a 2009 telephone survey prioritised being the income provider over their other paternal roles (Luketina, Davidson, & Palmer, 2009). Similarly, almost half the Pacific respondents (48 percent) in another study believed fathers should provide for their families, while mothers stayed at home caring for the children (Ministry of Social Development, 2006b). There has been a slow cautious step towards a breakdown in the gendered division of labour, but women continue to do most of the childcare and housekeeping within the home and men do most of the paid work (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). However, there is an expectation that fathers will be more engaged in their children's lives through daily caregiving and emotional support.

2.3.2 The involved father

The model of blending breadwinning with some involvement and caregiving is termed the 'involved father' (Hatten, Vitner, & Williams, 2002). At a basic level researchers have suggested this should mean fathers spending more time with their children (Sayer, Gauthier, & Furstenberg, 2004), because at the very least developing this relationship should take time. But the most recent New Zealand Time Use Survey in 2009/10 found that mothers spent on average twice as much time in child care as fathers (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). When this was adjusted to compare mothers and fathers who had the same working arrangements, either full or part time, the difference was smaller but still significant (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). Before having children fathers were often optimistic about their ability to combine work and a nurturing fathering role (S. Morton et al., 2010). In the longitudinal study, *Growing up in New Zealand*, 77 percent of the 'soon to be fathers' expected to be involved in the day-to-day care of their child, for most or all of the time (S. Morton et al., 2010). However, this involvement did not extend to taking direct responsibility

for their child on a daily basis. Only 44 percent of these fathers said they would get up to a sick child in the night, or make decisions about day care. They saw this responsibility as the mothers. It also needs to be noted that only 60 percent of the possible 6800 fathers participated in this study; it is likely those who did participate were the fathers most involved with their child.

The theme of a father being mother's 'helper' but not taking direct responsibility for childcare was present in a number of recent studies in New Zealand and Australia (Riggs & Bartholomaeus, 2018; Rose, Brady, Yerkes, & Coles, 2015; Schmidt, 2014). In these small qualitative studies both men and women appeared to share the view that men are primarily providers, although one father in the New Zealand study was the caregiver (Schmidt, 2014). The men were seen as involved, although the daily childcare tasks they undertook were generally play oriented, and were completed in a discretionary manner to fit the father's routine (Rose et al., 2015). Men also had tasks they refused to do such as settling a baby to sleep or night time care.

New Zealand fathers have increased their involvement level with their children, but on average it is still far behind that of mothers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). When they have children, especially multiple children, men find it difficult to balance the demands of family and work. In a New Zealand wide survey, 68 percent of fathers with dependent children indicated that they wanted to spend more time with them. Most cited work commitments as the main barrier to fulfilling this aim (Family Commission Survey, 2009). It appears that in New Zealand, as with overseas family is fitted around work (Kaufman, 2013). Most 'involved fathering' was done in the weekends when fathers could separate their family from work commitments (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). As evidenced by the New Zealand Time Use Survey, at least a third of fathers undertook 50 percent of the weekend's parental care (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). The father's time was generally child focused and spent

in more interaction based activities. However, mothers were still left managing most of the care even in the weekend, averaging seven times more solo care than fathers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d).

2.3.3 Non-residential fathering

More recently there has been an increase in the number of separated parents having to make custody and care arrangements for their children (Elizabeth, 2016). An analysis of data from the latest New Zealand census in 2013, 18 percent of dependent children lived in single parent families, and 84 percent of these children were living with their mothers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). Although fathers may want to remain involved with their children it becomes more difficult when they are a non-residential parent. Fathers may still have a caring role in their children's lives providing this contact is in 'the best interests of the child' (Care of Children Act, 2004).

A paucity of recent research and statistics makes it difficult to determine how many non-residential fathers in New Zealand are sharing in their children's daily care. Data from the Family Court in 2006 and 2007 showed that 80 percent of the parenting orders for the day-to-day care of their children were made by one parent, and most of these were mothers (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Similarly research undertaken by the Families Commission in 2009 found only about 7 percent of the 1600 separated parents they surveyed shared the day-to-day care of their children (Colmar Brunton, 2009). This study found the most common arrangement was for the child to stay overnight with the non-residential parent, generally the father, on a regular basis. Some non-residential parents, again mostly fathers, had less frequent contact with their children and some had no contact. Interviews from a smaller sample of separated parents in this same study, showed that where there was no court involvement mothers decided on the contact arrangements, generally without consultation. Approximately 75 percent of the non-residential fathers in this survey wanted to have more

involvement with their children (Colmar Brunton, 2009:55). This was not possible primarily because of their work commitments and geographical distance from their children.

Despite what has become a legal and increasingly a cultural ideal of father involvement after separation, mothers continued to be the primary parent in post-separation families (Tolmie, Elizabeth, & Gavey, 2010b). However, this is a disputed and emotional area with parents of both genders often feeling the process is biased against them (Lyons, 2006; Tolmie, Elizabeth, & Gavey, 2010a). Providing economic support may be one of the few paternal roles non-residential fathers can fulfil. Non-residential parents who cannot reach an equitable financial agreement for child payments are legally obliged to support their children under the Child Support Amendment Act (2013). There is a high level of debt associated with this scheme (Inland Revenue, 2015) which appears contrary to the breadwinning ethic prevalent in New Zealand society (Baker, 2010). However, the majority of people in the child support scheme are beneficiaries (Inland Revenue, 2015) who may have had difficulty paying the prescribed amounts. This has not deterred commentary blaming fathers who do not support their children regardless of the circumstances they find themselves in (Auckland Women's Centre, 2012; Cowlshaw, 2017).

2.3.4 Fathers as primary care-givers

The number of New Zealand fathers who are the primary caregiver for their children has remained relatively stable. It was estimated in 2006, that the father was the main caregiver in 3.4 percent of families; this was only a slight rise from 20 years earlier (Furman & Callister, 2009). Fathers headed a constant 15-17 percent of solo parent families from 1981 to 2013 (Davey, 1999; Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). Choosing to be a full time father without a financial or employment driver appears unusual as illustrated by two fathers in recent qualitative studies. One father who chose to stay at home was in between jobs, and

intending to retrain while caring for his child, and the other had just completed a qualification and was deciding on a job (Elkington, 2017; Schmidt, 2014).

2.4 New Zealand Fathering Practice in 2018

A New Zealand sociologist writing in 2010, concluded that the public discourse around parenting is focused on mothers as the primary carers, and fathers as the supporters and breadwinners (Baker, 2010). Nine years later this view appears to still be pervasive in New Zealand society. This is reinforced by government policies and workplaces that elevate men's paid work over their family work (Reilly & Morrissey, 2016) and the widespread acceptance of fathers as the providers (Families Commission, 2009). Research has continued to show that men are 'helpers' and are not taking responsibility for their child independent of their partner (S. Morton et al., 2010; Schmidt, 2014). This includes the decisions of young middle-class couples who "just assumed" (Schmidt, 2014:24) that the father would return to work as the provider while the mother took parental leave. When asked, New Zealand fathers, both residential and non-residential, say they want to spend more time with their children (Colmar Brunton, 2009; S. Morton et al., 2018). They state they are restricted from doing so by work commitments, this confirming the continued importance of the breadwinner discourse. When relationships breakdown it is usually the women who continue in the role as the primary parent, with most children living with their mothers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). Being an 'at home' father is rare in New Zealand either as a primary caregiver in a couple, or as a solo parent (Fursman & Callister, 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2014d). This gendered discourse of mother as the 'main carer' and father as the provider and 'secondary carer' appears to be embodied in the habitus of many New Zealanders and limits their parenting practices.

2.5 Habitus and Social Practice

When their first child was born the men in this study were not entirely free to choose the kind of fathers they were going to be. Bourdieu argues in the *Logic of Practice* (1990) that the interaction between an individual's embodied habitus, their various capitals, and the social spaces or fields they occupy leads them to view only certain forms of social practice as possible or viable. This includes fathering. Habitus ensures the active presence of past experiences (Bourdieu, 1990b). Men's possible fathering practices are generated from the embodied habitus which is "in a sense pre-adapted" to generate only practices that men are familiar with and make sense to them in their social field (Bourdieu, 1990b:54). As Bourdieu suggests,

...the most improbable practices are therefore excluded as unthinkable by a kind of immediate submission to order that inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway denied, and to will the inevitable (Bourdieu, 1990b:54)

Interpreting this for fathering practice, it suggests that if a man remains in a similar position and field as his birth family, his fathering choices will be similar to his father's, and others in an equivalent position in the same field.

Social class, gender and ethnicity are all factors suggested as key influences in fathering practice. All three play a part in a person's habitus being "a mediating construct" (Wacquant, 2016:65) which

...ensures the active presence of past experiences, which deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought, and action, that tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices...more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms (Bourdieu, 1990b:54).

These three factors are not only embodied in the habitus but the intersection between them leads to particular fathering practices.

2.5.1 Social Class and habitus

Bourdieu contends that individuals who share similar positions in social space also have similar forms and amounts of capital, and share similar “conditions of existence” (Atkinson, 2015:65). Those located higher in the social space have more capital, and are further from having to be concerned with the necessities of life. Those positioned lower in the space with less capital, are more focused on earning enough money to provide for themselves and their families. These differences in conditions of existence produce different habitus (Atkinson, 2015:66). Class differences are therefore embodied in the habitus from the birth family, and structure the future by being “the basis of perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences”(Bourdieu, 1990b:54).

These differences in habitus and position in social space translate into differences in fathering practices. Those in the middle and upper classes have sufficient capital to support their families. They are more likely to have the time and discretionary income to spend on their children, perhaps encouraging them in cultural or educational activities. Working-class fathers who are positioned lower in social space are more concerned with the necessities of life, and prioritise ‘providing’ over caregiving. A small US study of physicians, revealed that these middle-class fathers worked very long hours as the sole providers for their families (Shows & Gerstel, 2009). The men saw themselves as ‘involved’ fathers because they fulfilled the role of ‘educational facilitator’ encouraging their children’s talents through organised activities (Lareau, 2003). However, their ‘public fathering’ did not translate to them taking part in the daily care of their children in the home, a task which they left up to the mothers (Shows & Gerstel, 2009:182). Vincent and Ball's (2006) earlier research into middle-class parenting in London established that fathers encouraged the ‘concerted cultivation’ of their preschool children through organised activities like ballet and French. The conscious building of their children’s cultural capital by the fathers in these two studies was consistent with Bourdieu’s view of how the ‘dominant class’ further entrench their

children's position (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). In these families the mother was nearly always the primary carer. Despite some men changing jobs, or working fewer hours to spend time with their children, the mothers were still acknowledged as the primary and responsible parent, and the father was the 'helper' (Vincent & Ball, 2006).

In contrast, working-class men if they were unemployed or working part time were more likely to be involved in the day-to-day care of their children, although given the option their choice would have been to be the provider and work full time (Braun, Vincent, & Ball, 2011; Chesley, 2011). A US study confirmed that working-class fathers who cared for their children at home, did so as a result of losing their jobs, or moving onto shift work. Their partners, who replaced them as the families' breadwinners, admitted that without these drivers they would not have made this swap (Chesley, 2011). In the same study, educated middle-class fathers chose to stay home to look after their children, while their wives, who all had high paying jobs, supported the family (Chesley, 2011).

Working-class men tended to prioritise providing, which was consistent with their personal habitus but not the family field they were in. This was not a choice men made but a result of low or no employment. The conflict between working-class men's habitus and the family field tended to make them uncomfortable, and they continued to see themselves as providers. In contrast middle-class fathers appeared happy to be either full time carers or providers who were also involved fathers. Habitus and capital of those higher up in social space provides more choice for fathering practice.

2.5.2 Masculinity and habitus

Despite an ongoing blurring of the boundaries between family work and paid work, and fathers increasing their emotional involvement with their children, (C.Lewis & Lamb, 2007) the social norms for mothering and fathering remain gendered (Doucet, 2013; Närvi, 2012). How a father constructs his masculinity influences his parenting. Bourdieu sees these

patterns of masculinity as having been established through social and cultural history and being embodied in the habitus (Bourdieu, 2001). This unconscious embodiment explains how masculinity is in turn embedded in everyday life (Adkins, 2004). Connell (1995) developed a framework of hegemonic masculinities to account for men's patterns or structures of masculinity. This hierarchy of masculinities is arranged according to men's subordination of women and domination of other men (Connell, 2005). For men who have constructed a hegemonic masculinity, fathering is traditionally associated with breadwinning, protecting their family, and disciplining their children. Childcare or domestic work must be avoided as it is considered women's work. There is tension for men in undertaking any form of fathering which is too closely associated with caring and emotion, as it may be viewed as mothering and by extension enacting femininity (Connell, 2005). However, fathers have become increasingly involved in the care and emotional nurturing of their children (Bjork, 2013; Solomon, 2014). This care is synonymous with mothering, and is at odds with men dominating women and being dismissive of domestic practices. Research has identified two different pathways to explain how men can take on this more caring and nurturing role with their children without being feminised and subordinated by other men. The first is through an alternative framework of masculinities; such as Anderson's (2009) theory of inclusive masculinities which helps explain a general 'softening' of masculinity within the context of a lessening of cultural homophobia (Gottzén & Kremer-Sadlik, 2012; McCormack, 2011; S. Roberts, 2013). The second path is for men to incorporate the role of involved father into hegemonic masculinity (Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Hunter, Riggs, & Augoustinos, 2017).

There has been scant research on fathering using the inclusive masculinity theory. Two studies that did use this framework found elements of both inclusive masculinity and orthodox or traditional masculinity in the fathers they interviewed (Farstad & Stefansen, 2015; Gottzén & Kremer-Sadlik, 2012). Farstad and Stefansen, (2015) worked with two

groups of men; those who were the main caregivers of their small children and those who were secondary carers, and helped their partners care for their children. The primary caregivers ensured their parenting practices and routines were their own and did not mirror their partners. This enabled these fathers to make sure their parenting looked nothing like mothering. The other group of fathers felt comfortable in their role as traditional providers, adopted elements of the mothers' routines and practices and were emotionally close to their children.

There is also some empirical support for inclusive masculinity among men who under Connell's hierarchy would be considered to display marginalised forms of masculinity (Williams, 2009). In New Zealand marginalised men are generally working-class, and often Māori and Pacific men. They lack the economic or institutional resources necessary to claim the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant class and ethnicity in New Zealand; the middle and upper-middle-class Pākeha. A New Zealand study looked at 23 working-class young men, who grew up in difficult family situations, a quarter of whom had no father figure (Rouch, 2010). Most had no formal qualifications, and had engaged in antisocial behaviour and minor crime. When they became fathers these men eagerly adopted the breadwinner role, working in low skilled jobs. "Far from being on the margins of the economy, they actively placed themselves within it, in an attempt to enact good fatherhood" (Rouch, 2010:5). The fathers also helped with daily caregiving, and talked about their emotional closeness to their children. Despite being marginalised in the workplace, the fathers were not complicit with hegemonic masculinity, displaying maternal-like caring in their relationships with both their children and their partners. Turning to Bourdieu, when these men whose masculine habitus was embedded in their birth families became fathers their habitus placed them in an 'awkward position' in the family field (Bourdieu, 2000). Bourdieu would contend this made

them more aware and they consciously sought to make changes to become more involved fathers.

Acceptance of inclusive masculinities is not universal, with some arguing men, especially white middle-class men, have incorporated ‘previously subordinated’ practices, into hegemonic masculinities, while maintaining institutional inequality (de Boise, 2014; Ingram & Waller, 2014). Using this concept of ‘hybrid masculinities’ (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014) men employ different strategies to legitimise being the primary caregiver and maintain their original hegemonic masculinity. These included presenting themselves as modern men wanting the best for their family, at the same time as having some attachment to work through a community role or training (Merla, 2008).

2.5.3 Ethnicity and habitus

European was the main ethnic group in New Zealand in the last reported census, with 74 percent of the population identifying themselves with one or more European ethnicities (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand followed this group at 14.9 percent; 11.8 percent of the population identified as Asian; and 7.4 percent as Pacific peoples. In 1984 New Zealand adopted an official policy of biculturalism, recognising Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand and Pākehā; both being signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) the founding document of New Zealand (Lourie, 2016). This recognition was in response to widespread protest over the harm done by successive government’s monocultural policies, and growing realisation of the injustices wrought by colonisation. For government policy biculturalism means “the recognition and promotion of Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders of European descent, culture and identity within government departments and institutions” (B. Edwards & Moore, 2009:49). Because this study is focused on New Zealand this section begins by discussing the ethnic habitus of Māori followed by that of Pacific peoples.

As already discussed the habitus refers to “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, predisposed to function as structuring structures” (Bourdieu, 1977:72). In the ethnic habitus these dispositions or structured structures are common to members of the same ethnicity (Mu, 2016). History, culture and religion are embodied as durable structures. For Māori these structures encompass mātauranga Māori, the cultural knowledge, expectations and wisdom pertaining to Māori (Le Grice, Braun, & Wetherell, 2017). This includes everyday practices such as fathering. But these are also structuring structures as they are shaped by socialisation especially in the birth family, and later by moving into different fields. To understand the Māori habitus, it is necessary to recognise the effect of colonisation on Māori families, and the resulting cycle of economic and social disadvantage.

Pre-colonisation Māori family life revolved around whānau, an extended family group of up to four generations living together in the home of the senior couple. The adult members of the whānau, including the parents, grandparents and aunts, all shared in the responsibility and care for the children (Mikaere, 2002). In the Māori worldview elders are respected and the grandparents are role models for the young. Along with day-to-day care, Māori language, stories and cultural values were imparted to the children (Baker, 2001). This would have strengthened the ethnic habitus in the optimal place for this shaping, the birth family (Bourdieu, 1984).

Colonisation, beginning with the arrival of the British in the late 1800s, resulted in land confiscation, war, national epidemics, institutional racism and cultural dislocation for Māori (Wynd, 2013). For many Māori the urban migration of the 1950s and 1960s was effectively the next phase of colonisation (Wynd, 2013:24). Māori moved off rural land to the poor urban areas where they were needed for factory jobs. This movement from their home areas and maraes to the cities where the culture was predominantly Pākeha was the basis for

more cultural dislocation. The outcome of this continual and systematic marginalisation is that Māori are more disadvantaged than other New Zealanders on a number of measures, including health, education, criminal justice and economics (Marie, D. Fergusson, & Boden, 2014).

Māori are now more likely to live in nuclear families than in an extended family unit (Ministry of Social Development, 2015b). This change in family structure away from the whānau and a collective responsibility for the children puts more pressure on the biological parents. With no grandparents living with the family it is increasingly difficult for parents and children to be fully socialised into their culture and language. Despite this, according to Te Kupenga, the first Māori Social Survey, most Māori had visited their ancestral marae (Ministry of Social Development, 2015b). This nationally representative survey of 5,500 Māori over the age of 15, was undertaken in conjunction with the New Zealand 2013 census. It showed that although Māori had moved away from collective living they were more likely than Pākeha to be engaged in their community and have strong family connections. The extent of those whānau connections and their importance was dependent on where they lived, their age, their connection to their marae and how highly they valued their involvement with Māori culture.

Participants in a recent study of Māori parenting reinforced the importance of whānau (Le Grice et al., 2017). The 43 parents in the study, 17 of whom were men, were strongly influenced by practices of whanaungatanga which translates as “relationship, kinship, and sense of connection” (Moorfield, 2013) among an extended family group. Both rural and urban parents were committed to staying in touch with extended family members so their children could identify with diverse whānau. Within the context of whanaungatanga children were highly valued, and aroha (love), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), and wairua (spirituality) were fostered in all relationships between members of the whānau and the children. For birth

parents who were having difficulties, there were multiple ways that whānau provided support. The study concluded that these specific parenting practices

were implicitly and explicitly taught by men and women in the context of whanaungatanga, experienced and learned by children they nurtured, in cyclical fashion (Le Grice et al., 2017:94).

Whanaungatanga is a durable structure in the ethnic habitus, and for Māori parents it is reinforced through their upbringing, and they continue to raise their children in the same way. However, it should be acknowledged that not all Māori are socialised in this way as children, nor do they have the same level of social or cultural capital.

2.5.3.1 Māori fathering

Māori fathering is not solely determined by the characteristics of individual fathers, but primarily by wider systemic factors that shape the lives of Māori men and the genuine opportunities they have to be involved fathers (W. Edwards & Ratima, 2014).

These systemic factors can be broadly grouped as economic, social and educational. At the root of these factors is colonisation resulting in the cultural alienation and systematic marginalisation of Māori (Taonui, 2010). Māori fathers remain economically worse off than non-Māori, with a much lower weekly income (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b). The percentage of Māori unemployed men has been almost double that of non-Māori men, and for those Māori men who are employed, their most common occupation is that of labourer (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b). These same statistics reveal young Māori have lower rates of school completion than Pākehā and more than a third of Māori men over 15 years of age have no formal qualifications, making it difficult for them to attain higher paying jobs. Māori men are more likely to live in rented accommodation, often in crowded households (Ministry of Health, 2015). Although these figures are comparatively recent this is an issue of intergenerational poverty. Results from the Christchurch Health and Development Study, and research commissioned by the Ministry of Social Development confirm many Māori remain

stuck in a cycle of minimal education, low income or unemployment (M. Fergusson, Horwood, & Gibb, 2011; Lievore & Mayhew, 2007). Despite this Māori fathers continued to prioritise being an “income provider” as their most important fathering role, and were less likely than Pākehā fathers to say they were “hands on” (Luketina et al., 2009). The daily challenge of providing for their children while they are unemployed or earning a minimal income was perhaps compounded by the father’s poor mental or physical health, an area where Māori were again overrepresented in the statistics (Ministry of Health, 2015). For a minority of men, these multiple stressors in their lives have culminated in them mistreating their children and their partners (Wynd, 2013). Māori are also overrepresented in child homicide, abuse and neglect statistics (Simpson et al., 2014).

The bleak family stories of poverty and despair which underlie these statistics are not the full picture and are being challenged by recent studies using kaupapa Māori methodologies⁹. For example, Elkington, (2017) interviewed eight young Māori fathers between 16 and 25. Seven of the eight had spent at least part of their childhood without a father. These young men generally felt their role as fathers was to provide; however, they also helped with childcare tasks in the home. With changing work circumstances one of the men became the fulltime caregiver while his partner returned to paid work. The fathers spoke emotionally about their close relationship with their children. Some fathers saw this showing of emotion as a positive change for Māori men, a view echoed in research by others. Rua, (2015), found young Māori men in his study acknowledged the importance of whanaungatanga, and the support they received from their whānau, especially their grandfathers. They talked about their affinity with the land and their whakapapa (genealogy), and the importance of passing this onto their children. The connection with the land or

⁹ Research methodologies “controlled by Māori, for Māori and of direct benefit to Māori” (A. Barnes, 2013:6) using Māori language and world view.

tūrangawaewae was also strongly felt by working-class Māori fathers interviewed by Rua, Hodgetts, and Stolte, (2017). They selected a small group of men aged between 36 and 45 who all either lived close to their traditional homeland or travelled there regularly. As a result of this proximity they were closely connected to their whānau and were actively connecting their children. Their narratives revealed caring and emotionally engaged fathers raising similarly focused children. The men were involved with their home marae and had responsibilities in that space. It was argued that these responsibilities and obligations to whānau and marae fostered the fathers' wellbeing and their fathering practice.

These studies of Māori parenting (Elkington, 2017; Le Grice et al., 2017; Rua et al., 2017) reinforce the concept of Māori habitus as an embedded structure “layered with various forms of cultural knowledge, practices, expectations and obligations” (Rua et al., 2017:57). For the men in these studies this cultural knowledge had been reinforced and modelled by their birth families throughout their childhood and it became their primary habitus which underpinned all their social practice. When they became fathers, they continued the cycle and brought their children up with the same cultural values. Men in all three studies accrued social and perhaps symbolic capital through their work on the marae and their many relationships within their whānau. These working-class men are in a lower position in the employment field but in more elevated positions of responsibility in the marae which allowed them to “care and nurture others, and make a positive contribution to their community” (Rua et al., 2017).

But not all Māori men learn about their whakapapa (genealogy) and their whanaungatanga (relationships) within their birth families (Te Huia, 2015). There are many reasons for this including colonialism, urbanisation (Te Wairereahiahi Young, 2014), poverty, discrimination (R. Harris et al., 2006) and isolation from whānau (Te Huia, 2015).

For these men, although Māori habitus may be deeply rooted, their primary habitus and the dispositions which arise from it may lead to different fathering practices.

2.5.3.2 Pacific peoples

The term Pacific peoples does not imply any homogeneity in this group, but is used for ease in describing the populations from a number of Pacific countries including Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Fiji, Tokelau and Niue (Koloto, Katoanga, & Singsam, 2006). There was a wave of immigration from these countries to New Zealand between the 1950s and 1980s. Some of these small island nations were proving economically unsustainable, and at the same time New Zealand needed workers to fill factory jobs (Macpherson, Spoonley, & Anae, 2001). Many Pacific people living in New Zealand continue to be employed in low skilled work, and their families are disadvantaged compared to Pākehā on many economic, health and social measures (Simpson et al., 2014). The habitus of each ethnicity within this group of countries is unique but despite this heterogeneity, Pacific peoples generally share a collectivist worldview, which contrasts with the individualistic philosophy of Pākehā. At their heart the cultures of Pacific peoples were built on village life involving extended family and kinship relationships of joint responsibility, respect and obligations (Fa'alau & Jensen, 2006). For many Pacific immigrants to New Zealand and those born in New Zealand to Pacific parents, the church stands in for the village (Anae, 1998). It is the base not only of their religious life but also provides links to their culture and language (Sua'ali'i-Sauni, Mc Taggart, & Von Randow, 2009). Although religious affiliation is less guaranteed with each successive generation, more than 82 percent of Pacific people reported some religious affiliation in the last census, compared to 43 percent for Europeans and a similar percentage for Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Children are brought up in the church as it is believed to provide a framework of positive values and beliefs and fathers reported turning to church leaders and other church members for parenting support and advice (Tautolo, 2011).

Bourdieu's theory of practice has been used to analyse the effect on an immigrant's existing ethnic habitus and capital of moving into a field in a new country (Nowicka, 2015; Tabar, Noble, & Poynting, 2010). An immigrant may over time make some changes to his habitus so it fits the new field, but there will always be a delay in this occurring. Research on Pacific parents has shown that maintaining some of their traditional cultural practices, and their extended social ties, is beneficial for them and their children (Paterson, Taylor, Schluter, & Iusitini, 2013; Tautolo, 2011). Their ethnic habitus remained largely intact, guiding their fathering practice and they looked to enter a field where their social capital was valued, for example joining a Pacific church. Those with more problems were parents who identified as Pacific peoples, but were born in New Zealand. This increasingly large group accounted for almost two thirds of Pacific peoples in the last census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). They strove to balance their individualistic New Zealand parenting practice with their family-oriented Pacific culture (Koloto & Katoanga, 2007).

Despite changes in family structure, especially an increase in lone mother families, many Pacific peoples continue to live in an extended kinship family group; 26.7 percent living with another family and 15.4 percent with members of another household (SPRU, 2015a). Living collectively has benefits for sharing costs and looking after children, but also presents challenges of overcrowding and possible intergenerational conflict (Pene, Howden-Chapman, Peita, Viggens, & Gray, 2009).

2.5.3.3 Pacific fathering

As with Māori fathers there are limited studies investigating the fathering practices of Pacific men. The few studies that focus specifically on fathering are part of the Pacific Islands Family Study, a birth cohort project begun in 2000 (Paterson et al., 2008). One of the findings from this project was the widespread practice of fathers disciplining their children by smacking, and even hitting them with an object (Schluter, Tautolo, & Paterson, 2011). The

majority of fathers involved in this practice had themselves experienced physical abuse as children. A related study looked at the relationship between Pacific fathers' involvement with their six-year-old children and the father's perception of their children's behaviour (Tautolo, Schluter, & Paterson, 2015). The fathers were generally very involved with their children, but despite this, thirty percent of the children were said to display either an internalising behaviour problem such as being withdrawn, or an externalising issue, for example, aggression. As this high percentage of problem behaviours was from paternal report the authors postulated Pacific fathers' perception of problem behaviours may differ from other cultures (Tautolo et al., 2015). This is consistent with the idea of an ethnic habitus with a different ideal of appropriate child behaviour.

A further study on Pacific fathering explored the views of Samoan and Cook Island Māori men through small focus groups. They talked about their fathering practices (Tautolo & Schluter, 2011:150) suggesting their own fathers had a significant influence on how they were raising their own children. For some this was positive and they were trying to pass on the traditional values they had learnt from their fathers. For others, whose fathers had been remote or authoritarian, they tried to behave in a different way, endeavouring to talk more with their children. Many men had been brought up in families where there was significant physical punishment, and they were exploring more positive ways of disciplining their own children. The men all received support for their fathering from their extended family and church. Finally, although work interfered with time they wanted to spend with their children, most believed providing was their primary role as a father. This qualitative study provided information in an area that is rarely explored but its usefulness was constrained by the characteristics of the sample. Most of these fathers were older and in a stable relationship, only one was unemployed. The fathering practice of these men was not necessarily indicative of the wider community of young Pacific fathers, who may be less accessible to researchers.

The limited studies in more disadvantaged neighbourhoods infer that Pacific fathering may be overly harsh or conversely provide insufficient boundaries for children (Ministry of Social Development, 2006a; Tunafa'i, 2005). The resulting disengagement between Pacific young people and their parents can lead to youth gangs replacing the family and church in these neighbourhoods (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). The following section looks at the role of gangs in the lives of Pacific and Māori fathers.

2.5.3.4 Indigenous and ethnic-minority gangs in New Zealand

We cannot talk about the notion of habitus and fathering in New Zealand without discussing gangs. Most gangs in New Zealand are Māori dominated although there are also a number of Pacific gangs; both admit non-Polynesian members. As in other countries the number of members involved in each gang, and the role of gangs in their members' lives is not well documented. A Cabinet Paper on New Zealand gangs in 2014 reported there were 4,000 gang members in this country and detailed their high level of involvement in serious offending (Office of Minister of Police, 2014). In the international literature gangs are usually portrayed as transitory and predominantly a youth issue, but this is not the case in New Zealand (Tamatea, 2015). Gangs have a strong and enduring influence on families, with membership in ethnic gangs often being intergenerational (Carr & Tam, 2013). It was estimated in 2015 that approximately 7,000 children were dependents of gang members (SPRU, 2015c). These children grew up in family fields often characterised by neglect and violence (Ministry of Social Development, 2015a), and their primary habitus was shaped by their socialisation in this field. The children living in 'gang families' often later become gang members and fathers and the cycle continues (Carr & Tam, 2013).

The fathering practices of gang members in New Zealand appeared at best to be strongly traditional with women being primarily responsible for childcare (Newbold & Dennehy, 2003). At worst men have been the perpetrators of neglect and violence within the

home toward their children and partners. Data from the Ministry of Social Development revealed that of the 5,900 gang members' children known to Child Youth and Family, 60 percent had a 'substantiated' finding of neglect or abuse (Ministry of Social Development, 2015a). Many had had multiple 'substantiated' findings. This violence towards their children was often severe and sustained. Fathers may also be absent for extended periods, with gang members making up more than 30 percent of the prison population (Office of Minister of Police, 2014).

Two small New Zealand qualitative studies have moved beyond the statistics on gangs providing more information on fathering as a gang member. The first study concerned children living in poverty, some of whom were the children of gang members. They had grown up in the gang and felt the gang was their family (Egan-Bitran, 2010). They knew they were economically better off because their father was a gang member, but also understood the difficulty of breaking ties with the gang. The other South Auckland study interviewed young members and ex-members of Pacific youth gangs, some of whom had children (Nakhid, Tanielu, & Collins, 2009). The members prioritised their immediate family over their gang, although they believed their gang also supported their family. For a few men becoming a father provided the impetus to leave the gang, an act which they managed with the support of their family. There appeared to be fewer repercussions for leaving a youth gang than an adult gang (Tamatea, 2015). Some members had joined because they felt isolated from their family and hoped to find a family in the gang. Others had followed their fathers into a gang but did not want this for their own child. However, gang members' children appear to be strongly linked to the gang through habitus, and the social and cultural capital accrued in this field which is not transferable to other fields.

2.6 Conclusion

To ensure clarity this review discussed individual elements of the habitus, capital and family policy field and how they influenced fathering practice. However, class, gender and ethnicity do not act separately but are combined in the habitus in “an obscure and double relationship” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:126) to produce practice, as this section will show. Generally white and middle-class habitus and capital facilitated a fit with the family policies in the field, and gave men more choice on how they fathered (Merla, 2008). These men usually voiced support for gender equality in caring for their children and doing housework, but this did not always translate to more equitable parenting (Usdansky, 2011). Instead the fathers were the mothers’ ‘helpers’, but only when it suited them (Rose et al., 2015; Schmidt, 2014). Some men took on primary caring roles but used many strategies to differentiate their parenting from mothering (Gottzén & Kremer-Sadlik, 2012; Merla, 2008). Depending on the study this was either seen as moving toward inclusive masculinity (Anderson, 2009) or an example of hybrid masculinities (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014). Conversely, men with a working-class habitus especially if it was paired with very restricted capital had limited choices, but were more likely to be involved in more gender equitable parenting (Usdansky, 2011). These men for economic reasons often had to father in circumstances which were not easily accommodated by their habitus including primary caregiving while unemployed (Braun et al., 2011). If they had been brought up with traditional gendered notions of the division of labour these men were most comfortable providing but also helping with child care and housework (Chesley, 2011).

Wider structural factors seem to shape the fathering of many Māori and Pacific men. Māori and Pacific families generally had poverty rates double that of Pākehā families regardless of the poverty measure used (Perry, 2013). The conclusion from a recent overseas review was that poverty has a significant influence on fathering as it could cause a parent to be “stressed, depressed or agitated” and interrupt their parenting (La Placa & Corlyon, 2016).

In the limited studies on Māori fathering, growing up without a father was not unusual (S. Edwards, McCreanor & Moewaka-Barnes, 2007; Luketina et al., 2009). As well as the economic challenges to parenting, Māori men also faced multiple disadvantages as the result of systemic marginalisation (Taonui, 2010). They were often described as ‘bad parents’ in the public discourse (Strickett & H. Barnes, 2012) because their children were more likely to be neglected or abused than children of Pākehā fathers (NZ Child and Youth Epidemiology Service, 2018). Recent studies using a Kaupapa Māori framework had a more positive view of Māori parenting, with men’s Māori habitus guiding their fathering (Elkington, 2017; Rua et al., 2017). This form of parenting was very dependent on how the primary habitus was nurtured in the birth family and whānau (Wacquant, 2014b). However for many young Māori fathers the social support from whānau was at best intermittent, and this has been the situation for at least two generations (Te Wairereahiahi Young, 2014).

The following chapter looks at the fathering of imprisoned men who practice what one researcher has called an extreme form of non-residential fatherhood (Clarke et al., 2005). Imprisonment seriously restricts fathering, both at the time, and also long-term as it impacts on the fathers’ relationship with his children and his partner, and his lifetime earnings (Pattnaik, 2013).

Chapter Three: What do we Know About how Men Father from Prison?

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores what we already know from the literature about how imprisoned men father. It begins by defining the area more closely, and the difficulty in calculating the number of fathers and children involved. In the research, fathering from prison is generally equated with contact between a father and his children. This chapter details what the literature says those different types of contact look like, and the amount of contact commonly reported by fathers, their children and their mothers or caregivers. The factors that constrain or enable this contact are explored, along with a review of the impact of contact on both the fathers and their children. The chapter concludes by reviewing the challenges associated with researching in this area, including the difficulty of prison access, ethical issues and methodological concerns. These challenges have narrowed the research field and resulted in knowledge gaps which make it difficult to answer the question of how men father from prison, especially in New Zealand.

3.2 How Many Imprisoned Fathers?

In March 2018 there were 9,836 male inmates in New Zealand prisons (Department of Corrections, 2018c). It is impossible to know the proportion of these men who were fathers, as this information is not routinely collected in New Zealand. Failure to collect this data is not unique to the New Zealand Department of Corrections. Australia, UK, the US and many parts of Europe also do not routinely record the parental status of prisoners. This information can only be estimated from surveys and studies which are sometimes dated although the general consensus is that about half of all prisoners are fathers. For example; an Australian survey of 1011 male 'prison entrants' in 2015, found that 46 percent had at least one child (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2015). The last survey in the US was in

2007, it found that around 55 percent of the state and federal male prisoners were fathers, having between them approximately 1.5 million minor children (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). In the UK the Justice Department survey in 2006 of more than 1,000 prisoners found just over half of them were fathers to children under 18 years, with an average of 2.1 children each (Ministry of Justice, 2014).

In the most recent New Zealand research in this area, the number of fathers in New Zealand prisons were seen to be slightly higher, with 65 percent of the 245 imprisoned men (non-Māori) surveyed having children (Gordon 2009). In a related study of Māori prisoners, this figure increased to 74 percent being fathers (Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). While these figures are slightly higher than those obtained from overseas prison studies, they were consistent with the Australian studies that found indigenous men were more likely to be fathers than non-indigenous men (Governance and Continuous Improvement Division, 2014; Quilty, Levy, Howard, Barratt, & Butler, 2004). Over time there has been little New Zealand research on imprisoned fathers and their children, although it has been estimated that at any one time up to 20,000 children have a parent in prison with the majority of these parents being fathers (Department of Corrections, 2014; National Health Committee, 2010). As many sentences are six months or less, up to 30,000 New Zealand children could experience parental imprisonment annually (Harpham, 2011; National Health Committee, 2010).

3.3 Indigenous Fathers in Prison in New Zealand

Māori have the highest imprisonment rate in New Zealand, followed by Pacific people, then Pākeha (Department of Corrections, 2018c). Although only 16 percent of the total New Zealand population identify as Māori, around 50 percent of the men in prison are Māori. This is consistent with the over-representation of indigenous people in prisons in many parts of the western world including Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017), Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018), and the US (Gramlich, 2018). These differences are

obviously due to these groups' differential rates of involvement in crime. However, these men are also significantly more likely to be disadvantaged on a number of social, cultural and economic measures, which are also strongly linked to criminal offending (Jones, 2016). For example, in New Zealand, Māori on average, fare significantly more poorly than Pākeha, whether measuring household income, physical and mental health or educational achievement (Marie et al., 2014; Ministry of Health, 2014). This is before they have any contact with the justice system. This link between disadvantage, indigenous populations and a heightened risk of offending, means that the most disadvantaged in society are also the most likely to end up in prison. Apart from this obvious link there is also historic research indicating ethnic bias in the criminal justice system (Department of Corrections, 2007), with Māori achieving poor outcomes on every measure assessed. These ranged from being less likely to have legal representation or get bail to being denied the option of home detention (Ministry of Justice, 2006). More recent studies and statistics confirm that it is more probable for a Māori man to be charged with an offence, convicted (Jones, 2016), and then imprisoned than a Pākeha man (Statistics New Zealand, 2018a).

Māori engagement with the criminal justice system is long standing, with concern having been expressed since the mid 1960s (Fifield & Donnell, 1980; Newbold, 2007) over Māori being overrepresented in offending incidence and prevalence figures. Māori are also more likely to reoffend giving this group a higher rate of reimprisonment (Department of Corrections, 2018a). This was confirmed in the most recent New Zealand studies in this area (Gordon, 2011; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). Almost 50 percent of the Māori participants in this study were in prison for at least their fourth incarceration, compared to just over 30 percent of the non-Māori men (Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). These studies also showed that Māori men in prison were more likely to be fathers, and to have more children than imprisoned fathers of other ethnicities (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011).

Kim Workman estimated that 40 percent of Māori men have been in prison or under Department of Corrections' supervision at least once (Workman, 2011:8). This loss of men from Māori communities has had profound emotional, social and economic repercussions for Māori whānau which will continue to impact future generations (Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). Overseas studies have highlighted the problem of intergenerational imprisonment (Springer, Lynch, & Rubin, 2000) although more recent research concludes the correlation is not necessarily causative (Flynn, 2013). In this same New Zealand study two-thirds of Māori prisoners included in the study had lived as children with someone who went to prison, most often their father, compared to one-third of non-Māori prisoners (Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). The problem of children following their fathers into prison may be complicated in New Zealand by the finding that children with gang-involved parents are more likely to join a gang (Carr & Tam, 2013) and there is a strong link between gangs, crime and imprisonment (Office of Minister of Police, 2014; Tamatea, 2015).

3.4 Contact Between Fathers in Prison and their Children

For imprisoned fathers their involvement with their children is through visits, telephone calls or letters. Quantitative studies investigating this involvement have generally provided some measure of how many fathers have used each of these forms of contact, and how often. The following section reviews the evidence that exists in these specific areas.

3.4.1 Visits

While visitation is the most researched type of contact it is also the least common. In many studies between 40 to 50 percent of imprisoned fathers received no visits from their children during their prison sentence (Clarke et al., 2005; Dennison, Smallbone, Stewart, Freiberg, & Teague, 2014; Gordon, 2011; Pleggenkuhle, Huebner, & Summers, 2018). This list includes studies from Australia, the UK and the US, as well as New Zealand. Visiting is

the most direct form of contact which also makes it the most difficult both practically and emotionally for imprisoned fathers and their visiting children. Codd described visits as

...the lynchpin of contact between prisoners and families, [they] provide joy and unhappiness in almost equal measure (Codd, 2008:152).

Even getting to the prison was challenging for many families, with the distance between the prison and the prisoner's family home being a primary reason given in some studies for the lack of visits between a father and his child (Pierce, 2015; Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018). The distance caused transport and time difficulties, as well as cost for families with the least capacity to cope with it. In a New Zealand study over 55 percent of parents were imprisoned more than an hour away from their family home (Gordon, 2009). Once families arrived at the prison there were strict rules and regulations, which differed between institutions and were not always clearly communicated to visitors (Duwe & Clark, 2011; Mills, 2005). This could result in a caregiver and child being refused entry for various reasons, including because they did not have the correct paperwork or were inappropriately attired (Arditti, 2003; Lanskey, Losel, Markson, & Souza, 2016). Interviews with family members of men in, or recently released from New Zealand prisons outlined further reasons why visits had been denied (Wesley Community Action, 2009). These included prohibited items been found either on them, or in their car, on a previous visit; being a gang associate; having a criminal history; or the prisoner losing visiting privileges through his behaviour. If a mother or caregiver was refused entry this also denied their child from visiting their father, as children under 18 must be accompanied by an adult (Department of Corrections, 2017a). If the visit was permitted the next step towards entry was to get past security and drug dogs, and sometimes unsympathetic prison staff (Light & Campbell, 2006). In all prisons security takes priority and this can make visiting difficult and uncomfortable for children (Lord Farmer, 2017). Some prisons provided child-friendly waiting areas, but in many institutions there was a long wait with no toys or facilities for children (Woodall & Kinsella, 2018).

At the intersection of the prison environment and wider society is the visiting room. This has been termed a “liminal space” as it is between the inside and outside (Bartlett & Eriksson, 2018; Moran, 2013). Mothers and caregivers in the New Zealand study identified the difficulties they encountered in this space (Gordon, 2011). Children were not allowed food or drink, there were few toys or activities to occupy them, and talking privately was difficult because of the noise from other visitors. In an earlier New Zealand study, Māori and Pacific fathers and their families were unhappy at not being able to eat together, as sharing food served a valuable social role for them (Deane, 1988). Some prisons also enforced a policy of allowing only minimal physical contact between the father and his children, which made visiting with young children very difficult and stressful (Arditti, 2003; Lanskey et al., 2016). Families also acknowledged the emotional cost of visiting, including the difficulty of reuniting with their partner or father, and the behavioural problems some children exhibited either before or after visiting (Gordon, 2011; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). Given these challenges it is unsurprising that many fathers were never visited by their children during their prison stay. Although there is great individual variation, in general visiting usually peaked at the beginning of a father’s sentence, and decreased after that (Cochran, Mears, & Bales, 2017; Duwe & Clark, 2011).

In the few international qualitative studies that asked imprisoned fathers how they felt about visiting the responses were varied (Dennison et al., 2014; Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018). Some said visits helped them connect with their children, feel more positive about their fathering role and hopeful for the future (Nurse, 2001) while others actively dissuaded their families from visiting (Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018). Research in a US state prison found that a quarter of 83 fathers had asked their families not to visit (Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018). There were various reasons for this. Some men felt they had to take responsibility for their imprisonment and did not want their family to undergo any hardship by visiting. Others, who

before their arrest had a very close relationship with their children, thought visiting would be too emotionally challenging. They did not want to repeat a difficult separation from their children at the end of each visit. They also did not want the shame of their children seeing them as prisoners. A third group felt it was easier to disconnect totally from the outside world, they felt this would help them to maintain their emotional stability within the prison unit, which they believed was protective. Other studies which have sought the fathers' input have had similar findings, with some men responding positively to their children's visits while others have found them challenging and have discouraged visitation (Dennison et al., 2014; Dixey & Woodall, 2012), especially in high security prisons (Bartlett & Eriksson, 2018).

3.4.2 Telephone calls, letters, email

Keeping in touch with children through telephone calls and letters overcame some of the barriers outlined for visiting. In a well-known UK study the imprisoned fathers preferred these less direct forms of contact, as they could build or maintain their relationship with their children in a setting they had more control over (Clarke et al., 2005). In many studies telephone calls were the most common form of contact, with those families who visited usually also communicating by telephone (Gordon, 2011). Often two thirds or more of the fathers had received a telephone call from their children (Dennison & Smallbone, 2015; Lanskey et al., 2016). For some this was at least weekly (Lanskey et al., 2016), for others it was just one call (Dennison et al., 2014). Sending and receiving letters was almost as popular as telephone calls (Clarke et al., 2005; Lanskey et al., 2016; Nurse, 2002) especially when the fathers were imprisoned far from their families, and were unable to afford calls (Dennison & Smallbone, 2015). However, the organising and undertaking of these alternative forms of contact were still restricted by prison regulations. Calls from prison were often expensive, were timed, usually monitored, and the times fathers were able to call were not always

convenient for their children (Gordon, 2011; Swanson et al., 2013). This form of contact was also unsuitable for young children (Pierce, 2015). Writing letters was dependent on the father being literate, and the mother or caregiver reading the letter to a younger child (Dennison et al., 2014). Email was rarely referred to in studies and along with other forms of remote contact very infrequently used (Lanskey et al., 2016).

3.4.3 What explains the level and nature of contact between fathers in prison and their children

The literature has revealed a number of predictors around paternal contact; they can be broadly divided into family relationship factors and variables relating to the imprisoned father. Some of these were specific to visiting and others could be generalised to all forms of contact.

3.4.3.1 The relationship between the father and the mother or caregiver

Imprisoned fathers were very reliant on the mothers or caregivers of their children to facilitate contact with them while they were in prison (Arditti, Smock, & Parkman, 2005; Fowler, Rossiter, Dawson, Jackson, & Power, 2017). The imprisoned father's relationship with his child's mother has been found to be a primary determiner of the level of contact with his child, especially for visiting. This was illustrated clearly in research by Clarke et al. (2005), whereby 80 percent of the fathers who had at least monthly visits with their child also stated they had a "good" or "excellent" relationship with their child's mother. Conversely, 70 percent of the men who never saw their child rated their relationships with their children's mother as "poor" or "fair". A closer father-mother or caregiver relationship also positively influenced the father's perception of the quality of the visits. However, men often entered prison with their families in conflict (Roy & Dyson, 2005; Tasca, 2016). If they were repeat offenders their relationships with children and partners had been continually disrupted (Walker, 2009). US studies showed that mothers often formed new relationships while their

partners were in prison (Braman, 2002; Western, Lopoo, & McLanahan, 2004). Maternal gatekeeping or “mothers’ preferences and attempts to restrict and exclude fathers from involvement with their children” (Fagan and Barnett 2003:1021) was common in the literature (Day et al., 2005; Fowler et al., 2017). A small qualitative study in New Zealand provided more detail around the role of mothers in controlling children’s access to their imprisoned fathers (Lawrence, 2013). The researcher interviewed eight children with fathers in prison, and their caregivers. Six of the eight partner relationships had broken down when the father went to prison. Four of the mothers did not want to maintain contact between their child and the father, regardless of the children’s wishes. The author concluded that the mother’s influence over contact is especially strong when the children are young. She decides what and when to tell the child about the father’s imprisonment, and the type and frequency of contact between the father and child. It was up to the mother to either facilitate and emotionally support contact, or suspend it.

However, a poor relationship between the father and mother does not necessarily preclude contact. Studies have indicated that in some communities the extended family can mediate the relationship between the mother and the father, and facilitate prison contact for the children (Dennison et al., 2014; Tasca, 2018). While in a recent US study even if the parental relationship broke down, the father’s involvement with his children prior to being arrested was the deciding factor in his continuing to have contact with them from prison (Tasca, 2018). The mothers appeared to value the imprisoned man’s fathering capacity and prioritised maintaining the father-child relationship, as they felt their children would be adversely affected if this was interrupted.

3.4.3.2 The relationship between the father and the child

The father’s level of involvement with his children prior to his arrest, can be an important indicator of the quality and quantity of his contact with them from prison (Sharratt, 2014;

Tasca, 2018). A European study looked at contact between children and their imprisoned parents, usually their fathers, in the UK, Sweden, Germany and Norway (Sharratt, 2014). Sharratt identified three different types of relationships between children and their parents before their imprisonment, which in turn appeared to predict different outcomes for contact within prison. The largest group of children and fathers had very positive and supportive relationships pre-imprisonment, and remained in regular contact in prison. The second type of father-child relationship before imprisonment was termed “fragmented” (Sharratt 2014:765) generally as a result of the fathers’ offending or previous imprisonment. These children had infrequent written contact with their fathers, or occasionally telephoned. The third, very small group of children had a “harmful relationship” (Sharratt 2014:766) with their fathers before his arrest, characterised by many separations because of imprisonment, substance abuse, or domestic violence. The children had no contact with their fathers in prison, as it was thought to not be in their best interests. In this study it was the father-child relationship that predicted later prison contact, rather than the relationship between the mother and imprisoned father. If they did not have a co-operative relationship the mothers still prioritised their child’s access to their father, and extended family members enabled this contact. However, there were exceptions where the father-caregiver relationship decided contact. In an Australian study, imprisoned fathers who prior to their arrest had been living with their children, and caring for them, were six times more likely to continue to be involved with them from prison, than fathers who had little involvement (Dennison & Smallbone, 2015). But for some of these involved fathers a breakdown in their relationship with the children’s caregiver while imprisoned, meant they had no contact with their children.

The prison environment constrained the fathers’ normal parenting behaviours which included providing economic support to their children, and being physically present to protect and nurture them in their day-to-day lives (Arditti et al., 2005). This could leave prisoners

confused about how to father from prison. Early research by Hairston (1995) found that 50 percent of the imprisoned men she interviewed could not state what they did from prison to be a father. Most of the fathers interviewed in a UK study by Clarke et al. (2005) felt that fathering was an activity done outside prison. Recent Australian research endorsed this view that for many men prison was “a dormant time of fatherhood” (Dennison and Smallbone 2015:68). From the literature fathers seemed to handle this confusion over their fatherhood identity in prison in three different ways. Through ‘prisonization’; treating imprisonment as a ‘turning point’; or continuing to parent as best they could and using fatherhood as a tool for ‘generativity’. These three different pathways are described below.

3.4.4 ‘Prisonization’

Some men dealt with the confusion over how to father from prison by withdrawing into themselves and their prison life, and weakening their family ties, often entirely. In early research Clemmer (1940) termed this turning away from the outside world, especially family, and immersion into prison life ‘prisonization’. He found some men became institutionalised into prison life and incorporated many of the “norms of prison life into (their) habits of thinking, feeling and acting” (Haney, 2002: 80). Some of the behaviours associated with prisonization are incompatible with parenting and maintaining family relationships, both during imprisonment, and after release. These include repressing emotions and socially withdrawing, both of which make it difficult for a father to have a close relationship with his children. A breakdown in family relationships as a result of prisonization was evident in some studies (Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018; Tripp, 2009). Nurse (2002) discovered that a proportion of the 258 young, recently paroled fathers she interviewed had employed a technique she termed ‘hard timing it’ to deal with prison life. They chose to manage the stress and guilt of not being able to help their families financially or emotionally while imprisoned by cutting off all contact with them. Following their release from prison many of these men

regretted they had been so unengaged with their children while imprisoned and felt a sense of loss. In a small UK study some of the 16 imprisoned fathers interviewed chose not to have any contact with their children (Walker, 2009). They made this decision to turn away from the outside world as they felt it made their time in prison easier, and pass more quickly. In the New Zealand studies 36 of the 368 imprisoned parents had no contact with any of their children but these figures did not differentiate between women and men. Those parents who had no contact were more likely to be Pākehā, have had multiple imprisonments and be older than the average participant, mainly over 45 years of age (Gordon, 2011).

Data reporting in many studies made it impossible to determine if there were any fathers who had no contact with their children or the reasons for this lack of involvement (Lahm, 2016; Lanskey et al., 2016). Where it was made clear, the percentage could be quite high, with 22 percent of men in a subsample of almost 5,000 imprisoned fathers in the US having no contact with their children (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). It is important to separate out these fathers from those discussed earlier, who dissuaded their children from visiting, but may still have communicated in other ways (Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018).

3.4.5 'Turning point'

For men with long-term drug or alcohol dependency issues, being in prison was one of the few times when they were sober, available to their families and attentive (Roy & Dyson, 2005; Tasca, Mulvey, & Rodriguez, 2016). This made their families optimistic for the future and willing to promote contact between the imprisoned fathers and their children. In one study this even extended to men who had previously been uninvolved with their children (Tasca, 2018). Prison also gave some men time to think about their fathering, and some resolved to be better fathers (Edin & Nelson, 2013). Edin et. al. (2004) explained this resolve within the life course perspective as a “turning point”, an event at a key time which alters an individual’s life trajectory, in this case a criminal trajectory, by increasing (or decreasing)

“social bonds to adult institutions of informal social control” (Sampson and Laub 1990:625) which for these fathers is parenthood. However, this resolve often occurred without any visible changes in fathering behaviour because of the constraints of the prison environment (Arditti et al., 2005; Edin, Nelson, & Paranal, 2004). Changes in fathering practice after these men were released were also difficult to observe, because the large cohort studies in this area did not identify men who conceived of prison as a ‘turning point’ (Mowen & Visher, 2016; Visher, 2013).

3.4.6 Fatherhood as a tool of ‘generativity’

‘Generativity’ was a term first used by Erikson (1982) to refer to a stage of psychosocial development when adults become more outward looking, and more interested in caring for other people and their ideas. The generative work of fathers includes caring for, and meeting the needs of their children (Snarey, 1993). The third way fathers resolved their identity dilemma in prison was to maintain their role in their children’s life and to continue fathering as they always had, but within the constraints of the prison. This was contingent on having continued access to their children, and the support of their partner.

The prison environment has not been seen as conducive to generativity and promoting responsibility among fathers, and is more often seen to have the opposite effect (Halsey & Harris, 2011). However, in qualitative studies the narratives of a few fathers show some signs of generative fathering within the confines of the prison (Broidy et al., 2015; Halsey & Harris, 2011). The fathers in one study found out about what was going on in their children’s lives, and supported them emotionally, often through regular telephone calls rather than visits (Walker, 2009). These fathers found that “being there” for their children “helped them reflect on the high costs of their crimes to their children and themselves” (Walker 2009:1415). It caused them to think about their fathering, and how they wanted to father in the future, and this kept them going while they were in prison. Fathering can be seen as a generative activity

because it permits a parent to “reconceptualize his identity around the responsibilities and obligations that arrive with caring for the next generation” (Halsey & Harris, 2011: 82). Generativity in this context of imprisoned fathering can be very difficult for fathers, but some research has shown that it can help with desistance from further offending (McNeill & Maruna, 2007).

3.5 The Impact of Contact

3.5.1 On children

There has been very little research on the effect on children of having contact with their imprisoned fathers. The research that has been done found contact was generally protective for the father-child relationship, both during the prison sentence and after release (Lanskey et al., 2016; Losel, Pugh, Markson, Souza, & Lanskey, 2012). Even in studies where children were conflicted in their feelings about their father, those who had no contact revealed greater feelings of alienation and anger towards him than those who had some contact (Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). Contact in prison, especially telephone calls and visits, appeared to act as a ‘protective factor’ for the relationship between the father and child after the father was released (Lanskey et al., 2016). This finding was sustained even when the pre-prison father-child relationship was statistically controlled. Less contact in prison resulted in a more difficult relationship between the father and his child on the father’s release, with increasingly less involvement of the father in the child’s day-to-day life.

Along with these positive findings some qualitative studies identified that visits could initiate or worsen children’s emotional and behavioural problems (Arditti, 2003; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). These studies emphasised the unnatural, and very structured context of the visit as well as the physical restrictions placed on fathers, for example being unable to physically comfort their child at the end of the visit. Although visiting is difficult, it is the only way for children to fully understand the context of their fathers’ imprisonment (Nesmith

& Ruhland, 2008). This latter study interviewed children who had contact with their imprisoned fathers, but most had not seen, or could not remember seeing their father in prison. Because of this lack of first-hand knowledge many of them were worried about their father's wellbeing. Nearly all of these children wanted to continue an active relationship with their father, even if they felt some hurt or anger toward him (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008). Research showed that specific visitation programmes within the prison could facilitate visits for children and helped overcome some of the difficulties they experienced, but these programmes are not generally offered (Clancy & Maguire, 2017).

3.5.2 On fathers

The research in this area is sparse, but maintaining contact with their children while in prison was generally found to be beneficial for fathers both in prison and after release (Roxburgh & Fitch, 2013; Visser, 2013). However, in some studies which looked solely at visits the findings were mixed, with visits correlating with negative outcomes for fathers. Beginning with these studies, Benning & Lahm (2014) working with a large sample of men from US prisons found that fathers who received visits from their children were more likely to receive a disciplinary infraction than fathers who received no visits. The same correlation did not exist between prison rule breaking and telephone calls or mail. Looking at fathers post release, using a data set from the Florida Department of Corrections, Bales & Mears (2008) found that a father's risk of reoffending increased the more he was visited by his child. This relationship has not been repeated in more recent research. However, Brunton-Smith & McCarthy (2017) found that visiting by children had no effect on a father's resettlement, or his reoffending after he left prison, while Duwe & Clark (2011) found the effect was minimal when compared to other visitors. One explanation for these findings may be that given the restrictions imposed by prison regulations and visiting rooms, some fathers found their children's visiting stressful and emotional. Not being accustomed to fathering in

such a restricted environment coupled with ineffective parenting (Loper & Tuerk, 2011) and communication skills these fathers may have withdrawn from fathering. In these studies, there is no measure of the quality of the visit, or the proximity to the fathers' release from prison all of which may impact on the effect of the contact. Qualitative research has emphasised that 'bad visits', which occur when there is a lot of conflict and stress (Woodall & Kinsella, 2018), may make a father keenly aware of his inability to effectively parent his child (Beckmeyer & Arditti, 2014).

Research on the link between maintaining family ties while in prison and successful reintegration and desistance usually refer to general family contact rather than specifically referring to contact with children (Mowen & Visher, 2016). The few studies that focus on child contact, but are not limited to visits, usually confirm the link between child contact and positive reintegration (Bahr, Armstrong, Gibbs, Harris, & Fisher, 2005; La Vigne, Naser, Brooks, & Castro, 2005; Visher, 2013). Bahr et al., (2005) found that six months after their release, fathers who had contact with their children in prison were less likely to be imprisoned, than those who had had no contact. Another study in the same year discovered that the amount of contact children had with their fathers in prison positively predicted their father's post release attachment to them (La Vigne et al., 2005). All three forms of contact were important, but visits were the key for predicting later attachment. The most comprehensive of the three studies concluded that fathers who had contact with their children, especially in the last three months of their sentence, were more strongly attached and involved with them on their release (Visher, 2013). After leaving prison these fathers were also employed for more hours, displayed fewer depressive symptoms and were less likely to be engaged in criminal activities, than those who were less attached and less involved. This information was collected only months after release, and although it controlled for many possible mediating factors there may have been others that were important.

3.6 Where Our Knowledge Comes From - The Problems of Research Studies

Almost everything we know about how men father from prison has come from overseas research. The most recent New Zealand study which looked at how men feel about maintaining contact from prison was completed thirty years ago (Deane, 1988). Overseas research comes from two principal sources; firstly, large-scale quantitative projects informed by Justice or Corrections Department supplied data sets (Bales & Mears, 2008; Lahm, 2016). These studies, generally with a strong desistance focus, have been interested in determining if strengthening the father-child attachment through contact helps the fathers' post-release offending, and their adjustment to living in the community (Benning & Lahm, 2014). To establish this these studies have concentrated on quantifying the contact between fathers and their children, and the effect of this on similarly quantifiable outcomes. The second source of overseas knowledge around imprisoned fathering are smaller studies using qualitative (Arditti, 2005; Dixey & Woodall, 2012) or more often mixed methodologies (Lanskey et al., 2016; Shlafer & Poehlmann, 2010). If these studies addressed a need identified by the prison, for example to establish more family-centred visiting, the project usually proceeded without too much challenge (Pierce, 2015). Studies without this support often had difficulty not only obtaining funding, but also the many administrative and ethical approvals required to undertake prison research (Schlosser, 2008). In a recent Australian qualitative project, ethical review and approval was required from nine separate administrative bodies (Bartlett & Eriksson, 2018).

New Zealand based knowledge on fathering from prison has not been advanced in the same way as overseas. There are no large-scale data sets available for example for quantitative studies, and it is unlikely under the current 'risk-need-responsivity' framework (Johnston, 2015) that the DOC will commission research on how to improve father-child contact in prisons. The New Zealand Justice and Corrections Departments, unlike their overseas colleagues, are not focused on family contact in prison as a way of reducing

reoffending. In this they are out of step with recent developments in the US, UK and European Union where this area has become a priority (European Committee on Crime Problems, 2017; Lord Farmer, 2017; US Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). Instead, the New Zealand DOC sees the preservation or building of family relationships as a re-entry goal only after leaving prison. The DOC Strategic Plans for 2018-19 include no reference to whānau or family in rehabilitation planning within the prison (Department of Corrections, 2018b). The latest New Zealand DOC Annual Report makes no mention of family visiting programmes in prison, or parenting programmes for fathers, but instead outlines 21 other rehabilitation interventions in the prison and community (Department of Corrections, 2018a). This failure to recognise the importance of father-child contact in prison makes it difficult for independent researchers in New Zealand to undertake projects in this area, as researching within prisons is strictly controlled by the DOC Research and Evaluation Governance Committee. In the event that access to prison is gained the scope of any project looking at fathering from prison may in turn be severely restricted by any relevant ethics committees who classify both prisoners and children as ‘vulnerable individuals’ with prisoners’ children needing even greater protection. These regulations were historically justifiable (L. Roberts & Indermaur, 2008), but today, excluding these groups from research may only serve to reinforce their ‘vulnerability’ as it prohibits any possible benefits that could result from a full exploration of fathering from prison.

The New Zealand studies (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011) that collected data on imprisoned parents, had the support of the DOC as the focus was on the effect of imprisonment on children and the children’s caregivers, rather than parenting from prison. Despite this primary interest, survey information on contact was collected directly from 368 imprisoned mothers and fathers from nine prisons (Gordon, 2011). Some of the

difficulties with this project's methodology are discussed in the following section as they are illustrative of more general concerns in this research area.

3.6.1 Issues with methodology

In the New Zealand studies contact was defined as having contact with only one child, despite the parents in this study having an average of 3.1 children each, and the results for mothers and fathers were not differentiated (Gordon, 2011). Other studies have also used this method of questioning fathers about their involvement with only one child (Clarke et al., 2005; Day, Bahr, Acock & Arditti, 2005). Inevitably that child tended to be the one whom the father felt closest to (Arditti, Smock & Parkman, 2005). Reporting on their involvement with one child is not a true indication of parenting for these imprisoned fathers, who often had complex families with children from more than one mother and different fathering roles and responsibilities for each child (Tripp, 2001). Secondly, there was no refinement of the data around the pattern, timing and quality of the contacts. This further limits the researcher's ability to provide a more nuanced analysis of the data. For example; if there were 10 telephone calls recorded between a father and child during the 10 months of his sentence it was important to know the pattern of these contacts. Regular, sustained contact such as one phone call a month for 10 months would establish a more secure father-child bond than 10 calls in the first two weeks (Comfort, 2008). Contact later in the sentence rather than just at the beginning is also associated with a stronger effect on recidivism (Duwe & Clark, 2011). Finally, in the New Zealand study, and many others there was no indication of what the father, his children or their mother or caregiver felt about the quality of the contact. This study did interview some children of prisoners and their caregivers, but these interviewees were not connected to the prisoners from whom the contact data had been collected (Gordon, 2011; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011). The perceived quality of contact, especially the visit, has been shown to be very important and could influence future contact (Poehlmann,

Dallaire, Loper, & Shear, 2010). Clarke et al. (2005) in one of the few studies to address this topic asked fathers to rate the quality of their visit with their child on a five-point scale. Their general finding was that fathers appeared to link the quality of the visit to the prison regulations around visiting. Therefore, if the prison provided toys in the visiting room, or permitted physical contact, the visit was rated more positively.

The research for this thesis addresses these issues around contact data although due to ethical restrictions addressed in chapter five the fathers are the only source of information.

3.6.2 The gaps in our knowledge

This review has highlighted that contact between a father in prison and his children was generally beneficial for both (Losel et al., 2012; Visser, 2013). This could be true regardless of their relationship before the father's arrest, meaning that imprisonment could act as a 'turning point' for some men (Lanskey et al., 2016). Contact could help in a father's re-entry to his community, and lessen his chances of reoffending (La Vigne et al., 2005). Visiting has been found to be difficult for both fathers and their children (Arditti, Lambert-Shute, & Joest, 2003) and has led to some unexpected findings, for example, that fathers who received more visits had more disciplinary infractions (Benning & Lahm, 2014). However, visiting was often seen as vital for staying connected (Lanskey et al., 2016; Nurse, 2001) and also helped children to feel less anxious about their fathers' imprisonment (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008). Enhanced visitation programmes, improved visiting facilities and regulations, and appropriate parenting programmes for fathers, could help to mitigate many of the difficulties found in the research (Clancy & Maguire, 2017).

Some of the overseas studies in this review were not positioned within any particular theory or framework of fathering (Dyer, Pleck, & McBride, 2012). Rather, the studies used contact in prison between a father and his child as a proxy for fathering, and therefore as a measure of the father-child attachment. Contact was seen as a binary variable. If it occurred

then the father was continuing to parent from prison, if it did not then the father had either put his parenting role on hold while in prison, or abandoned it completely. This explanation allowed few opportunities to provide a context for fathering. When theories were applied to explain imprisoned fathering, these included: identity theory (Pleggenkuhle et al., 2018), family systems theory (Comfort, 2002), ecological systems theory (Bartlett & Eriksson, 2018), and life course theory (Edin et al., 2004). At times theories were combined to explain research findings (Dyer et al., 2012). Some qualitative studies made use of theories to concentrate on a particular aspect of imprisoned fathering. For example, Bartlett & Eriksson (2018:14) looked at how fathers constructed and displayed their masculinity in prison, including within the visits room. This study used theories of identity (Goffman, 1959) and prison masculinity (Ricciardelli, Maier, & Hannah-Moffat, 2015) to provide a more nuanced account around a specific aspect of fathering from prison. A lack of theory, and studies of only a small number of fathers, although common in qualitative carceral research, make it difficult to predict if similar outcomes would be found with a group of imprisoned fathers in New Zealand.

There have been no recent studies in New Zealand on how men father from prison. Our prison population has a unique composition, with at least half being indigenous men (Department of Corrections, 2018c) and many having a family link to gang membership (Carr & Tam, 2013) so it is important that this research is done locally using a theory of fathering that guides research as well as helping to explain the findings. In this thesis, as already outlined in the introduction, the theories being applied are Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977), complemented by Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity (1995). For Bourdieu all social practice is an intersection of habitus, field and capital. To understand a man's fathering practice in prison it is important to study how he was fathered in his birth family; how he constructs his masculinity; his relationships' with his children, their mother

and his extended family or whānau; how he fathered his children before his arrest; and finally, to explore the prison environment or field. This theory provides a comprehensive framework for the research and analysis of New Zealand men's fathering from prison, especially the indigenous and Pacific men whose fathering cannot be explained by the findings of overseas studies. This theory also gives some context to the quantitative data reported on the contact between the fathers and their children from prison. The next chapter expands on this theoretical base.

Chapter Four: Thinking with Bourdieu with Work on Prisoners

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to introduce the foundational correctional theories developed in the late 1950s and 1960s. These theories continue to underpin current prison research, despite their inability to overcome the structure-agency duality (Neuber, 2011), attributing prisoners' behaviour either to the antisocial attitudes and practices they brought with them from their communities, or to the institutional structures of the prison (Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Sykes, 1958). The second part of this chapter shows how the work of Pierre Bourdieu can be used to mediate this structure-agency duality. Bourdieu's three key thinking tools of habitus, field and capital are a good fit for looking at prison life. Habitus as a "structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices" (Bourdieu 1984:170) bridges the gap between structures closely prescribing individuals' social practice, and individuals acting reflexively within some structurally imposed boundaries. Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977) is outlined, beginning with the field which has a special relevance to prison, because of Bourdieu's treatment of the field of power. An explanation of habitus and capitals follows. Each of these sections includes some new concepts developed from empirical investigation, as Bourdieu's theory is generally perceived as "less a collection of fixed propositions and scholastic precepts than a 'toolkit' forged by and for research..." (Wacquant & Fairbrother, 2002:177). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the specific theoretical concepts which will be used to guide this project. This includes the addition of Connell's hegemonic theory of masculinity (Connell, 1995, 2005) to augment Bourdieu's inadequately theorised concept of masculinity (Chodos & Curtis, 2002).

4.2 Foundational Research

The mid-twentieth century was the "golden age of US prison sociology" (Simon 2000:285) ushered in by Sykes (1958) and Irwin and Cressey (1962). The prison

ethnographies and case studies which these authors developed into correctional theories continue to influence our current understanding of prison life (Kreager & Kruttschnitt, 2018; Simon, 2000). Sykes' ethnographic studies revealed prison to be a social system which attempted to maintain constant control over the inmates (Sykes 1958:xiv). This total control of the prisoner is at the core of what Sykes refers as the 'pains of imprisonment.' In his 'deprivation' theory he identifies five pains or deprivations; the deprivation of liberty, of goods and services, of heterosexual relationships, of autonomy, and the deprivation of security. These 'pains' are central to how prisoners respond to their environment, requiring them to take on new identities that are hierarchical and embedded with violence. Sykes' work has received some criticism, with later prison studies failing to find evidence of rigid hierarchies built on violence, but finding instead that social roles are more context dependent (Crewe, 2009; Sparks, Bottoms, & Hay, 1996). However, the deprivation theory continues to be a base for empirical work (Crewe, 2011a; Trammell, 2009).

Conversely the 'importation' theory assumes that men take into prison not only individual personality characteristics, for example, low self-control (DeLisi, Hochstetler, & Murphy, 2003) but also the culture and norms of the streets or gangs they came from (Paterline & Petersen, 1999). This includes the strict codes of behaviour of gang members, or those who have some status on the 'street' (Anderson, 1999). This theory postulates that changes in society affect prison life; for example the rise in ethnic gangs in parts of the US in the 1970s was echoed in racial division within the prisons (Jacobs, 1977). However, reviews showed that it was both the prison context and the prisoners' characteristics influencing behaviour in prison (Gendreau, Goggin, & Law, 1997) and in the 1970s many researchers settled on an integration of these two theories (Thomas, Petersen, & Zingraff, 1978). This began a move away from ethnographic studies toward large scale multilevel analyses of the

effects of the interaction between the institution and the prisoner, using secondary data (Steiner & Wooldredge, 2009).

The models of deprivation and importation were formed at a time of declining imprisonment rates. In the US in 1972, the imprisonment rate was at an almost 50 year low before beginning to rise again (K. Maguire & Pastore, 1999). In the US, but also in other western countries as the rate increased, there was a decrease in sociological research centred on prison life. Over the last three decades correctional research has moved outside the prison. Its focus has shifted to prison governance and management (DiIulio, 1987); analysing the reasons for the expanding prison population, especially in the US (Travis, Western, & Redburn, 2014); and the post-release effect of imprisonment on an individual, his family and his community (Wakefield & Uggen, 2010). The few exceptional studies researched inside prison are generally from the UK and provide an updated look at the deprivations of prison life (Crewe, 2011b, 2015) and the quality of life within prisons (Liebling, 2011). There have been recent calls for a return to studying what is happening inside prisons (Kreager & Kruttschnitt, 2018; Tubex, 2015) and for research that leads to “a better understanding of the experience of being incarcerated and its effects” (Travis, Western, and Redburn 2014:11). This quote is from a report jointly commissioned by the US Department of Justice and National Institute of Justice. The studies that have answered this call have continued using the original theoretical frameworks, although often very loosely (Lahm, 2008; Mears, Stewart, Siennick, & Simons, 2013; Schaefer, Bouchard, J. Young, & Kreager, 2017).

During his research lifetime Bourdieu did not write a lot about institutional fields, such as prisons. With the notable exception of Wacquant (2001, 2012, 2014b), few sociologists have felt compelled to incorporate Bourdieu’s theory of practice into their studies of punishment and inequality. This gap is unusual, given Bourdieu’s influence on sociology since the 1980s (Atkinson, 2016) in fields such as; religion, education, science,

culture and law (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). It is also unusual given that Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977) offers a way of mediating the structure and agency issues inherent in the relatively prescriptive deprivation and importation theories. Sykes assumes prison deprivations necessitate prisoners taking on certain social roles which shape their prison behaviour (Sykes, 1958). These roles may change over time, or in different settings within the prison, but are always played out in relation to other prisoners' social roles. This concept of social roles is very rigid; a prisoner is never seen as reflexive or ambivalent (Neuber, 2011). Similarly the importation model takes the view that men's pre-prison personality characteristics, beliefs, and norms influence their in-prison behaviour, with no theoretical development of how this occurs (Irwin & Cressey, 1962). Combining these two theories does not answer the original question of what mediates the structure of the prison, the individual characteristics of the prisoner and his behaviour in prison. Bourdieu's theory of practice offers an alternative way of understanding prison life through the constructs of habitus, capital and field. The habitus is the embodiment of the prisoner's personal history, dispositions and beliefs. It is akin to the characteristics described by the importation theory but embedded and unconscious. On entering the prison field each individual has a position within this social space depending on his capital, for example the symbolic capital associated with being a senior patched gang member. How an individual behaves within prison is the result of this interaction between his habitus and the field. The greater the mismatch between these two, the more reflexive the prisoner is, causing him to adapt either his habitus or his behaviour. Bourdieu's theory is less prescriptive than the traditional theories. It allows for the interaction between the field and habitus to generate many different behaviours that are both "relatively unpredictable but also limited in their diversity" (Bourdieu, 1990b:55). The rest of this chapter describes this theory in more detail.

4.3 The Prison as a 'Field'

For Bourdieu the field is a social space or “invisible reality which organises the practices and representations of agents” (Bourdieu, 1998a:25). Each field has a “logic and a necessity that is specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:97). This common logic orients activity in that field and means that certain goals are pursued and not others. The social space is like a topographic map with individuals or agents “defined by their relative positions within that space” (Bourdieu, 1985:724). Positions are arranged according to a horizontal and vertical axis, so individuals are either close/far, or above/below, these axes depending on their volume and type of their capital. Different fields value different forms of capital, but generally economic and cultural capital are the signifiers of difference in most fields (Bourdieu, 1998a:20-22). By ‘mapping’ individuals in social space they are able to be placed at least theoretically in social classes. Those who are close together in social space have similar forms and amounts of capital, and are likely to be in the same social class. Individuals of the same social class are likely to also have a similar ‘class habitus’, as the differences in habitus can be deduced by the “objective conditions attaching to objective locations in social space” (Crossley, 2014:91).

An individual’s position within a social space does not just rely on their own capital, but also on the intentions of others to whom their position is relative in the same space. The elites in each field ensure their own reproduction by deciding what will happen in the field, the rules that will be followed, the activities that will be carried out, and the capital that will be contested; in other words the stakes specific to the field (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). There is a constant struggle for individuals to work, generally within the rules, using different strategies to either maintain their capital or increase it, ensuring they do this for the least outlay. Fields can produce two effects on individuals’ ‘illusio’ and ‘doxa’. ‘Illusio’ refers to an individual’s investment in the logic of the field, accepting without reservation that the stakes are worth fighting for. Illusio is field specific; individuals may be very committed to

the stakes within the field, although to those on the outside they may seem “insignificant or even illusory”(Bourdieu, 2000:96). This commitment or investment may vary depending on the individual, and various other factors including their position and habitus. For example in prison new prisoners or non-gang members may be less invested in the field as they hold subordinated field positions. The second possible effect of fields on individuals is a ‘doxa’ “a set of fundamental beliefs that does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma” (Bourdieu, 2000:15). For example, a common doxa in prisons is the idea that ‘snitching is the lowest of the low’ (Trammell, 2009). Usually Bourdieu talks about these taken-for-granted beliefs being in wider society, but they can also be characteristic of a field, and when they are field specific they may be referred to as a ‘nomos’. Fields, especially those that are relatively closed off or specialised, can develop specific knowledge, a special language and be able to set a high bar for entry. All these aid in the internalisation of the rules, stakes and logic of the field which, in turn, transforms an individual’s perception to such an extent that he only sees the world through ‘a prism constructed within the field’. This may be especially relevant for a prison which is more closed off than most fields.

As well as these individual fields Bourdieu theorised a principal field of power or ‘meta field’. Within this ‘meta field’ are a hierarchy of fields including the economic field, state or bureaucratic field, academic field, field of cultural production and the media field (Bourdieu, 1998b). They are organised according to struggles based on their levels of economic and cultural capital. Any field analysis should include an analysis of the field of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:104). In this project this analysis will centre around the state or bureaucratic field which includes the judicial field. The state is the “holder of a sort of meta-capital” (Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994:4) it has an impact on all the fields in society through its concentration of physical force, economic, cultural and information capital

and symbolic power especially judicial power. The bureaucratic field in this project will be discussed in more detail when discussing the prison field in chapter eight.

By accepting this view of social space, and using Bourdieu's methodology to understand what is happening in a specific field, such as that of the prison, it is necessary to know three things (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). Firstly the positions individuals hold relative to each other, then the capital they have, and finally the trajectories that brought them to this point. This entails isolating the particular characteristics of an individual which are relevant in a singular field and then analysing them. Although Bourdieu's idea of social space includes multiple co-existing fields, his theory has no comprehensive way of dealing with this multiplicity of fields. This is difficult for researchers working with the field concept in late modern society where individuals increasingly operate in different fields and micro-fields (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005; Lahire, 2011). This is one of a number of challenges to Bourdieu's idea of fields which will be explored below.

4.3.1 'Cleft habitus' and 'multiple fields'

Through his creation of concepts such as 'cleft habitus' Bourdieu acknowledges the influence of different fields on an individual's habitus (Bourdieu, 1999). Cleft habitus describes a "habitus divided against itself"; (Bourdieu, 1999:511) as it was largely developed and embodied in one field, then over time the 'conditions of existence' changed, causing a move into completely novel and different fields. For example, a child brought up in a criminally involved gang family who has a special sporting skill and is awarded a sports scholarship to a private boarding school in a different city from his family may develop a cleft habitus. However, apart from this recognition of the influence on habitus of movement across fields, Bourdieu does not directly address how an individual's position in one field affects their position in another, or how their place in one field influences the way they act in another. For example in this project, how does being a father in the family field outside

prison, impinge on activities once in the prison field? This lack of clarity around an individual's practice across multiple fields leads Atkinson to conclude that Bourdieu's methodology

yields a fragmented depiction of the agent, with the individuals being abstracted from the total experiential context of their lives as they live them in concrete time and space to trace the effects of each field without then recombining these multiple field effects to grasp the whole (Atkinson, 2010:6).

Individuals moving regularly across fields, and at the same time having a presence in online fields is a reality of late modernity that Bourdieu's field concept cannot currently account for. Theorists are attempting to extend the theory to resolve this difficulty (Atkinson, 2016; Lahire, 2011).

4.4 The Contribution of Habitus

Having explored the field it is now the turn of the second part of this equation, the habitus. Bourdieu uses habitus to mediate between structure and agency by theorising it as the "partly conscious taking in of rules, values and dispositions" which then as "durably installed generative principles of regulated improvisations ... produce practices" (Bourdieu, 1977:78). They are durable as they are from an individual's cultural history, primarily from their birth family and initial schooling. They are transposable, allowing an individual to respond in different contexts, perhaps using some improvisation. However, the responses are not completely novel as they are determined by who the individual is, and where they have been. The habitus does not act independently but in "an unconscious relationship" (Bourdieu, 1993a:76) both with the field the individual is in, and their relative position in it based on their relevant capital. This relationship between the habitus, field and capital gives rise to social practice. When the fit between habitus and field is perfect, that is when the individual's current circumstances are consistent with their habitus, they understand the logic and rules of

the field and “they feel like a fish in water” (Maton, 2008:56). Conversely, movement into a new field may cause an individual to feel out of place and awkward, “like a fish out of water”(Maton, 2008:56) as their habitus is not immediately compatible with this novel environment.

Habitus is primarily socialised in the birth family and in other childhood fields. It can also be shaped in later contexts. These include schools and other institutions such as religious groups, the army, or for some of the men in this project ethnic gangs, and these later contexts give rise to what Bourdieu calls the ‘secondary habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1984). These ‘secondary habitus’ additions can be unconscious or can be developed “through specialized pedagogical labor that is typically shortened in duration, accelerated in pace, and explicit in organization” (Wacquant, 2014a:6). However, even this conscious effort is ‘scaffolded’ by the primary habitus (Wacquant, 2014a). The more discrepancies between the primary habitus and the effortful achievement of the second habitus “the more difficult the traineeship, and the greater the gaps and frictions between the successive layers of schemata, the less integrated the resulting dispositional formation is likely to be” (Wacquant, 2014a:8). For example, a young Māori man brought up in a criminally involved family, when training to be a policeman would have difficulty integrating his primary habitus, including his class and ethnicity, with the secondary habitus he aspires to. As may be the case with this fictional policeman, the layering of a primary and secondary (and perhaps tertiary and quaternary) habitus does not necessarily result in a habitus that is completely unified and coherent.

Habitus is the most contested of Bourdieu’s three thinking tools; it is sometimes charged with ‘removing choice’ from human experience (Archer, 2007; Jenkins, 1992). However, rather than removing choice, it limits choices. Bourdieu conceives of habitus operating at least partly unconsciously in everyday life; individuals’ wants and desires, and the choices and value judgements they make, are based on their past history and dispositions

embodied in their habitus. Therefore the choices an individual sees and considers, are those that are consistent with the social structures of their habitus. For example, a man with no religious background who has just been released from prison may not contemplate taking up a placement in a facility with a strong Catholic practice, even if it has the only bed available. “The individual is always, whether he likes it or not, trapped... within the limits of the system of categories he owes his upbringing and training” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:126). As Friedman (2016) points out this also guarantees an individual some psychological stability, as in his field he has people around him who are thinking and behaving in a similar way. “Through the systematic ‘choices’ it makes, the habitus tends to protect itself from crises by providing itself with a milieu to which it is as pre-adapted as possible” (Bourdieu, 1990b:61). This only strengthens the critics (Archer, 2010; Butler, 1999) who believe social mobility is almost impossible with a habitus that unconsciously stamps ambitions with the label “not for the likes of us” (Friedman, 2016:131). If the objective structures of the field are aligned with the individual’s habitus their relationship will be well adjusted. This alignment is what Bourdieu tends to focus on theoretically (Vandenberghe, 1999) while in reality, there are many mismatches, and a perfect congruence is highly improbable in practice (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005). However, Bourdieu theorises habitus can change with a misalignment between field and habitus and this can only be recognised by analysing this relationship.

4.4.1 The possible ‘mismatch’ between habitus and field

The concept that habitus is unconsciously embodied in an individual has also been criticised, as this unconscious nature, by definition, makes it difficult firstly, to establish its existence, and then to analyse it. Arnot (2002) for example, noted that Bourdieu simply “deduces the impact in individuals’ consciousness of economic, symbolic and sexual structures” (Arnot, 2002:49). However, when there is a mismatch between habitus and field

the dispositions become clearer and easier to analyse. As Wacquant stated "...because it is not always congruent with the cosmos in which it evolves, habitus is suited to analysing crisis and change" (Wacquant, 2016:4). Bourdieu makes some contribution to theorising situations where there is this rupture, and this has been extended both theoretically and empirically by more recent researchers (Friedman, 2016; Ingram, 2011). One of the most common forms of mismatch is 'hysteresis', where the objective structures of the field change over time, making the cognitive structures embedded in the individual's habitus outdated (Bourdieu, 1977). These cognitive structures may include information on how to function successfully in the field. In prison this may occur when a recidivist prisoner is returned to prison and finds that he no longer 'fits in'. The rules and stakes of the prison field have changed, but his cognitive structures about how to behave in prison have remained the same. Bourdieu postulates the rift between habitus and field may be resolved by the habitus gradually assimilating or adapting to the new field. If this is impossible the ensuing crisis may cause the habitus to undergo a "radical conversion", although Bourdieu believes this to be a rare occurrence (Bourdieu, 1993a:136). Bourdieu also discusses the concept of 'habitus clivé', referring to the socialisation of the habitus in two very diverse fields which leaves an individual feeling like they are "caught between two worlds and their irreconcilable values"(Bourdieu, 2007:99). Later researchers, primarily within studies in education and social mobility have developed useful new approaches to analysing the habitus which will be discussed in more detail in chapter nine which focuses on the fathers in prison, where their habitus is often misaligned with the prison field.

4.4.2 Is there a 'family habitus' and / or an 'institutional habitus'?

The second issue concerns the use of the term habitus to encompass the collective practices of a group, rather than just those of an individual, as the theory prescribes. This includes the use of the terms 'family habitus' (Reay, 1998) and 'institutional habitus'

(Ingram, 2009; Reay, David, & Ball, 2001) which have been almost exclusively used for analysis within education. Atkinson (2014) and other academics believe there is no need to extend Bourdieu's understanding of habitus in this way as he already caters for the close investigation of families and institutions through his use of field, briefly stating in 1998 that family functions as a field like any other (Bourdieu, 1998a). Those who defend the use of these concepts believe the nuances of an individual's habitus can be understood more clearly if not only the relationship between the habitus and field are considered, but also the "interconnections that exist between habitus within those fields that are constituted by collective practices" (Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram, 2013:166). However, there appear to be difficulties in claiming the term habitus for a group of disparate entities when it is designed to describe the embodied dispositions of an individual. There also seems little to gain when the concept of family operating as a field allows a similar close analysis of collective practices.

In her study of working-class boys entering either grammar school or secondary school, Ingram (2009) compares the 'institutional habitus' of the two schools. She summarises the institutional habitus for each as being their "taken-for-granted assumptions about education" (Ingram, 2009:423) based on the accumulated history of their past and present pupils and staff and their traditions. It appears this same analysis could have been compiled by using the field instead of a collective habitus, as all individuals, regardless of their position, have specific knowledge and assumptions about the field. The unconscious ideals about 'what we believe in this field' are also available by accessing the field orienting doxa (nomos). It is inevitable given the current popularity of Bourdieu's theory, which at its core is a methodology, that there will be changes, improvements, and extensions of the original concepts. Regardless of these changes the relationship between field and habitus will always be one of "ontological complicity" (Bourdieu, 2000:149). Bourdieu wants to overcome the polarity of objectivism/subjectivism; instead of the field (an external object)

acting on the individual (the subject) he conceived of an “insinuation” or “imbrication of one in the other”, (McLeod, 2005:14) always taking into account the final part of this equation capital.

4.5 The Role of Capital(s)

Bourdieu introduces us to four types of capital that individuals use to gain and then maintain their position in a field. These are: economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals (Swartz, 1997:79). Economic capital is simply dealt with; it is income, wealth and assets such as property and other securities. Those who have significant economic capital or wealth are generally the dominant group in any field. In western capitalist society Bourdieu conceives that there is constant opposition between economic and cultural capital, with economic capital always being dominant (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital is more complex, existing in three forms: embodied, objectified and institutional states. The embodied form involves the inculcation of culture into “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986:19). An individual’s use of language, presentation of herself and forms of competence are expressions of embodied cultural capital. These can be transmitted to a child unconsciously through the family. This hereditary transmission is quicker and more successful if it is done early in a child’s life, but can continue throughout socialisation. It is also possible for an individual to engage in deliberate self-improvement to gain cultural capital, for example taking speech lessons, but this is very time consuming and requires economic capital. In the objectified state, cultural capital is “in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines etc.) which are the trace or realisation of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics etc.” (Bourdieu, 1986:19). These goods can be converted into economic capital, for example by selling a picture, but the means or ability to ‘consume’ or ‘appreciate’ the picture, the associated embodied capital, cannot be bought or sold. Institutional cultural capital overcomes the difficulties of objective cultural

capital as it is effectively embodied through the receipt of a personal institutionally recognised qualification, such as an academic qualification. The qualification can also be exchanged for economic capital through the labour market.

Social capital also has two key components. Firstly, it accrues from “contacts and group memberships which through the accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities, provide actual or potential support and access to valued resources” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:143). The volume of social capital possessed by an individual depends on how many networks and groups he is involved in, but also on the amount of economic, cultural and symbolic capital held by every individual that he is connected to. The maintenance of social capital is conditional because it requires an individual to expend some effort in “sociability, and a continual series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bourdieu, 1986:263). Finally symbolic capital is “the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1989:17). Legitimation in each field is a task for those who already have symbolic capital, which means they have “obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition” (Bourdieu, 1989:23). Symbolic capital is a form of power which is disguised and appears as natural and legitimately demanding of recognition. This disguise means that individuals with symbolic capital can act in self-interested ways that are misrecognised by others; an example of this are some forms of philanthropy. Symbolic capital can be converted to other material capital and most importantly, it can be inherited.

Bourdieu (1990:122) sees capital as a kind of “energy of social physics”; under certain conditions and with particular exchange rates it is possible to interconvert the various forms of capital. Bourdieu believes “economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital,” including cultural, social and symbolic capital, which are actually “transformed, disguised forms of economic capital” (Bourdieu, 1986: 252). Although it is generally easier

to convert economic capital into cultural or social capital than vice versa, there are some goods and services which can only be obtained with cultural or social capital (Swartz, 1997:84). Portes (1998:4) for example noted that these exchanges are “characterised by less transparency and more uncertainty” than those involving economic exchanges. They can contain “unspecified obligations, uncertain time horizons and possible violation of reciprocity expectations. But by their very lack of clarity, these transactions can help disguise what would otherwise be plain market exchanges” (Portes, 1998:4).

4.6 The Theorising of Masculinity using Bourdieu and Connell

Although habitus has been most developed in the explanation of social class it is also through the notion of habitus that Bourdieu explains gender. In Bourdieu’s work the gendered habitus is imprinted primarily during childhood with a social and cultural history. For boys this is a history of masculinity dominating femininity, as a result of “biological differences” and “anatomical differences” between the sexes, which are so ingrained that they appear “natural” (Bourdieu, 2001:33-34). Masculine domination is also planted in the cultural discourse of the fields and “embodied in language, texts, knowledge, policies, human practices and in notions of that which constitute the legitimate political subject” (Dillabough, 2004:495). Calhoun (2003) explains that as well as being a “characteristic set of dispositions for action” the habitus is a place where institutions or bodies meet and “the way in which people connect with the socio-cultural in such a way that the various games of life keep their meaning, keep being played” (Calhoun, 2003:17 cited in Dillabough, 2004:495). The meeting of the embodied unconscious structures of masculinity in the habitus, and the objective structures of the masculine discourse in the institutions and bodies of the field leads to “forms of domination (which) are naturalized to the extent that they are both unconscious and sometimes unrecognizable” (Dillabough, 2004:495). Unrecognisable because masculine domination has become such a ‘taken-for-granted’ attitude or ‘doxa’ that it no longer needs

any discourse to justify it, and even those it subordinates see it as neutral. Bourdieu's view of masculine domination as a doxa helps explain the limited sources he outlined for transformation of the gender hierarchy. His failure to engage with more contemporary writing and views on gender to allow for a less deterministic view led to criticism from postmodernist feminists (Adkins, 2004; Butler, 1999). However, some feminist theorists have created a more nuanced understanding of gender through Bourdieu's work (McNay, 1999; Skeggs, 2004).

The focus of Bourdieu's theory on the reproduction of masculine domination also makes its use problematic for writers of masculinity studies. Bourdieu's strong linking of social class and masculinity in the habitus cannot explain any change in masculinity over time or across situations. To overcome these difficulties this project employs Connell's theory of masculinities (Connell, 1995, 2005). Connell's work on masculinity has been widely used to explain the construction and practice of masculinities in different contexts (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Connell 2000;). Her theory proposes that masculinities are diverse, because they are historically and socially specific. They are vertically arranged with hegemonic masculinity at the top, being the ideal way of being a man in a particular community, institution or country at a certain time. Although they differ depending on their context, hegemonic masculinities all legitimate unequal gender relations between men and women, and between other men who construct non-hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2018). Hegemonic masculinities are constructed in relation to four non-hegemonic masculinities: complicit, marginalised, subordinated and protest masculinities. Men with complicit masculinities do not meet the standard for hegemonic masculinity, despite attempting to. But in their attempts they can accrue some of the benefits of masculine domination (Connell 1995:79). Those who have constructed marginalised masculinities are discriminated against because of their ethnicity, class or age, even if they engage in some of

the same practices as men with hegemonic masculinities (Connell 1995:80). Men with subordinated masculinities not only lack the qualities necessary for hegemonic masculinity, but also embody some of the opposite qualities; those associated with femininity (Weeks, 1977). Finally, men who have constructed a protest masculinity do not have the forms of capital necessary to succeed in society, and therefore define themselves by protesting against everything that society values (Connell 1995: 109). As all these forms of hegemonic and nonhegemonic masculinities “come into existence in specific settings and under particular situations they are all subject to change” (Messerschmidt 2018:144). Despite this theoretical capacity for change, Connell’s continued legitimization of patriarchy through the power embodied in hegemonic masculinity has been questioned (Beasley, 2008; Hearn, 2004; Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

From the late 1990s there was an apparent softening of masculinity with less homophobia (Anderson, 2009; Curtice & Ormston, 2012) and more involvement of fathers in the emotional and day-to-day care of their children (Johansson, 2011; C.Lewis & Lamb, 2007). This led some to call for a theoretical shift to account for this softer masculinity (Anderson, 2011; Adams, 2011). However, this development was not seen as extending to men from marginalised social classes and ethnicities like the fathers in this project, who continued to be seen as adhering to the model of masculinity which prioritised being dominant, homophobic and tough (Kimmel, 2008). The various new frameworks proposed as alternatives to hegemonic masculinities included: personalised masculinities (Swain, 2006), chameleon masculinities (Ward, 2015) and caring masculinities (Elliott, 2016). The most popular was Anderson’s inclusive masculinities (Anderson, 2009) which asserts that the increasingly positive attitudes towards homosexuality held by some communities has allowed young men to construct their masculinities in a horizontal framework. Using this framework, no form of masculinity has more power or influence than any other, which is in contrast to

the vertical organisation favoured by Connell, where masculinities are related through power (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The empirical evidence for inclusive masculinity was generally observed amongst young, middle-class, undergraduate men in the US and UK (Anderson, 2018). However, Anderson also cites studies of working-class men in different fields, including two UK studies by Roberts (S. Roberts, 2013, 2018). Roberts (2013) interviewed a group of white, working-class young men, employed in the retail sector. Retail work is traditionally seen as feminine, because it is emotionally, rather than physically demanding (Hochschild, 1983). However, these men did not feel that their jobs challenged or subordinated their masculinity. Instead they were proud that they had permanent jobs, at a time when many working-class men were unemployed. Anderson used inclusive masculinity to understand these men's willingness to work in jobs which were seen as feminine (Anderson & McCormack, 2014). In a later study these same men undertook child care and housework; some becoming the primary caregivers for their children while their partners worked outside the home. Roberts explained that this lack of conformity to traditional gender norms arose from a generational difference. These young working-class men were less attached to traditional notions of breadwinning and parenting than their parents had been (S. Roberts, 2018). This led these men to adopt practices which may have been traditionally viewed as feminine or 'like mothering'. But applying Inclusive Masculinity Theory (Anderson, 2009) for these men "the prospect of being 'feminised' holds less cultural fear" (S. Roberts, 2018:284). The addition of Connell's theory to this project helps to clarify changes in the fathers' masculine identities as they move from being at home fathers to imprisoned fathers. While the inclusive masculinity theory may help to explain any apparent softening of masculinity especially among young fathers.

4.7 Bourdieu and the Study of Race and Ethnicity

Recently, there has been significant debate about the notion that ethnicity requires a different way of thinking about the idea of habitus and capitals. The notion of an ‘ethnic habitus’ has been used in studies to conceptualise the ethnic identities of different groups of individuals including Chinese Australians (Mu, 2016) and different generations of Samoans living in Auckland (Park & Morris, 2004). Mu (2016) conceived of his participants’ habitus as embodying Chinese history, culture and heritage through their birth families and early social learning. This habitus, while durable and transposable to different fields, is seen to be shaped through later socialisation and deliberate self-fashioning. Mu, for example, concluded that those participants with more commitment to Chinese language learning “...had a stronger disposition of Chineseness” in their habitus (Mu, 2016:54). The research by Park and Morris (2004) also used Bourdieu’s theory to explore the everyday practices relating to the reproductive sexuality of two groups of Samoans. The first was an older group made up predominantly of individuals who were born in Samoa and then migrated to New Zealand, while the other group, was composed of young people who had been born in New Zealand to Samoan parents. The concept of habitus was used to analyse how, for example, the Samoan principles of ‘fa’aaloalo’ or respect and ‘tautua’ meaning service, could cross trans-national fields and then be used in New Zealand to shape choices on sexual reproduction. Their finding was that there were both “...strong continuities and considerable transformations” in the Samoan practices of sex and reproduction (Park & Morris, 2004:256). The changes were the result of incompatibility between the habitus and new fields; changes in capital causing different field positions, and alterations in the habitus which were “more or less consciously fashioned” (Park & Morris, 2004:256).

There has also been a growth in studies that emphasise the emergence of either ‘Black capital’ or ‘ethnic capital’. In the western world the standard by which other cultures are judged is generally set by white middle-class culture. This leaves the cultural capital of ethnic

minority groups and the working class as illegitimate, except in the field it is embodied, such as the family field. For example, students of an ethnic minority group who underachieve at school because they do not have the appropriate cultural capital for the education field, may have cultural capital in other fields. However, this goes unrecognised by the majority, and their culture is denigrated and devalued. This is because only certain cultural products are legitimated and valued in the education field, and these are the cultural skills and knowledge genetically transmitted and embodied in the children of the dominant group. In this way inequalities are reproduced. This is seen by some (Bonilla-Silva, 2005; Mizra, 2009) as “new racism where racialised discourse is disguised under the rubric of culture” (Rampersad, 2016:102).

To overcome this deficit reading of cultural capital researchers have introduced new concepts. Carter (2003:138) developed ‘non-dominant cultural capital’ which “embodies a set of tastes, scheme of appreciation and understandings to a lower status group”. This capital includes a favoured speech code, music style and ways of dressing which signify to others in the field that an individual has ‘non-dominant cultural capital’. This is in opposition to Carter’s concept of ‘dominant cultural capital’ - the equivalent of Bourdieu’s cultural capital of “powerful high status cultural attributes, codes and signals” which can be easily legitimated and exchanged for symbolic capital (Carter, 2003:138). Carter found some of the young Black people in her ten month ethnography displayed an ease at using these two forms of capital in different settings. For example, they could move between using ‘dominant cultural capital’ in the education field and ‘non-dominant cultural capital’, which Carter termed ‘Black cultural capital’ when with their friends. However, there were some difficulties attached to this; their use of the ‘dominant’ speech code for example in the work field could be seen by Black co-workers as “acting White” and not being “authentic”. Carter concluded “---cultural capital is context specific and its currency varies across different social

spaces, where struggles for legitimation and power exists” (Carter, 2003:137). This conceptualisation of ‘Black capital,’ although a good starting point, seems to add little to Bourdieu’s original theory, which already holds a place for field specific cultural capital which is not legitimated outside the field, and therefore has no exchange value.

In contrast, recent research by Wallace (2016) with Black Caribbean students appears to show how Black capital can become, in Carter’s (2003) terms, a dominant capital. These young people had from their birth families embodied a Black middle-class habitus with accompanying cultural capital. For their cultural capital to be legitimated they had to challenge the “stigmatisation and homogenisation of Black identities in school” (Wallace, 2016:9). Their parents facilitated this by providing them with knowledge, skills, practice and feedback so they could achieve the required level of social and academic performance. This was not just White knowledge but an integration of their knowledge of Caribbean and British lifestyles and history. This Black cultural capital had a positive effect in the education field on the students’ relationship with their teachers and their perceived chances of success at university. Rather than a deficit theory of culture which presupposes a structure which guarantees everyone equal access to capital, Bourdieu’s theory is the opposite. He outlines a theory of power, which links the lack of capital for those in the working class and in ethnic-minority groups to their dominated position in social space. Hence those who have a less dominated position, such as the middle-class-Black Caribbean students in Wallace’s study (2016), are able to consolidate their position, and gain more capital, through consciously acquiring appropriate knowledge and skills, with their parent’s guidance.

The structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represent the immanent structure of the social world, i.e. the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determine the chances of success for practices (Bourdieu, 1986:46).

4.8 Bourdieu and Intersectionality

More recently, there has been a growing interest in the idea of intersectionality and the work of Bourdieu. Contemporary feminists feel that Bourdieu emphasises men's domination of women without any consideration of alternative experiences dependent on women's position in the field.

Different women are differentially situated with respect to power: while white women may experience oppression on account of their sex, they also share privilege on account of their race (Cornell, 1993: 130, n16 cited in Eichner, 2001:11).

The concept of intersectionality was conceived by (Crenshaw, 1989) who sees Black women as being at the intersection of race and gender. In this position they experience race differently from Black men, and gender differently from White women. Her argument that Black women's experience of subordination is "greater than the sum of racism and sexism" (Crenshaw, 1989:140) means that it is not enough to simply combine the effects, they may need to be multiplied or combined in a different way. For Bourdieu it is within the habitus and its relationship with the field that the intersection of class, gender and ethnicity can best be seen, although always through a class-based lens, as field position is dependent on economic and cultural capital. As Silva noted recently

... in Bourdieu there is intersectionality and his analyses interweave complex modes of correspondence between sociality and fields. But for Bourdieu all factors- age, gender, ethnicity operate through the mechanism of a class-based habitus. (Silva, 2016a:77).

This continual linking of habitus with class has led some to criticise the use of Bourdieu's theory to explore intersectionality but others find it useful, especially in studying gender and class (Bullen & Kenway, 2005; Skeggs, 1997). Silva (2016a) has pointed out the necessity of a close analysis of the field, because it is through interaction with the field that the habitus is revealed. In this project intersectionality of ethnicity and class may be particularly relevant;

as seen in the previous chapter, Māori and Pacific people are more disadvantaged than the rest of New Zealand on a number of measures (Marie, D. Fergusson, & Boden, 2014).

4.9 Can Bourdieu's Theory Work in Colonial New Zealand?

There are still questions that need to be answered in electing to use Bourdieu's theory in this project with a group of participants who are predominantly Māori and Pacific people. Critics call Bourdieu's a 'metropolitan theory'; as it originates from the north and developed at a time of colonial expansion in Europe, and is arrogantly presumed to have universal application (Connell, 2007b). In this project it is being used in New Zealand despite some debate over whether Bourdieu's theory of practice even recognises the colonising experience (Free, 1996; Lane, 2000).

In her book "Southern Theory", Connell (2007a) specifically highlights Bourdieu for criticism, "...debates among the colonised are ignored, the intellectuals of colonised societies are unreferenced, and social process is analysed in an ethnographic time warp." (Connell, 2007a:44). This challenge needs to be defended as in this project many of the participants are Māori who continue to be effected by the systematic marginalisation of colonialism (Wynd, 2013). Connell's reference is to Bourdieu's book *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972) where he discusses his new theory based on his experiences in the Algerian colonial war. This book contains a minimal account of the war and its consequences for the Algerians. But Bourdieu has written about the effect of the war and the toll on the Algerians in earlier accounts not uncovered by Connell, primarily in *The Algerians* (Bourdieu, 1961). New scholarship by a number of academics using this material (Go, 2013; Goodman & Silverstein, 2009; Puwar, 2009) refute Connell's criticism of Bourdieu's "grand erasure" in his failure to consider colonialism (Connell, 2007a:44). Go (2013) for example, outlines Bourdieu's 'theory of colonialism' (Go, 2013:51) where he conceptualises it as a form of racial domination, "The function of racism is none other than to provide a rationalization of the

existing state of affairs so as to make it appear to be a lawfully instituted order” (Bourdieu, 1961:120 cited in Go, 2013:55). Racial domination is further enforced by physical violence if needed. Beyond this the land and labour policies instituted by the coloniser lead to a systematic disintegration of the economic and cultural lives of the colonised. Bourdieu’s explanation of this process has resonance for Māori in New Zealand. Although this domination eventually led to revolution in Algeria, Bourdieu does not envisage this as inevitable. Nor does he foresee a gradual process of acculturation as proposed by some, with the dominated gradually transitioning to the paternalistic new culture (Goodman & Silverstein, 2009; Robbins, 2005). Instead Bourdieu conceives of individuals with split habitus living ‘between two worlds’; being forced to navigate between their traditional way of life and the culture and the values of the colonisers (Bourdieu, 1961:144).

Connell states that southern theorists are interested in the lives of the ‘oppressed’ and ‘colonised’ and in theorising the “loss of land” and “with it the loss of social order”(Connell, 2007a:214). Bourdieu, although he is grouped with the metropolitan theorists, has a similar focus on the dominated, and his theories of colonialism and living between two worlds will help in conceptualising the lives of the imprisoned Māori and Pacific fathers in this project.

4.10 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explain Bourdieu’s theory more fully and why it is being applied to help understand imprisoned fathers’ social practice in this project. However, the aim has also been to show that this theory does not perfectly meet this challenge, and in some areas, it needs help. Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity is being used to extend the understanding of masculinity in specific contexts at particular times. This usage is particularly important when studying the marginalised masculinities of the socially and ethnically dominated fathers, many of whom were trying to live up to the breadwinning model provided by their own fathers. However, this theory has been challenged

as inconsistent with contemporary masculinity which is seen as “somewhat attenuated or softened” (S. Roberts 2013:672) Connell’s theory does not appear able to accommodate this ‘softening’ within its framework. Inclusive masculinity theory (Anderson, 2009) may help to account for the gradual changes in gender inequality in the fathering of some men especially younger men.

Although both family and institutions are key areas to analyse in the lives of these imprisoned men, the concepts of family and institutional habitus will not be used in this thesis. Family and institutional habitus have generally been used in studies of education, and even in that area, there seems to be no advantage in conceiving of them in this way. For example, using the concept of family habitus leads to no greater understanding of the family’s rules and taken for granted beliefs than using the notion of family as a field. Instead they will be constructed using Bourdieu’s original notion of the family or institution as a field (Bourdieu, 1998a). The family field is the only field in this project Bourdieu discusses in his writing but even this field he does not explore experimentally. Despite this lack of previous empirical support the family, street, and prison fields are used as theoretical constructs in this project. This is consistent with Bourdieu’s concern that his theory is put into practice rather than being imposed by definition. Doing this enables the three concepts of field, habitus and capital to be defined together not in isolation, and employed in this way they are invaluable in analysing fathering practice. This interrelationship can be seen with capital functioning only in relation to a field and generally the habitus generating practices that are immediately adjusted to the field (Bourdieu, 2000:118). A further justification for defining these social spaces as fields in this project is that they meet all the rules for determining fields Bourdieu set down in an Invitation to Reflexive Sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:99). To account for the influence of ethnicity in this project the term ethnic habitus is adopted as a clear method of referring to the embodied dispositions that individuals share with other

members of the same ethnicity. These embodied dispositions include the culture, language, religion, family stories and history which are durable but can also be shaped through socialisation (Mu 2016:39). Forms of extended cultural capital such as Black cultural capital (Carter, 2003) will not be employed as they do not appear to add to the current understanding of cultural capital that is specific to one field and not transferable.

The next chapter describes the methodology that allows a clear view and analysis of the merging of the fathers' habitus and capital in different fields, culminating in the prison field.

Chapter Five: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

As a psychologist training in the mid-1980s positivism was my first worldview with its accompanying objectivist ontology, empiricist epistemology and quantitative methodology. If my reading mistakenly drifted into qualitative journals the studies seemed poorly designed and had so few participants that I quickly closed the page on them. Today I call myself a ‘soft’ social constructionist and am using these same previously dismissed qualitative methodologies in this project. This change in my worldview, which incidentally has had a concurrent effect on me outside of my academic life, occurred in a comparatively short time, and over the course of my doctoral study. This experience has strengthened my awareness of the need for reflexivity in qualitative research. As Reinharz (1992:3) asserts we not only “*bring* the self to the field ... [we also] *create* the self in the field”.

In this two-part chapter, theoretical issues such as reflexivity are discussed in the first section. I will begin by detailing the epistemology and ontology of this project, which led to the choice of the qualitative methodology and ultimately the method. The discussion of ontology includes a diversion into the sociology of knowledge as it seems important to establish, rather than presume the intellectual value in this project. The chapter continues with an exploration of Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology and the specific ways I exercise reflexivity in this study. I felt this needed to come at the beginning of the chapter to demonstrate that reflexivity is not an afterthought to a project but has been present from conception. The chapter will then detail methodology, methods and the use of narrative in this project.

The second part of the chapter details how the theory was applied in this study. This includes the dual difficulties of: doing research in the corrections setting; gaining ethics approval; the recruitment issues and the prison context and population.

5.2 Theoretical Concerns

5.2.1 Epistemology

Researching with a social constructionist epistemology means that I start with a number of assumptions. Firstly, I believe that individuals make sense of the world based on their historical and cultural perspectives, which are embedded in them through socialisation in their birth family (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). These initial understandings are augmented by individuals' interactions in different contexts or fields. These interactions may be social with other individuals, or with institutional structures and bodies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Through these interactions individuals gain further understanding of their world. The second assumption that follows this is that research can only be carried out in the field, where information is collected from individuals on how they understand their social practice (Bourdieu, 1999). Finally in analysing the information from the participants I am not reflecting reality but my impression of reality, which represents my embedded perspectives and interactions in different contexts (Crotty, 1998). I therefore have an obligation to make these perspectives as clear as possible.

5.2.2 Ontology

A slightly less transparent concept for social constructionists is ontology. If individuals assign different meanings to their experiences how can research, which is providing yet another representation of reality, "have any claim to intellectual authority" (Weinberg, 2014:3)? Many social constructionists do not view this as problematic as intellectual authority is not the goal of their social research (Weinberg, 2014). They see this searching for "objective or universal truth" as leading to the elevation of "observed regularities" in the data, and the privileging of certain hypotheses, which generates the "fixed and unalterable definition of those things" (Weinberg, 2014:25). Rather, endorsing an understanding of how individuals see their lives, how they got there and whether there are better ways of living, this reifying of a fixed truth discourages change. I agree with this view,

and it is not the intention of my research to provide any model of imprisoned fathering. However, I would argue it is important to have a clear understanding of how a project will have intellectual value.

5.2.3 Sociology of knowledge

To do this it is necessary to dip into the sociology of knowledge. From the philosopher Mary Hesse comes the ‘theory of finitism’, which posits that the way an individual understands the world, including all scientific understanding, is learned (B. Barnes, Bloor, & Henry, 1996). It results from interactions and experiences, as well as the skills and tools either picked up or developed to survive in a particular field. These are the epistemic standards of that field and are generally context specific. Any judgement of knowledge using these epistemic standards should be while it is being practically employed in the same context. Knowing is therefore seen as “a matter of observably competent performance within a particular domain of practical activity” (Weinberg, 2014:16). The value of knowledge can be evaluated by whether the research project meets not only the epistemic standards in the field, in terms of the methods and skills employed by the researcher, but also whether the research is of practical value in fulfilling its original purpose. When applied to my research project this would mean firstly, asking is the narrative method I use appropriate for my research questions and my population, and is my analysis sufficiently skilled? Secondly, have the narratives and the analysis been heard by people who are in a position to make any changes in the lives of these imprisoned men and their families? This is what I will be striving for, and my success will be considered in chapter ten, the conclusion.

5.2.4 Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology

Using Bourdieu’s theory of practice as the framework for this project enforces an even stricter level of accountability. Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology recognises three ways that biases can affect research: through an “intellectual bias”; through the position the

researcher holds in the academic field and finally through the social origins of the researcher (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:39). These will be dealt with in turn. The intellectual bias is the most important for Bourdieu and relates directly to the epistemic standards and practical application of research just discussed. Bourdieu became concerned that sociologists and other academics believed they were seeing the natural world, when they were actually looking through a scholastic lens made opaque by specific instruments and techniques, and reinforced by their intellectual community. This scholastic view has no historicity, and rather than treating problems as issues to be addressed, they are seen as ideas to be contemplated intellectually. To overcome any scholastic narrowness Bourdieu believes,

[Reflexivity calls] less for intellectual introspection than for permanent sociological analysis and control of sociological practice... It entails... the systematic exploration of the ‘unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought’. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:40).

Further it is possible to uncover the “*social and intellectual* unconscious embedded in analytic tools and operations” within the field of sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:36). This is not an individual pursuit but a collective role for sociologists and is echoed in a call from decolonizing researchers such as Lester Rigney (1999) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999). They are also demanding an interrogation of the “taken-for-granted ways of organising, conducting and disseminating research and knowledge” (L. Smith, 2008:117). A New Zealand example of a scholastic view that takes no account of history is the social researchers response to the overrepresentation of Māori in New Zealand prisons. Most social researchers have unsuccessfully attempted to address this with paternalistic research agendas and programming such as the ‘risk-need-responsivity model’ (Andrews & Bonta, 1998). In simple terms this results in programmes, which try to change the thought patterns and behaviour of Māori and thereby manage their criminal risk. This is resented by many Māori

who as a result of colonialism have for generations been “subjected to well-meaning decisions about what they need to do in their lives to put things right” (Workman, 2012:15). Workman (2013) suggests changing the paradigm and basing it on Māori tikanga or traditional principles so that instead of an individual focus, it becomes a community responsibility with an emphasis on “restoring peace and balance within the whānau” (Workman, 2013:10). Workman envisages welcoming the men back into their communities through reintegration strategies to undo the stigmatisation of prison, and finding ways that they can make a positive contribution to their community. I understand this need to question the instruments and practice of sociology and to uncover the doxa that are embedded in them, however as a new sociologist this is not a call I feel intellectually or practically capable of fully responding to. What I can do and what I have tried to do since the beginning of this project is to ensure that the methods that I have used are valid, and that my practice is ethical and respectful of the participants who have agreed to join me in this research. These issues will be covered when discussing the narrative method, and below in the third area where Bourdieu demands reflexivity, the researcher’s social origins.

The second area of reflexivity, the individual’s position in the field, is a requirement in all Bourdieusian analysis. I hold a dominated position in the field of sociology even within my university because of my low levels of capital. The contested capital in the field of sociology is cultural capital in all three forms: embodied, as knowledge of sociology; objectified, in the form of books, journal articles and conference papers and institutional capital in the form of academic degrees. Even though I am a doctoral candidate I am new to the discipline of sociology, and have no institutional capital or objectified cultural capital in sociology. As a mature student I “feel like a fish out of water” in the university environment and prefer to work from home, therefore my social capital is also limited to just my supervisors and one or two lecturers (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:127). Any institutional

capital I hold when I complete my doctorate will not be exercised in the academic field. Instead, as institutional capital is transferable, I will use it to help communicate the findings of this research in other fields, including in Corrections.

Bourdieu's final area for reflexivity is the social origins and categories of the researcher. I am a Pākehā woman with children who are all in their 20s. I live a comfortable middle-class life, although it is evident from the introduction that my mother was from a working-class family as was my father, and I was the first child on either side of my family to enter university. In this project I am working with imprisoned fathers who are mostly Māori or Pacific, are almost all at least 25 years younger than I am, are working class and generally finished school with no formal qualifications. The differences between our lives are large, as are the power imbalances even before the prison setting is considered. There is a history of indigenous communities and vulnerable communities such as prisoners being the subject of "research as the Object...It is an experience indigenous communities associate with colonialism and racism, with inequality and injustice." (L. Smith, 2008:134). In New Zealand the appeal for decolonising research has been met with a Kaupapa Māori approach or Māori research which aims to "transform the deep underlying structures ... of organising, conducting and disseminating research" (L. Smith, 2008:117). This project does not use a Kaupapa Māori approach, as it is an individual doctoral project by a Pākehā researcher, within a remand prison environment. This environment limits the possibility for ongoing engagement with the participants, and involvement with the prison community, both of which seem integral for this approach (Bishop, 2008). I have tried not to perpetuate the "colonial power imbalances" Bishop and others see in New Zealand research by Pākehā but I understand that given my habitus this is difficult (Bishop, 2008:147). In the next section I outline the steps I have taken as an outsider to minimise the harm from my research. Firstly, I try to uncover any taken-for-granted ways of researching. For example, when I first tried to

recruit fathers I followed the UAHPEC protocol of not being directly involved with recruitment, by reaching the men through the librarian who then passed on a participant information sheet. This was not successful. The men wanted to meet me before they were willing to sign the information sheet, even though this signature did not mean they were obliged to proceed with the research. I did not realise at the time that he *kanohi kitea* or ‘the seen face’ is one of the seven *Kaupapa Māori* practices for Māori researchers (L. Smith, 2008:130). So, despite the ethics protocol, meeting face-to-face was an important way to establish trust with these fathers. When they came to be interviewed the fathers often only skimmed the consent form, I initially thought this showed a lack of interest. I was mistaken, the men had already established through our face-to-face meeting that they were happy to be interviewed, and did not need a form to confirm this. As Fine and colleagues (2000) found the principle of informed consent can mean different things in different cultures (Fine et al., 2000). Secondly, I used narrative interviewing which is a method often used in a *Kaupapa Māori* approach, as storytelling is well established as a way of sharing and protecting knowledge in Māori communities (Lee, 2009). I have committed to sharing the combined knowledge from the men’s stories in a written report sent to the addresses supplied by the fathers at the interview. Finally, within the interview the narrator was positioned as the expert telling the story of their lived experiences and their fathering practice. I have no knowledge of prison life, or fathering from prison, and wanted to learn as much as possible from this expert. This is in contrast to studies where the researcher has an authoritative voice. The fathers had the option to tell their stories in *Te reo* with a Māori interviewer, no one chose to do so.

5.2.5 ‘Good enough’ researcher

Despite my reflexivity I believe the influence of my personal framework and the power imbalance between the participants and myself remains. I am following the lead of

Luttrell, an American sociologist who felt one way for a researcher to make these frameworks transparent was not just by talking about her background, but also by explaining key research decisions (Luttrell, 2010). For example, answering questions such as: why research in this field, with these participants, using this method? No decision is ideal, something is gained but something may also be lost from making each decision. For example, using a narrative methodology in this project prompted the fathers to tell wide-ranging and interesting stories, but allowed less comparison between the data than semi-structured interviews. Throughout my study beginning in the introduction chapter I have sought to explain my decisions. Luttrell believes this helps others reading the research to have a better understanding of the researcher's position and leads to what she calls a "good enough" researcher, a term she borrowed from paediatrician D.W. Winnicott (1965) who talked about "good enough mothering" rather than "perfect mothering". As with mothering there is no such thing as a perfect researcher.

The best we can do then is to trace and document our data analysis processes, and the choices and decisions we make, so that other researchers and interested parties can see for themselves some of what has been lost and some of what has been gained (Mathner & Doucet, 1997:138).

As a novice qualitative researcher in a new discipline, researching in a difficult environment, being a "good enough" researcher is certainly challenging.

5.2.6 Methodology

Having established the epistemology and ontology of this project qualitative methodology is the choice for guiding the conduct of the research. Qualitative methodology has no singular theory, it is used across multiple disciplines and encompasses a number of methods and research practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). A broad definition of qualitative research emphasises it

...is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible.

These practices transform the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:4).

This explanation is consistent with my project. I am researching fathers in prison using narrative interviews to try and better understand their fathering practices. The extent to which this research will 'transform the world' is limited and may depend on how well the research makes the imprisoned fathers 'world visible' to others.

5.2.7 Method

5.2.7.1 Why narrative interviewing

I had originally planned to use semi-structured interviews with the fathers. Instead after reading the methodologies of different prison researchers including Crewe (2013), I was persuaded to adopt narrative interviewing. The field of prison is structured so that prisoners are dominated. When interviewing within this context it was necessary to try and minimise the power inherent in the interviewing relationship. In a structured, or even semi-structured interview, the interviewer asks the questions, decides when they are answered and ultimately reports on the outcome. Narrative interviewing allows for more collaboration between the researcher and the participant, although the power relationship is still very imbalanced (Rouverol, 2003). An added advantage of this interviewing process is its strong contrast with the adversarial interview conducted by the police or the justice system which these men would all have experienced.

Prisoners (Crewe, 2013; Evans & Wallace, 2008) and recently released prisoners (Leibrich, 1993; Nakhid & Shorter, 2014) are the subjects of many of the studies that have used narrative methodologies. New Zealand research by Nakhid and Shorter (2014) used narrative interviewing with four Māori ex-prisoners, all with long histories of offending and imprisonment. With a predominantly oral history, storytelling has always been integral to Māori communities (Lee, 2009). The non-Māori participants will also be familiar with

narratives as anthropologists generally agree that the concept of storytelling is common to all humans regardless of culture or ethnicity (Rayfield, 1972). The ability to tell stories develops very early in children without explicit instruction (Cohler, 1982). People remember events and experiences as stories and retelling these in everyday conversations is normal. Telling these stories also appears to be the primary way people make sense of their experiences as they integrate the stories into their larger life narrative (Gee, 1985). During the life course these stories are reworked so that their life history, which would otherwise be disjointed is made coherent (Riessman, 1990).

Some researchers have reported differences between the “emotional and verbal fluency” of the stories told by participants who are like the interviewers: “western, white and middle-class” and those who come from different backgrounds including prisoners (Evans & Wallace, 2007: 493). This may indicate that some groups in society are more used to telling their stories and have their narratives well-ordered and coherent, or it may just be that “western, white and middle-class” interviewers have more difficulty understanding the narratives of people who are not like them (Riessman, 1987). Whichever is true, it is unlikely that prisoners have many opportunities while imprisoned to tell their stories to an interested outsider. For this reason Crewe (2013) felt that using the narrative methodology in prison research was very “humanising” for prisoners who are used to being mistrusted and disbelieved. When men were asked to tell stories that were not related to their offending, and were listened to attentively this was very powerful in communicating that they were individuals not just prisoners (Crewe, 2013).

A programme in Australia encouraging prisoners to tell their story to a community member had therapeutic outcomes for both the ‘insider’ and the ‘outsider’ (D. Smith & Gibson, 2006). This was a long-term undertaking and reference to it is not intended to suggest that the one-off narrative interviews used in this study are therapeutic, but giving

these imprisoned fathers the chance to tell their stories may help some to make more sense of their world. As McKendy (2006:498) found in life story interviewing with prisoners

Developing new understandings of past actions depends upon the person being afforded new positionings in the here-and-now, ones that give him a chance to stray beyond ‘the same old story’ to overhear himself saying something surprising.

Bourdieu uses narrative interviews most notably in the *Weight of the World* (1999) to recount the stories of marginalised people in France and Chicago. Through their narratives the participants reveal not just their habitus, but also their position in the social field, and often their trajectory through their life. I want to use narratives in this project in the same way, to understand the habitus and capital of these fathers, the relationship between this and the fields they find themselves in, and how this influences their fathering practice. As well as the individual stories I am also interested in combining and comparing stories to see if this may lead to further understanding, especially in the structure of the prison field.

5.2.7.2 Narrative analysis

Stories are the raw material of narrative interviews but they do not “speak for themselves” or “provide direct access to other times, places, or cultures” (Personal Narratives Group, 1989:264). They require analysis but even this only provides for “believability, not certitude, for enlargement of understanding rather than control” (Stivers, 1993:424). Analysis is based on certain assumptions, and these include the fact that narrative is a unique form of discourse as it is from the narrator’s viewpoint. As Susan Chase explains (2010:214) “Narrative is retrospective meaning making- the shaping or ordering of past experience”. The second assumption is that the narrative is socially situated (Mishler, 1986). In this project being interviewed in prison, by a Pākeha woman researcher shapes a father’s story. Finally, while understanding that every narrative is socially situated and unique, lives are also enabled and constrained by access to capital and position in the field (Riessman, 1990). This means that

attending to patterns across narratives may lead to a more general understanding about fathering from prison.

There are a number of different approaches to narrative analysis even within sociology. I have followed the method first described in detail in Catherine Riessman's *Narrative Analysis*, (1993) and echoed in the work of Bell (1999) and Luttrell (1997). These sociologists are interested in 'what' the narrative is about as well as 'how' the narrator chooses to tell his/her story. The text of the narrative is analysed to try to uncover why a narrator says things in a particular way. It is through this telling that meaning is constructed and it is possible to understand how people make sense of their experience. As an example, one man in this project finished his story of a horrific abusive childhood by saying "Yeah it's quite a bad, quite a bad upbringing I reckon". The context of the interview is also relevant, and how the narrator is engaging with the listener to tell the story. Is he telling a story in a particular way to draw the listener to his viewpoint? For example, one of the fathers used different voices when narrating a story about playing with his children; this made the story and his role in it very engaging.

There were several steps to take before it was possible to analyse the story at this line-by-line level. As a novice in this area I followed quite closely the steps for analysis outlined by Riessman (1993) and H. Fraser (2004). I initially listened carefully to each interview for the emotion and overall meaning it conveyed. I then transcribed each tape myself verbatim. I was generally guided by the conventions used by Reissman (1993) I included pauses and nonlexicals such as "uhm" from the narrator but not the interviewer. In places I omitted discourse markers such as "yknow" and "yeah" which were so common in some stories as to be distracting for the reader. Where these have been removed it is signposted by an ellipsis. I wrote an initial short summary, from the transcription, of the father's life story as a later prompt, and wrote any initial impressions or thoughts. The next phase was identifying the

narratives within the interview. Some stories exhibited all six features outlined by Labov (1972) as integral in a 'fully formed' narrative, however the majority of the stories were not so structured. Riessman (1993) found that story boundaries can be culturally determined, and I discovered that although a story beginning was sometimes not clear, a story often concluded with an evaluation and the story could be worked back from this. An example is this ending from one father's story as he reflects on how his imprisoned father told him to stay out of prison.

But at the end of the day he's sitting in prison telling me this. So I, (pause) didn't really mean anything to me at the time, but when I think about it now I wish I'd listened to him, you know? I wish I did um finish school. I wish I would join the army, and I wish I'm... you know somewhere overseas, you know?

The stories were numbered and then visually scanned and colour coded according to their relevance to the following areas: the fathers' birth family and experiences of being fathered; the fathers' relationship with their children and the mothers of their children before imprisonment; their involvement in the criminal field before imprisonment and the prison field and contact with their children. These themes were further linked to Bourdieu's thinking tools of habitus, capital and field. In the final step the patterns of similarities and differences between individual stories were sought. Some of the most interesting findings were where men had found a different way to father, for example by rejecting the fathering practices associated with hegemonic masculinity in their gang or community.

5.2.7.3 Validity of narrative analysis

Narratives are not a window to the truth yet there needs to be a way of evaluating them, a guide to whether a particular narrative is more valid than others. For Mishler (1990) this evaluation is achieved in the community of researchers who decide whether they have sufficient trust in the findings to use them in their own projects. To make this decision the

researchers need access to the primary data and the original researcher's methodology. As Mishler (1990:420) argues

Focusing on trustworthiness rather than truth displaces validation from its traditional location in a presumably objective, non-reactive, and neutral reality and moves it to the social world- a world constructed in and through our discourse and actions through praxis.

If the methods and interpretations adequately represent the data then it is valid. Lieblich and colleagues (1998) have two other criteria. First, what they term 'width'; the extensive use of quotations from the narratives to provide evidence for the interpretations. The second criteria is 'coherence'; the interpretation and the stories should fit together internally, and the analysis should be consistent with existing theories and literature externally (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). In the results chapters that follow I have endeavoured to keep these criteria in mind and provide 'width' as well as 'coherence'.

The second section moves from the theoretical to the practical and details the difficulties of accessing and researching prison populations, the recruitment of the fathers, mothers and children and the interview process.

5.3 Practical Concerns

5.3.1 Changes to setting and populations

The research project I am describing today is very different from the one I initially conceived of. Originally the project design involved more settings and participants. I had planned to do my fieldwork in two prisons; MECF, a primarily remand facility in the middle of Auckland city, which was being privately managed under contract to the DOC; and Spring Hills Corrections Facility (SHCF), a DOC prison about 70 kilometres from Auckland. These two prisons were chosen as they enabled some comparison across several variables: a private versus a public prison, an urban versus a rural facility and a remand versus a sentenced

prison. SHCF also has the only Pacific Island focus unit and it was envisioned that this would enable the participation of a larger number of Pacific fathers.

The project was also designed to have three extra research groups. As well as the imprisoned fathers I wanted to interview some of the children of these fathers, and their mothers or caregivers. There have been a small number of studies where the participants have included the imprisoned fathers, their children, and the mothers or caregivers. Most research in this area however has used one group, for example just fathers (Tripp, 2009) or just mothers/caregivers (Arditti, 2003) or unmatched groups. Gaining information from these different but interrelated perspectives allows a greater understanding of what it is like to parent from prison. Finally, I had also intended to undertake a small focus group interview of corrections officers at both prisons. However, as I attempted to progress institutional permission for the study, my research design began to look more like a wish list than a methodology.

5.3.2 Double barriers

Myers (2015) highlights the dual barriers to researching inside custodial facilities. The first barrier is getting into the prison past the ‘gatekeepers’ who are concerned about admitting an outside researcher who could compromise security, create extra work for staff and report negatively on the institution (Trulson, Marquart, & Mullings, 2004). In this project the most formidable gatekeeper was the DOC. The second barrier consists of the institutional review boards whose role is to monitor the harms, risks and benefits of the proposed research and ultimately protect the participants (Citro, Ilgen, & Marrett, 2003). UAHPEC was the primary institutional review board in this project. I also had to apply to the Ethics Advisory Group at MECF, but the acceptance of my proposal at UAHPEC made my path through the MECF process much easier. The following section focuses on my difficulties dealing with these two bodies. My experience does not appear unique but it demands inclusion as it was a

significant part of the research process, and what was not permitted ultimately shaped the research design.

5.3.2.1 Department of Corrections

My initial approach to SHCF was made through a colleague of one of my supervisors. She held a senior position in the prison and we had a very positive first meeting. The next week she was moved to another prison following a major riot at SHCF. I was referred to another manager, and had meetings with him and staff from the Pacific Focus unit who all gave the project their preliminary support. It is reportedly common in carceral research, especially for graduate students, to rely on their academic staff's contacts to legitimise the validity of their study and ease their access into prison (Trulson et al., 2004). I was beginning to feel more confident, particularly after a written endorsement of the research from one of the prison managers; however, the major hurdle was gaining approval from the formal gatekeeper, the DOC. Over a period of five months my two preliminary applications to undertake research at SHCF were both turned down, as was an amendment to the application. This was a particularly disappointing outcome given the initial positive support I had received for the project from senior staff at SHCF. The reasons given for this rejection were that the review panel did not need information on fathering from prison as "the difficulties associated with parenting from prison and the disruption that imprisonment creates in parent-child relationships, are well known and are largely self-evident." (Johnston, private correspondence, 11 December 2013). The panellists also did not think the project ... "would be likely to generate any new knowledge of practical significance or utility" (Johnston, private correspondence, 11 December 2013). These conclusions were surprising given the last independent study into how imprisoned men in New Zealand father, had been 30 years earlier (Deane, 1988). However, the panel's reservation that any findings from my qualitative project would not be "of practical significance or utility" was less surprising, given the

Department's long-standing preference for evidence-based research (Johnston, 2015). Key performance indicators, translated from business practice to corrections, are used to assess offenders' rehabilitation and reintegration to the community (Freiberg, 2005). Quantitative evidence-based research is employed to measure the effectiveness of the different interventions used in this rehabilitation and reintegration. Independent qualitative research, such as my project with a broader scope of interest does not fit this research schedule. Qualitative research can produce new and sometimes unexpected findings (Wicks & Whiteford, 2006), which may challenge or reflect less positively on Corrections Departments. Hilde Tubex (2015) believes Corrections Departments, who do not want to attract negative publicity or political attention find it safer to stick to a research agenda within the "what-works" tradition.

5.3.2.2 University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee(UAHPEC)

At the same time as I was negotiating entry into SHCF I was submitting applications to the UAHPEC. This became a six-month process with two formal revisions and one extraordinary meeting to discuss a difficult recruitment issue. This issue was the recruiting of some of the imprisoned fathers' children and their mothers or caregivers. The committee was reluctant to allow the interviewing of family members, whom they regarded as very vulnerable. The method of recruitment I proposed had been used in the most recent New Zealand research looking at the effect of parental imprisonment on children (Gordon, 2009; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011) and in overseas studies (Clarke et al., 2005; Dallaire & Wilson, 2009). However, the UAHPEC had raised a number of objections and arranged a meeting to discuss these. There has been much written about the role of institutional review boards and their relationship with researchers (Jacques & Wright, 2010; Oakes, 2002). Keith-Spiegel and her associates (2006) surveyed over 800 biomedical, social and behavioural scientists with research experience to ascertain their views on these boards. They concluded that

The ideal ethics committee appears to be a just body that employs fair procedures, treats investigators with respect, and accords them the opportunity to have a voice when disagreements arise (Keith-Spiegel et al., 2006:78).

Throughout my involvement with UAHPEC, which is limited to this project, the committee fulfilled only the last of these criteria by meeting with me to discuss the recruiting of the children and mothers. I envisaged a problem-solving session but instead it was an adversarial confrontation lasting almost an hour. The second criterion of treating investigators with ‘respect,’ was completely disregarded during this meeting, where my supervisor and I left the meeting feeling that we had been verbally attacked. Again, employing Keith-Spiegel’s (2006) first criteria, the design of the committee does not appear to encourage “fair procedures”. Some large institutions have different ethics bodies for different disciplines (Schlosser, 2008); at Auckland there is one body with individuals representing many different fields. This means some disciplines are not well represented, and representation is further diluted when the subcommittees are formed to investigate the projects in detail. The theory and methodologies of some disciplines may be unfamiliar and unacceptable to professionals in other fields sitting on the ethics committee (Oakes, 2002). For example, an application like mine from a social scientist with a qualitative narrative methodology appeared challenging for a practitioner with a quantitative background to understand, let alone support. This lack of clarity and misunderstanding over applications arising from different worldviews in different disciplines can and in my project did lead to requests for multiple revisions of applications.

Although I am undertaking a Sociology degree, the research is within a prison, and as Criminology is relatively new at the postgraduate level at the University of Auckland, the committee had very little experience adjudicating on research in this field. One of the changes I was required to make gives some insight into the committee’s application of an academic theory, to a setting they had little knowledge about. Following the transcription of

the narrative interviews I was asked to arrange for these transcripts to be returned to the interviewees so they could check them for accuracy. In most settings this would be straight forward, but in a prison setting particularly a remand prison, it can be highly impractical, if not impossible. Firstly, as many of the prisoners in this project are on remand they can either be released or sent to another prison on very short notice. The average stay at MECF is only 28 days. If they were moved, the DOC would not breach the privacy of the prisoner by releasing his address to me. Secondly, all the prisoners at MECF live in shared cells, and most work hard to conceal their emotions (Crewe, 2014). It is unlikely that those who were there long enough to receive their transcript would want it in their cell where there is no privacy. These arguments did not convince UAHPEC and I was advised to ask men if they wanted to review their transcripts. None of the 38 men I interviewed did.

My application was eventually accepted after this change and two further revisions. I was not permitted to observe the father and his family in the visiting room regardless of the consents obtained. The recruitment of the mothers or caregivers and children was also limited. This change to enlisting mothers as participants proved to be very restrictive and the consequences of this will be discussed in the following section. The ability to do fieldwork at MECF was one of the drivers for undertaking this project and is detailed below.

5.3.2.3 Access to Mount Eden Corrections Facility (MECF)

Prior to undertaking this research, I had been working on the parenting programme at this prison on a voluntary basis and I already had support from senior programmes staff. As MECF was a privately-run prison my only barrier to entry was an ethical evaluation of the research. The main concern of the Ethics Advisory Group at Serco was the recruitment of the prisoners' families but I addressed the meeting and answered their questions directly. They consented to the application but the security department initially refused to permit the use of a recording device in the prison. After further lobbying I was permitted to use a recorder but

only in one room off the visitors' area, which restricted the time for interviewing. As a volunteer I had already been through a police check and initial training programme but I had to complete a more intensive course. This enabled me to make my way around most of the prison independently, saving both me, and the corrections officers, a lot of time during my fieldwork. I never felt unsafe as I always had a radio, and was generally close to the programmes area, only occasionally going on to the wings.

5.3.3 Recruitment

5.3.3.1 Fathers

To recruit the fathers, it was initially intended that a participant information sheet was to be placed in each cell. As I had no access to the cells I was unsure if this was ever done, as no men were recruited through this method. I met with some of the wing supervisors to check how I could improve recruitment but made little progress. The Māori advisor discussed setting up whakawhānaungatanga meetings which he would facilitate in different units so I could introduce the research and myself, and establish my independence from Serco and the DOC. Only one of these meetings eventuated because of timetabling issues, and five months after the submission of my Serco ethics application form I had only two participants. These delays were frustrating and highlighted that it was not sufficient to have support from just one department; my lack of previous contact with any of the supervisors or staff on the wings seriously stalled this project. It was also frustrating to work with an organisation that can cite security as the rationale for any decision. I later learned it was a very difficult time for the prison as many areas were seriously understaffed. This will be discussed in a later section.

It was the advocacy of a senior member of the programmes team, which eventually allowed me to find a new recruiting strategy and access a new interview area. The remainder of the men were recruited either from the library trolley or through the programme staff. The librarian went into each unit every two weeks with a trolley of books and magazines. She also

supplied the fathers with pages of colouring and other activities for their children, which they enclosed with their letters home. In the first few days of recruiting she gave fathers who were interested a participant information sheet on the research. However as explained earlier this was unsuccessful; the men wanted to meet me. I began to accompany her on her trips into the wings with the trolley, and talked with the men about the research, and handed out the information sheets. They completed the participant information sheets in the units and placed them in the boxes provided. The second source of recruitment was the programmes department itself. In the parenting programme, the facilitators gave information sheets to interested fathers. In this way I recruited the remaining 36 men from nine different units and completed interviewing them in just under three months.

5.3.3.2 Mothers

At the conclusion of their interview any fathers who were willing provided the contact information for the mother of their children. Only 11 of 38 fathers were happy to give these details. In the original recruitment method, which was the most commonly used in the literature, the mother was to be sent two letters, and then contacted by phone to see if she wanted to take part in the research. This method had often yielded a very low number of participants (Day et al., 2005). I was restricted by UAHPEC to one letter and one follow up mobile phone text. This resulted in only two responses, one mother and one grandmother. Of these two, one family was unwilling to allow their children to be interviewed. In the other family, the night before I was due to interview him, the 13 year old boy ran away from home, not for the first time, and the interview was not rescheduled.

It is important to note that the original recruitment method was ethical, consistent with overseas and New Zealand practice and was designed to give the mothers an opportunity to be heard in research (Clarke et al., 2005; Gordon & Mac Gibbon, 2011).

5.3.3.3 Further recruitment of mothers/caregivers

As the response had been so poor from the mothers it was decided to try an alternative recruitment strategy which had also been used occasionally in other studies (Boswell & Wedge, 2002). This involved approaching the mothers/caregivers and children in the waiting area of the prison before visiting to discuss recruitment into the project. Once they consented to an interview the researcher would then approach the prison with the name of the prisoner and arrange to provide him with a participant information sheet. If the father was interested he contacted the researcher by putting a response card in a box in his unit. This new recruitment strategy gained the approval of UAHPEC but not the MECF Ethics Advisory Group. As only two women were eventually interviewed, it has been decided not to tell their stories explicitly but instead to wind them into the stories of their partner in one case, and their son in the other, and help to ‘flesh out’ their stories.

5.3.3.4 Corrections officers

Initially it was intended to hold a focus group of 8-10 corrections officers. They were to be recruited through a participant information sheet distributed to all corrections officers through their internal mail system. I wanted to include corrections officers as they have an added perspective on the day-to-day life of fathers in prison, and an overview of the structural difficulties of fathering from prison. As a number of researchers have noted, prison staff have a valuable contribution to make but are generally not heard in research (Dixey & Woodall, 2012). The corrections officers were to have been interviewed after the fathers and mothers. Unfortunately, by this time, as described below, the DOC began to assume day-to-day control of the prison and any further research was impossible.

5.4 The Participants

5.4.1 Fathers

Thirty-eight fathers voluntarily took part in this research. Despite their self-selection they had disparate characteristics. They were aged from 18 to 55, with more than half being

under 30. Ethnic diversity of the group was not representative of the wider New Zealand prison population but was consistent with the general community of MECF, which had a much lower proportion of Pākeha prisoners and a higher percentage of men from the Pacific. Only six men in the project were Pākeha, 19 were Māori and of the remaining 15 most were born in New Zealand to Pacific parents, while a few emigrated here from the Pacific islands. Altogether these 38 men had 118 children between them, with between one and eight children each. Thirteen of the men were sentenced prisoners and 25 were on remand. For seven fathers it was their first imprisonment but some men had been inside so often they had lost count.

5.4.2 The interview

The first three men were interviewed in a room off the visits area while the remainder were interviewed in a small windowed office in the programmes area. I generally had a maximum of 90 minutes for an interview if the father arrived on time, as this period was followed by a lockdown. Most interviews were approximately 60 minutes, but ranged from 36 minutes to 115 minutes with a few fathers returning to finish their interview in a second session. All the interviews began with the father drawing some form of family tree or simple genogram on A3 paper. These varied from pictures to complicated diagrams carefully labelled. This proved to be a helpful starting point, as the men would often begin by talking about their family members as they added them to the tree. I then asked some simple questions about contact with their children while in prison. The contact information is contained in Appendix A. This was often another entry into their stories about their family. I then asked a variation on one opening question “Tell me a story about what your life was like after [name of their child] was born?” For some men this was all the encouragement they needed to begin telling stories, others needed more prompting. I encouraged their story telling by active listening and most importantly not filling in the silences.

5.5 Problems at MECF

MECF is the largest remand prison in New Zealand with 80 percent of the prisoners being held in custody awaiting trial. Remand prisons are often more volatile as they have a very high turnover of prisoners (30,000 a year at MECF), and the prisoners are generally more unsettled as they are unsure of their future. Department of Corrections' statistics revealed that between 1 July 2014 and 31 March 2015, which includes the period of the research fieldwork, MECF had the highest level of assaults of any New Zealand prison, with the equivalent of one prisoner being assaulted every three days (Shadwell, 2015). There were also reports of widespread drug use, and prisoners having access to illegal cell phones (Fisher, 2015). The general impression created by the media was that the prisoners lived in a general atmosphere of violence and fear. In July 2015 this culminated in the suspension of Serco and the reinstatement of DOC's management (Dann, 2015). Once DOC began managing the prison I had no authority to continue researching and was unable to begin the focus group interviews with the corrections officers. Most of the people who had supported my project had already left or been moved to the new prison at Auckland South Corrections Facility which was still managed by Serco.

5.6 Conclusion

The issues of entry and ethics were difficult in this project but it was worth persevering for the hours of taped narratives and hundreds of pages of transcripts which resulted. The task was then to analyse and form it into a cohesive narrative to help explain how these men fared from prison. As Molloy a writer and researcher of vulnerable people eloquently phrased it, access...

is not nearly the discrete and easy-to-predict step I'd imagined in advance. It is an inexact and far-reaching practice in entanglement to attempt interpretation of these morass data (Molloy, 2015:476).

The next chapter, which explores how these men were fathered, and those following which look at fathering inside and outside prison, are an attempt at the “interpretation of these morass data” (Molloy, 2015:476).

Chapter Six: How They Were Fathered

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of four chapters which analyse the fathers' stories using Bourdieu's theory of practice and frameworks of masculinity. The exploration of these stories starts from the beginning, with men talking about their own upbringing, and how they were fathered. The birth family is fundamental for any Bourdieusian analysis as it is here that the primary habitus is shaped (Bourdieu, 1990b) and analysing it is essential for any investigation of social practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu also conceives of the family as a field with the family members having a shared sense of 'what one does in this family' and perhaps even more importantly 'what one does not do in this family' (Bourdieu, 1998a). This shared sense is both taken for granted and unquestioned. In these two ways, both in the habitus and the field, the family influences how a boy will grow up and parent his own children.

This chapter begins by explaining the birth family's role in the creation of the habitus, and then moves onto the family field highlighting 'what this family does'. The body of the chapter will explore the stories the men chose to tell about their upbringing looking for the underlying structures in their primary habitus, which are in turn "the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (Bourdieu 1990b:54). This also highlights the way that roles, particularly gendered roles, were inculcated through the family field. However, these structures and the set of dispositions that make up these men's primary habitus, will only become evident in the next chapter, when the men become fathers themselves and move into new fields of family and work.

6.2 The Habitus in the Birth Family

Over the course of childhood, dispositions, attitudes, actions and aspirations are embedded in the habitus. Bourdieu's theories have never clearly defined exactly how the

habitus develops. It seems reasonable to accept the view of developmental psychologists such as Rumelhart (1980) that conceptual structures or schemata are employed (Hodkinson, 1998). These schemata help a child know what to attend to in an interaction or experience, and shape future experiences. Bourdieu also maintains we “learn bodily” (Bourdieu 2000:141) meaning that the elements which make up the habitus become imbued through practice and interaction with family members. This includes both subconscious imitation, implicit and explicit teaching, and by being bodily present in the family environment surrounded by particular “household objects”, and observing the interactions between family members (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990b). For example; a boy who sees his mother working in the home, while his father only works away from home, is already internalising the scheme of the gendered division of labour. Although defining the process of habitus formation is not fully established, Bourdieu confirms his belief that the birth family is the site of this formation.

The strongest elements of the habitus are those that occur in early childhood for the habitus requires a long period of inculcation for practice to unfold (Bourdieu, 1990b:55).

6.3 Family as a Field

Family also functions like a field (Bourdieu, 1998b). In common with other fields it encompasses

...a relatively autonomous system of relations between agents who are united by interest in a particular mode of recognition and a cluster of taken-for-granted assumptions about ‘what one does’ revolving around it (or doxa), yet dispersed by unequal possession of the powers (or capitals) necessary to garner that recognition and spurred to engage in various struggles and strategies to gain them (Atkinson 2014:224).

Turning to the first part of this definition, the doxa of most families is that family members live together in a shared space separated from other people (Allan & Crow, 1989). This intimacy within a private space reinforces the construction of each family’s

individualised doxa. How each family member behaves within this space is based on “mutual knowledge and expectation” built up over the “course of repeated experience of one another” (Atkinson 2014:227). This results in taken-for-granted assumptions of what happens in the family, for example “the boys play rugby league” or “we don’t go to university”. Based on these assumptions individuals make predictions for other family members, for example, “he’ll end up on the dole like his brothers”. The second part of Atkinson’s explanation of a field, acknowledges that it is a site of struggle for family members, and as in other fields, positions are dependent on capital (Atkinson, 2014). For example, historically it was always assumed that the father claims the dominant position in this field as he tended to hold more economic and symbolic capital through working outside the home. At its most extreme the father may have exercised this masculine domination through forms of domestic violence, or more subtly through control of the household finances, or making all the key decisions for the family. Historically these strategies have served to subordinate the females in the family, and reinforced the children’s gendered expectations for their future families. In more contemporary times evidence suggests that economic and social moves may be leading to a breakdown in this traditional gendered division of labour, and we may be seeing some redistribution of capital associated with improvements in women’s positions in the family field. However, these more recent changes are unlikely to have affected the family fields of the men in this project. As we shall see in the discussion that follows, class and ethnic differences can also be strengthened through the doxa in the family field, for example “church is important in our lives” or from Ryan’s story later in this chapter “[we] saw the police as the bad ones”.

There was obvious diversity in the way these men were fathered and the stories they chose to tell about their upbringing. A few like Luke, a 20-year-old Tongan father of one small boy, had a stable childhood in a loving family with two parents.

My Dad's an elder in the church um in the um Tongan church, my Mum's just affiliated with the church, and you know I was brought up in the church. My father's always been there for me you know. I've always had a father figure in my life.

However, most men reported having more limited relationships with their fathers. This was either because their father or stepfather although present was not emotionally involved, or because he had left the family permanently or for long periods. Jack, one of the older fathers has eight children. He was born into a large family with a Māori mother and Tongan father.

I might look at my mate's father and think fuck I'd rather he'd be my father you know? Because my father wasn't showing me love because there was too many of us, yeah. Every parent has their favourites. Like I say I was the black sheep. Who likes the black sheep? The farmer doesn't even like the black sheep.

Nick a young Samoan father to three children had seen his own father only a few times since he was three years old.

Yeah because I was 3 or something. I can remember I was still going to kindergarten and stuff like that, and ...he was around then, yeah. And then he headed up going to jail, and then my mum found a new man and ended up marrying him... Um I remember once I visited my Dad while he was in jail. Um apart from that I've I'm only 23 I've seen him 5 times in my whole entire life so not very much.

This chapter is concerned with each individual's own accounts of their childhoods but also explores the similarities in how these men were fathered. Looking for patterns across the experiences of many individual fathers may lead to some understanding of how the primary habitus, developed in the birth family, can influence future fathering practice in prison. Five recurring themes in the men's stories about how they were fathered have been used to structure this chapter. Some of the stories were either unique or contradicted the themes, but they have been included to show that individual perspectives were also preserved through the

analysis (Sims & Rofail, 2013). A central theme in nearly all the narratives concerned the father's masculine habitus and how he displayed this masculinity within the family. Many of the fathers like Elis, had built their masculinity around providing for their family through labouring or semi-skilled jobs. However, for some fathers legitimate paid work was blocked by the economic downturn which began in the late 1980s and forced fathers to rely on welfare payments. Other fathers used their masculinity in the illegitimate job market, employing violence and intimidation as drug dealers or within gang structures. These men displayed the hypermasculinity of men who had little economic capital, and had been subordinated by their class and race (Messerschmidt, 1997, 2000). As children the men with hypermasculine fathers had witnessed repetitive displays of violence, especially towards women and children. In some families ethnicity was an important factor in the construction of masculinity, with for example, sport and physical toughness being emphasised in stories from William and Caleb.

A second prominent theme in these stories was the harsh parenting experienced by some of the men. This form of parenting was associated with a lack of social capital from family support. Thirdly, for many men their birth fathers were at best only an intermittent presence in their lives. As children, they often had no fathers or surrogate fathers who were strict disciplinarians. The fourth theme revealed in the stories was the widespread use of drugs and/or alcohol in the participants' birth family. Paul's narrative in this section was exceptional as he relayed multiple stories centred around his mother's drug use. When other men talked about the drug or alcohol use of their fathers it was incidental to their main story, perhaps because it was so routine in their lives. Finally, there were men who had grown up in families where their fathers and extended family were gang members. The story from Ryan reveals how embedded the skills and dispositions associated with gang life were in his family field.

6.4 Masculinity

The majority of the fathers of the men in this study were working-class Māori and Pacific men with labouring or factory jobs. Most could not attain the minimum standard for New Zealand hegemonic masculinity, being middle class and Pākeha. Although this placed these fathers in marginal positions in the work field, the traditional role of the male breadwinner remained important in the construction of their masculinity, as it had for many working-class men (Bauman, 1998). Some men, especially those with gang connections adopted strong masculine identities, but these were the marginalised masculinities of hypermasculinity and protest masculinity (Connell, 1995) characterised by physical domination, especially of women, but also of other men. The intersection between ethnicity and masculinity was evident in some of the stories the men told about their fathers. The doxa concerning Māori men's physical as opposed to intellectual ability influenced some men's construction of masculinity. The following section explores the stories of six men which reveal some details about how their fathers displayed their masculinity. It is only in the following chapter that it will be possible to discern the influence these had on their own masculine habitus and fathering practice.

6.4.1 'Breadwinning'

The gendered division of labour, previously central to the concept of traditional masculinity, was already on the wane at the time of the 1987 recession, when many of the men in this project were growing up. Although most of the men's fathers continued to prioritise breadwinning many of their partners were also working. With a few exceptions, the fathers did not take on extra childcare or do more housework to balance the mothers' increased workload outside the home. The mothers continued to be responsible for looking after the children, and any extra involvement from the fathers was often around their sons' sport, a form of parenting that was distinct from mothering (Doucet, 2006a). Some men told stories about their fathers providing for them and their siblings, through the economics of

criminal activities. Other men had grown up in families where their fathers had worked in legitimate employment. It is important to include their stories also as their voices should not be marginalised because they do not fit the prevailing analysis of criminality (Sims & Rofail, 2013).

Eli. A few of the men, like Eli, had fathers with ‘9 to 5 jobs’. Eli grew up in a rural family, the youngest of four children. His father was a farm worker who prioritised providing for his family, while his mother worked within the home looking after the domestic needs of the family.

What I remember my Dad getting on his horse in the morning and going to chase sheep and cows on the farm that’s all I remember him doing. That’s what my impression of a Dad is... going to work like my Dad did (tearful) and providing one hundred percent.

From an early age Eli equated masculinity and fathering with hard manual work. Bourdieu uses the notion of bodily hexis to explain the non-conscious bodily “pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic...and charged with a host of social meanings and values” (Bourdieu, 1977:87). Eli’s memories of his father were associated with his body, either sitting straight in the saddle on his horse, or bent over labouring on the farm. His father’s values and expectations were enshrined on his body and Eli was also expected to work on the farm from an early age.

Get that spade out there dig some holes and make a fence. Go and feed my dogs...That’s all he knew was work. Go to work boy.

Despite his father encouraging him Eli remembered trying to shirk physical work, and because he was the baby of the family he was allowed to get away with this. He felt he was spoiled by his mother and his siblings, and did not work as hard as he could have.

I was real spoiled. Yeah I got everything I wanted if I didn’t get it I caused a tantrum...I always had my Mum and my family around me to

pick me up you know, and being a baby and all, they were always there for me.

Work was important in Eli's family field especially for men, but as the youngest in the family he did less than his father demanded. Despite this he felt loved and protected by his family, from whom he also had some social capital.

Reece. The men with criminally involved fathers also told stories about their fathers providing for them and their siblings when they were children. Messerschmidt (1993) theorised that some men who, for whatever reason, could not legally fulfil the breadwinning 'anchor' of dominant masculinity would resort to illegal means. This appeared to have been true for some of these men's fathers. The priority of providing in their construction of masculinity overrode everything else. Reece's father had a senior role in a street gang, which he continued to hold during the period of this research. He was also the breadwinner for the family. In the criminal field Reece's father had symbolic and social capital from his position in the gang, but this could not be transformed or exchanged in a new field to enable him to get a job (Moore, 2014). Reece's story justified his father selling drugs to feed his children, because as a gang member he was unable to get a "proper job".

Like he might not have done it in a way that (long pause) that like the police or anybody might think was right you know? Logically, yeah. You know what I mean? If we needed to eat, yeah he's going to sell drugs to get us food to eat. Because no one's going to give a gang member, you know a job, or a proper job eh? You've gotta yeah.

Reece's story revealed his acceptance that providing through crime was acceptable in his family.

These two stories, one of a father providing for his family through legitimate means, the other of a criminally involved father being the breadwinner, were echoed by other men. The importance of 'providing' in the construction of the father role appeared to be strongly ingrained in the habitus of these fathers. The more contemporary movement toward

‘involved’ fathering where providing and nurturing are shared between couples (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004) was not reflected in how these men’s fathers parented.

6.4.2 Physical domination

The marginalised masculinity constructed by some fathers especially those involved in crime and gangs was hypermasculinity an “exaggerated exhibition of physical strength and personal aggression, expressed through physical and sexual domination of others” (A. Harris 2000:785). This domination was often exhibited in the family, and violence and fear were a feature of a number of the men’s childhood stories.

Stephen. Stephen was raised within his extended Māori family. His birth father left before he was born and at a young age was replaced by a stepfather. Twice in his narrative Stephen likened his violent upbringing to that portrayed in the 1994 movie *Once Were Warriors* the story of an urban Māori family experiencing multiple problems with poverty, domestic violence and alcohol dependence. Māori academics view this film as intimidating

“... that the inherent violence of tāne was, in precolonial times, appropriate for a noble warrior culture, but today has become a natural symptom of urban Māori dysfunction” (Hokowhitu 2004, 263-264). Stephen reinforced the brutal nature of his childhood by claiming that in his family there were more fights than in the movie, which contained horrific displays of violence. Stephen told his graphic story as an “episodic narrative” (Riessman, 2001). It contained several different stories around the one theme, the violence he experienced as a child. He had one particularly strong memory of being given a black eye by an uncle when he was only three or four years old.

It was bad like *Once Were Warriors*... Um it was party life, my Dad used to beat the shit out of us. Man, like fuckin he’d hit me and my sister til we couldn’t walk. Ah punch us in the head, throw shit at our face, smash things on us, ornaments. Belt us until we’re bruised purple. We’d have to take days off cause we were getting so bad, you know, bad hidings. ... Drugs and alcohol, parties, getting dropped off here,

there, you know? My uncle smashing me in the face. I got a black eye at three, four, you know? Come home and I've got a massive eye. I remember all the way, party at ... my grandmother's house, was a party house. Yeah was worse than *Once were Warriors*. There were way more fights than what you see in that movie. This was all the time... Baseball bat each other til you were passing out. I've seen so much violence. Everyone getting a hiding, especially the women. Women getting a hiding. I'd wake up in the morning and there's a head through the door. I'd wake up cause you know someone's heads just popped through the wall, screaming. Yeah, it's quite a bad, quite a bad upbringing I reckon.

This story fitted into the narrative structure identified by the sociolinguist Labov (1972). The story began with a summary of the plot "it was bad like *Once Were Warriors*" and moved on to describe the characters, these included Stephen, his sister, stepfather, and extended family; and the setting, his home and his grandmother's party house; and the time, his childhood. The story then advanced to the action, describing the different violent acts Stephen experienced himself or witnessed. Although what he described is brutal it appeared to be a very factual recount told with no emotion or self-reflection until the final sentence. The narration closed with Stephen's evaluation of what happened in the story; this also returned the listener to the present. This evaluation and the closing were particularly enlightening. Stephen's reflection that it was "quite a bad upbringing" seemed to minimise all the graphic violence he had just described. From an early age he had witnessed alcohol and drug abuse and violence, especially towards women in his family field. These abuses and gendered behaviours were so common in Stephen's family field they became accepted as 'this is how we have fun and party' and 'this is how we treat women and children'. The taken-for-granted nature of these assumptions or doxa made Stephen unable to recognise that his childhood was much worse than "quite bad". When he went to school Stephen was involved in playground fights while at home he began fist-fights with cousins and other members of his extended family.

Peter. The subordination of women and children through violence was also a theme in Peter's narrative. Peter was a 24-year-old Māori father. His birth father left before he was born and his mother and stepfather brought him up. Peter's stepfather was emotionally and physically abusive to him and his mother. Peter began his story, told below, using the same phrase as Stephen, "quite a bad upbringing". This exact phrase was repeated by a number of the men when describing their childhood. This repetition may be expected in a structured interview, but is more unusual in these narrative interviews where the men were free to select the stories they told. These selections are not haphazard, they are consciously or unconsciously chosen from a person's life history because "... they are a form of self-presentation, that is, a particular personal-social identity is being claimed" (Mishler 1986: 243). Peter's story was about the violence he and his mother experienced from his stepfather. He did not talk about the form of this violence, just the consequences of it. These included his mother's brothers protecting her when she lived close to them; the violence getting worse when his stepfather moved the family away from this protection; and he and his mother leaving and going to Women's Refuge, only to be found again by his stepfather.

I had quite a bad upbringing. Sort of like violence. He (stepfather) was um, he was a drinker, he was always drinking. Yeah. But um, I always had uncles around you know, and they were always chasing him because of what he was doing to my Mum, and that, you know? So, my Mum had a lot of support. So, he (stepfather) moved us away. We went down to stay where he's from, in Wellington. So that support wouldn't happen. And that's where we got it really bad. (pause) He was pretty violent to us... I was two when we moved down. We ran away when I was four. I remember my Mum waking me up in the morning. Early hours I think, it was dark. ...And we were staying in the caravan on the farm down there, and the sparrows, yeah. And my Mum woke me up in the middle of the night and said

‘Come on son we’re going’.

I said, ‘Oh is Dad coming?’

‘No’.

We ended up in a Women’s Refuge and she was pregnant with my sister. When we moved back up here, then he found us. We went back down, it happened again. And then we moved back up. Yeah, and then he came back up. Went to jail. Um, cause she’s only got one eye. He tried to take the other one. (pause) He was a evil, he was a evil, he was a evil man.

The story ended when Peter’s stepfather was imprisoned for assaulting his mother. It may be that the details of the violence were too painful to dwell on, and even years later Peter did not want to talk about exactly what happened to him and his mother. Instead, he told a small story within the larger story, about him and his mother escaping his stepfather early one morning. Unlike the rest of the narrative there was a lot of detail in this small story. Peter remembered the sound of the sparrows in the early morning, and the conversation between him and his mother. Although Peter was only four at the time, this use of detail made his story sound real, and led the listener to believe his account. Spector-Mersel (2011) calls this elaboration of parts of a story ‘sharpening’. The effect of this sharpening is to draw attention to a certain section of the story, and deflect it from another part, usually something that is either ‘omitted’ or ‘flattened’. In this story Peter and his mother’s escape from his father, although it was ultimately unsuccessful, was sharpened, while the violence was flattened. By telling this story Peter appeared to be claiming that although his stepfather was abusive, he and his mother refused to give in. Whether this resilience became part of Peter’s habitus or if the abuse and violence he witnessed was more deeply embedded will be explored in the following chapter.

6.4.3 Māori masculinity

The traditional construction of Māori men as ‘physical savages’ and ‘warrior like’ appears to have its origins right from the first settlement of Pākehā in New Zealand in the mid 1800s (Hokowhitu, 2008). The settlers and missionaries viewed Māori masculinity in opposition to their own European masculinity, and based their assessment on a need to “denote the dominant Pākehā male as normal and the Māori male as abnormal” (Hokowhitu 2003:183). Portraying the native population as ‘others’ was typical of the European imperialism of the time, and gave the colonial settlers license to view themselves as civilised and superior (L. Smith, 1999). The ‘physical savages’ discourse has been reproduced over generations by both Māori and Pākehā. However, this alignment of Māori masculinity with physical prowess is part of a doxa that subordinates Māori (Hokowhitu, 2008). Doxa is an unrecognised, taken for granted assumption which determines the practice and attitudes of individuals by constraining their choices in their habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b). The doxa that Māori are physically able, but intellectually more limited than Pākehā is shared by Pākehā as well as Māori, but only places limits on the way that Māori construct their masculinity. It still carries a strong influence today in some sections of the community including in sport, the criminal world, and in prison and gang life. A doctoral thesis in 2000 found that Māori students saw themselves as “good with their hands” and “practical” and many of the research participants had “career aspirations in sport”(Palmer, 2000:278). Sporting success is often seen as a way for Māori to gain “prestige and upward mobility in a Pākehā world” (Star, 1992:135). Their sporting talent, especially in more physical sports such as rugby union or rugby league, can lead to their accumulation of cultural, social and even symbolic capital. Sport is also seen as an appropriately masculine bonding experience for a father and son (Hokowhitu, 2004).

William. As a younger Māori man, William’s father had been a successful rugby league player, and representative sportsman. The social and cultural capital he had acquired

in this field outside the family helped William's father construct his masculinity based on this physical mastery. As a child William and his younger brother were encouraged to play sport by their father, who became their coach, and later their referee. One of the first stories William told detailed the sporting history of he and his brother, emphasising that in his family field physical ability and sporting skill were highly valued indicators of masculinity.

Um played everything, tag, touch, rugby. Played reps til about 14. My Dad's a national ref, national ref in league, touch and and tag. And my brother, we played um Canterbury together, and he played New Zealand. I played New Zealand Māoris, different age group.

Along with this emphasis on sport and its role in the construction of masculinity, William's father was also the primary caregiver for his sons during the week. As he worked the nightshift he was at home during the day, while William's mother worked. William valued his father doing the domestic chores and looking after him and his brother. However, this care had little to do with emotional nurturing, and there appeared to be few elements of William's father's caregiving that were feminised. Even the food he provided was appropriate 'fuel' for the boys' sports practice, and housework was often accompanied by angry outbursts and physical abuse if the boys did not complete a task correctly.

Um my Dad was real good at cooking and cleaning and stuff, and when it come to like sports and that he had he always feed me right... He was good at a lot of stuff. He was working night shift, coming home and then when I get back from school we all had to clean up, and he'd cook dinner and that for my Mum before she finished work. So those ways were good, I liked those ways. But just his anger, his anger.

Ability in rugby league is not only related to running speed and ball skill, but also aggressive physicality and confrontation, which is required of all players. William's father exhibited these combative elements of masculinity not only in rugby league but also in his family field where he held the dominant position. He controlled William and his brother through physical

and emotional abuse. Some of this violence was related to William's behaviour on the sport's ground, for example if he was fighting on the field his father removed him and gave him "a hiding" at home. William's story that follows is an episodic narrative as the stories are a 'series of snapshots' that all reinforce the opening line that when he was young he was "beaten up... all the time" by his Dad.

When I was young I used to get beaten up and stuff all the time. Hidings from my Dad and that all the time.... And like for not running when he used to call out to me... He used to beat us with a stick and everything.... If I had a fight when I was playing rugby Dad used to pull me off the field and I wasn't allowed to play again. And when I got home he used to give me a hiding, and stuff like that....Um I I didn't like jumping into baths real fast, a hot bath. Cause I don't really like hot water. I don't know if it was because when I was young. But he used to try and like almost drown me. Push me into the water and stuff like that...

William's father had constructed his masculinity on the taken-for-granted assumption that Māori have physical but not intellectual superiority. He had channelled his physicality and aggression into playing rugby league at a senior level and had received cultural capital in this field for his success. However, in the work field he had a subordinated position working the night shift in a factory job. William's father physically dominated the family field and although he undertook domestic tasks there was little emotional care of his boys. Instead from a young age he placed a strong emphasis on their sporting success, accompanied by inconsistent physical abuse.

6.4.4 Tongan masculinity

Tongan masculinity is defined in terms of not being feminine, Tongan males do not want to be seen as 'fakaleiti' or 'male effeminates' (H. Morton, 2001). It is more a model of what not to be. In order not to be seen as feminine, 'hegemonic masculinity' in Tonga "is

sustained by highly constricting codes of hypermasculine identification and performance of virility, which is in turn related to rank” (Besnier 2011:142).

Caleb. Caleb was a 23-year-old man born in New Zealand to Tongan born parents. His stories revealed that his family field was dominated by his father and his uncles. Elements of Tongan hypermasculinity outlined by Besnier (2011) resonated with Caleb’s stories about his upbringing. These included controlling emotion; an orientation to activities and work outside the home; a preference for friendships with other men, which in this generally homophobic society were based on competition, sport and drinking; and finally the subordination and sexualising of women (Besnier, 2011). In Caleb’s family boys were taught from a very young age to only act in a gender appropriate way, they were not allowed to dress up or play with girls’ toys. “When we were growing up and someone acted like that (like a girl) they got a hiding. Act like a boy, you’re a boy. Stop playing with girls’ stuff.”

When he was about 11 or 12 years old Caleb joined the fights arranged by his father and uncles between the male cousins. These fights were both preceded and followed by the boys drinking alcohol with the male members of their extended family. Caleb’s story that follows has more interviewer questions than normal in this project. Caleb spoke very softly and at times reticently and despite long pauses would often not add to his one or two-line story. The interviewer began to ask questions to prompt him and he began to talk more freely toward the end of the interview.

C: It was hard growing up... The only good thing we ever did together was drink together. (long pause).

I: You and your Dad?

C: All my cousins. My Dad would get us all together and we’d all drink. (long pause).

I: From what age?

C: Year six, form one. Always got into fighting, everyone was, they made everyone fight. Yeah good times, but not good for that age

growing up... But in a way, it's alright, just making us... although it's not easy, learn to toughen up.

Although this seemed like an unusual occurrence Caleb used the “habitual narrative” form indicating that this was not a story about one specific incident but described a pattern of events that occurred over time (Riessman, 2001). Caleb reinforced this with the phrase “always got into fighting”. He finished this story with the reflection that although he was too young, and it was difficult, this was probably a good way to “learn to toughen up”. The taken for granted assumption in Caleb’s family field seemed very clear, you learn to be tough by receiving physical punishment. As well as these organised fights, Caleb and his siblings including his sisters received “hidings” from his father for not being able to recite multiplication tables or complete other tasks.

We’d get hidings for nothing. We’d all wake up, we were asleep, and when he gets home from when he drinks he wakes us all up to go to ah mass and stuff in the morning. Make us sit there do all our times tables from 2 to 12. If we don’t do it we’ll just sit there the whole time. And go back if we get it wrong. Get a hiding, go back sit down, do it.

Another sign of toughness was drinking alcohol. Caleb regularly saw his father and uncles drunk; his father was unable to retain a job because of his alcohol use. “Mainly my Dad’s whole side of the family are drinkers, binge drinkers.” It was left to Caleb’s mother to provide for the family, working fulltime as well as tending to the housekeeping and cooking. However, this was not acknowledged by Caleb’s father, who described his mother’s attention as “spoiling cooking” denigrating her feminised care.

Growing up she was the one that done everything for us in the good way. But my Dad thinks my Mum was spoiling us. He calls that the ‘spoiling cooking’, treating us in a good way, not yelling and stuff.

From an early age, Caleb was directly taught and had it physically reinforced that fighting, drinking alcohol, showing no emotion, being homophobic and subordinating women were all part of “being tough” and how you showed your masculinity in the family field.

6.5 Harsh Parenting

Three decades of research by James and Jane Ritchie indicated that at the time these men were growing up, negative disciplining such as smacking and shouting was common among New Zealand parents (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997, 2002). However, many of the men in this project experienced physical punishment that went beyond this, and they told stories that focused on this painful aspect of their childhoods. Harsh parenting can encompass both verbal and physical disciplining but is generally associated with corporal punishment such as hitting, slapping and smacking (Skinner et al., 2014). Studies have consistently found that children who are physically disciplined display significantly more aggression than children who are not disciplined in this way (Gershoff, 2002). This relationship continues even when some of the mediating family factors are controlled (Fantuzzo 1990).

Michael. More than 30 years later Michael still remembers the beatings he received from both his parents and his uncles. This is the story Michael told about his childhood.

He was, well he used to give beatings to my Mum. I used to get beaten from my Mum and Dad. I used to get beaten. They used to drink every weekend. Drink, pull up a mini tanker you know that tied to the back of the car... I was abused when I was younger from, you know it's not only the Uncle Bullies¹⁰ like they say on that movie [*Once Were Warriors*], you know the Uncle Bully. I was abused. My Mum and Dad used to drink hard every weekend and my Dad used to bash up the whole house. Smash up everything, give my Mum a hiding. We'll go to Auckland then, not two days, three days later my Dad would be down.

¹⁰ Male character in *Once were Warriors* who raped a child.

‘Aww’ (said in a childlike voice)

We’d go back to Tokoroa, and then the same cycle used to go over and over and over. And then you know like to do anything wrong was to get a good hiding with steel cap boots, and punches to the head and stuff like that. And my Mum used to jug cord me.¹¹

This story is a habitual narrative (Riessman, 2001), by telling the story in this way Michael emphasised the regularity of these events. He was not physically abused on just one occasion, but regularly. The words he used in this story to describe what happened to him were very clear and direct: “beatings”, “abused”, “bullies”, “bash”, “smash”, “hiding”, and “punches”. This punishment was delivered for “doing anything wrong”, the inference being that even a minor infraction led to physical disciplining. This punishment was not just from his father, but also involved his mother and his uncles. Michael’s story was also about the pervasiveness of physical abuse in his immediate family. He recounted the “cycle” of his mother’s “hidings” from his father, which led to him and his siblings leaving the family home with his mother, but then having to return home. Michael emphasized the routineness of this cycle by repeating the word “over” three times. Although he used descriptive words for the abuse his story is told factually with no feeling displayed. The only emotion was when talking about his father coming to take the family home after his mother was beaten. His expression of “Aww” was in a plaintive almost childlike voice, as if even years later he could still remember his despair when they had to go home.

Michael’s father was a keen hunter and fisherman who prided himself on being able to feed his family off the land. He passed these skills on to his sons, but not by modelling them in a constructive way, but by bullying them into activities and ridiculing them when they made mistakes. From an early age, Michael experienced in his birth family that violence was used to solve problems, to subordinate both women and men, and discipline children.

¹¹ Being hit with the cord from an electric jug.

Michael's exposure to this harsh and violent parenting affected his relationship with his parents. He felt hostile towards them and believed he had no social capital from his family.

6.6 Absent Fathers

There is some research showing that men who experienced limited fathering from their biological fathers went on to have children earlier, and were also more likely to be absent from their own children's lives (Furstenberg & Weiss, 2000). A number of men in this project never knew their birth fathers; either their fathers left or died before they were born or the men were adopted or raised as whāngai children. Stepfathers were also relatively common and as Stephen and Peter revealed in their stories this surrogate fathering was often associated with physically violent parenting practices. Whāngai placement should avoid this as it ideally involves the whole whānau in being responsible for different elements of the child's care and development, and secures bonds between whānau members (McRae & Nikora, 2006). This arrangement where a child lives with extended kin, should be a good option for families who are financially strained by the birth of a new baby and need extra support, as was the case for Henry's family.

Henry. Henry was raised whāngai from birth by his aunt and uncle in a family of nine children. He was told his birth family was very large, he thinks up to 12 children, and his parents were unable to cope. He occasionally saw his birth parents at tangis and other family events but he had no relationship with them. In his new family he was the youngest, but he received little love or positive attention from either of his whāngai parents who he called Mum and Dad. Henry remembered either being ignored by his parents or being beaten by his mother not just for his own bad behaviour, but for anything that went wrong in the family. The use of harsh physical punishment by a mother was not unusual in this project but was generally in a family field where the father dominated the family through violence also

physically disciplining the children and his partner. However, in this family Henry only talked about his mother being responsible for his beatings.

I was the one who got the hiding every day you know? If that one done something wrong I'd get the hiding. If that one there done something, I'd get the hiding. I grew to hate her, my mother. I didn't hate my Dad, because he wasn't the one who used to beat me up, it was my mother... I hated her so much sometimes I wished she was dead. (pause) And that's how I was, cause I couldn't handle the hidings, and the beatings, and because and because they did the wrong [his siblings], not me. I did my part sure enough but I didn't do that, theirs and theirs and theirs (pointing at his siblings on the family tree he had drawn). Cause they were older they weren't punished I got the end of it, you know? ...and I think that's what sort of led me to where I went, you know? ...

Henry's coda or the way he returned this narrative to the present was by forging a causal link between his childhood and the trajectory of his life. Henry did not feel part of his whāngai family, he hated his mother and was punished for the wrongdoing of his older siblings; he blamed his upbringing for the later chaos in his life. He had very little to say about his father who was the main provider for the family of eleven and worked long hours away from the family home. Henry held a much dominated position in the family field, with no economic capital, and as it was not his own birth family he had no claim to any social or cultural capital. Every other member of the family regardless of their gender had more power in the family field than Henry.

6.7 Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Recent studies in criminology have employed Bourdieu's theory of practice to help explain the behaviour of drug dealers and crack cocaine users (Moyle & Coomber, 2016; Parkin & Coomber, 2010; Sandberg, 2008a). They have found some users had been exposed to drugs in their home environment while others had experienced drug dealing and use in their early adolescence. In both circumstances substance use had become part of their

primary habitus. Children whose parents abuse drugs and/or alcohol were at risk of using substances at an early age, becoming dependent on those substances and having a long term dependency problem (Hussong, Bauer, & Chassin, 2008; Merikangas et al., 2009). In this project a few men like Paul, told stories about drug use in their family home when they were growing up. Others were exposed to, and some like Caleb, were even strongly encouraged to drink alcohol as children, which had a similar trajectory for later misuse (Hussong et al., 2008).

Paul. Unlike most of the other men Paul came from a middle-class family and he began his story with the statement that he did not have “bad parents”. He claimed this because of their skilled jobs, their concern with doing the “right thing”, and their opposition to crime. The initial impression Paul created is that his birth family was traditional with two working parents and younger siblings who went to bible studies on Sunday. However, Paul then paused in his story before adding that his father was “not the greatest parent” and his mother did things that were harmful to him. Paul moved from telling a habitual narrative about what life was like in his family, into this story about finding his mother seriously ill from the effects of a prescription drug overdose.

Not that they did they're not bad bad parents. My dad's a (pause) my dad's a psychiatric nurse. Mum's a nurse as well. Um they did do the right thing their whole lives. Never done crime like my dad would bring a pen home from work and he would go and buy another one to put it back. He's that you know um. (long pause) Not not (pause) the greatest parent. Mum did some things that were, would you say detrimental to... like I wouldn't want my boys to go through it. Like I found her od'd once on rohypnol and all these other prescription drugs. And at that time, I was like well if you want to die ok. So, I was going to sit next to her and just wait until she died. Cause there was all this pink stuff coming out her nose and she looked all ruined. And I said,

‘Ok well (pause) well if you want to die well ok’.

You know? So, then my brother and sisters came home they were at bible studies and they came home and I ran out and rang an ambulance and I left. Yeah and yeah, she oh she’s she was addicted to prescription medication for a long, long, long time.

The only stories Paul told about his parents revolved around their prescription drug use, and although both parents were involved the stories centred on his mother. From a young age, Paul saw his parents dependent on prescription medicine. In a long habitual narrative, he detailed the drugs both parents took, the reasons they originally took them, the side effects they experienced from the long-term use, and what drugs they had to use to counteract these effects. It concluded with information about how they obtained the prescription medicine. This revealed the extent that drug use was part of his family field.

In one narrative Paul linked two stories; both showed his relationship with his mother through her drug use. In the first one as a five-year-old he got into trouble because his mother did not remember a conversation while medicated, but in the second story by the time Paul is 11 he was able to manipulate his mother through her drug use.

Like what I remember as a five-year-old was cause she had ... if you had take rohypnol it’s happened to lots and you don’t sleep you’re like in a dream state you won’t recall what’s happened the next day. But you sit there and talk with people and I I remember going into a room once and going.

‘Who are you talking to?’ She had her hand up like this (holds his hand up like holding a phone) and she’s talking to my dad and there’s no phone there.

‘There’s no phone there mum’

I remember pushing her down to make her go to sleep and then I asked her something.

I said, ‘Aw can I go tomorrow and play?’

I think it was with Matthew he used to live down the street.

‘Yeah yeah of course yeah ok’. After school, I went straight down.
Anyway, come home and I get this massive hiding.
And I’m like ‘What’s that for?’
‘Where did you go?’
‘I told you’
‘You did not you liar’. I was like
‘Ahh woo I did’. And um yeah, I sort of learnt from a real young age
how to use that to my advantage. Which was probably not a good thing
but what else are you supposed to do. And I worked out if I gave her
vodka and orange juice (he laughs) she’d go to sleep and I took the car I
used to take the car. Driving, driving my mates around when I was like
11 years old. Used to drop them around all night. Um but um I mean
(long pause). I guess the thing is that it’s terrible for some people but it
it doesn’t seem so bad for me because I guess I grew up that way.

Paul’s final statement or self-revelation in the coda using Labov’s (1972) scheme, was an indication that the use of prescription medicine was part of his family field “I grew up that way”. His parents talked about their need for medication and he saw them being used inappropriately and excessively in his home environment. It must be noted that this does not necessarily mean that Paul will abuse prescription medicine or in fact, any drugs, as his future social practice is also relational and dependent on his capital and the field he moves into.

6.8 Gang Families

Some men grew up in families with strong ties to a particular gang. Often their father, other close male relatives, or siblings were gang members, and for these men gang life was part of their family field from an early age. Although all the men said their fathers later actively discouraged them from joining the gang, they had grown up with the symbols, colours and rituals associated with gang life hand in hand with the violence and knowledge of criminal activities. Overseas research has shown that family ties to gangs can be an impetus for joining (Decker & Curry, 2000; Kissner & Pyrooz, 2009).

Ryan. Ryan opened his interview with a narrative that detailed his parents' cycle of imprisonments. Ryan was born while his mother and father were both serving prison sentences. His mother returned to prison after giving birth to him. He was initially cared for by his grandparents until his mother completed her sentence. Ryan's father was a gang member, he had cycled in and out of prison throughout Ryan's life, often for long stretches. Ryan's stories about his childhood clearly illustrated the influence on Ryan's own habitus of his father's life in the gang, and his offending. In Ryan's family the police were the enemy, and being a gang member was normal, as was visiting your father and other family members in prison.

If I'm to be honest I've never had a good role model my whole life never ever... My father's been the closest to a role model I've ever had... I used to see him walking around like well, well like driving around. Like he's always had flash cars, and he's always um sold drugs, and he's always um been in a gang. You know he's a dominant figure in the Mongrel Mob. He's always been in prison and that's all I've seen you know. I was brought up, like my first encounter with the police is them kicking our door down, running in our house with guns, and frisking, frisking our family, and taking my father away from me. So growing up you know I didn't understand that they were there to protect the community because I didn't see that side of the police. I've only ever seen them kick our door down, and I mean like our door's like flat on the ground... and because because my father's considered to be dangerous you know, obviously those are the sort of um procedures they need to take for high risk people. But you know I don't understand all this stuff growing up, so to me this is all normal. So I'm seeing the police as they're the baddies, you know? Cause I'm growing up, and the police have always been the bad ones, so I've always thought that they were the bad ones.

Stories are used not just to retell what has happened but also to construct an explanation of what happened. As the social linguist Gee emphasised, "One of the ways-

probably the primary way- human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in a narrative form” (Gee 1985:11). To do this the contents of the story are carefully selected to make a certain point, and to help the listener enter into the experience, and also understand what happened. Ryan used this story to help explain his family’s doxa “We are gang members and the police are bad.” Firstly, he recalled how he viewed his father when he was a boy. His father was his only role model, he wanted to be like his father, and his father was a gang member and criminal. He then recounted his first experience with the police who entered his family’s home and took away his father. Ryan tried to explain that he was brought up to believe the police were “bad”, not there to help you as most children were taught in their families. He did this by using a dramatic story with vivid description which encouraged the listener to imagine the scene through the eyes of a small boy whose Dad is being taken away by the police. Ryan’s father was a dominant figure in his family field and in the following story he had a clear memory of wanting to be like his Dad whom he saw as a powerful respected man in his gang. His use of the phrase “You know what I mean?” was to encourage the interviewer to agree that of course it made sense that Ryan wanted to emulate his father.

When I was a little kid that’s all I wanted to be just like my Dad. You know what I mean? Seeing him walking around with his patch.

‘Oh yeah I’m going to do that when I get older too’ (in a smaller childlike voice).

Ryan was part of a family field where the emotional and behavioural skills necessary to be a successful drug dealer and gang member were modelled and valued. Through his family’s close gang connections he also possessed the requisite social and cultural capital for gang involvement.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the fathering narratives the men in this project related about their own fathers. Although structural inequalities; including unemployment or low employment; the experience of immigration; relying on social welfare benefits; or being embedded in a gang, constrained the parenting practice of many of these men's fathers these were rarely mentioned. Instead the men told straight forward stories with few justifications for how they were fathered. Their generally negative memories about how they were raised produced recurring themes despite not been prompted by specific questioning. Some of the doxa or unspoken assumptions in the family fields that guided the way they lived were similar: 'provide for your kids'; 'use violence to subordinate women, and other men, and discipline children'; 'physical discipline makes your boys staunch'; and 'the police are bad'.

Apart from one or two men the participants in this project did not experience childhoods like most New Zealanders (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001). In their families, poverty, absent fathers, physical violence, drugs, crime, and the subordination of women were common. With the exception of absent fathers, these are not the themes of a 'normal New Zealand childhood' (D. Fergusson, 1998; Ministry of Social Policy, 2001). Bourdieu writes about "the privilege of having a normal family" and by this he means a family that conforms to the norms and "therefore enjoy(s) the symbolic profit of normality" (Bourdieu 1996:23). Being a member of a normal family is a privilege as it is these families that are recognised and favoured by state and institutional policies (Bourdieu, 1996). Bourdieu concludes that the privilege of a normal family is "in reality, one of the major conditions in the accumulation and transmission of social, cultural and economic privilege" (Bourdieu 1996:23). There was generally little economic capital accumulated in these men's birth families. Although providing was important for their fathers, through work in either legitimate or illegitimate fields, money still seemed to be tight. Some men like Eli had social and cultural capital in their birth families. However, for others like Ryan, whose capital in

their family field came with strong gang and criminal connections, it may prove difficult to transfer this capital other than into the same criminal and gang fields. The men with absent fathers, or those who experienced harsh parenting had less social capital available in their family fields. Their relationships with their parents did not allow access to their parents' social networks and accumulation of this capital.

Bourdieu's notion of the habitus makes it possible to explore how these men's memories of how they were fathered are tied to their later fathering practice. The next step, and the focus of the following chapter is to determine in what way the dispositions embedded in these men's primary habitus from their birth family, and the doxa from their family field influences their practice when they become fathers and enter different fields. As habitus is unconscious and is deduced from behaviour (Arnot, 2002) the men's dispositions will become clearer in the following chapters as their fathering practice in these different fields is analysed. Habitus is also to some extent an "open system of dispositions" and can be later transformed by entry into these new fields (Bourdieu 1990a:116). Transmission of fathering across families is not a simple linear progression, and there may be some surprises along the way.

Chapter Seven: How They Fathered Before Prison

7.1 Introduction

The men we met in the last chapter are all now fathers, and have left their birth families behind. In this chapter we continue to follow some of those men, and meet others, as they enter new family and work fields. The focus is on these new fields, what are they like? How do these men's habitus manage the move into these new spaces? As they become fathers how does their habitus and position in these fields influence their parenting? The analysis of the field, and determining individual's positions within the field is consistent with Bourdieu & Wacquant's (1992) recommendation when researching any social practice. This chapter will initially look at the field most of these men moved into after school, the 'street field' (A. Fraser, 2013; Shamma & Sandberg, 2016) and the 'gang subfield' within it. The second part of the chapter investigates the relationship between the men's position in these new fields and their fathering. In the first two sections the analysis covers stories from many of the 38 men who were interviewed. Their individual stories were often broadly representative of many men's experience. The final section explores in more depth the stories of three men we met in the previous chapter. These stories reveal more clearly the different way these men fathered before prison; by analysing the interaction between their habitus and their position in the street field.

7.2 Moving into Work Fields

The family backgrounds and past experiences of the young men in this project, along with their limited access to economic, social and cultural forms of capital, all influenced their transition from school to the work field. As they became adolescents they often left school as soon as they were able, usually without any formal qualifications. Apart from one or two families there was very little economic capital evident. This left the men few opportunities for further training, and they had to either find legitimate employment within their limited

skill base or earn money illegally. Some did find work but most did not seem to seriously look for a job. Instead along with their friends they drifted into crime. Harry's short account of his transition from school to the street field was repeated in a similar form by other men.

I just recently got off curfew. I've always been on a 7 to 7 curfew or a 24 hour curfew or in custody. Like since I was 13 years old. Yeah um until I was 15, and then um and did some, got reoffended, and got some more charges. Chucked in youth jail and then from there on in 6 months and then got out. Thought I was on the road to redemption and then next minute back in, and then back out. It was like um the cycle that was chaotic.

The movement of many of these men into the 'street field' after leaving school did not seem to be a planned transition. This is a field where "crime business, violence, drugs, and the 'hard life' are the core components" (Sandberg & Fleetwood, 2017: 367). They needed money and as a result of this need, ended up in this field as they had the embodied cultural capital of receiving and giving violence, and a familiarity with drugs. As Tim, a Māori father of three recalls. "Go kick down a door and rob the house. Cause I was mostly dishonesties... It was stupid stuff. Just to get money to get wasted." Some families were involved with gangs and this social capital eased men's entry into the gang subfield, which will be explored later in this chapter. Pat whose story follows, and other men with close family gang connections, decided from an early age they wanted to be gang members.

Gangs was a big part of my life. It's bad enough me following my Dad and my Mother's footsteps you know?...that was something I always wanted yeah from a young age, and I was patched¹² up at a young age. My brothers a gang member too and then my sister married a gang member (he laughs).

¹² Received a gang patch or insignia thereby becoming a fully initiated gang member.

A few men combined legitimate employment and crime. Rather than make a deliberate decision to become criminals they, together with their friends, also appeared to drift into the street field and crime with friends. Stephen left school early and began working with his stepfather.

I was a fabrication welder, um got heaps of trades. But I was just real naughty back then you know? Couldn't help myself. Always with my mates after work... If I'd be hanging around with people who'd break into cars then that's what I'd do.

These young men's lives were on similar trajectories. The capital they had did not transfer easily to the legitimate work field as they had no educational qualifications, irregular school attendance records, and parents whose social networks did not usually stretch to facilitating job entry. Habitus generates practise but it also constrains agency (Borlagdan, 2015).

Hodkinson & Sparkes (1997:34) call this contradiction "horizon for action". The young men in this project could only envisage possibilities for their future within a certain horizon which was generated by their habitus and limited by economic and social capital. For many this led them into the street field. This seems to be a deterministic view and Bourdieu is criticised for this removal of choice (Archer, 2007). However, as explained in chapter four the habitus does not remove choice but rather limits it to what is possible.

7.3 The Street Field and the Gang Subfield

All the men in this project spent some time in the street field or the gang subfield on their way to prison. Bourdieu did not explicitly write about this field while exploring many other social fields including law (Bourdieu, 1987), art (Bourdieu, 1993b) and education (Bourdieu, 1988). However, sociologists and criminologists have analysed the street field using at least elements of a Bourdieusian framework (Moyle & Coomber, 2016; Sandberg, 2008a). The term 'street' is used in a non-literal way referring to the area where drug deals, criminal acts and other 'deviant activities' take place (A. Fraser, 2013; Sandberg, 2008b).

Wacquant (2002:1493) first talked about the ‘street habitus’ while A. Fraser (2013) cites the ‘street capital’ and ‘bodily capital’ at stake in the street field in a Glasgow community. Both these studies and others (Fleetwood, 2016; Ilan, 2012) briefly described the field, but were more concerned with the dispositional qualities and capital of the individuals in the field. There appears to have been no attempt to provide an overall view of the street field using all three of Bourdieu’s thinking tools of habitus, capital and field. A paper by Shammas and Sandberg (2016) came closest to providing a general framework for analysing the street field without any accompanying empirical data. Their discussion of the structure and detail of the street field has assisted in the analysis of the field in this project.

7.3.1 Mapping the field

Mapping the street field is the clearest way to highlight for analysis the field positions the men in this project held relative to each other. To be able to map these positions it was necessary to know how the men got into the field, and establish how much capital they possessed within it (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). Researchers working in fields already described by Bourdieu built upon his frameworks in their empirical work. They used these to map the position of agents in the field they were studying (Kloot, 2014; Naidoo, 2004). Multiple sources of data, including quantitative information can be employed to confirm an individual’s position when constructing a map of a social space (Bourdieu, 1984). However, it is more difficult to achieve this in a relatively unexplored field, such as in this project. The decision to map the street field was made after the data collection, when there was no opportunity to obtain extra information. The men’s narratives were used to establish the course of the men’s movement into the street field, and the forms and amount of capital they possessed. The diverse stories made it more challenging to compare the form and amount of each man’s capital. However, the data was thick with description. Mapping allowed an indication of the men’s relative positions in the street field and combined with some

knowledge about their primary habitus allowed an insight into the men's fathering practice.

As Wacquant advised

...the dissection of dispositions must always proceed in close connection with the mapping of the system of positions that alternately excite, suppress or redirect the socially constituted capacities and inclinations of the agent. (Wacquant, 2016:64)

7.3.2 Limits of the Field

As discussed in chapter four, each field is organised around certain activities, each with specific rules and logic. The individuals and groups within the relatively self-enclosed boundaries of the field compete over particular "prizes and profits" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:98). A field may also contain subfields "nested within, like Russian dolls" (A. Fraser & Atkinson, 2014:156). These subfields share many elements with the main field but they are also distinct in some ways. In this project, the gang was considered a subfield of the street field. The boundaries of the street field are not clearly defined and it is not an autonomous field, being, as a result of its criminal nature, under constant threat from the bureaucratic field. New policing strategies and criminal legislation can remove individuals from the field without warning, and also release them back, generally more gradually. For example, the Sentencing and Parole Reform Act (2010) or 'three strikes law', introduced increasingly severe consequences for repeat violent offenders which kept them out of the street field for longer periods. There is constant movement between the street field and the bureaucratic field especially the subfield of prison, as men cycle through the justice system. There is also the less common migration of men from the street field into different work fields when they acquire legitimate work.

The following descriptions of the barriers that operate around the field and the capital that was competed for within the field, came from analysing the stories from all the men. These stories related either to the period before they went to prison or between prison

sentences. The mapping of their position in the field was coordinated from the descriptors in the story most proximal to their arrest before this project.

7.4 The Street Field

7.4.1 Barriers to entry and exit

There appear to be few barriers to accessing the street field. Many men in this project gained entry as young adolescents by committing minor crimes and selling drugs. Some of these young men had social and cultural capital from their families consistent with the field, but this did not appear to be a prerequisite for entry. Dan, was raised in a middle-class family with no criminal history but, despite this lack of field appropriate capital, he entered the street field at an early age. “I’ve been selling drugs since I was like 15, selling drugs and yeah doing crime and stuff like that.” Although entering the field appeared easy, leaving it proved more difficult as Dan made clear in the following story.

So, it’s about 10 years and it’s hard to break. I mean the only compromise is that you have to come to prison, and it’s pretty inevitable that you’re going to come here. I mean um doing what I’m doing there’s nowhere else it can... I can really end up either dead or in prison. The only reason I keep doing it is because I can’t earn the same amount of money working a job 9 to 5 on the outside. And I can’t ever see myself doing that ever again, um because I got a taste for the life, the criminal lifestyle and you can’t just go and earn \$20,000 every in a couple of days working a job, can you? ... (slight laugh) So yeah it’s the money that keeps me doing what I’m doing.

The difficulties associated with leaving the street field were related to capital and not just the economic capital Dan referred to. Mobility between fields was contingent on an individual’s ability to deploy various forms of capital (Borlagdan, 2015). The following section explores how the cultural or social capital an individual has in the street field is rarely transferable to other legitimate work fields. Men in the street field generally have no marketable qualifications or skills which would enable them to move into a legitimate work field. If they

could find work it is less remunerative than in the street field. The most common way of leaving this field is through the bureaucratic field and prison.

7.4.2 Capital in the street field

As in most fields the two types of capital that appeared to be contested by the participants in the street field were economic and cultural. Economic capital was frequently mentioned in the stories and as with Dan was often cited as the primary reason for entering and remaining in the field. Cultural capital was grounded in the three forms found in other fields: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Embodied cultural capital was related to being both a risk taker, and being skilled in an area dictated by the field. This could range from being a competent fighter to competency as a methamphetamine cook. The objectified cultural capital in this field generally referred to weapons, and the equipment associated with drug manufacture and distribution. Finally, institutional cultural capital related to the official records and institutional marks, which set the men apart from legitimate society (Shammas & Sandberg, 2016). This form of capital could be accumulated from an early age, beginning with youth justice involvement, the building of a criminal record and finally imprisonment. These three forms of cultural capital could only be considered capital in the street field. Bourdieu calls this form of capital ‘negative cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 2000). Cultural capital can refer to both positive and negative signs of distinction (Bourdieu, 1990a). If an individual has negative cultural capital it does not mean that he has no cultural capital but that the capital he has is unique, being by definition, “antisocial, stigmatised or even illegal” (Barker, 2013:362). In his story Dan clearly defined the competition for negative cultural capital and economic capital in the street field, which he termed the “criminal world”.

Money is important but um it’s also got a lot to do with like respect and stuff as well... And it’s like the criminal world is like another sort of society... It’s like another, what do you call it?... (pause) comm community if you call it that. Um there’s like the legitimate people who

have nothing to do with it, then there's the criminal world. It's a whole other world and it's more about striving to get to the top of that sort of. I mean some people in the legit world and that strive to be the best, and own like a big company... Whereas in the criminal world you strive to be the biggest like drug lord or whatever... It's a different way of thinking and um it's real ...it's out of it. Like it's pretty stupid to be honest... Thinking about it from like say your point of view, it probably doesn't seem very smart but... I mean the only way you can really think about it is how I just said, it's like the flip side. I mean it's a choice. And fuck I don't know, it's real strange. Because I can't really see myself being like a legitimate member of society anymore.

Dan's narrative also contained references to the symbolic capital that is available to be earned in the street field, the respect earned by the "biggest drug lord". This symbolic capital was also negative and could not be converted for use in other fields. Even the economic capital earned in the street may need to be transformed before being used outside the field. Dan's story also had an explanation of 'illusio', Bourdieu's term for an individual's investment in the stakes in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:116). The illusio that Dan held on to is that the money and respect he could earn as a criminal were worth going to prison or dying for. The qualifying statements he used throughout his story revealed his recognition that this illusio (or illusion) could only be understood from within the field with a habitus that was well attuned to the field.

7.4.3 Position in the street field

Although economic and cultural capital were contested in this field they were not necessary for entry and many of the men in this project appeared to have low reserves of both. Figure 1 shows a simple mapping of the street field using the two poles of economic and cultural capital.

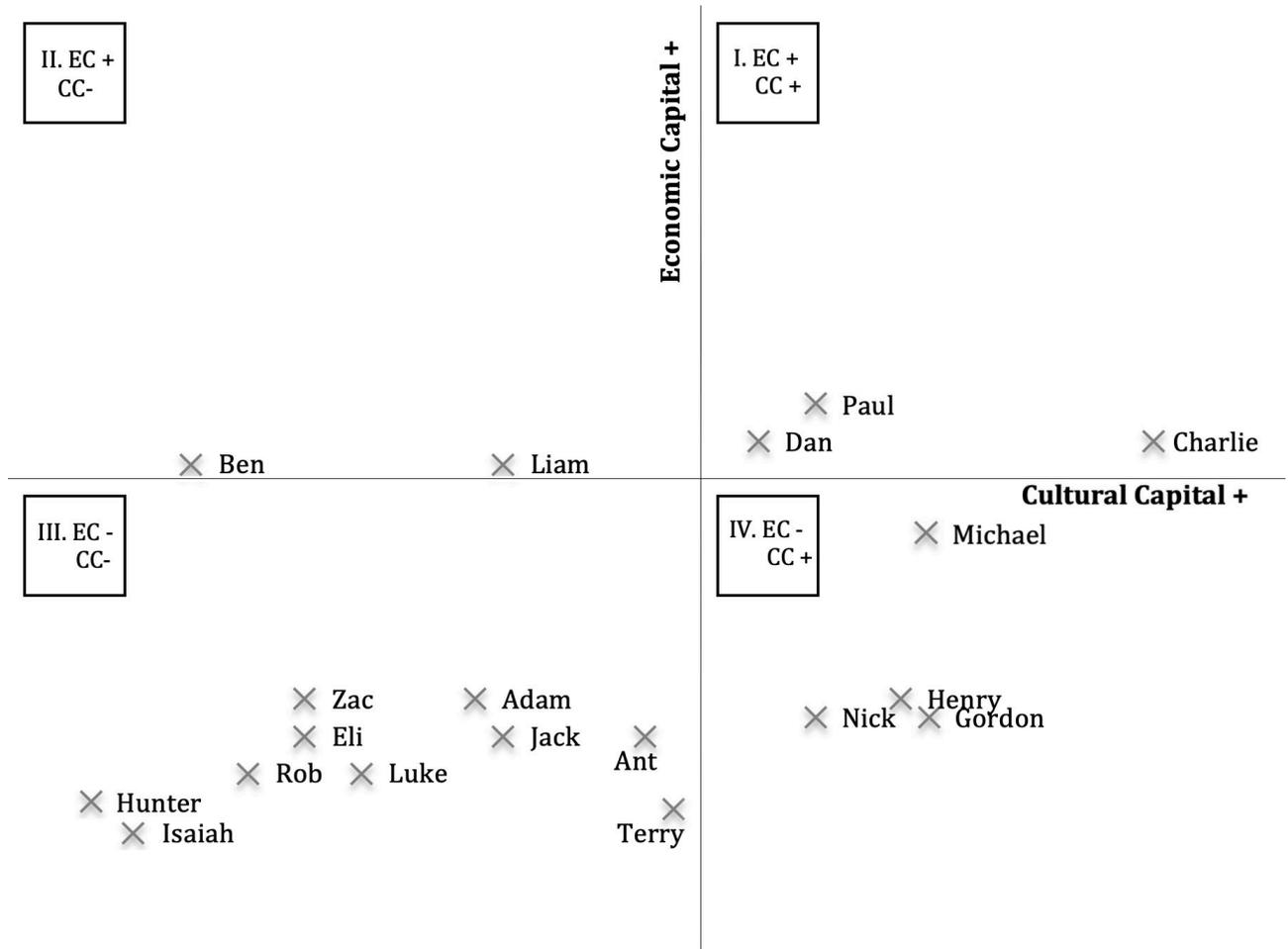


Figure 1 Position of men in the street field.

Men are positioned according to their levels of capital (economic and cultural) with fathers who held similar reserves being placed together in one of the four quadrants. Individuals' positions were plotted following an assessment of the type and level of their capital determined from their stories. Using individuals' stories to mark field positions is not a novel technique (Kloot, 2016). Figure 1 shows that most of the men's stories placed them in quadrant III, with little capital in either form. Many of these men were either drug or alcohol dependent. Their position reflected that their offending showed little planning or skill which could have earned them cultural capital, and their dependency diminished any economic capital they could have accumulated. One father, Isiah, described in his narrative how his drug dependency influenced his criminal behaviour.

I was out there like you know stupid stuff. Like leaving my DNA everywhere, it wasn't like I was professional. I was just like, 'Oh yeah, I need some drugs let's go kick down this door'. Yeah. Wasn't like I wiped up the scene or nah just all all real whacked out of it stuff.

Many of these men lived on the border between the street field and the bureaucratic field. They were often stopped and questioned by the police; arrested and put through the court process and then either released, imprisoned or ordered to complete some other court sanctioned sentence. For example, Eli, introduced in the previous chapter had been imprisoned every year for 17 years for minor burglary offences he committed to pay for his drug habit. Even those who were not substance dependent often had a cycle of imprisonments, few financial reserves and a lengthening prison record which kept them from returning to this field. There were only two men just inside quadrant II, Ben and Liam. They had built up some economic capital but had little cultural capital. Such a small group appeared appropriate for a field where earning economic capital was only possible if an individual also possessed a level of competence and skill or cultural capital in the same field. The fathers in this group were very similar to those below them in the map in the third quadrant with no economic capital. But they were older and had managed over the course of time to scrape together a little money and maintained the rental on a family home or owned a car.

Dan and Paul were the only men plotted fully in quadrant I with both forms of capital, but their positions were still only just inside this quadrant. Both young men had economic capital and were gaining cultural capital through successful drug manufacturing or dealing. The street field was unfamiliar to Paul but in his family field his parents had been prescription drug abusers, and he was exposed to the acquisition and use of drugs from an early age. This quadrant may have been less populated as these men were more successful;

with more resources, they could plan their crimes and thereby removed themselves from risk, and were less likely to be caught and imprisoned. A third man, Charlie, was placed on the boundary between this quadrant and the external field. He was brought up by an abusive stepfather in a family where violence and crime were common. He had cultural capital from his family and initially utilised this in the street field with his extended family and peer group. Following the birth of his first child he had repeatedly tried to leave the street field and was therefore placed on the boundary.

In the final quadrant, IV, were men with cultural capital but little economic capital. This included both older men and some young fathers. These men like Henry, introduced in the previous chapter, often grew up in violent families, and channelled this violence into their criminal activities. They had not joined a gang but preferred to work independently. These fathers appeared to have the respect of other men in the street field, but had not built up their economic reserves. The older men although they made money from crime, also spent it quickly on long-term substance addictions, leaving few reserves and requiring the continual execution of new crimes to supplement their income.

7.4.4 Position in the street field and fathering practice.

It is possible to make some general statements about the fathering of the men in this project based upon their place in the street field. This is consistent with Bourdieu's contention that individuals in a similar position in social space have similar practices (Bourdieu, 1990b). These descriptions are necessarily broad and tentative but demonstrate the usefulness of approaching the field in this way.

In quadrant II Ben and Liam, when they were not in prison, lived with their partners and their children. They were involved to some extent in their children's daily care although they were often distracted by their role in the street field. For example, Liam's partner took prime responsibility for their children as Liam absented himself from the family to procure

drugs for what he called his “active addiction”. This physical distancing from their children when the street took priority meant neither men committed to a routine timetable of care for their children. In their narratives both fathers revealed they saw their primary role as providers in their families rather than carers. However, Liam’s account showed that he may have been questioning this assumption.

I’ve always thought you know as long as I feed them, I clothe them and I give them toys and that you know that’s all good. But I don’t, I don’t know. I just, I just need to go to work and that you know? And that’s it, that’s all they need to know kind of thing. I really don’t know. I hope I want to be good to them.

The men in quadrant I also prioritised providing for their family and with their enhanced level of economic capital acknowledged in their narratives that providing the latest toys, activities and clothing became the basis of their relationship with their children. In the beginning of his interview Paul told stories to emphasise his closeness to his boys through shared activity.

Oh, we were always doing things, um trail bike riding, paint balling. We spent a lot of time in winter at the snow. My boys they all love to ski and snowboard. I’m no good at it but (he laughs) they had a good time they loved watching me fall over they had a good time. Um, no it was, we were very close.

As the interview progressed Paul began to reveal that because of his criminal involvement he was often away from his boys for extended periods. Their expensive sporting activities together were Paul’s way of compensating for his frequent absences. Although the men in this quadrant had extra economic capital, their criminal activity also appeared to be more consuming of their time, and they had responsibility for the supervision of others in criminal activity. They generally had less daily care of their children than the fathers in quadrant III.

The majority of fathers in this project are positioned in quadrant III and have low reserves of economic and cultural capital. These fathers often lived with at least some of their children and were involved in a minimal level of day-to-day caregiving, but for many this was tempered by a daily reliance on alcohol or other substances. The men saw their main fathering responsibility was as the breadwinner, and generally achieved this through criminal activity. Jack was an exception and told a story about how he shared in the daily care of his children with his wife. They have eight children between three and 18 years.

First, wake them up, get ready for school, bath them up. Get breakfast ready for them, their uniforms, get their lunches ready, send them off to school. And then kick back with my two little ones...Take them to the park, tire them out for a little bit...Kids just come home from school, yeah. And when I put them down gives me time to help out my Mrs with dishes, whatever house duties.

Like the other men in this quadrant Jack took on the responsibility of being the provider when the welfare payments did not meet the needs of his family. Jack's father was the breadwinner and Jack had continued this role although with a long criminal record he could not obtain legitimate employment like his father. He had been unemployed for nearly 18 years and resorted to burglary whenever the money ran out.

Ah, like we'll be alright for like a month, a couple of months, then somewhere down the track it's like then boom, we hit rock bottom... which I mean by no food. Yeah and I just... for me, I mean fuck it, I've got to get out there and get something. Just living day to day, day by day, yeah (crying).

The crimes these men committed were are often haphazard and unplanned, and designed to meet their immediate needs for drugs or alcohol and the basic needs of their families. The substance dependence of most men in this quadrant lessened their availability to their children. Many fathers were unable to remember their children's younger years.

In the final quadrant were men who had the skills and the recognition from others in the field necessary to be successful, and yet they had no economic reserves. The fathers were in this quadrant either because they were young and had not yet accumulated economic capital, or they were older and for various reasons had not managed to hold onto their capital. Having no economic reserves made it difficult for these fathers who like the men in the other quadrants prioritised being the breadwinner in their family. Henry and Michael were both older men who had been in the street field all their lives and as a result of their drug dependency and cycle of imprisonments had no economic reserves. The sons of both men have had contact with youth justice, and their fathers were very concerned about their children following them into prison. They verbalised that they did not want to be negative role models. Henry had provided for his children through criminal activities and acknowledged that they were aware of this. Michael had not resolved to attend rehabilitation for his methamphetamine addiction despite both his children having drug dependency issues. These men had been in the street field for many years; it was where they earned respect and the money they needed for themselves and their families. The time they spent with their children was fitted in around their commitments to the field. Similarly, the younger men in this quadrant Nick and Gordon left most of the day-to-day caregiving up to their partners. Nick and Gordon had cultural capital from their individual skills in the street field, and this was enhanced by their involvement in high profile cases, which were featured prominently in the news media. However, neither man benefitted economically from this publicity.

The intersection between field position and fathering will be explored more fully in the final section of this chapter when the extra layer of habitus will be added from Michael's narrative.

7.5 The Gang Subfield

In the UK there continues to be much academic discussion about how to define gangs and to attribute gang membership (A. Fraser & Atkinson, 2014). Labelling is often done by outside sources with either political or funding motives. This results in an exaggeration of the number of gang members (Cottrell-Boyce, 2013) and as Hobbs (1997:813) observed “the harder researchers look the bigger the gang problem becomes”. New Zealand also has limited data on gang membership. Most gang members have little engagement with government agencies, gang associates are difficult to distinguish from gang members and youth gang members move around a lot and are hard to categorise (Carr & Tam, 2013). In this project only, those who self-identified as gang members or gang affiliates or associates were plotted in this subfield. The men belonged to different gangs but the subfield is treated as a general field of gangs, with an understanding that each gang has individual characteristics.

7.5.1 Barriers to entry and exit

Unlike the street field there are high barriers of entry and exit to the gang subfield in New Zealand. These barriers are predominantly related to social capital. A gang is vulnerable to uncommitted members who divulge information to the police or to rival gangs. Having the appropriate social capital is an important prerequisite to entry. A prospective gang member requires a prior connection to an active gang member, preferably within their extended family, if not a close childhood friend. Despite gang involvement of their families none of the men with gang-affiliated families in this project said they were encouraged to become gang members. A review of studies in the UK and the US concluded that in these countries family connections had little influence on an individual’s decision to join or leave a gang (T. Young, Fitzgibbon, & Silverstone, 2014). Instead, gang membership often coincided with an individual’s difficult transition between adolescence and adulthood. Young men in these countries usually leave a gang in their early 20s when they take on other responsibilities, such as legitimate employment or upon becoming fathers (Pyrooz, McGloin, & Decker, 2017).

This exit seems relatively uncomplicated (Pyrooz & Decker, 2011). New Zealand is different. The average age of a gang member in New Zealand is nearly 40, and 17 percent of gang members are in their 50s (Ministry of Social Development, 2015a). Difficulty in leaving is dependent on the individual's position in the subfield but it never appears easy. If a member has a lot of cultural capital he will have a needed skill, or information which if divulged could be harmful to those remaining in the field. Out of concern for his children one of the men in this project, Cecil, left his gang more than five years ago. He was seriously injured in a violent attack of retribution. He continued to feel unsafe as the following story relates.

Yeah I quit. I quit the ----- long ago. Yeah, but it still affects... you know? 'Oh, man we'll shoot you' or (in all these direct speech quotes Cecil is using a different more threatening voice than his own).

'You're a fucking dork'.

'I'll shoot you for real.'

...cause you're still walking round with their stuff¹³ on. You know you get all these new recruits like

'Hey hey' (indicating threatening movements with his arms and head)

I: Why did you decide to quit?

Cecil: The kids you know. But it's made no difference it's fucking put us in danger... mmm. You can't just walk out on any gang.

'Fuck you. I'll kill you... mmm.'

Cecil's story was consistent with Shammas & Sandberg's (2016:201) suggestion that traversing the street field has "transformative effects" on an individual's habitus and in this instance also their fathering practice.

7.5.2 Capital in the gang subfield

The most powerful or dominating elements in a field determine in turn what is valued in that field (Bourdieu, 1977). The two types of capital that appeared from the stories to be most contested in the gang subfield in New Zealand were economic capital and social capital.

¹³ Pointing to the gang specific tattoos on his arms and hands.

Social capital seemed more relevant than cultural capital in the mapping of individuals in this subfield; this may be unique to New Zealand gangs. As already described social capital facilitated entry into the field, but it continued to be sought once men were admitted to the field. Having large reserves of social capital helped to establish an individual's domination over others. Some of the men in this project had social capital from their father and other members of their extended family who held senior positions in gangs. This immediately gave them access to a more dominant position in the field than men who came in without these stores of relevant social capital. The role that family played in the social capital of the gang field appears comparatively unique to New Zealand gangs (Carr & Tam, 2013). John who held a senior position in his gang emphasised the importance of social capital in the gang field in one of his narratives.

In our club¹⁴ we have bibles, our own bibles and we all read them before we hang around, before you put a t shirt on and prospect, before you move through any type of ranking. So, in our bibles the first page has got the first three rules: family first, income second, club third. That's how the order goes with our club.

Some men talked about the money they made as a gang member but this was not as common as in the street field. Economic capital appeared to be tied into providing for the family and earning respect through illegal dealings. Tyrone the father of three boys explained how he felt about money.

I don't know but to me money has always been the answer to most things kind of idea. I just hate not... you're sitting there and you need something and you don't have the money for it. Like fuck this. Or it's like I got to wait until I get paid to own the thing you know? And it's alright when I was like 20 or something you know? Like oh yeah, I'll

¹⁴ John would only refer to his gang as a 'club' or 'motorcycle club'.

just wait. But now that we've got kids and that you know I just hate letting them down.

Those men who had grown up in gang families had inherited not only social capital but also cultural capital. Violence had often been normalised in their home environment, and in their neighbourhood, as a means of communicating, resolving conflict and gaining respect. This familiarity with violence and seeing from a young age their family members being involved in gang activities facilitated their movement into the gang subfield (Hennigan & Spanovic, 2012). As in the street field cultural capital in the gang subfield was in three forms. Firstly, dispositional; portrayed by an embodied competence in being able to take and administer violence, work co-operatively in a group, be willing to take risks, and as in the general street field have a relevant skill. Objectified cultural capital was the second form associated with this subfield, it encompassed the weapons, tattoos, patches, clothing and other paraphernalia particular to each gang. For example, when an individual has completed their initiation into a gang they become a 'patched' member, meaning they can wear the gang patch on their vest, denoting their individual cultural capital. Finally, institutional forms of cultural capital were the same as those in the street field and included the individual's criminal record and prison record; these signified him as a person who stands apart from society. For many these records began with minor incidents when they were adolescents in youth justice.

Social capital and cultural capital in the gang subfield could be converted into economic capital or income as these two capitals could facilitate criminal activities, but this conversion only occurred in the same field. Social and cultural capital were not transferable beyond the street field. One of the fathers of a man in this project was a gang president, and he himself was a skilled fighter, he had a long criminal record and was also a patched gang member. In the gang subfield, this man had social capital, embodied, objectified and institutional cultural capital and symbolic capital but none of this was transferable outside this field.

7.5.3 'Illusio' in the gang field

The illusio or 'complete investment' prevalent in this field was that the gang was a close family or brotherhood. Within the gang family, if an individual was loyal to the gang they could do anything and they would not be judged; all behaviour was acceptable. John's story contained a clear reference to this illusio and how difficult this made it to consider leaving the gang.

It's fear of being alone. It's fear of leaving people you've known all your life. (pause) It's the fear of leaving the club, not having a brotherhood. You can just hide in there and do whatever the hell you like and they're going to accept you no matter what you do, you know? You can deal drugs, you can kill people, you can rape women, you can do whatever the hell you want and they will not judge you. The community will never accept you, but they will. Sometimes it's easier to just think, fuck I can't go to rehab and get better. I'll just, I'll just stay there and it's alright, you know?

Within a group of violent and often drunk or drug affected men the illusion that they were part of a brotherhood or family was essential for the gang's smooth running. However, the reality was that most gangs had a strict hierarchy built around crime and violence. Men like John with dominant positions in the gang subfield held on to this illusio more firmly than men who were in subordinate places.

7.5.4 Position in the gang subfield

Fields contain "a structured system of social positions – occupied either by individuals or institutions – the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants." (Jenkins, 1992:53). These positions of dominance and subordination were dependent on the individual's reserves of the contested capital. They were clearer in the gang subfield than the street field because of the obvious hierarchy in each gang. This hierarchy was based on an individual's possession of social and economic capitals. Figure 2 shows the gang subfield plotted from the stories of the men in this project who identified as gang associated. Social

capital was required for entry into this subfield but in quadrant II were two men who began in this field with no social capital from their families. Through neighbourhood friends both men had early involvement with youth justice and initially earned enough social capital for entry through these close friend groups.

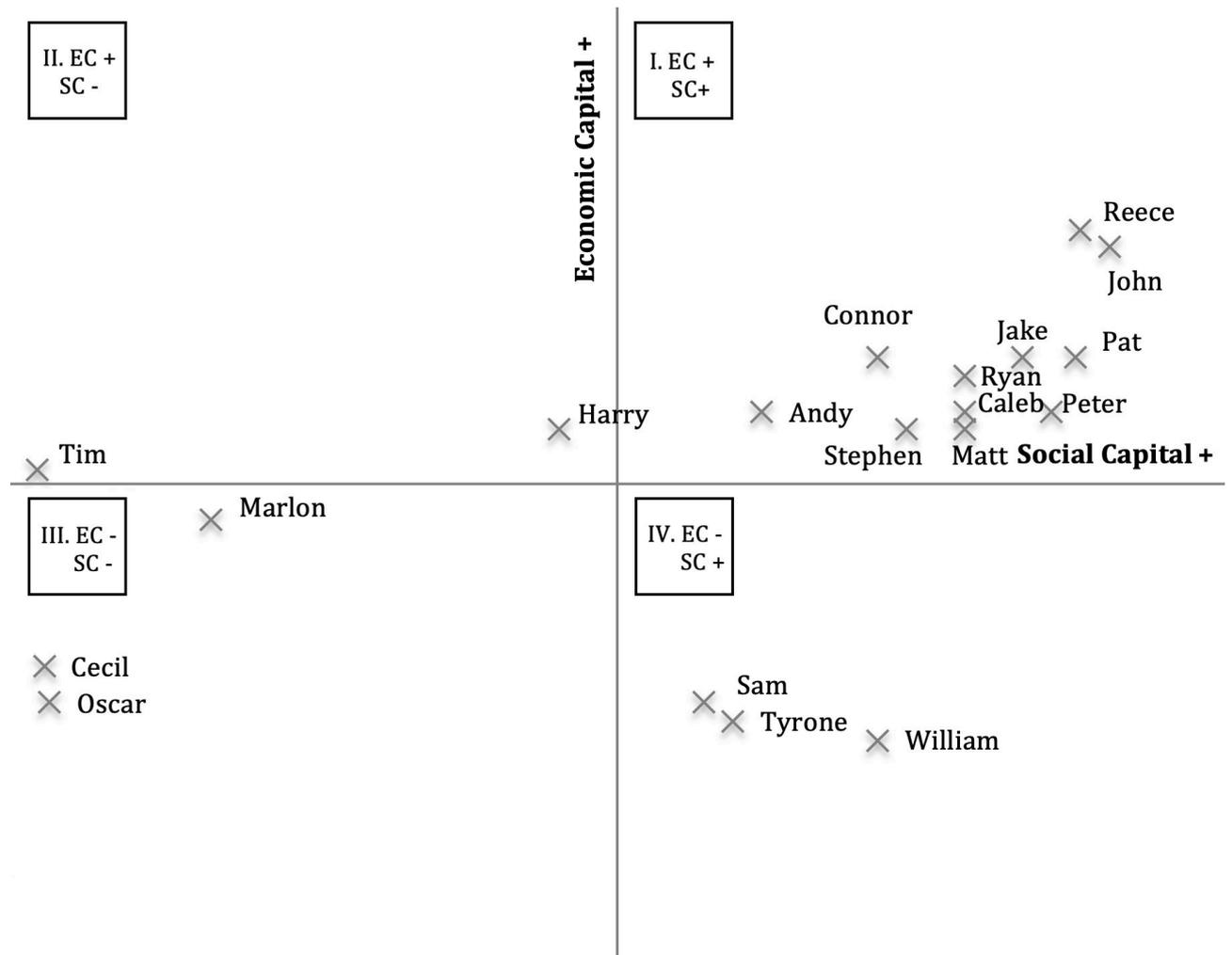


Figure 2: Position of men in the gang subfield

Tim was only ever on the periphery of the gang and following a recent incident has fallen out with his gang associates retaining little social capital. Tim’s placement on the border of the field reflected his attempts to leave the gang, which have been unsuccessful because he has no prospect of legitimate employment. Harry had been offered a patch but refused it because of the impending birth of his son, placing him in a subordinate position in

the gang. Quadrant I was the most populated; the men in this quadrant had both social and economic capital. Reece and John occupied dominant positions in this space and therefore in the gang field. Reece's position was due to inherited social and economic capital, and John's was a result of his skills in various criminal endeavours earning him all forms of capital.

The men in quadrant III lack reserves of both forms of capital. This was related directly to giving up or attempting to give up their gang patch. Their social capital was compromised as they no longer had a social network in the gang organisation. In the final quarter were fathers who had retained most of their social capital in the gang field even though they were less actively involved in the gang's criminal activities and therefore appeared to have less economic capital.

7.5.5 Position in the gang field and fathering practice

Presser and Sandberg (2015) consider an important task of narratives is to shed light on hidden or assumed stories in a particular field. In this project the taken-for-granted story was that a gang member could also be an involved father. A 2015 report from the New Zealand Families Commission found that 60 percent of the nearly 6,000 children of gang members had been abused or neglected, many on multiple occasions (SPRU, 2015c). Although it was a criterion of participation in this project that none of the men had been convicted of abusing or neglecting their children, some talked freely about abusing their partners. The men's stories showed that the ability to be both a gang member and a good father was often related to their position in the gang field. Those in a dominant position, for example those in quadrant I, generally felt they were effective fathers and gang members. Fathers in more compromised positions in the field, especially those in quadrant III, often had to make choices between their gang and their children. However, there were also men who did not father as their field position would indicate.

Harry, in quadrant II, turned down his gang patch because he was about to become a father, losing social capital but retaining his economic capital as he continued to take part in some gang activities. Harry made the decision to refuse his patch because his “baby mama” did not want him to become a gang member. Following the birth of his son he lived together with his son and partner as a family, and was involved in his baby son’s day-to-day care. But Harry was still part of the gang field, and a police raid on their flat discovered “firearms and this and that”. Harry only spent eight months with his son before he was arrested. He believed it was possible to combine fathering and being a gang member but was willing to give up the gang life for his son.

I’ve gone back into that life cycle where like crime; drugs and all that sort of stuff is a factor again. Once again just cause it makes me feel powerful. Then again, I reckon I can go back to how it was, stay out of the gang life and do what I’ve got to do to get my son back.

Matt a father of three small girls with a dominant position in this field in quadrant 1 believed his gang put family first. This was an important factor in his decision to join this gang.

It's not all about crime you know, it's about family too. Yeah, so, and that's, the important thing in um our organisation, in our group. I will call it as a team you know? The first rule is family first. So, it's a win-win situation... So, they put family first, cause without that I wouldn't have joined them.

Matt lived with his children and shared in their care with his partner. This included bathing, feeding, and playing with his children and settling them to sleep. He described his involvement with his gang as equivalent to the time commitment of a regular job. This only appeared possible because Matt’s position in the field enabled him to prioritise his family over responsibilities within the gang.

Pat, a 37 year old Māori father with four children was also in this quadrant. He was raised in a family with significant connections to the same gang he is a member of. Unlike in

his birth family, Pat had tried to separate his gang activities from his family, although his children knew of his gang membership.

I tried my best to keep my family away from the gang life or anything like that. I never took it home. My brothers weren't allowed to come to my house with their colours¹⁵ on. I don't have my colours at my house, that's my family's house you know?

With his son's arrest at a young age for a serious crime Pat understood that his attempts to separate his two lives have not been successful.

I got to change my life for my kids or else they're going to follow my footsteps you know? Gangs was a big part of my life. I'm still a gang member that will never change, but I've got to put them first now.

Although he wanted to prioritise his children Pat was subject to the illusion that the gang was his family and he refused to give up being a gang member "Well I can't turn away you know? I've got it on my back¹⁶, you know? I can't turn away. That's my family yeah". Pat was trying to change his fathering by being less involved in crime and thereby lessen his chance of imprisonment. Altogether Pat had spent 19 of his 37 years in prison but more recently had spent longer periods outside. This change only seemed possible because his senior position removed him from the day-to-day criminal activities carried out by the younger members.

I don't really care much about the young gang members...I talk to the senior members...I had to do that shit to climb the ladder. I had a family when I was young you know? I'm over that shit now.

Pat and his partner were both substance users and he was trying to cut down on both his drug use and alcohol. He knew his substance use affected both his day-to-day care of his children and the likelihood of arrest when out "with the boys".

¹⁵ Gang clothing, accessories or tattoos of a certain colour showing affiliation to a particular gang or gang chapter.

¹⁶ Referring to the gang patch on the back of his jacket and his tattoos.

Not all those in dominant positions in the field felt they were involved fathers. Connor, also in quadrant II, lived with his three boys and his partner and supplied methamphetamine to his gang. Although he lived with his children he only spent about an hour a day with them and took no direct responsibility for them other than providing. Connor was rarely involved, for example, in taking them to school or activities. He saw himself as a friend, not a father to his boys. Connor also viewed himself as a strong negative role model, and hoped his boys would make better decisions around drugs, gangs and crime than he had.

I've always told the boys when they've grown up, or you know when they were growing up and that, when I was always high and wasted and that. And I always told them have a good look at our lives. And you know? You have a choice, have their own choice in what they think is right.

Despite Connor's dominant position in the field, his addiction has hampered his establishment of a strong ongoing relationship with his boys, and his fathering was therefore more restricted than others in a similar field position.

The men in quadrant III had a paucity of social and economic capital and they were generally required to participate in all gang activities, giving them less opportunity for parenting. Marlon, a young Muslim father, had only peripheral contact with his young daughter. His initial relationship with his baby's mother was as her drug supplier. He broke off the relationship unaware he was a father until a few months after his daughter's birth. Marlon had never lived with his daughter but visited her weekly and provided some financial support. "I'm just there 3 hours, 2-3 hours I just normally feed her. I've never ever changed her diapers. Yeah, I just normally feed her, cuddle her, hug her. That's me." Although Marlon felt some attachment to his daughter and a responsibility towards the mother, he began a new relationship. He wanted to start a family with his new partner. Marlon was brought up in a close knit, religious Muslim family where his father was always around. He realised that his

position in the gang field despite providing him with some economic capital did not allow him the freedom to spend time with his child.

I'm thinking of handing my patch in. I've talked to my captain he's not very happy with it though. I'll probably get a good hiding for it but it's worth it. It's not a good lifestyle you know? ...I don't want my kids to be born into a gang lifestyle. It's not bad, but it is bad.

In the final quadrant were men with little economic capital but established social capital, generally gained from being raised in gang families. There were obvious differences in their parenting but they all had some engagement with at least one of their children. William whose story was introduced in the previous chapter, had three children to different mothers. He had no contact with his oldest two children but was the "solo parent" to his seven year old daughter. This identity was very important to him and he referred to it many times in his stories. When drawing his family tree at the beginning of the interview he added his daughter saying, "Cause I'm solo parent to her, yeah I've had her since she was 2". He did not call himself a "solo father" always a "solo parent". The phrase "solo mother" has attracted a stigma in social discourse, problematising the mother and child as needing state support (Wennberg, 2012). William stressed he was the father, and was providing for his child. Although he was physically beaten as a child he had not continued this with his own daughter.

Even when I just see my Mum slap my daughter's bum I'm like
'Woo'

It's not hard but it just, it just shocks me. Cause I'm not, I don't really do that to my daughter. It's yeah. I'm completely different to what my Dad was.

Tyrone another father in this quadrant, had an older child he was forbidden to have contact with because of previous Child Youth and Family¹⁷ involvement, and two younger children he lived with. He often looked after the boys when his partner was not at home. In the following story Tyrone described an outing to the park with his children, and using methamphetamine when he had sole care of the boys.

Cause I don't know whether I am a good dad or not out there you know?

Like I'm all good with my kids, my kids love me... But when I think about it I'm quite lazy as well with them you know? They want to go to the park and I'm like

'Fuck'

Cause we end up at the park, fuck like for hours on end you know? Oh yeah, cool you know? I don't mind taking them to the park, but it's just a big mission. When I want to go home it's like

'Oh, fuck here we go.'

Then I'm putting him in the car he's screaming, and it's a big headache you know? That's kind of sad on my part. Or if something pops up like... I smoke meth and that you know? Like my blowie'll¹⁸ come over,

'I've got a big bag'¹⁹

And I'm at the park and I'm like

'Let's go son'

And fuck and then I bribe them. I'll buy some lollies and then I just put them in the room and here just watch some TV while Daddy just hangs out... And then I'm just getting fried you know while they're in the room watching TV. And surely that doesn't make me a good dad, does it? I don't know?

¹⁷ Government agency that had legal powers to intervene to protect and help children being abused or neglected or who had problem behaviours. It was replaced by a new ministry, Oranga Tamariki, in April 2017.

¹⁸ 'Blowie' urban slang, drug dealer.

¹⁹ Of methamphetamine

Tyrone's habitus appeared to have limited his ability to reflect on his parenting practice. He was parenting in the same disconnected way he was fathered. However, during the interview, he became increasingly reflective asking for some reassurance about his fathering.

In the gang subfield men who had a dominant position were more likely to believe they could be both fathers and gang members. These men had more time available to spend with their children, and more discretionary income to provide for them; both activities which they identified as being important for fathering. Although these fathers had more time, it was not necessarily spent with their children and most attempted to compensate for this by giving their children toys and treats. Those in more subordinate places in the field had no leeway over joining gang activities. However, they were often more likely to be involved in some daily care, although this may have been inconsistent and highly dependent on the extent of their drug and alcohol dependency.

7.6 Fathering Practice as an Interaction Between Habitus, Field and Capital

Bourdieu believes all social practice, including fathering practice, is an interaction between habitus, field, and capital, the latter gauged from an individual's position in the field (Bourdieu, 1993a). In the final section of this chapter this interaction will be explored in more detail using the narratives of three men; Reece and Peter from the gang sub field and Michael from the street field.

Reece. Reece was introduced in the previous chapter with the narrative of his father's illegal providing for his family. Reece's father had a senior role in the gang hierarchy and many of his extended family were also gang members. From his birth family Reece had the social capital necessary to enter this field. He also had the combination of a habitus which "embodied street smartness" (Sandberg & Pedersen, 2011:46) and a body capable of backing up this wisdom. Despite the fit between the gang subfield and Reece's habitus and capital his father did not encourage him to become a gang member.

When I was a little kid that's all I wanted to be, just like my Dad, you know what I mean? Seeing him walking around with his patch.
'Oh, yeah I'm going to do that when I get older too' (in a smaller childlike voice).

But then slowly as I grew older my father never forced it upon me.

In his late teens Reece began a relationship with a young student. When she finished studying he followed her to the other end of the country, leaving his birth family and the influence of the gang field. His partner came from a well-respected family and with her university degree she began a professional career, giving her both social and cultural capital. They had two children, and lived together as a family for seven years. Reece worked as a labourer sharing the providing and childcare with his partner, who was also working. Reece's life took on a regularity that he looked back on fondly.

It was like pretty much day-to-day routine eh, and I had no life you know? They were my life. I wasn't going out doing whatever I wanted, whenever I wanted. It was... pick the kids up from school at three, and take them to rugby practice and whatever. Yeah and on the weekends if they're lucky we'd get a big ice cream and then go to the park and that... Yeah, yeah they were some of the best years of my life so far.

Reece managed this move from his birth family, to a new work and family field in provincial New Zealand, with very little disruption to his habitus. Initially this seemed surprising, with no obvious alignment between Reece's primary habitus and these new fields. However, habitus does not remain static, it gradually incorporates new experiences, new relationships and can even adapt to new fields (Abrahams & Ingram, 2013). A closer analysis of Reece's stories revealed that this adaptation may not have been too large. Unlike most of his peers in the gang field, Reece's narratives were not about witnessing or experiencing violence in his birth family. He maintained a close relationship with both his parents and, most unusually in this project, he felt his father was a role model for his parenting.

I had a good upbringing you know? Lovely parents that loved me and just gave me you know everything that a kid should have, yeah. Taught me right from wrong and morals. Definitely role models.

Although he regularly visited his father and other relations in prison, and Reece was used to seeing them in gang clothing in the community, his parents also managed to preserve some elements of normal family life. His father provided for the family, and tried to guide them to attend school regularly. In his father's absence Reece's mother was the regular caregiver. It appeared that these elements from his birth family remained part of his habitus and allowed him to feel comfortable in the new fields. He also shared in the social capital of his partner who had a wide network of friends and acquaintances, having grown up in the area they were living in. His fathering practice with his two children was influenced by his own habitus and the parenting of his partner who had experience with young children. He seemed emotionally very close to his children and did a lot of the day-to-day care of his second child when she was small, and his partner was working long hours.

The relationship with his children's mother ended after seven years, the children remained with her and he returned to his home area. Reece entered the gang subfield using the inherited social capital from his birth family. The other dispositions in his habitus quickly came to the fore and he began dealing drugs. Reece soon attained a dominant position in the gang field. He stayed in touch with his children through phone calls and occasional visits, and continued to provide for them, but now through crime. Reece entered into another relationship and had an unplanned child who was born while he was in prison. After his release he began living with his baby daughter and her mother. This relationship ended abruptly after Reece was charged with assaulting his partner. Reece's movement between fields allowed a clear view of the interaction between his habitus and the fields he entered, and the effect these had on his fathering practice. When he worked as a labourer, although he had minimal appropriate social and cultural capital, he was able to adapt to the field. In his

narrative Reece said that he felt free of the gang's control. He appeared to have been a loving and involved father and partner, his masculinity was softened and could even be termed 'inclusive' (Anderson, 2009). Reece was very similar to the young New Zealand working-class fathers in Rouch's (2010) study. Although they were marginalised in their work place, they were not complicit with hegemonic masculinity and were unafraid to show maternal-like caring. When Reece returned to his home city after his relationship ended he entered the gang subfield and his subsequent fathering practice, although short-lived, was inconsistent with his earlier parenting. A softer more inclusive masculinity was not possible when he was trying to establish his position in the gang. Instead Reece displayed a hypermasculinity compatible with the gang subfield he was working in, where men tended to rely on violence both to enforce their status and subordinate women (Ulloa, Dyson, & Wynes, 2012). He also displayed this masculinity in his family field and his charge of family violence ended his involvement in his daughter's life.

Peter. Peter was a 24-year-old Māori gang member living in a small town. He described himself as a “stay at home Dad”, a phrase from middle-class White discourse. Being a stay at home Dad remains an unusual arrangement in New Zealand (Fursman & Callister, 2009). Peter’s fathering and the construction of his masculinity seemed in conflict not only with the gender norms for his class and ethnicity, but also with the way masculinity was typically represented and enacted in a gang (Hagedorn, 1998). Researchers in New Zealand and overseas routinely report that gangs have a strong focus on traditional gender roles (Newbold & Dennehy, 2003; Ulloa et al., 2012). Women are expected to maintain the house, care for the children and be subservient to their partner. Male gang members are the breadwinners, protectors and enforcers of discipline. Peter had chosen to be a stay at home father despite, not because of the fact that he was a working-class Māori gang member. Peter’s stories provided some indication of the fluidity with which he had constructed his masculinity.

Peter’s formative years with his stepfather, a gang member, were described in chapter six. His position in the education field was subordinate; he changed schools regularly and had many absences, often while trying to escape the abuse of his stepfather. Peter left school early with no formal qualifications and little social capital as he failed to establish friendships with conforming peers. The violent confrontations between Peter and his stepfather continued throughout adolescence. This persistent exposure to violence, and the emotional distance in his relationship with his family, was influential in Peter becoming involved with a youth gang. He first became an associate, and then a patched member. Peter recounted the inevitability of living in his small town with family gang connections, and becoming a gang member. This is consistent with Atkinson’s view of the family as a field which has taken for granted doxas, and gendered expectations (Atkinson, 2014). In Peter’s family the men are gang members, and physically exhibit their dominance over other men, women and children. Peter’s social and cultural capital in the gang subfield made it difficult for him to move into a

legitimate work field, but this was not a choice he even considered. Following his stepfather's lead he began to engage in drug dealing and other criminal activities within his gang. He developed into a skilled fighter and from this gained further cultural and symbolic capital.

Peter became a father when he was 21, and by 24 had three very young children. When his first child was born Peter continued his gang involvement, but found it interfered with the time he wanted to spend with his son. He began associating with gang members only in the evening, and agreed with his partner that she returned to work while he cared for their child during the day. He stated very simply how this decision was made, "She likes working and I like being with the kids". This belied the obvious conflict between the masculinity Peter had established as a breadwinning gang member, and the nurturing more feminine role he undertook as a stay at home Dad. The change in the way Peter constructed his masculinity was not limited to his fathering, but was also evident in his gang behaviour. He was no longer the fighter but the peacemaker.

Before them I have a history, before them (pointing to his children on the family tree). As soon as they came nothing, nothing... I used to be, I considered myself a good fighter, um yeah. I was always fighting, now I'm always stopping fights, it's weird. Because they'll bring it up, 'You used to have fights too' (in a strong masculine voice).
'Yeah well never mind bro. It's not the time or place'.
That's, that's my favourite line
'Bro it's not the time or place to have...'.
Yeah I like saying that, it's funny. Yeah, having my children, really, it's slowed me right down, right down.

The change in Peter's masculinity was not consistent with his family doxa that he should be the provider who dominated other men and women, rather than the caregiver who discouraged violence. So how did this happen? It appeared a variety of factors allowed Peter the freedom to construct his masculinity differently. He had specific cultural and symbolic

capital from his prowess as a fighter, which means he has a dominant position in the gang field. In Māori this could be termed ‘mana’²⁰. This capital had allowed him to take on, what in his gang was seen as a feminine role, without threatening his, and the other gang members’ view, of his masculinity. He had also been able to remain a gang member in a very gendered organisation, which by association, strengthens his own masculinity. Finally, Peter’s stories show that he cared deeply for his children but in a way that was different from mothering. Instead he emphasised more traditional masculine traits such as protecting and risk taking. This is consistent with research on stay at home fatherhood in Canada and Belgium (Doucet & Merla, 2007). In his stories Peter stressed how physically active and ‘naughty’ his children are.

...if they’re not asleep they’re playing. I’m so paranoid about what they’re playing with, you know? With how they’re playing. Cause fuck you know? They’re so rough. They’re jumping off the couches. I’m like ‘Be careful’
You know? And they’re jumping from the table to the chair ... They’re bloody naughty, but that’s how I love them.

This focus on rough and tumble play shows a gendered difference in parenting care (Doucet, 2006b), but was also reflective of Peter’s habitus. He was the eldest boy in a family of four, and grew up with little parental supervision. He was used to risk taking and physical independence. There are different theories for how men can combine hegemonic masculinity and stay at home fatherhood. These include the incorporation of primary caregiving practices into hegemonic masculinity, (Brandth & Kvande, 1998) or in Peter’s case hypermasculinity. Peter had not done this, the changes to his masculinity since becoming a father had gone beyond the family field. He was less violent and more conciliatory in the gang subfield

²⁰ Mana: prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - *mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place or object (Moorfield, 2013).

indicating that rather than incorporating fathering practices into hypermasculinity he was adopting a more inclusive masculinity (Anderson, 2009) as a gang member.

Michael. In the previous chapter Michael told a ‘habitual narrative’ of violence and substance abuse when relating how he was fathered. His story of fathering his own children echoed this. Michael had his first child at 18, and then had two more children a few years later. Although he lived with his partner and his children he had very few memories of this time as he was heavily involved with the drug culture both as a user and dealer. “I can’t even remember their younger ages and that ... We were on drugs and stuff like that, and that looks tempting us more than our kids at that time you know.” He does recall his first daughter’s birth as she was very ill and had to remain in hospital for an extended stay. In the following story Michael related the brief stabilising effect this had on him and his partner.

She made a difference alright, we stayed on welfare and everything. We were quite, we were straight... We were worried we were going to lose her and stuff like that you know? We didn’t have time to think about drugs and that cause we were too worried thinking about our daughter. And um but we got to bring her home. She was on a monitor thing where she can stop breathing and we had to keep watching her... we didn’t care about the drugs and that. We still ... you know our daughter was the number one until she got a bit older, um got off the computers and stuff like that. And we fell back into the drug world again.

Despite the shock of nearly losing their child, when she recovered Michael and his partner “fell back into the drug world”. This addictive disposition was present in Michael’s habitus, with both his parents being alcohol dependent and frequent drug users. Alcohol was freely available in his home, and Michael began drinking from a very young age, and using marijuana when he was still at school. On leaving school he moved into the street field becoming a drug runner before graduating onto other drugs. Michael blamed his physical abuse of his partner on his drug and alcohol use, but he had also seen his father abusing his

mother. He claimed this violence did not extend to his children, although they often witnessed it and were subsequently removed from his care.

All I can remember was when she (his oldest child) was a little bit older and I used to throw her Mum around and bash her Mum up and that. And we were back into the drugs heavy then you know?... Um they used to see me beat their Mum and stuff like that, my daughter seen me like that.

Michael did not live with these three children again and had maintained only haphazard contact because of his continued drug use and frequent imprisonments. Recently he had renewed his relationship with his oldest child, a daughter. She had a small boy who Michael had a warm relationship with. The father of this boy was a gang member who was imprisoned for physically abusing Michael's daughter.

He only come to jail for beating up my daughter...I told my daughter said,

'See look your Mum and me. How long did it take for her to realize she'd had enough?'

My daughter had enough this time. But he's one of those pushy ones who will track her down. And you know I feel for my daughter because it's like one of those ones where if she doesn't come round he's liable to kill her.

Michael was also concerned about his sons who at 11 and 13 were already using marijuana and involved in minor crime. He had been trying to get them to change their behaviour, but he understood how difficult it was for them to see him as an appropriate role model for this change. He attributed their delinquency both to the way they were fathered and to copying their peers.

They have seen the bad things I do too ...See look I've got to take them away from that scene of drugs and jumping through windows. And you know I tell them yous have got everything. You don't need to go pinch

things off the road. They're like that cause their mates are getting caught pinching and stuff like that you know?

Four years ago, Michael entered into a new relationship and now has two young children with this partner. He regarded his failure to properly parent his older children and having them removed from his care a 'lesson' and had tried to father these two young boys very differently.

I show these two more love you know. My mates would go

'Oh, let's go and do...'

'Oh, no man. I'm busy I've got things to do with my kids.'

You know I could tell my mates that with these two kids. You know?

It's different, I'm not beating up the mother and stuff like that. How I'm trusting her and things like that. It's like a lesson. It was like a lesson.

Look I could lose these kids like I lost my other kids and couldn't be with them.

Although Michael spent time with these boys and showed them affection, his fathering was usually activity based and he left the day-to-day care to their mother. The fit between Michael's habitus, capital and the street field reproduced the fathering practice of his father. He had social and cultural capital from his longevity in the street field but his drug dependence and cycle of imprisonments ensured he had little economic capital. He was in a more dominated position in the street field than his age would predict. Michael's limited literacy coupled with his lack of capital made it very difficult for him to leave the street field. He continued to deal drugs and engage in other crime to provide for his two families. Michael also had mental health issues including serious depression and two recent attempted suicides which interfered with his daily parenting.

7.7 Conclusion

Many of the men in this project repeated the parenting of their own fathers. When asked in their interviews most men insisted, like Zac, that they wanted to father in a very

different way. “Totally different from my parents. Hundred percent opposite, totally different. Yep, totally different.” However, the fathering they had experienced is embodied in their habitus. Many of these men moved almost casually into the street field after leaving school, causing little disruption to their habitus which were generally aligned with the street field. In this field the men saw fellow gang members and criminal associates who parented their children, especially the boys, in an authoritarian manner. Being very involved with their children and providing them with more emotional warmth was not considered as it was equated with mothering, and incompatible with the fathers’ carefully constructed forms of marginalised masculinity (Blazina & Watkins, 2000; Maurer & Pleck, 2006). When these men had children their fathering practice was “the product of a habitus that is itself the product of the embodiment of the immanent regularities and tendencies of the world” or field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b:138). Most men unreflexively reproduced the same overemphasis on providing, violence and abuse, dependence on drug and alcohol and absent fathering they had experienced in their birth families. However, there were some exceptions, most notably Peter who became his children’s fulltime caregiver. In general men in more dominating positions in both fields believed they were better fathers as they could provide for their children. However, men in subordinated positions often spent more time being actively involved with their children. This finding echoed that found in other work fields, with middle-class men voicing support for involved parenting, while working-class fathers were actually doing the day-to-day caregiving (Usdansky, 2011). Drug dependency often resulting from a habitus accustomed to addiction in the birth family significantly impacted the effect of field position on fathering practice. In many cases, it became the overriding influence on parenting, sometimes producing unsafe fathering practices.

Shammas & Sandberg (2016) discuss the “transformative effects” of the street field with the skills, dispositions and capital required for this field meaning that most men were

“locked in” to the field with little opportunity for a successful exit (Shammas & Sandberg, 2016:209). The main route out of this field leads to prison. The following chapter discusses how these men’s movement into the prison field impacted their habitus and their capital and the effect of this on their fathering practice.

Chapter Eight: How They Father From Prison: The Field

8.1 Introduction

Movement from the street field to the prison field appears almost inevitable for many of the fathers in this project. With scarce reserves of capital to allow entry into other fields, and an embodied habitus aligned with the prison field, there are few choices for movement. Prison, unlike most other fields, requires no minimum type or amount of capital for entry. Men have no option but to cross into this social space when sentenced through the court system.

This chapter explores how the men in this project father from prison and what happens to their relationships with their children while imprisoned. The imprisoned men's fathering will be described by analysing the interaction of "two evolving histories" (Bourdieu, 1993a:46). The first area to be examined is the objective social structures in the prison field, while the other area to research is the habitus of the individual prisoners, including any capital they possess. The first, the prison field, will be explored in this chapter, leaving the analysis of the prisoners' habitus and its influence on contact for chapter nine.

Bourdieu considers the prison field these men enter to be part of the bureaucratic or state field, with the state being the "holder of a sort of meta-capital" (Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994:4). The prison field will be examined using a theoretical structure developed by Crewe (2015) specifically for this field. Within this framework, Crewe attempts to analyse the penal power exercised either directly by the state, or indirectly, as in this project, through a private provider. This occurs by "engaging seriously with the fundamental questions about *what it feels like to be imprisoned*" (Crewe, 2015:54).

The chapter concludes by looking more explicitly at contact between the father and his children. The father can only 'do parenting' in prison by short highly regulated visits,

telephone calls and mail. How each man experiences the prison field can influence both his ability to maintain contact and his level of contact.

8.2 Prison Field

The decision to employ Crewe's framework to analyse the prison field is one based upon practical as opposed to theoretical considerations. Shamma & Sandberg (2016) provide a conceptual structure for mapping the street field, but there appears to be no equivalent starting point for mapping the prison field. Additionally, the prison, unlike the street, is a closed field and it is difficult to map without input from the corrections officers who by definition, exercise considerable power in the field. Changes at MECF, detailed in chapter four, curtailed the proposed interviewing of corrections officers. Crewe's framework is a solution to mitigate these difficulties with mapping. It enables an analysis of the prison field which approximates Bourdieu's concern with determining the force and direction of power exercised in fields, through examining the prisoners' narratives. This framework also appeals as Crewe and his colleagues used it both to analyse and compare private and state administered prisons (Crewe, Liebling, & Hulley, 2011, 2014). MECF at the time of this research was managed by Serco, a private company. Crewe is currently employing this framework in a five year collaborative project comparing prisons in England, Wales and Norway (Institute of Criminology, 2018). He describes four dimensions: weight, depth, tightness and breadth that can be applied to interpret how prisoners feel about being imprisoned (Crewe, 2015). Generally, only one or two of these dimensions has been assessed in each piece of research (Liebling, Arnold, & Straub, 2012; Shamma, 2014). In the current project, the issues of weight and depth arise spontaneously from the men's stories and are the focus of analysis. Tightness and breadth are addressed at the end of this section. They feature less often in the men's stories and do not appear to interrupt their fathering practice.

8.21 Weight.

King & Mc Dermott (1995) found that for some prisoners imprisonment “feels like a weight on their shoulders” (King & Mc Dermott, 1995:89). An important determinant of weight is the relationship between prisoners and frontline staff (Crewe, Liebling, & Hulley, 2011). This relationship can be oppressive and punitive, with corrections officers employing excessive bureaucratic power. This excess of power weighs heavily on prisoners, who must be vigilant against verbal and physical assaults from frontline officers. However, Crewe and his colleagues (Crewe, Liebling, et al., 2014) also found that some prison fields can feel light. The relationship between officers and prisoners was friendly and informal, but did not necessarily feel “right... because staff feel overwhelmed and intimidated by prisoners” (Liebling assisted by Arnold, 2004 cited in Crewe et al., 2011:95). The corrections officers did not have the experience, the training or the life skills to create an “impression of authority”. Instead of an excess of bureaucratic power, there was a deficit (Crewe et al., 2011). The lightness with which bureaucratic power touches some prisons is very unsettling for prisoners. Crewe also identified that the presence or absence of frontline staff contributed to the feeling of heaviness or lightness (Crewe, Liebling, et al., 2014).

In their study comparing public and private prisons in Britain, Crewe et al., (2011) found public prisons tended to have a “heavier” feel, with a more traditional staff culture preoccupied with safety. Bureaucratic power was firmly held by the officers, who were often punitive in their daily dealings with prisoners. In contrast, prisoners in private prisons, like MECF, reported a much “lighter” environment. The staff culture was more positive and focused on rehabilitation (Crewe et al., 2011). However, private prisons were generally understaffed when compared to public prisons (Shefer & Liebling, 2008). This refers to not just a physical absence, but also a psychological absence of authority, or an underuse of bureaucratic power. Many of the frontline officers appeared both ill-equipped and unwilling to deal with any disturbances in the units. The prisoners generally preferred public prisons

where there were defined rules and boundaries and the source of the power was clear (Crewe et al., 2011).

The contract signed by Serco at MECF focused on outcomes not inputs, and specified no minimum staffing levels (Fitzharris, 2015). At the time of this project, MECF was staffed on a leaner ratio than DOC prisons. (Fitzharris, 2015). It had a high staff turnover and many newly trained corrections officers in the frontline staff. It was evident from multiple visits to the prison over an extended period, that maintaining daily staffing levels was often challenging. Liebling (2007) believes one way to assess weight in a prison is to evaluate “the way in which power is used and how this feels” (Liebling, 2007:217). The following section focuses on some of the fathers’ stories about how it felt to be imprisoned at MECF. Although the fathers were not asked directly about their relationship with the frontline officers, they talked about being unable to get simple information from the officers in their units. This included how to apply for a course, or contact Child Youth and Family²¹ with concerns about a child. This led to frustration as the unit officers were the fathers’ primary source of information. The officers appeared either too busy, or unsure of the procedures, to fulfil the men’s requests. This is consistent with Crewe’s finding that private prisons have too few frontline officers and many are inexperienced and poorly supported by administrative staff (Crewe et al., 2011).

A few fathers, like Gordon, told stories about officers who helped them through difficult times. Gordon arrived at MECF facing a long sentence and feeling depressed. An officer encouraged him to accept letters from his family and, as Gordon has few literacy skills, helped him read and write letters back to his children. This was the impetus for Gordon

²¹ Government agency that had legal powers to intervene to protect and help children being abused or neglected or who had problem behaviours. It was replaced by a new ministry, Oranga Tamariki, in April 2017.

to re-establish his relationship with his family. No fathers' stories refer to an overuse of bureaucratic power, or contain allegations of abuse from the officers towards the prisoners. The men's stories record violent incidents at MECF, but these occurred between prisoners either without the knowledge, or intervention of corrections officers. Sam described the prison field as "pretty dangerous", with prisoners threatening violence with 'shivs'²². There was no mention of any officer intervention.

There's a lot of people with problems in here, and um, people clash. Like you get a sense out of a person. You know, especially in here there's a lot of body language sort of getting passed on, and one wrong message and people go and grab their shivs. And I shouldn't talk about that, but yeah. It's pretty dangerous in here, just in the wrong buildings.

This violence was perpetuated predominantly by gang members. The fear of being targeted and not protected by frontline officers led some fathers to seek gang protection. Dan, a successful drug dealer in the street field, reluctantly decided to become affiliated with a gang when he was first sent to MECF.

Yeah, I mean I never used to look up to gangs... I always used to think, oh yeah, fuck I'm not going to be in a gang cause I don't like it. But after being in prison, it's like, what other choice do I have? Either join a gang, or you're just going to get fucking shat on out there (pointing outside the interview room) you know? And that's the only reason.

For some fathers in this project, even being a gang member was not sufficient protection. Oscar, an 18-year-old remand prisoner was a patched member of a Northland based gang. He moved often between prisons because his case was being tried in Whangarei. This movement was not unusual as Corrections endeavoured to keep the privately managed prison at maximum capacity (Fitzharris, 2015). Each time Oscar returned to MECF he had to fight to

²² Homemade knife-like weapon.

re-establish his place in the social order. This became increasingly dangerous, and he felt his gang were not able to offer him adequate security. Oscar is the father of two small children, and after talking to his partner, he applied for entry to the segregation unit²³ to ensure his safety.

Every time I come down here I'm forever getting like hassled, and like all that fight status... Just recently, like before I signed over, they're pulling out knives and that on me so,
'Oh no. I've got kids'.
'We don't give a fuck'. Just stab you up. Say
'No, no'
'All good. Drop the weapon. We'll just have a fist fight'.
So, they do. But after that they just keep packing²⁴ me. And cause they know ...I won all my one on ones, until people just come from the side and just push at me and that. All that's on my mind when I'm doing that stuff. I don't want to leave here in a box - and my sons left to question...Where is he? I don't want that. That's why it's safer for me to move over to segs.²⁵

The violence towards Oscar was being carried out by rival gang members. Even though he had been in the street field for most of his life, he did not have the appropriate capital to maintain an undominated position in the prison field. An informal comment from a staff member following his interview described Oscar as a "wimp" because he asked to be moved to the segregation unit. This reinforces the feeling of "extreme lightness" in this field where prisoners were expected to manage their own security rather than rely on the protection of officers.

²³ Voluntary protective segregation or custody unit for prisoners who fear for their safety if they are placed with other prisoners.

²⁴ Attacking in a pack or gang.

²⁵ Voluntary protective segregation.

The statistics from the period of this project confirm that substantial violence was occurring between prisoners. Of the 17 prisons in New Zealand, MECF recorded the highest number of ‘serious’ prisoner-on-prisoner assaults in 2014-2015 (Department of Corrections, 2015). The DOC’s definition of a ‘serious assault’ is “bodily harm which requires overnight hospitalisation, or extended ongoing medical intervention, or any type of sexual assault”. There are no statistics available for assaults of a less serious nature. The Chief Inspector of Prisons reported that prisoners were involved in ‘fight clubs’ or ‘challenge type’ fighting, with some being compelled to take part.

Prisoners reported that if they refused to participate they would be threatened, ‘pack attacked’ or assaulted by senior members of the Killer Beez, Head Hunters, Black Power or other gangs who were involved in organising the fights. (Fitzharris, 2015:3)

The situation at MECF resulted from a combination of factors; low staff levels, and the inadequate training of officers to deal with prisoner on prisoner violence. Staff knew about the violence but chose to ignore it (Fitzharris, 2015). CCTV footage cited in the report from the Chief Inspector of Prisons revealed extended periods of time when prisoners’ cells were unlocked and men were in their units unsupervised (Fitzharris, 2015). At other times officers were present but not actively supervising the whole unit (Fitzharris, 2015). The officers chose to ignore the violence because of their inexperience and concern for their own safety if they imposed their power. This was not universal. Some officers with DOC experience and training, had the background, and skills to use this authority. However, they were hampered in exercising this power by the low staff numbers (Fitzharris, 2015).

The deficit in bureaucratic power at MECF was filled by prisoners with symbolic capital from the street field and strong gang connections. The transfer of power to senior gang members resulted in feelings of extreme insecurity for the fathers in this project, which in turn influenced their fathering practice. It caused fathers, like Adam, to isolate themselves

from their families. This was Adam's second time in prison and he had no gang affiliations. Despite having a teenage son, and his new partner being pregnant with their first child, he suspended all contact with his family while he was in prison. "I can't even think what's out there²⁶, is out there. I'm in here dealing with all these men. Worrying is someone going to attack me, you know?" Adam did not feel psychologically able to deal with his family at the same time as he was trying to protect himself in prison. He believed that if he showed any emotion or care towards his family it would be seen as displaying femininity, and he would be a target of attacks.

Other fathers who maintained some contact with their children took care not to show any emotion other than aggression or anger outside their cell. Being emotional is inconsistent with prison masculinity (de Viggiani, 2012) and can leave prisoners open to ridicule and exploitation. Crewe's interviews of men in a medium security prison in England highlighted their use of two techniques to protect themselves in this environment (Crewe, Warr, Bennett, & Smith, 2014). Firstly, they safeguarded themselves by 'masking' their emotion; they still felt it, but suppressed it so it did not show. In this project, Sam only allowed himself to show emotion about his baby son when he was alone in his cell. If he displayed this emotion publicly in the unit he opened himself up to "being picked on" either verbally or physically.

I- I watched him start walking in here, I watched him start talking in here, and it was heartbreaking... Those, those were the real important things that I wanted to see. That was sad. A couple of times I was I was crying in, in the cell... sort of. You know crying in the cell. But in the unit... you have to hide your feelings. Put a smile on your face every day.

Other men in the study (Crewe, Warr, et al. 2014) protected themselves by 'fronting'. A father was 'fronting' if he showed an emotion he was not feeling; usually aggression or

²⁶ In his family, outside prison.

toughness. The objective of this was to display “hypermasculinity” as opposed to the fear he may actually be feeling. Fronting could influence how a father related to his child in prison. A few fathers, including Hunter, spoke about observing incidents where men were verbally, and sometimes physically abusive towards their family members.

...people have fights with their kids down at visits... and it wrecks our visit...A couple of weeks ago...this guy whacked his kid over the head and (he) went flying. And his partner got up, and oh it was horrible, it was scary for the kids.

This behaviour may be ‘fronting’ or it may be the marginalised masculinity these men have constructed and display in all their relationships regardless of the field.

After allegations of ‘fight club’ violence were confirmed at MECF, Serco’s private management contract was suspended in 2015. The DOC was reinstated to manage the prison. As well as employing 50 additional staff, many DOC trained officers replaced Serco staff. Prisoner on prisoner assaults subsequently decreased by more than 50 percent (Furley, 2017). However, along with this decrease, there was a corresponding increase in serious assaults between staff and prisoners (Furley, 2017).

There is a strong connection between the weight of imprisonment these fathers experienced, which was the extreme lightness of feeling unprotected by the frontline officers, and how deeply embedded in the prison field they felt.

8.22 Depth.

Downes (1988) first used the term ‘depth’ when comparing the experiences of prisoners in British and Dutch corrections facilities. Crewe defines depth as “the distance or polarity between the prison and the outside world, with distance having an almost literal as well as a metaphorical meaning.” (Crewe, 2015:54). In Crewe’s framework, depth has been redefined in terms of security and control (King and Mc Dermott, 1995) and encompasses three components (Mjaland, 2018). Firstly, the level of situational control in the prison. This

refers to the physical security measures, for example whether the prison has bars or walls. The second component is the distance from release for individual prisoners, generally the further they are from release, the deeper they feel embedded in the prison field (Liebling et al., 2012). The final aspect is the openness between the prison and the outside world. This refers to both the ease of communication between prisoners and their families and friends, and the intersection between the prison and community.

The concept of depth is difficult to define, and more elusive than the previous concept of weight. In the Comparative Penology project the research team asked prisoners specific questions to uncover their feelings in relation to depth (Institute of Criminology, 2018). For example; they used a 'well' as a metaphor for the prisoner's sentence and asked how close to the surface or deep in the well did the inmate feel? (Mjaland, 2018). In this thesis, the decision to use Crewe's framework was made after the fathers' interviews were completed, so there was no opportunity to frame such specific questions. Instead, the three components of depth are explored through the men's stories, with an emphasis on how they felt about their imprisonment - especially how it felt to try to maintain a relationship with their children.

8.221 Level of situational control

As one of the largest prisons in New Zealand, MECF held a large number of high risk and violent prisoners, including gang members (Fitzharris, 2015). It was also the main reception facility for all newly remanded men in the Auckland region. The security level was designated as 'remand' and the inmates were managed as high security by default (Boshier, 2017). With a high proportion of remand prisoners, uncertain of their futures, many fathers including Isiah found the prison field felt "...like a holding cell, people come and go continually. And it's not very...you can't really settle down here". Fifty percent of the prison population at MECF turned over every 23 days, reinforcing the feeling of unsettling transience (Fitzharris, 2015). Isiah wanted to be transferred out of MECF. However,

fulfilment of that request was unlikely for (as previously noted) Corrections maintained a capacity muster at the Serco run prison.

The combination of a full prison and a high turnover rate of mostly remand but also sentenced prisoners, presented security challenges. The bureaucratic power was relatively light at MECF with regards to the supervision of men in their units. However, the physical security of the environment, and the regulations around the men's movements outside their unit, was much stricter. Physically, there is no outdoor exercise area; each unit has an internal courtyard with steel mesh lining the roof and any open walls. There is no opportunity at MECF for men to view the sky except through mesh. Fathers often mention in their stories the steel doors, locks and bars that surround them. With a high turnover of prisoners, there are many prisoner movements within the prison daily (Fitzharris, 2015). The remand and the sentenced prisoners must be kept separate when moving around the prison. The extra security required for these movements often necessitates men being held temporarily on their way to visits or programmes while they wait for other inmates to move around the prison. This often makes men late for their visits. The emphasis on security continues in the visits area with a fear of contraband being passed to prisoners by their family members. Nothing can be taken into the visits room. There are a few well-used toys and books, but no other activities for small children. Mothers cannot take in any snacks or drinks for their children, and there are no vending machines in the room as in some other prisons. For mothers with infants, only a baby's bottle and a small blanket can be taken into the visits room. The fathers visit with their families in orange jumpsuits. Serco's justifications for this clothing are that it inhibits escape, as the men are easily distinguished from their visitors, and it lessens the likelihood of contraband being passed. Many men, including Andy, talk about the stigma of having to wear an orange jumpsuit when seeing their children. "They're still quite young to understand why I have to stay here, and why they have to come to this big place and Dad's wearing the orange

jumpsuit”. The ombudsman has since recommended that this practice is stopped to preserve the dignity of the men (Boshier, 2017). However, security continues to be prioritised over the right of fathers and their children to a child-sensitive visit (Department of Corrections, 2017a).

8.222 Distance from release

MECF houses both remand and sentenced prisoners, with 25 fathers in this project on remand, and 13 sentenced. For the remand prisoners, the uncertainty about the length of their sentence added an extra dimension of depth. Some fathers on remand had been waiting over two years for their trial and sentencing. The difficulty of not knowing was painful for Terry.

T: I just got denied going home.

I: What does that mean?

T: I don't know how long I'm in here. The next paper is trying to get High Court bail. Just so I can get out to see my son. It's so hard.

(tearful)

Some of the sentenced prisoners, especially those involved in methamphetamine manufacture like Paul, faced sentences of up to 15 years. Paul's oldest son was told about the length of his father's sentence by a social worker, while at school. Paul had been intending to talk to his sons on their next visit. His son was “upset and sort of shocked” and angry with Paul. This incident was difficult for Paul, and made him feel that because of his imprisonment he no longer had the right to make fathering decisions.

Like, in in his head he (his 14-year-old son) was thinking

‘I'll be 30 when Dad gets out, you know?’

And that's not a nice thing... to be thinking of all of a sudden. He's lost his Dad... I wish they would have actually spoken to me about it first, or, just instead of (pause) Mmm... I guess I lose a bit of my parental rights because of what's happened and because I'm in here.

Most fathers with long sentences worried about their relationships with their children. Isiah had previously been in prison many times for short sentences. “You come in here it's just a

little break, a holiday”. He was still on remand but faced a serious sentence, and felt the difference in how he faced his day.

Now I’m here for like um to stay ...it really sinks in hard out, like there’s no...expiry date. Next week I’m not expired out of here. In the short amount times I’ve been here I’ve never had to wake up and think ‘Oh, I’m still here’ (in a sad tone)

Isiah believed this longer sentence was helping him to reevaluate his priorities and he was trying to be a better father from prison. He wanted to “feel like a father” which he realised he could not do using drugs and alcohol.

8.223 Isolation from the outside world

Some openness between the prison and the outside world, even in limited areas such as the visits room and the classrooms, can help to moderate the feeling of depth for men in a high security prison (Crewe, Liebling, et al., 2014). The prison visiting room is a transitional space between fields, where prisoners and their visitors are ‘in temporary limbo’(Moran, 2013). For some fathers, visiting with their families in this transitional space helped to lessen the feeling of isolation and was the only highlight in their prison life. Sam had a small preschool son who visited him regularly.

For me, like every time I get a visit, it for me, it makes my day. It really... I’m good for like two weeks when I get a visit, yeah. (laughs)
Just, just yeah, a good hug does a lot for me. (laughs) Yeah so that lasts a while.

However, the challenges of accessing this space and the harsh environment it presented, especially for children, meant that many fathers admitted to arranging visits reluctantly. They did so only because they were desperate to maintain contact. Men with babies sometimes allowed visits despite the difficulties, because they felt their children would have little memory of the prison. Tim was first visited by his partner and his baby son when the baby was four months old. They continued to visit monthly.

It was awesome like seeing my son. It was awesome for me, I get to see my son. But like then again, I had these little thoughts in my head. Like fuck I don't want this. I was kind of happy he's at a young age and won't remember this. Cause this will be a scar.

Men who saw their children regularly often expressed in their stories the range of feelings they experienced around a visit. Gordon was a sentenced prisoner who saw his children weekly.

It's good, it's definitely good to have the contact with them, even though it's in a place like this, yeah. It is hard every visit when they leave like you're down for the next three or four days. Then you've got that next visit so it brings you back up again. Oh, it's just a big circle really.

For many men who had visits, there was an enduring emotion tied to the visit. This did not appear to be the same for the less direct forms of contact. This emotion helped these men to feel closer to their children, and therefore more detached from the prison field. Matt's three young girls visited regularly but he was then placed on booth visits²⁷ and he consequently postponed visiting until his contact visits were reinstated. He explained how he felt during his normal contact visits.

Yeah it actually makes me escape. That's my only time to escape jail you know? Like it makes me feel free... Like I'm actually out there in a civilised world. It's like holding them is like, it's like, a month gone by. ...They just make, make me feel free in a place, that's sealed up. You know that's the best way to put it. They're my freedom, they're my world.

Fathers who for different reasons had less contact with their children felt isolated in the prison field. Often these men used the word "outside" to contrast their life before their

²⁷ No contact visits. Fathers are separated from their families by a glass wall. They can still talk to each other.

imprisonment with the feeling of isolation “inside” prison. Rob had two children but had no contact with them from prison. “I think it’s, you know, a world shut off. I’ve been shut away. I’ve been taken away from outside. I can’t even think of the outside anymore.” Similarly, Henry expressed his separation from his family and life before prison. “Ah, I haven’t even bothered to ring them or anything because I’ve like sort of given up on the outside. I don’t know what’s going on out there or what’s happening.” Although they did not use the concept of ‘depth’ these fathers described the same concept in their own words. Eli felt that with every imprisonment he was “fading away” and becoming invisible to his children.

It’s all that stuff that’s no good (indicating the family tree) ... You have to get out and start your life all over again. Every time you come back in here the amount of time that is lost with your loved ones, your kids. You’re actually, when you come in here, you’re fading away, you’re fading away.

Goffman (1961) sees prison as a total institution with an impermeable boundary. Many researchers challenge this concept, maintaining that people, things, and ideas communicated through the internet, newspapers or personal contact continue to get through the barrier into the prison field (Baer & Ravneberg, 2008; Moran, 2013). While this may be true in some prisons, at the time of this project MECF was only semi-permeable at best. There were no extended visits, few family days, no internet access, no newspapers, and a prisoner could refuse to have all contact with his friends or family. Contact with family was considered a privilege rather than a right. To access this privilege depended on the prisoner’s good behaviour, and on the goodwill of corrections officers to ensure access to the telephone in a timely way, provision of letter writing materials when required, and ensuring the visit process was dealt with appropriately. The visitation policies and the visit room environment of MECF lacked any dispensation for children’s visits and actively discouraged men who were not strongly committed to maintaining their relationship with their children face to face.

8.23 Tightness and Breadth.

The final two dimensions of Crewe's framework are 'tightness' and 'breadth' (Crewe, 2015). Bureaucratic power in prisons is increasingly being exercised more discretely. There is a "reconstitution of penal power" (Crewe, 2011b:456) so rather than bullying and assaulting prisoners directly, power is exercised at a distance through psychological assessments, case management plans and cognitive behavioural programmes. Crewe terms this "soft power" as prisoners are expected to take some responsibility and change not only their behaviour, but their thoughts, which are supposedly at the core of their offending. To prisoners this can feel like a 'tightness', as the power is not simply imposed from above, but is anonymous and pervasive (Crewe, 2015). Refusal to attend courses, or to not comply fully and enthusiastically, may lead to delayed parole hearings, or denial of parole. These issues of tightness are not explicitly explored in this project, but some men did discuss their feelings about this new form of "soft power". Veterans of prison life, like 49-year-old father Henry, felt that men did not complete courses for the content but to earn certificates. He considered these certificates were a form of "get out of jail free" card, as judges and parole boards appeared to value their accumulation.

Unlike the 'weight' of the prison field which was mentioned in many father's stories, 'tightness' was rarely addressed in the narratives. It is difficult to assess the level of 'soft power' exercised not only by frontline officers but also by psychologists, case managers and programming staff. Despite the issues of assessment, the 'tightness' inherent in the use of soft power did not seem to affect fathers as much as the frontline officers' underuse of bureaucratic power, and the transfer of power to gangs.

The final dimension, 'breadth', is described as the extent to which the prison field has an influence on the individual once they leave prison. These men were not followed up after their release so there is little data in their narratives about this influence.

Crewe's conceptual framework allows men to describe how it feels to be imprisoned. Many fathers interviewed in MECF for this project expressed how they were deeply buried in the prison field and isolated from their children. They felt "shut away" "sealed up" and "trapped in [their] own little world". The following section explores how the men reflected these feelings in their patterns of contact with their children.

8.3 Contact with Children from Prison

Quantitative data on contact was collected at the beginning of each father's interview. More detail on its collection is given in chapter five. In prison studies, contact data is generally collected for one child. The child is either chosen randomly (Loper, Carlson, Levitt, & Scheffel, 2009) or more commonly chosen by the father, usually the child with whom he has the most involvement (Clarke et al., 2005). In this project, contact data was collected not just for the child nominated by the father, but also for all the other children he drew on his family tree. The quantitative results in Appendix A show the value of providing a fuller picture of each man's contact with all his children. Just under half the fathers have children from two or more relationships, and they have different patterns of responsibility and involvement with these children.

Each father outlined the type and level of contact with each of his children in the previous two months. Twenty-seven of the 38 fathers had contact with at least one of their children during this time. This section begins by analysing the quantitative data and some of the fathers' stories for each of the three forms of contact. It then moves on to look at two groups of men; those who isolated themselves from their children and those who made very frequent contact.

8.31 Telephone calls

In this research, telephone calls were a popular way of keeping in touch, despite the high cost of ringing from prison. It was 49 cents a minute to call a mobile phone. Most

prisoners' families did not operate a landline. Some of the better resourced and organised families arranged 0800 or 'free to call' numbers so the fathers could ring more frequently. The approval time for setting up these numbers is longer so it is only practical for men who are expecting an extended sentence. Other fathers, like Jack, had no money for phone calls but occasionally had access to an illegal mobile, or managed to persuade a corrections officer to place a call through for them.

... miss them to death eh but barely talk to them cause I got no phone calls and I don't rely on my partner to bring money into my canteen²⁸ she's doing it hard enough.

In their stories, many of the fathers explained how phone calls enabled them to keep current with their children. They discussed what the children were doing at school, what they were watching on television, and if necessary even talked about discipline issues raised by the child's mother or caregiver. For prisoners who were not receiving visits, telephone calls were seen to be very valuable.

I: What about the phone calls?

Pat: That's all that I live for in here. You know that's the only peace I get. That's the only thing I got in here. The only thing that keeps me sane now.

Telephone calls are less appropriate for babies and small children, although some young fathers were just happy to talk to their little ones. Nick has three young children and because of a strained relationship with his partner relied on his mother in law to stay in touch with his children.

At times, it's frustrating for me um cause my kids usually tend to try to show things to me through the phone. I have the mother of my children's mum telling me what they're doing. Like she's showing me a picture of something, or she's waving at me. Or stuff like that. (He

²⁸ Canteen refers to the limited list of items that prisoners can buy, including phone cards, with money credited to their prison account.

laughs) ... Another thing is my kids are at that age where they just want to play... You know I don't blame them, so it's really hard to get their attention, and to have them concentrate on the phone call.

The phone was on an extension cord from the unit office, into the open area of each wing. This made it challenging for fathers like William to conduct personal and emotionally charged calls. William cared for his daughter prior to his imprisonment.

It's hard to communicate. Hard to express my feelings properly to my daughter, other prisoners don't allow you. The only time I can do that pretty much is when she comes in.

Fathers who did not want their families to visit because they were ashamed of their repeated imprisonments, found telephone conversations emotionally challenging. Tyrone, only rang home once a week.

It's hard on the phone you know. I hate, I hate to ring on the phone. I only ring them up once a week and that's me. I just feel that every time I ring my Mrs, I'm like a burden you know, like...

'Oh, fuck here he is'.

What, like what, I'm not achieving anything in here. I've got nothing to offer them. So, when I call them I'm just more fucking whinging about what I'm up to.

Tyrone, and other fathers, preferred to write to their children, as they felt more emotionally removed, and in control.

8.32 Letter writing

Letter writing is associated with both increased attachment between an imprisoned parent and child, and an improvement in a sense of parental competence (Tuerk & Loper, 2006). However, it was not that popular among most of the fathers in this project. Some who rang their children frequently felt there was no need to supplement this with letters. Fathers who did write, generally fell into three groups: those who were trying to maintain a close relationship through all forms of contact, those who rang their children but for different

reasons did not receive visits, and finally those who had no resources for telephone calls or visits. For a few fathers, like Eli, exchanging letters was their only communication with their children. Eli had no money for phone calls, and did not want his children visiting, so he wrote to them every day. In the letters he received from his son, Eli noted a change in his son's feelings towards him, because of his repeated imprisonments. He felt his son was "sort of like slipping away sort of slowly." However, writing was the only form of contact he had with his son and he was unsure how to overcome this change.

My boy, my son...he's getting a little hoo ha with it...I can tell certain things. Ah he's getting used to the fact, which is not a good thing, not having me around. I see it in his letters. Yeah, the change...Like when he first started writing to me it was like

'I miss you, I miss you. I love you, I love you'...

Now it's not so much 'miss' on the letters you know and it sucks, it sucks... I'm scared of losing a lot from my boy if I keep coming back here. But that's what I see when I read his letters.

Writing letters is the cheapest form of contact, as writing materials and stamps are provided to the prisoners. The DOC website stipulates that prisoners are provided stamps to send three standard letters a week (New Zealand Corrections Department, 2015). This limitation was not being enforced during the time of this project at MECF. Some fathers wrote five to six letters a day, receiving the supplies they need. However, this was not true for all men. Charlie, who asked to be placed in protective segregation following threats of violence, met some resistance when trying to access paper and stamps.

So, every time I get transferred, when I come back I only get that little Serco paper about yah big and I just do my letter on there, and ask her (his daughter) to write back to me. If I could write a letter a day I would, but they didn't give me paper and that so can't really do anything about it. Otherwise they'll just sign me back on to mainstream²⁹, mmm.

²⁹ The general population of the prison.

There was a facility for prisoners to receive emails from family members, and these were then distributed daily to the units in the same way as mail. None of the prisoners' families in this project used this facility. Letters and telephone calls, although they were both monitored, allow some degree of control for the imprisoned father and the child he is communicating with. For visits, the environment is completely beyond the control of the imprisoned father and his family.

8.33 Visits.

It is difficult for the father and his family both to visit and to arrange a visit. The prisoner has to provide the names of the family members he wants to visit him. They must then complete a form and receive police approval to visit. At the time of this project, children under 16 years of age were not required to undergo the approval process for entry to the visits area. From September 2016, all children also require police approval. A 2017 regulation placed further restrictions on visiting, with no child under 18 able to visit their parent without an accompanying adult (Department of Corrections, 2017a). These regulations, although designed to protect children, in many cases have the opposite effect, with children being prevented from continuing a relationship with their fathers. The approval process generally takes seven working days but during this project there was a backlog of applications, and families were waiting three weeks or longer. After approval has been given, the father books the visit and lets his family know the arrangement by phone. There are weekend sessions, but no visits are scheduled after mid-afternoon, making it difficult for school-age children to visit except at the weekend. As there are no permanent bookings, this process must be repeated for each visit; increasing the chance of administrative errors, and mothers and children being refused entry. On the day of the visit the mother must be dressed appropriately, bring an approved form of identification and arrive at least 45 minutes before the visit time. The extra waiting time in an environment which is not child friendly was identified by study

participants as being an additional stress for mothers with young children. All visitors including babies and small children pass through a metal detector and are screened by drug dogs.

At MECF the visit sessions are 45 minutes. Remand prisoners can have two visits a week, while sentenced prisoners receive only one. The visit can include up to three adults and three children, although, if the father has a larger number of children they are usually accommodated. Visits are often shorter than 45 minutes as a result of the men being late coming up from the unit. This was challenging for fathers like Gordon, who tried to talk individually to his three primary school age boys and his partner.

Some of them only go 30 minutes and that's it. It's too quick really, cause you got three of them, right? So, you've got to talk to that one, talk to that one, and that one. Then the lot listen to that one. Yeah so it is hard. So, it could be a little bit longer maybe...it's only about 30 to 40 minutes. It's not long enough really, even if you've only got one child, you know?

The visit room at MECF is not set up for children. When a family arrives, they are assigned a small table with attached stools where they must sit. Fathers greet and farewell their children and partner with a physical embrace, all overseen by the officers. During the visit the father must remain seated on a specially designated stool at his family's table. Fathers are not able to interact with their children as usual, for example; playing with toys or kicking and throwing a ball. This was difficult for fathers like Peter with young and active children.

Cause I'm not allowed to move I have to sit there, and my sons they climb up on the window sills...and then they jump onto all the spare tables, and they're jumping from the table to the centre piece from the chair to the centre piece. And I'm like 'What are you doing? Get off the table' (in a loud whisper) and I can't go and get them so I always send my partner.

The United Nations has endorsed the right of children to maintain contact with their parents, this includes in prison (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2011). However, at MECF visiting was viewed as a privilege which was tied to the fathers' good behaviour. Fathers, could be placed on 'no contact' booth visits for disciplinary infractions moreover, the units' family days were tied to the behaviour of the whole unit. Two fathers in this project were suspended from regular visiting because of disciplinary violations. They could only visit with their families in a glass booth where they were permitted no physical contact. They elected to either stop all visits or reverted to monthly visits until they were eligible for normal visiting again. Matt was on booth visits for six months. He discouraged his family from visiting, as it was very difficult for his preschool children to see and hear their father, but be unable to touch him.

Matt: It's a difficult situation at the moment, I see my daughters, behind ah, glass. Um, um in... booth visit at the moment

I: Why is that?

Matt: When I had my downtimes, I get into a lot of trouble... just to make me forget about that...like um, like my partner's stressing out. I feel so useless behind these walls I can't do nothing and I just end up, just beating someone up or you know?

I: So that booth visit is like a punishment for you?

Matt: Yeah, it's a punishment, all you do is like your partner will be sitting on the other side of the glass... I've been on booth visits for three months, and lately I've been just cutting them out. Like telling them to stay home. Cause after that booth visit I just go home, I go back to the cell and... I just burst into tears... Seeing my kids behind windows, that's not what I want, you know?

Every six months each unit is entitled to a Family Day. The fathers do not have to wear orange jumpsuits, or remain seated, but can move around and play with their children. The visit time is extended and families are served food and drink in a more casual

atmosphere. Very few fathers in this project, even those who had been in prison for nine months or more, had experienced a Family Day because it was a privilege tied to the good behaviour of the whole unit. As Connor commented:

...but even when they maybe catch the person that's doing whatever they're looking for they punish the whole wing. And that person may not have kids but the other 45 inmates probably have 2 kids each minimum and that's lost.

There are precedents for linking visiting to a father's behaviour, although these are questionable (McCarthy & Adams, 2017). However, linking it to the behaviour of a whole unit is problematic. In England and Wales there is a move away from tying disciplinary restrictions to family visiting as these visits are seen as a right, not a privilege for fathers and their families (HM Inspectorate for Prisons, 2015).

Visiting is the most difficult form of contact for families and fathers to negotiate and handle, both emotionally and physically (Codd, 2008; Duwe & Clark, 2011). However, it is also the most direct and intimate form of contact. The quality of the interaction may be more important than the number of contacts (Poehlmann et al., 2010). Fathers in this project who received visits from their children rated them as "going very well"; the most favourable ranking. The exception to this were the two fathers on booth visits who rated their visits as "going very badly".

Visiting is the least used form of contact (Cochran, 2012; Gordon, 2011). In this project, 25 men had no visits from any of their children. Some families either lived too far away to travel to MECF and/or they could not afford the travel expenses. There is a Child Travel Fund set up to assist children with their travel but without a social worker at MECF most families were left unaware of this facility. Some fathers were ashamed and had not told their children they were imprisoned. Exposing their children to prisoners with a history of

violent or sexual crimes in the visits room, was a reason put forward by some fathers including Dan, who did not allow his child to visit.

Cause it's not a nice place to see your child, I mean fucking crawling around in here. Like in amongst a bunch of criminals and stuff and gang members and shit.

Other fathers who refused visits, especially those like Ant with small children, felt it would be too upsetting for both their children and themselves to have to leave after a visit.

Cause I know they won't want to leave me if they were to come to visit me. They will cry and scream and they will make it harder for me to walk back to prison. And at this jail they won't give you the time to sit there and comfort them. As soon as your time's up, your time's up.

You've got to go if they're crying and screaming.

Some fathers, including Zac, had a poor relationship with their children's mother and she refused to bring the children in for visits.

I won't get to see her (his daughter) because she's (his daughter's mother) a bitch like that. Yeah if I'm not talking to her she'll just use the kid as a like... she won't let me see the kid, yeah.

Maternal 'gate keeping', a term coined by Roy and Dyson (2005), was not common amongst this group of men. Even when the relationship with the mother was strained or non-existent, the fathers usually found ways to remain in contact, for example, texting or ringing an older child's mobile, or using another family member as an intermediary. Some older fathers, especially those with teenage boys, did not want their children to visit. They wanted to minimise their children's contact with the criminal justice system. Henry's children visited him regularly during his many prison stays, but when his son was 10 years old Henry stopped his visits.

There'd be something here (in prison) to entice him (my son). I know him. He might see a mate of his in here and go

'Ah he's in here I'm coming in here to see my mate you know.'

...there'd be something here that just puts like the sparkle in his eye. Oh cool, I'm coming back here so I can see that again. And once he gets here and looks at the reality the sparkle will soon die you know.

8.34 Fathers who made no contact.

Eleven fathers in this project had no contact with any of their children. They chose to isolate themselves from their families. These fathers have a third of the total children in the project between them. In MECF, men are responsible for booking their own visit times and applying to have phone numbers approved. These eleven fathers had not arranged for their children to visit, had not had family phone numbers approved, and had not written letters to their children. If their children sent letters to them, they refused to accept them. This level of non-contact (29 percent) although it is similar to the percentages found in the few overseas studies that reported this measure (Dennison & Smallbone, 2015; Glaze & Maruschak, 2008) is significantly higher than in an earlier New Zealand study (Gordon, 2011). However, the New Zealand study did not differentiate between imprisoned mothers and fathers, and research has shown that mothers consistently have more contact with their children than fathers in the same circumstances (Connor & Tewksbury, 2015; Loper et al., 2009).

The reasons given for non-contact were generally the same as for infrequent contact, a combination of caregivers' gatekeeping and correctional policies and practices (Arditti et al., 2005; Clarke et al., 2005). In this project, by supplementing the contact data with the fathers' stories, there is a clearer understanding of why some men isolated themselves. Some fathers, especially those in prison for the first time or without gang connections, felt vulnerable to physical attack from other prisoners. To help protect themselves they tried to avoid displaying any emotion and instead projected a strong masculinity. These men could not afford to be side tracked by the emotional demands of their family. As Luke explains,

I try not to play in my head about what's happening on the outside. It's hard enough being in here let alone thinking about what's you know (*pause*) so yeah. It's not a place to be when you've got kids...It's far

more easier to get on with what you're doing in here, and just leave the outside for the outside world really. I do it every day as soon as I wake up. I block out what's going on outside.

These men did not want contact with their families, and demonstrated agency in one of the few areas of prison life where it was possible. Their narratives echoed earlier research on young fathers in juvenile prisons in California by Nurse (2001). She reported some of the participants in her research cut off all contact with their families. They called this process of withdrawing "hard timing". During in depth interviews they reported doing this to deal with the overwhelming stresses they confronted both inside the prison, and from their families on the outside.

8.35 Fathers with high levels of contact

By comparison, other fathers like Terry maintained relationships with their children through visits, phone calls and letters on a very regular basis. These men talked and wrote to their children almost daily. Terry has a school age son, and despite possibly facing a long sentence, he was determined to continue to be involved in his life. Some of the fathers with the highest levels of contact relied on their families for support. Gordon had a difficult childhood, witnessing the suicide of his mother. He has experienced lifelong mental health issues and this, his first imprisonment, was a long sentence.

The family's my main support people and the ones who's pretty much kept me alive really...I did try to um commit suicide when I first come in over nothing really... The kids have been the main, the first lot to keep me in line now. Just do the right thing to get out to them.

Gordon's children visit weekly and he rings them every second day. He also sends out at least three letters a day to his children. Gordon is focused on maintaining his involvement with his children while he is in prison and not repeating his own childhood. "You have to keep in contact with them at a young age you know. It's just... I didn't really have that contact with my parents and that, when I was younger."

8.4 Conclusion

Fathers' ability to maintain contact with their children in prison is strongly tied to how they experience the prison field (Arditti et al., 2005). For many fathers in this project the prison field at MECF felt both unsafe and deep. Senior gang members held much of the power in the units and frontline corrections officers were unwilling to intervene in prisoner-on-prisoner violence in the units. The underuse of bureaucratic power by corrections' staff resulted in a feeling of insecurity for many fathers. Some of these fathers proceeded to cut off all contact with their family. They were psychologically unable to cope with both protecting themselves inside prison and caring for their families on the outside. Those fathers who isolated themselves from their family felt deeply embedded in the prison field. Even the majority of fathers who maintained some contact with their children experienced a field whose environment and policies did not support fathering. Most men wanted to have more contact with their children.

A small group of fathers arranged regular visits with their children. These men appeared to gain some emotional resilience from this contact and were not as deeply grounded in prison. These different levels of father-child involvement reveal that the characteristics of the prison field do not exclusively determine fathering practice. As with all social practice it is the interaction between the field and the men's individual habitus that decide how men can father in prison. In the next chapter this alignment between the men's habitus and the prison field will be explored, along with its effect on fathering.

Chapter Nine: How They Father From Prison: The Habitus

9.1 Introduction

Chapter eight analysed the fathers' movement into the prison field and the negative effect this had on most men's involvement with their children. The field is only one part of Bourdieu's equation explaining social practice. This chapter explores habitus, the second half of the equation. So far, this thesis has followed the development of these men's habitus through their childhood and early fatherhood. Now the fathers are in prison. Even for those men who have previously been imprisoned, this is a critical period of change. In his paper on habitus, Wacquant discusses how "the habitus is suited to analysing crisis and change" (Wacquant, 2016:64). It is not possible to 'see' a habitus, but its effects on social practice, especially fathering, makes it an ideal framework for analysis. The initial discussion is theoretical, outlining the different ways an individual habitus can be involved in contradictory fields, and the reflexivity that this can allow. The discussion then moves on to explore the concept of disjuncture between habitus and field and uses this concept to analyse the fathering stories of four imprisoned fathers.

9.2 Fathers' Habitus Meet the Prison Field

Most men developed feelings of internal conflict and tension upon being forced to move into the prison field. This results from the misalignment between their habitus and the new field (Bourdieu, 1999; Reay, 2002). However, some fathers had a habitus that appeared relatively comfortable in prison. These men's original habitus was closely aligned with the street field. Through multiple previous imprisonments their habitus had also become increasingly 'congruent' with the prison field (Ingram, 2018). These men often had strong gang connections. Their marginalised masculinity, displayed as hypermasculinity or protest masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) was consistent with the field. They were tough, aggressive, strongly homophobic and generally adept at hiding their emotions (de

Viggiani, 2012; Toch, 1992). One of these fathers was Nick. He had been in prison before, had gang support and was in prison on a serious violence charge, which carried a possible sentence of nine years.

Depends what kind of person you're trying to perceive yourself as. If you're trying to perceive yourself as some tough guy ... I mean that's not a good look you crying... I don't really care what people think about me. For me, if there's anything, my kids are the only thing that make me cry basically, yeah. And I don't care what anyone else thinks, if they've got a problem with it we can sort it out. (He laughs) I don't mean the violent way, but I mean every person understands.

Nick's habitus and store of social and symbolic capital ensured he held a less dominated position in the prison field. His reputation as a violent man meant his marginalised masculinity was not threatened by openly showing concern and affection for his children (Krivickas, 2010). Most of the fathers' original habitus were not so comfortably aligned with the prison field.

9.2.1 Habitus and reflexivity

Bourdieu argues that "the habitus is a spontaneity without consciousness or will" (Bourdieu, 1990b:56). This means that "the dispositions of habitus are not usually available for conscious reflexive deliberation" (Farrugia & Woodman, 2015:5). However, Bourdieu concedes reflexivity can occur when an individual moves into a new field, one to which their habitus is not suited (Bourdieu, 1999). A father entering the field of prison for the first time may well experience a crisis between field and habitus. This can lead to reflexivity, and a gradual modification of their habitus. For many fathers in this project, prison was not a new field; some had experienced multiple prior imprisonments. Friedman's (2016) research about the trajectory into new fields helps explain these fathers' reflexivity, despite it not being a new field. The degree of accommodation an individual habitus can manage depends on how quickly the individual moves into the field, and how different the capital requirements of the

new field, are from the field of origin. If a change is gradual, and the capital requirements and dispositions needed in the new field are similar to those embodied earlier, the individual may transition smoothly. Research in occupational mobility has revealed that individuals who began in working-class jobs, and gradually moved up to intermediate positions, were able to accommodate this change in their habitus without a lot of difficulty (Friedman, 2016).

However, those who moved into senior roles, or who gained intermediate roles very quickly, found the mismatch between their original habitus and the new field, destabilising (Friedman, 2016).

Movement into prison is not gradual, men are remanded or sentenced to prison and transported directly from court. The prison field is also specifically designed to produce a mismatch with the prisoners' habitus and embodied capital. Bourdieu borrows from Goffman, calling the prison a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961:11). The practices within this field, such as the strict imposition of rules for rules' sake, and separation from family, are designed to "deculture" or break down an individual's habitus. The habitus is then "recultured" or rebuilt by socialisation within the institution, to be more closely aligned with the objective structures of the new field (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977:44).

Friedman's (2016) research concerned upwardly mobile individuals. By comparison, the fathers in this project were moving downwards fast into a field which was designed to destabilise their habitus. Unsurprisingly, rather than a smooth transition between fields, these men found themselves in a very uncomfortable position "between two worlds" (Bourdieu, 1999:511). In this conflicted position, Bourdieu theorises, and others empirically confirm, an individual engages in more reflexivity (Ingram, 2011; Reay, 2015). Bourdieu argues that those who occupy 'awkward positions' in the field, are more likely 'to bring to consciousness', that which for others is 'taken for granted', because 'they are forced to keep watch on themselves' (Bourdieu, 2000:163).

The fathers in this project moved into a field which although it contained elements of the street field with which they were familiar, for example displays of hypermasculinity, was totally different in its regulated discipline and restrictions. Economic capital is of limited value in prison, and not transferable. The social capital invested in belonging to or being affiliated with a gang is useful in prison, but other social capital is devalued. Most types of cultural capital not specific to the field are also not prized. However, “negative symbolic capital”³⁰ has an enhanced value in prison. The fathers’ habitus, formed in their birth family, was generally far removed from the total institution of prison. Bourdieu terms the abrupt radical disruption between the field and habitus the ‘hysteresis effect’ (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). As a consequence

... practices are always liable to incur negative sanctions when the environment with which they are objectively confronted is too distant from that in which they are objectively fitted. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977:78).

Some fathers had already experienced this dislocation between habitus and field; when their original habitus socialised in their birth family encountered the street field. For these men, this led to a strong feeling of dislocation and their habitus made adaptations in order to be more aligned with their new field. Bourdieu postulates that this alignment can happen through “new experiences and via conscious, intentional self-fashioning or pedagogic effort” (Friedman, 2016:231). Bourdieu labels this socialisation of the habitus in two very diverse fields ‘habitus clivé’. It leaves an individual feeling like they are “caught between two worlds and their irreconcilable values”(Bourdieu, 2007). When these individuals with a habitus clivé enter another very different field, especially the total institution of prison, they are further challenged. The concepts of hysteresis and habitus clivé have not previously been researched

³⁰ The recognition of having a reputation or status that is “anti-social, stigmatised or even illegal” (Barker, 2013:362).

within the Corrections environment, but there are studies in education, and in social and occupational mobility (Abrahams & Ingram, 2013; Friedman, 2016; Ingram, 2011). The empirical findings and theories from these different contexts will guide the exploration of the habitus of the imprisoned fathers in this project.

Ingram looked at how moving into the new field of grammar school (Ingram, 2011, 2018) affected the habitus of working-class boys. To make this move, the boys needed to “develop ‘ways of being’ - internalising ways of thinking and feeling within two main fields.” (Ingram, 2018:170). Although these boys were making a voluntary and positive movement into a new field, it usually came with a psychic cost. This is because psychological stability is more likely when habitus and capital are aligned with the field. (Ingram, 2011; Reay, 2002). Misalignment leads an individual, at the very least, to experience a strong feeling of not belonging, or being out of place. The psychic cost for the imprisoned fathers in this project was much higher. They were experiencing enforced downward mobility to a new field.

The following section employs Bourdieu’s umbrella concept of a habitus *clivé* and extends this by looking specifically at how habitus are interrupted. This is done using a theoretical framework empirically developed by Ingram (Abrahams & Ingram, 2013; Ingram, 2011, 2018). Employing this framework allows some insight into the fathering of four men whose habitus were characterised by different forms of misalignment with the prison field.

9.2.2 Disjunctive habitus.

Ant and Connor had ‘disjunctive habitus’. The dispositions in their original habitus were so far removed from those required in the prison field that they either abandoned their original field or rejected the prison field (Ingram, 2018). The sets of schemes of “perception, conception, and action” in each field were seen as alternatives (Ingram, 2018:67) and they had the reflexivity to choose one or the other.

9.2.2.1 Abandoned habitus - divided from the family field: Ant

Ant has five children under eight, to three different mothers. Unlike many of the other men in this project, Ant's own father is his role model for fathering. Ant is one of ten children, and although his father's discipline was "hard" with the boys, he spent time with all his children. Both Ant's parents worked long hours to support their family and the church was important in their lives. Ant's habitus was shaped in a birth family where caring for your children was highly valued. Ant continues to have a good relationship with his father and his siblings. He worked as a mechanic, and before his arrest lived with two of his children and their mother. Ant maintained a relationship with the mothers of his other children, and before imprisonment spent some time each weekend with all his children together. Ant had issues with both drug and alcohol dependency. This was his second imprisonment. Both charges were for physical assaults following excess alcohol consumption. His previous imprisonment was for eight months, during which time his children visited him only once. Ant and his children found the separation at the end of the visit distressing and he arranged no further visits. He occasionally wrote to or phoned his children, but found even that "didn't feel right". Ant's habitus formed in his hard working, church-going family was challenged by the prison field. His habitus was established in a field more removed from prison than many of the other fathers in this project. In Ant's family, children were nurtured and not abused. His feeling of 'being a fish out of water' in this new field was strong. To minimise the feeling of discomfort during his last sentence, Ant reduced his contact with his family.

At the time of this project Ant had been in prison for two months on remand, and was expecting a longer sentence. He understood from his first prison sentence, that providing and caring for his family as he was accustomed to was impossible in the prison field. Ant's habitus was so misaligned with the new field that he believed the only way to survive was to abandon his original field and isolate himself completely from his family (Ingram, 2018: 65).

Researchers noted similar displays of reflexivity when there was a strong disconnect between the habitus and field (Ingram, 2011; Reay, 2002).

Easier to (pause) kind of yeah sort of cut them off for the time in here and then (pause) cause it's like when they're unhappy makes you unhappy. And it makes life harder in here cause this is not the place to be ... You've just got to watch yourself in here, you can't take your anger out on other people...So, it's better to cut it, like not see them, it takes a bit of weight off you.

By “cutting himself off” from his family, Ant was able to renegotiate his habitus in line with the structures of the prison field (Ingram, 2018:65). He could focus on his marginalised masculinity. He felt being able to present himself as aggressive and tough would help him to survive in this field. The hierarchy and hypermasculinity of the prison environment required most men to put on “fronts” and “mask” their true feelings (Crewe, 2014; Jewkes, 2005). The underuse of bureaucratic power and the prevalence of gang instituted prisoner-on-prisoner violence made this especially relevant at MECF (Fitzharris, 2015).

Just find it like easier to (pause) to cope with the people in here. Like cause it's hard even if you ring home...and you're so helpless, like you can't really, you want to help them but you can't cause you're stuck in, stuck behind bars...Like if they needed anything, if they were struggling, I couldn't do nothing. And then like that would make me angry in here. Cause I can't do nothing. So, I walk around being angry the whole day. Not knowing that I'm taking it out on other people. And that's more like risking me myself, yeah putting myself at risk. So, it's better not to see them for a short moment, than them not seeing me forever.

When Ant left prison two years ago, after his initial eight month sentence, he felt he reconnected with his children quickly. However, throughout that time he had maintained some contact with his children through phone calls and letters. During this subsequent

imprisonment, his children were older, and the sentence longer. He had completely cut himself off from the family. “I know I’m a father, but hard to be a father when you’re not out there...I’m not really a father in here.” Ant became tearful when talking about his future relationship with his children.

Ant’s stories revealed the intellectual justification he was making for isolating himself, but this emotional and intellectual work came at a cost (Ingram, 2011; Reay, 2002). Ant’s experience showed how emotionally difficult it is when an abandoned habitus results being distanced from one’s family. Ant also bore the weight of trying to keep himself physically safe in the prison field. He believed he had no other choice than to abandon his original family field because the mismatch between his habitus and the field of prison was too great to overcome in any other way. “It’ll be hard but (pause) I’ll have to do it just to get by in here”.

9.2.2.2 Reconfirmed Habitus - divided from the new field: Connor

Connor was 39 and was born in New Zealand to Samoan born parents. He was raised by his paternal grandparents, having been abandoned by his mother in the maternity hospital. Although Connor’s grandparents were loving, and tried to care for him full time, they were aging. He stayed intermittently with his father who was drug dependent and criminally involved. Connor’s memories of these visits were dominated by the physical beatings he received from his father, dealt out for any minor misdemeanour. Connor’s grandparents died when he was in his early 20s, and he was rejected by his father when he tried to reconnect with him. As an original habitus is acquired through socialisation in the birth family, Connor’s habitus was characterised by contradictory patterns of “meanings, beliefs and behaviour” (Decoteau, 2015:305) from his grandparents, and his father, who all had an early influence on him. At 16, Connor was involved with Youth Justice, and then later imprisoned. He had several short sentences until he met his wife at 21. She already had a young son

whose father had abandoned him. Connor took over the father role, although he did not feel at ease as a father. It was another five years before they had a child together.

Kind of made me realize that I had something more than just myself to look after. I wasn't the perfect Dad then, I was still pretty bad...It was five years before we had our next son. And that was pretty hard, cause I still wanted the single life... the free life of, you know, me and the Mrs. We would just go hang out, and chill out, and get wasted, or whatever.

Involvement in the street field, using and dealing drugs, became central to the lives of Connor and his wife. Little accommodation of Connor's habitus was needed in order to become comfortable in this field, because of his earlier experience of living with his father who had been drug dependent (Moyle & Coomber, 2016). When Connor and his wife had their second child, the oldest boy, who was then seven, as a result of his parents' neglect, chose to leave and live with his maternal grandparents. Two more children were born. Connor continued to have short stays in prison as a consequence of his drug dealing. Being an involved caring father was not central to Connor's habitus. He liked to see himself as his boys' friend rather than as an authority figure. There was no indication that Connor was repeating the physical abuse he experienced at the hands of his father, but he was replicating his father's pattern of neglect. Connor seemed to realise this and told his younger boys to use their oldest brother John, who lived with their grandparents, as a role model.

He's (pointing to his oldest son on the family tree) um a rep for Ponsonby Rugby League. He's got two jobs. And I tell the others um, 'If you need a role model, John's a role model. He's what you want to be like. And I'm what you don't want to be like.'

Connor and his wife became dependent on methamphetamine, and appeared to have had even less time to care for their children.

I was too caught up in my own life. Too busy thinking what me and her wanted, what we wanted to do, what made us happy (tearful) you know? What we wanted to do the next day or the next night instead of what

they wanted to do... When I was out there life was just too much of a rush. I thought I was just too busy for the kids, and I thought I did have enough time for them, but an hour a day is not enough you know?

On his previous short prison stays, Connor's casual approach to fathering allowed his habitus to become quickly aligned with the prison field. He tried to forget he was a father and avoided all contact with his children. While in prison he allowed the hypermasculine dispositions in his habitus to come to the fore. Connor accrued negative symbolic capital through his reputation as a methamphetamine cook, his cycle of imprisonment, and his fighting ability. In the interview, he emphasised his familiarity with prison, "I've been in here many times, and I can handle this place."

His current imprisonment is different. Connor and his wife were arrested at their home, which was being used for the manufacture of methamphetamine. Their three children were taken into the care of Child Youth and Family³¹ and then placed with their maternal grandparents. At the time of his interview Connor had not been sentenced, but in contrast to his previous short stays he expected to spend at least six years in prison. Connor's children were present at the police raid on their home and were very upset at seeing their parents being arrested. Child Youth and Family³¹ have only permitted written contact between Connor and his children while he is in prison. Connor's co-accused was his wife, she was out on bail in a drug rehabilitation programme, but could still face imprisonment. The prospect of a long sentence, the circumstances of his arrest, and his wife's involvement, had left Connor emotional about his family situation. For the first time in prison Connor was finding it impossible to keep his family out of his thoughts.

³¹ Government agency that had legal powers to intervene to protect and help children being abused or neglected or those who had problem behaviours. It was replaced by a new ministry, Oranga Tamariki, in April 2017.

How I kind of figure it is like dead people are better, because you know when they're dead there's no way you can see them... But as they're outside these walls people say just treat them like they're dead. But I can't cause they're always there.

Connor was thinking constantly about his children.

Now I know where I went wrong. I know what I need to do now to um, to improve their (his children's) lifestyle, to improve our lifestyle. But now it's too late, well too late for now... I wish I knew this a long time ago.

This understanding was not just a consequence of Connor being drug free, as he had been clean in prison before. He was determined to stay away from drugs, and work hard to try and rebuild his relationship with his boys from prison. He was writing to his sons at least three times a week, but had received letters and pictures back from only one of them. He had spoken to another on his mobile phone about six times over the course of his five month imprisonment. In those phone conversations Connor said his son was "sharing a lot with me" and Connor was trying to give him some fatherly advice. Connor's overly emotional disposition - he had been tearful in the unit - was inconsistent with the field, and despite his symbolic capital, he was being picked on. For the first time in prison Connor occupied a dominated position in the field. He revealed an injury he received for not following a command from another prisoner. "I've got these scars cause I refused to do what they wanted me to do. And then in doing that I got a hiding. I got jumped". Connor had already been to hospital twice because of his refusal to be involved in fights in his unit. He had applied to be placed in the segregation unit³² away from the general population. For a patched gang

³² Voluntary protective segregation or custody unit for prisoners who fear for their safety if they are placed with other prisoners.

member this decision was humiliating, threatened his symbolic capital, and could also result in further consequences when he leaves prison.

Bourdieu portrays habitus as a dynamic concept which is subject to readjustment (Bourdieu, 2000). However, this change is usually slow and organic, and not an extreme transformation. For Connor, the circumstances surrounding his arrest and movement into the prison field were traumatic. This caused him to reject this new field. Instead of internalising the structures of the prison field into his habitus, as he had done previously, he reconfirmed the behaviour and values that were socialised by his grandparents in his original habitus (Atkinson, 2012a:747). The dispositions in this original habitus centred on caring and protecting his family, which Connor was belatedly attempting to do from prison. He was looking to the future with his children, knowing it will be many years away.

I'll try and get them into my care but it's going to be a long struggle.

Um I want, I just want the basic things in life really. A normal life with ah just having the kids around, playing with them, just mucking around with them...No drugs just a happiness sort of buzz that's all I want.

9.2.3 Conjunctive habitus.

Henry and Sam tried to incorporate the “schemes of perception” (Bourdieu, 2002:27) from two contradictory fields. They managed this with varying success, their habitus is termed ‘conjunctive’ (Ingram, 2018).

9.2.3.1 Reconciled Habitus: Henry

Henry at 49, was one of the oldest fathers in the project. He was raised whānghai from birth by his aunt in a family of nine children. He had little contact with his large birth family. Henry was physically and emotionally abused in his adopted family. From a young age he began shop lifting and drinking, and was sent to “corrective training” when he was 10. Henry “hated” his whānghai parents and left home when he was 12. He moved in with a 27-year-old woman, and they had a child together when Henry was only 12-years-old. He remained in

that relationship for ten years, sometimes working legitimately and sometimes stealing. After that relationship ended, Henry's life was a cycle of crime, prison, new partners and babies that he fathered, but had only scant knowledge of and took no responsibility for.

The dispositions in Henry's habitus were socialised initially in his whāngai family where he was neglected and beaten and from the age of 12 in his relationship with an older woman who sexually and emotionally abused him. His habitus was consistent with the objective structures in the street field he entered. In that field, home environments were characterised by sexual and physical abuse, neglect of children, family members' involvement with the police, and above all else the prioritising of marginalised masculinity. Henry had difficulty filling in his family tree and remembering his different partners and children.

I was told when I went to jail she fucked around, so I don't know if that boy is mine. But people say he is the spitting image... Well as I say those are my young, dumb and come days. (He laughs) ...Like you know, the mother was just someone from the pub... And then I stayed with them for a little bit til I went to jail, and then she left. But I got out of jail and had another one. Oh actually, no this other one, (he laughs pointing at a name on the family tree). This other one. I had another one in between as well (talking while trying to complete his family tree). Yeah... I think this boy would be about, he'd be about 25, 26. The one in between would be about... it's another girl, and I think she's maybe close to 30, maybe 28 and that's a girl.

The close alignment between Henry's habitus and field, led to his reproducing the pattern of his upbringing with his own children. Henry's marginalised masculinity was strongly tied to his fertility, not his fathering. He does not know how many children he has fathered. "I've probably got more kids than I've got fingers and toes. Yeah (he laughs) I've been around the woodworks you know? I had girlfriends, one for every day of the week you know?"

In his early 30s Henry met Jane, who he lived with for ten years, and continues a close relationship with. They have two children together, Sara and Carl. Jane's original habitus was very different from Henry's. Her birth family prioritised loving and caring for your children above everything else. Henry's relationship with Jane created a conflict for him between his original habitus of careless fathering and being neglectful of family life and the nurturing and loving he observed Jane show towards their children. Bourdieu talks about the discord between an individual's habitus and field. In later writings, he indicates that 'familial socialisation' can also lead to conflict in the habitus (Bourdieu, 1999). Habitus continues to be produced in interactions with significant others. In the new family field there was a relationally produced emotional conflict between the different habitus of Henry and Jane and their parenting practices. Bourdieu predicts such a conflict will lead to some reflexivity. Henry revealed this as he reflected on his fathering practice.

I saw, you know through other people, especially Jane. I just took a little bit from them, took a little bit from them, a little bit from them, and put it all together. And it stuck in my head. Looking after a kid is just basic instincts.

Henry incorporated some of the caring and nurturing dispositions he saw in Jane's parenting into his habitus. He also "took a little bit from them" meaning his associates in the street field. Their parenting, like Henry's, was consistent with their marginalised masculinity, and was strongly tied to providing and protecting. Henry has cycled in and out of prison throughout his children's lives. "I come to jail for my kids. What I do out there I do for my kids. The crimes I do, I make money, I try and make it for my kids."

Sara and Carl were young teenagers and the only children Henry acknowledged as his own. Jane had separated from Henry and remarried and the children lived with their mother and stepfather. Henry maintained a close relationship with Jane and his children and communicated with them almost daily when he was not in prison. Despite his children being

older, and living with their stepfather, it remained important to Henry that he had money for them. This indulgent providing was how he showed them he was their father, and that he loved them.

Cause I like that feeling like when they say?

‘Oh dad have you got some money?’

‘Oh yeah, I’ve got a bit.’

And you give them that money.

‘Oh cool.’

Henry’s habitus had been socialised in two fields; his original field where he was neglected and developed criminal dispositions and values, and the field with his wife Jane where he was a loving father and partner. Henry’s initial habitus was well suited to the prison field and his stories showed that he was comfortable in this field. He had embodied negative social capital from being involved in the street field and the criminal justice system for most of his life. Henry also accumulated economic capital in prison, through his gambling; using the currency of the prison, packets of dried noodles.

I’m a cool cat bro you know? ...Because I don’t have anything bad to say about people, you know? I don’t judge people by their colours³³ ...

Well coming in and out of jail as much as I have people know you. I let them know, fuck don’t try and give me that you know? ... I’ve been to prison all my life I’m not scared of it.

Henry maintained contact with his children during all his prison sentences. He had visits from his daughter, and phone calls and letters from both children. However, he did not feel like a Dad in prison as he could not protect, provide or emotionally care for his children.

I’m not a father when I’m in here...I’m mainly a father when I’m out there. If they were to get in trouble now what can I do as a father?

Nothing. If someone beat my daughter up, if her man beat her, what can I do as her father? Nothing... And when my kids come in I’m just

³³ Referring to their gang membership as signified by their gang colour or patch.

someone they're visiting, their Dad really, but ... if I was their Dad I'd be out there eh?

Henry was 'habituated' to his frequent movements between prison and home. He moved between the two fields without experiencing a strong sense of hysteresis. With his appropriate capital Henry was assured a relatively dominant position in the prison field. However, his position was not sufficiently dominant to allow him to show the caring and nurturing dispositions in his habitus. He had learnt to put these on hold while he was in prison. Henry resumed his emotional fathering when he was released, often spending the first week exclusively catching up with his children.

9.2.3.2 Fragmented habitus: 'standing in the spaces': Sam

Sam was a 24-year-old Māori father of a two-year-old son. This was his first time in prison, and after almost two years he was still on remand. Sam's father was a patched gang member. Sam's father had often administered discipline that was "over the top" when he was under the influence of drugs, with "heartbreaking" consequences for Sam. Looking back, Sam believed this was his father's way of helping him construct a masculinity that made him "staunch" and "ready for life". Sam left home at 15, unhappy and confused by the physical abuse he suffered from his father, whom he felt was supposed to love and care for him.

He was a bit of a bad tempered man like, like um I spose it was discipline, but... all I remember is being over the top. Especially when you're very young and he's roughing you up like another man. That's a bit, um, I mean it gets you staunch and gets you ready for life, it does. But you know it's really heartbreaking stuff. You don't know if people are there that care about you, or if they love you, you're really confused you know? Um and sometimes you hate everyone. You hate your life, you hate everyone and anyone you know.

Sam left home with little money and no school qualifications. The only capital he had was the negative social capital of having a father who was a successful drug dealer, and gang

member. With his habitus and available capital Sam could see few choices. He followed his father into a different chapter of the same gang. Sam began dealing drugs and remained in the street field until he met his partner. She was from a close-knit middle-class family, and was opposed to Sam's gang membership and criminal activities. He began to separate himself from both his gang and his family. Sam's movement away from his original social practice is consistent with the argument put forward by Aarseth, Layton, & Nielsen, (2016) - that conflicts in an individual's habitus can arise relationally as well as in new fields.

Subjectively experienced tensions in the habitus emerge not from gross structural conflicts and transitions alone, but also from the way any habitus is produced in interaction with others (Aarseth et al., 2016).

These conflicts can work to accommodate change in the habitus or inhibit it. This conflict led to Sam's reflexivity and deciding that he "really, really wanted to have a family one day". When his partner became pregnant with his son, Sam resisted replicating his father's parenting. Instead he sought to accommodate the caring, loving form of fathering he saw in his partner's family. He chose not to live with his son and partner because of his gang connections and drug dependency.

I still had bad habits, and I didn't want that in the same house as them. Cos you know, one little raid from the police, and they find the wrong stuff there, they're gonna take them away.

Sam was involved in the day-to-day care of his son, unlike his father, who was often away from the family for extended periods. He found a legitimate job to replace his drug dealing, to loosen his connection with his gang. With the support of his partner he also began trying to overcome his methamphetamine addiction.

I was just starting to get right, and put things behind me... cos I was right into the drug dealing scene, and um, you know, the violence and all that sort of stuff. And all we did was hang out with gang members

and stuff. But I was just starting to come out of that, right before I came in...slow right down on the drugs, and I wasn't dealing any.

Sam's original habitus gradually accommodated his positive fathering practices, despite continuing as a gang member, albeit a less involved one. When his son was only four months old, Sam was arrested for an earlier drug deal and imprisoned. He faced a possible sentence of five to seven years. Sam's habitus, already divided, was further conflicted by this entry into another new field. Sam's ability to father according to his habitus was restricted by the prison environment. Sam missed his son, and the fathering activities that were impossible from prison.

I miss him a lot, more than anything, and anyone. Yeah, I really adore him. I want to be there for him, and be a part of him. It hurts cos um, yeah, I would like to be there to really help out you know and stuff, like um financially, and physically, all the ways.

The dispositions of Sam's original habitus were more suited to the prison field, but this was still not a comfortable fit. Sam had never been to prison before, and although he was a gang member he was trying to loosen his ties before his arrest. However, he understood how essential the social and cultural capital from his gang membership was for maintaining his position on the edge of the prison field. This safe position ensured he was not vulnerable to violence from dominant players in the field. Sam appeared to be standing in a transitional space between the fields of prison and family. He was not fully immersed in either field, but was simultaneously on the edge of both. He was able to maintain contact with his son and partner, but not as the father he felt he was outside prison. While he was safe in prison he was not 'a fish in water' in this field either. "Operating at the boundary of two fields requires a lot of emotional work" (Ingram, 2011:300) which Sam was doing.

He (Sam's father) was right into the um hippy stuff as well, you know?
Um doing needles and stuff like that doing like heavy drugs as well.
Like he didn't know what he was doing half the time yeah. But also,

why I'm glad I kind of come in here. Cos, I don't know if I was heading that way, but, meth is a really bad drug, and I was doing a lot of that. So, I'm glad I came in, cos it's the only time you realise, you know? Because you're straight, and you have a lot of time to think... That's the kind of good thing being in prison... in a way, because before I came in I was a bit um, I just think that I wouldn't have really spent much time with him (his son), cos I would've been out doing bad things, you know. But since, I came in here, all I want to do is be a father, and be with him. It's all I think about.

Sam's fragmented habitus and standing in the space between fields appeared to have given him a greater insight into his fathering. Silva (2016b) links Bourdieu's notion of fragmented habitus, and the psychoanalytic image of individuals 'standing in spaces' (Bromberg, 2001). The concept of 'standing in spaces' is used as a therapeutic tool in psychoanalysis, for integrating the various fields pulling an individual in different directions. The relationship between Bourdieu's theory and psychoanalysis is not explored in this thesis. However, Silva and other sociologists argue that a fragmented habitus is becoming the norm in contemporary society (Darmon, 2016; Friedman, 2016; Silva, 2016a, 2016b). They believe the psychoanalytic concept of finding future paths by standing in these liminal spaces should be explored. Sam believed his reflexivity in prison strengthened his father identity and ensured he does not repeat his father's pattern of behaviour, as well as giving him a positive direction for his future fathering. Sam's parenting behaviour in prison supports this belief. He keeps in close contact with his family, ringing his partner and son at least daily, and writing to them every second day. They visit at least fortnightly as they live on the outskirts of Auckland. To prevent reproducing the deficits in his own upbringing Sam is taking parenting and anger management courses. He is also looking towards the future and is doing courses to improve his reading and mathematics so he can help his son with his homework.

9.3 Conclusion

Bourdieu writes “Habitus is not necessarily adapted to its situation nor necessarily coherent” (Bourdieu, 2000:160). However, the prison field is deliberately contrived to destabilise the men’s habitus, especially the positive aspects related to nurturing and caring for their children (Goffman, 1961). The exact form and extent of the disjuncture between the fathers’ habitus and the prison field depends on the fathers’ personal stores of capital and the “individual histories socialised and layered in their habitus through interaction with various fields” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:134). For most fathers entering prison made them feel out of place and that their lives were disjointed. While in these uncomfortable positions, men showed varying degrees of reflexivity toward their fathering practice. Bourdieu argues in these positions the habitus can generate “inventions and improvisations” (Bourdieu, 2002) to try and overcome this disjointed feeling. In this chapter the fathers’ stories, which are similar to the narratives of other men in this study, reveal the different ways they negotiated the conflicting structures in two fields. These negotiations affected how the men fathered in prison and the extent of their contact with their children. However, they are always within the limits of past experiences and schemes of thought (McNay, 1999).

When habitus and field are aligned the relationship between them has been likened to a game where the player knows the rules and is at ease participating (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For many of the imprisoned fathers in this project the rules of the game were not clear and they were not successful players. In reply to the question “Do you feel you can be a father in here?” just under half the men answered “No”. The prison field restricted all fathering and even those who had been in prison multiple times did not take their fathering in prison for granted.

Chapter Ten: The Collective Story And Knowledge Transfer

10.1 Introduction

The inspiration for this thesis was a family story about my grandfather's imprisonment at Mt Eden Prison seventy years ago. Throughout this period, he managed to maintain contact with my mother and her sisters, and on his release returned to live with them in the family home. In this thesis I have drawn on the family stories of 38 recently imprisoned fathers as a way of telling the contemporary story of imprisonment and fathering for a group of New Zealand men. Their stories have been brought together in the previous four chapters. In the first part of this chapter, the focus will be on reflecting on key findings by returning to the research questions posed in the introduction:

- How did these men father both outside and inside prison?
- What can account for their fathering practice?

While the approach taken in this thesis has been to answer these by illuminating individual case studies it is important to look beyond the individual stories of the fathers and see that their lives provide us with key themes and practices that show a similar trajectory across the sample of 38 fathers. Although many had unique life experiences they also shared the social structure of their habitus with other fathers in the project (Bourdieu, 1977) who were in most cases from the same social class and had similar Pacific ethnicity. As a result their social, cultural and economic capital was comparable as there is an interrelationship between each form of capital, and an individual's social position (Skeggs, 1997). As part of this discussion I will also reflect on the important contribution the work of Bourdieu does and can make to prison research such as was employed in this thesis. It is worth noting at this point that how these men are fathering in prison today suggests they will have more difficulty than my grandfather. Remaining involved with their children when they are released is going to be a significant challenge for many.

Prisons by definition, have always excluded and segregated, but my grandfather was imprisoned during the period of ‘penal welfarism’ when the authorities were also concerned to rehabilitate offenders (Newbold, 2007). Presently in New Zealand, policy operates in the age of ‘corrections managerialism’ where rehabilitation is designed to reduce a father’s risk of reoffending (Johnston, 2015). Any rehabilitation today is now expected to address the risk of the father’s criminogenic activities, regardless of whether this helps him fit back into his family and community (McNeill, 2004). After reflecting on the findings from this research we will, in the final section look at some of the practical implications for corrections policy and programmes that arise from the findings of this project. While this research has not tried explicitly to shape policy, focusing instead on how we can “illuminate the landscape for decision-makers”. (K. Young et al., 2002:217), it is hoped that the core findings will reach the decision-makers, such as the Ministry of Justice and the DOC. As I will show, knowledge transfer is a critical responsibility of sociologists, and is something that is also a personal passion of mine. As a result, I will explore the ways this research can make a difference, by outlining a number of proposals as alternatives to the narrow focus that drives policy at the present time. That said, I also reflect on some of the challenges this research will face in making any impact.

10.2 Answering the Research Questions

10.2.1 How did the men in this study father outside prison?

More than half of the men in this project were fathers before they were 20 years old, with some becoming fathers as young as 12 and 15. This is earlier than most men in New Zealand assume the responsibility of fathering (Statistics New Zealand, 2018b). Many of the fathers in this study had children from at least two relationships and they had different patterns of involvement with the children from these different relationships. Sometimes the men had no contact with at least some of their children from these multiple relationships,

because of unresolved Child Youth and Family³⁴ issues. Just prior to their imprisonment and participation in this project less than a third of the fathers lived with at least some of their children. These men who lived with their children were generally older than the average age of the fathers in the project. The non-resident fathers often saw at least some of their children regularly when they were not in prison. A handful of other men were either solo carers or shared their child's care with an adult other than their child's mother; the fathering performed by these men is discussed later in this section.

Nearly all the men in this project saw their primary fathering role as the same as their own fathers had been; to provide for their families. However, with no qualifications from school, few job-related skills and little economic support from their families, most men had limited choices. From an early age they drifted into working in the street field. They tended to leave the day-to-day caregiving of their children to the mothers, although many men were involved in at least some aspects of their children's care, especially when the children were small. For example, Tyrone took turns with his partner in the overnight care of their first born son. However, generally men were not able to commit to care on such a regular basis, because of their obligations to the street field and their desire to provide whatever the costs. This was especially true for men who had low levels of economic and social capital; they needed to be available for any income-generating activities. The prevalence of alcohol and drug dependency in the street field further limited these men's ability to play a nurturing father role. Substance abuse and dependency often interrupted their fathering. For example, John's young daughter was in foster care and as a methamphetamine user he was careful to only meet with her when he felt completely drug free.

³⁴ Government agency that had legal powers to intervene to protect and help children being abused or neglected or who had problem behaviours. It was replaced by a new ministry, Oranga Tamariki, in April 2017.

If I've used I won't go and visit her...I don't want her to pick up on me being out of it you know? Because it takes me even after the meth and alcohol... at least two or three weeks to even start to think properly.

Substance abuse could also lead to both unsafe fathering and neglect. Men told stories about taking drugs while their children were in the same house, although in another room. Some fathers seemed unsure if this was a dangerous practice. This emphasised their primary habitus and the way they had been fathered with an everyday exposure to drugs. Even men who felt they were involved fathers, like Paul, reflected that drugs interfered with their fathering. When he was physically present with his children his mind was often elsewhere. "I was there, but I was absent because of what I was doing. Because of the drug usage." The dependency of many of the fathers meant they had to continually engage in crime to finance their habit. This increased the possibility of their arrest and imprisonment, and further absences from their children.

When they were clean, and not working, men enjoyed doing activities with their children. They talked about taking them to the park, teaching them to ride a bike, and watching their various sports. However, for many men this was not often, and was enjoyed at times that suited them rather than their children. The street field and their drug seeking often interfered with family time. As Liam noted, "I wasn't home every evening, and there would be something crop up and sometimes I wouldn't be there for rugby, or whatever. So, there wasn't always that structured time." Men with more economic capital tried to compensate for not being there, by buying their children the latest toys, sporting equipment and clothing. However, all the fathers spoke emotionally and with love about their children, and acknowledged spending too little time with them.

The men in the gang subfield tried to keep their children separate from their gang activities. Despite a handful of men having followed their fathers or uncles into the gang, they did not want this for their own children. A few men in the gang subfield had turned

down their gang patches when they discovered they were going to become fathers. This was usually with the active encouragement of their baby's mother. Some other men who were already members when they became fathers, had returned, or tried to return their patches, again with the support of their children's mother. These men felt that gang life and family life were incompatible. This was reinforced by the hypermasculinity associated with gang membership. Men were expected to dominate the family relationship, rather than show loving emotion towards their partners or children. Patched members were supposed to be the providers not the nurturing carers. Reece told a story showing how young men would be reminded of this responsibility if they failed to provide for their family;

‘...like say if other gang members were going out doing stupid stuff, and you know their family was struggling.’

‘Bros there's no food in your family's cupboards bro, you know? But you're all good to drive around smoking whatever, you know? Hanging out with whoever. Nah nah cut that out. Get back there. Look after your family. Fill those cupboards up. Make sure your kids and everybody's got, you know? Shoes on their feet.’

Senior gang members felt it was possible to be a ‘good father’ and a gang member, but these men had more flexibility than the younger members. For young gang members with children, their fathering had to be accommodated around their commitments to their gang. As Andy explained “Family, real family always comes second no matter what. Um if you're wanted somewhere you have to be there. It's just the way it works.”

While some men were frequently absent from their families, a handful of fathers arranged their street or gang life around their children's lives. These men either shared the day-to-day care of their children with their own mother, the children's grandmother, or were the primary carers for their children. In many ways their fathering was like mothering, they were emotionally involved, and undertook the everyday basic care of their small children. They had overall responsibility for their children and made sure there was care in place when

they were working. However, in other ways their parenting showed a gendered difference, as they often emphasised their children's love of risk and adventure, and their rough and tumble play (Doucet, 2006b). The variety in fathering practice outside prison, from primary carers to drug dependent fathers, was evident in both the street field and the gang sub field.

10.2.2 How did the men in this study father inside prison?

Just under half the men in this project felt that they could not be fathers in prison. They knew they were still fathers but moving into the prison field at MECF disrupted their fathering regardless of the number of previous imprisonments. In prison the men could not enact the same behaviours that gave meaning to their fathering when in the street field. They were no longer able to financially provide for, protect or discipline their children. However, it was also challenging to fulfil the most basic role of fathering, staying in touch with their children. Most of the men managed to maintain some contact with their children, but this was often infrequent. Telephone calls were the most popular form of communication. However, they were expensive, conducted in a public space in the unit, and unsuitable for small children. Some men wrote to their children from prison. These were often men who either could not afford to telephone, or found it difficult to talk to their children directly. Writing also posed problems for fathers with limited literacy.

About a quarter of the men were visited monthly by at least one of their children. This was the least used of the three forms of contact. The difficulty of booking a visit, the strict conditions of entry to the prison, and an unwelcoming visit room environment combined to reinforce some men's decision not to allow their children to visit. However, the men and their families who managed to overcome these hurdles found that visiting was a positive experience. Matt's three young daughters visited with his partner. "They're everything to me, and to see them here, is the happiest moments of my life, you know?" In addition to normal visiting, extended family day visits were scheduled for each unit every six months. However,

at MECF family days relied on the consistently good behaviour of everyone in the unit, even those who did not have children. Most men, even those who were sentenced or had been on remand for up to two years had experienced no more than one family day. The men who had been at MECF for a family day were enthusiastic about the time they spent with their children in a more open environment.

A small group of men used every form of contact to stay involved with their children. Most of these men wrote to their children almost daily, sometimes individually, and telephoned them as often as their finances would allow. They were also visited by their children regularly. This level of contact also required the co-operation of the man's partner or the children's caregiver. These men were supported by their families in prison but in most cases also appeared to give their families support. Pat's son was in a Youth Justice facility on serious charges, but Pat continued to try and support his son and the rest of his family from prison, through telephone calls and letters.

I write all the time. I write to my son twice a week at least, down at YJ.³⁵ Send him anything uplifting, anything I can get. And then I got one of the programmes' fellas, he comes and brings me like writings from the bible stuff like that for him.

Although these men continued to father from prison they were careful to try and limit any strong displays of emotion concerning their children to when they were alone. It was acceptable to show some emotion and warmth in the visit room, but outside that space men were expected to put on a "manly front" (Jewkes, 2005:48) consistent with the dominant patterns of hypermasculinity or marginalised masculinity in MECF. Most men did not talk about their children with other men in their unit, so they received little support from other fathers. Some men, mostly the sentenced men, had attended a parenting programme while in

³⁵ Youth Justice

MECF or another prison. They had found the course useful, although, it was not specifically targeted at the difficulties they were experiencing with fathering in prison.

A couple of men tried to use their time in prison to rebuild their relationships with their children. In the street field these fathers had been drug dependent and frequently absent from their families. The men wanted to ‘reset’ their relationships while they were substance free, in one place and willing to communicate. This situation is not unusual in prison (Comfort, 2008; Edin et al., 2004). These men received no special support for their attempts to reengage with their families. Despite sending letters and telephoning these men were having great difficulty communicating with their children and partners who they had not seen regularly.

There was another group of men who refused all contact with their families. These men did not telephone, write or arrange for visits with their children. Often these were the men who had been the most involved with their children outside prison. They were the fathers who had shared the care of their children or been their primary caregivers. These men tried to remove themselves emotionally from their families while they were in prison. The reasons for this fathering decision will be explored in the next section.

10.2.3 What can account for their fathering practice?

Nearly all the men stated they did not want to father their children as they had been fathered, but despite this for most men, their fathering was similar to their fathers. Bourdieu’s Logic of Practice (1990) helps to explain this. The fathers and birth families of the men in this project had a continuing influence on their later fathering practice. These men’s habitus were shaped in their birth families. Within their habitus they unconsciously embodied “lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and patterned propensities, to think, feel and act in determinate ways” (Wacquant, 2016:65). This included patterns of masculinity which helped mould these men’s future fathering. The men were also guided by the way they experienced

family life growing up within their family field. Their fathers were the providers and had both economic and cultural capital, and generally held dominant positions as the head of the household. Their fathers also maintained discipline within the family often through violence or emotional abuse.

When the men in this project became fathers their options for fathering were generated from their habitus. Although the habitus produces an “infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable” they are also “limited in their diversity” (Bourdieu, 1990b:55) as they are adjusted to be aligned with the field they are in. For most men the family field they experienced with their own children was similar to their birth family field, where their habitus had first been shaped. This close alignment of their habitus and field resulted in the habitus generating fathering choices that the men perceived as ‘reasonable’ and ‘common-sense’ behaviours (Bourdieu, 1990b:55). These fathering options included prioritising providing over nurturing care, displaying marginalised masculinity and dominating the family field, often through violence. These are the fathering practices the men had grown up with in their birth families, and what they saw around them in the families of their extended whānau, neighbours and fellow workers in the street field.

However, not all the men continued to father as they had been fathered. There were exceptions both outside and inside prison. Some fathers’ habitus was socialised in a caring and nurturing environment with their partner and child in their own family field. The habitus does not make radical changes but builds on “previously established embodied perceptions” (McNay, 1999:18). The men who were able to gradually incorporate some of these caring dispositions into their own parenting had generally experienced the same care at some point in their childhood. Other men when they became fathers appeared to incorporate the loving dispositions from their mothers, or grandparents, rather than their fathers into their parenting. These men, like William and Peter, had been physically and emotionally abused by their

fathers, but protected and loved by their mothers. When they became fathers, they were more involved with their children, with Peter taking on the primary caregiving role for his young family. These men had to make significant shifts in their masculine habitus to allow this more hands on caring. Some of these men appeared to have adopted more inclusive masculinity practices (Anderson, 2009). They revealed this more inclusive masculinity not only in the family field, where they showed loving concern for their children, but also in the street field, where they were reluctant to engage in violence and tried to persuade others to do the same.

The use of Bourdieu's framework in this research highlighted the mismatch between the masculine habitus of these involved fathers and the prison field. The prison field of MECF required "excessive displays of manliness" from fathers so they could feel safe and "fit in" (Jewkes, 2005:46). However, this was inconsistent with the more inclusive masculinity (Anderson, 2009) these fathers had developed. The prison field provided no private spaces for fathers to talk on the phone or visit with their children. These fathers found they were unable to freely express their feelings for their children, and at the same time display the marginalised masculinity required to keep themselves safe. In response to this some men withdrew from their family. They refused all contact with their children, who they had been living with, and caring for.

The misalignment between the men's habitus and the prison field was deliberate and caused most fathers to feel ill at ease and out of place. Bourdieu calls individuals in similar circumstances 'practical analysts' (Bourdieu, 1990a:116). They reflected on their position in prison, and these fathers with disjointed habitus either distanced themselves from the prison field, or the family field, or stood in the spaces between the fields. While this allowed them to feel less out of place, it was at an emotional cost, especially for fathers who isolated themselves from their children.

10.3 Theoretical Implications of Using Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Bourdieu's theoretical framework was applied in an unfamiliar setting, the prison field, to uncover the fathering practice of the men in this project. Fathering studies are usually focused on analysing the outcome; men's fathering practice, to understand why men parent in a particular way (Ives, 2015). Instead using Bourdieu's framework, the fathers' habitus, capital and field were investigated first. The way these components intersected then provided an understanding of how these men fathered both outside and inside prison. The men's primary habitus and capital were explored in chapter six, looking at their birth families and how they were fathered. The street field most men moved into was then analysed in chapter seven by mapping both the street field, and the gang subfield within it. This was a novel way to display the men's position based on their level of capital. It also allowed a comparison of their fathering practice depending on their positions. In chapter eight the prison field was described using a theoretical framework developed by Crewe (2015). The movement into a field that was incompatible with their habitus and capital was difficult for most of the men. The resulting disjuncture in the habitus is finally explored in chapter nine, along with the reflexivity and change in fathering for some men.

The use of Bourdieu's conceptual framework made it possible to understand not only how most men continued the fathering they experienced in their birth family, but also how some men adjusted to make changes to their fathering over time. These men became sole carers for their children while at the same time being gang members, or undertaking criminal activities in the street field. These changes occurred because of mismatches between their habitus and the family field or prison field. It was evident from their stories that these men had usually experienced some love and nurturing in their birth families, even if this was overshadowed by abuse or neglect. Additionally, or sometimes alternatively, their partner had often socialised them into a different way of parenting in their family field. These men and

those in the prison field who wanted to make fresh starts to their fathering were the positive stories to emerge from this thesis.

10.4 Knowledge Transfer and Public Sociology

In *The Weight of the World* (Bourdieu, 1999) researchers interviewed not prisoners, but people whose lives had similarly been shaped by economic, social and political hardship. Bourdieu observed that when these individuals were given the opportunity to talk freely under “felicitous conditions”

...certain respondents, especially the most disadvantaged, seem to grasp the situation as an exceptional opportunity offered to them to testify, to make themselves heard, to carry their experience over from the private to the public sphere (Bourdieu, 1999:615).

There was a similar feeling among some of the fathers in this project. They received no material benefit for taking part in the research, but said they hoped that telling their stories could help future imprisoned fathers. I believe I have a commitment to these men, many of whom will still be imprisoned, to ensure their stories are heard. I can start to address this commitment by answering two questions posed by Michael Burawoy in 2004, while president of the American Sociological Association. He called for sociologists to become more involved with public sociology, which he defined as an “engagement with diverse publics about public issues” (Burawoy, 2005:20); Burawoy invited sociologists to consider two questions when thinking about their research. The first is; “knowledge for whom?” When posed for this project, the question becomes: should the findings of this research remain within the university, and with the fathers who asked to be sent a summary? Or should it be made more widely available? For example, to the public, the DOC, and the policy arm of government? The answer to this question seems clear to me; it needs to be heard by the widest audience possible. These stories have an important contribution to make, especially to challenging misconceptions and myths about fathers in prison. The second question raised by

Burawoy is; “knowledge for what?” This leads on from the first question. If the research is disseminated to the public, what should its purpose be? Is it intended to prompt general public discussion about the problems of fathering in prison, or to go further, and promote policy change through public debate? The answer to Burawoy’s second question is also clear. The purpose of the knowledge I believe is to promote change and to improve the lives of those who are not receiving social justice. But how can this be achieved? One way is by publicising the findings from this research to prompt discussion, and by listing programme and policy implications that emerge from the findings. A second is to open dialogue with policy makers with a view to influencing their thinking and practice. Burawoy (2004) differentiated between public sociology and policy sociology. He defined policy sociology as finding answers to problems that have already been clarified by the client. There was no client clarifying the problem in this project, because there was no support for this research from the DOC. Therefore, I am in a unique position to bring the results of this research to the attention of key policy makers without being beholden to a government funded agency. Since the completion of the research there has been a change of government in New Zealand and the new government has identified a goal of reducing imprisonment by 30 percent in 15 years. So far it has given no encouragement to maintaining family relationships while in prison, concentrating instead on post-release support (Davis, 2018). However, this new government is willing to listen to new ideas and an opportunity exists to help promote a number of strategies that can reach this target. These can be seen in the findings of this research and by looking overseas at a number of international initiatives. DOC can be shown that a number of countries, including England and Scotland, have adopted policies where family ties are prioritised (Clancy & Maguire, 2017; Lord Farmer, 2017). I believe an opportunity exists from the dissemination of my findings to motivate policy makers to investigate similar family centred policies here.

My one concern with communicating this research, is that it reflects only one part of the prison field, and the family field, that of the fathers' experience. Due to MECF being taken over by DOC before the project was completed, there was no opportunity to interview any corrections officers, or children and their mothers, as had been planned. This has led to a project which is focused on the fathers and their stories. It is impossible to be neutral in research (Liebling, 2001; Lumsden, 2013) and my sympathy as a mother would often be with the fathers while I was listening to the stories of their childhoods. However, as Liebling counselled "the capacity to feel, relate and become 'involved' is a key part of the overall research task" (Liebling, 2001:474). The important thing was not to let this interfere with the analysis of the stories and the writing of the thesis. I have been determined to follow Liebling's advice to ensure my research findings have relevant practical implications despite only having the fathers' voices.

We can – to some extent describe what 'is' without always making explicit what 'ought to be', letting the data 'speak for itself'. The suspension of value judgement through the research (and most of the research writing) process may in the end be a more effective way to play a part in what 'ought to be' (Liebling, 2001:474).

10.4.1 Getting the message out there....

As this project has unfolded I continue to feel a strong responsibility to the fathers involved to make this research as accessible as possible to others. In keeping with the aim of public sociology the sharing of knowledge needs to be with the wider community, as well as with the institution involved in the administration of prisons, the DOC (Uggen & Inderbitzin, 2010). The difficulties of fathering in prison have received little public attention. Making the community aware that there are men wanting to continue or restart their fathering in prison, is important. This research was not encouraged by the DOC, so engaging with them will be difficult. At this stage there appear to be two paths for communicating this research to both

these groups; through the men's stories using the media, and through community organisations.

One method of connecting with both the community and the DOC is by telling some of these men's previously untold stories about fathering in prison. Story telling can "promote[s] empathy across different social locations"(Gamson, 2002:89). This could encourage some understanding of these men's lives, both in the community, and within the DOC. Personal stories have been used by sociologists to support both the awareness of social issues, and movement towards the possibility for social action (Chase, 2010). This is because "taking the other's perspective is a necessary step in constructive social change" (Frank, 2000:90). These (anonymous) stories could be told through the print media, social media or over the radio. A second way of publicising this work could be through community organisations who already work in this space. For example; Pillars³⁶ who have a relationship with the DOC through their many years of supporting the children of prisoners. Michael Tonry (2006:54) suggested ... "the receptivity of policy makers to new knowledge depends mightily on the existence of 'windows of opportunity' through which knowledge can pass to receptive recipients". In England and Scotland these windows have already opened (Clancy & Maguire, 2017; Lord Farmer, 2017). Through these windows have flown the already established empirical evidence for strengthening family ties while in prison (La Vigne et al., 2005; Visher, 2013). This has led to the prioritising of family relationships for imprisoned men and women in these countries through far-reaching policy changes. (Lord Farmer, 2017). The ongoing challenge is to at least unlock these "windows of opportunity" in New Zealand.

³⁶ A charity for the children of prisoners.

10.5 Practical Opportunities for Policy and Practice Development

There are four practical implications and opportunities that arise from this research that policy makers should be made aware of. The stories of these men reveal ways that policy interventions could be developed to make a difference. The first is that, despite many of these men experiencing abusive or neglectful childhoods themselves, most were committed to trying to be better fathers for their children. This was especially true for those men who, while in prison, resolved to make a fresh start as fathers. When they are imprisoned, is an ideal time for these men, who are hard to reach in the community, and the other imprisoned fathers, to receive specifically designed parenting programmes and support about how to father from the prison field. The men in this study felt isolated and uncertain about how to manage their family relationships, so help at this stage would appear to be invaluable. This should have the dual focus of helping them to father while in prison as well as teaching them relevant skills, including effective communication skills for when they are released and fathering in the community. Overseas programmes have included both community-based programmes for partners so both parents can learn the same skills at the same time, and extended visiting so the fathers can build and practice their skills in supervised sessions with their own children (Hayes, Butler, Devaney, & Percy, 2018).

Secondly, men in this study wanted to continue their involvement with their children from prison but found this challenging for many different reasons. The most fundamental of these reasons was that the DOC do not know or appear to want to know who the fathers are. There is a pervading future oriented view of prisoners' fathering, in the belief that men should resume their fathering roles when they leave prison. Men should in fact be identified as parents as part of their initial assessment. There are then a number of changes that could be made to facilitate a father's contact with their children. Once again overseas many of these

practices have already been introduced, including; improved visit room facilities³⁷, extended family visiting times, and visiting centres with staff trained to facilitate children's visiting (Clancy & Maguire, 2017; Woodall & Kinsella, 2018). Apart from improving family relationships and men's parenting skills, these programmes have other positive outcomes, including less contraband being brought in by visitors, and better behaviour in the visit room (Clancy & Maguire, 2017; Woodall & Kinsella, 2018).

Thirdly, we need to recognise the effect that drug and alcohol abuse and dependency has had on these men's fathering. For many men this made their fathering at best intermittent and at worst hazardous. Drug and alcohol programmes in prison and the community should be prioritised for fathers, especially when they recognise its detrimental impact on their fathering or relationships with their children. The final implication concerns the Māori fathers in this project, most of whom made few references to growing up with any knowledge of Māori cultural values or practices. For different reasons dating back to colonisation and urbanisation (Te Wairereahiahi Young, 2014) this intergenerational transmission of culture had broken down in their families. This denied these men access to a form of both cultural capital and social capital that may have helped them become supported and aided through access to their wider whānau. A few men had been raised as whāngai but this had not enhanced their tribal knowledge, and they viewed the practice negatively as it separated them from their birth family. These men had no knowledge to pass on to their children. There are tikanga-based³⁸ programmes in a few prisons but these need to be more widely available. While fathers, especially Māori and Pacific fathers, are imprisoned in New Zealand without

³⁷ Pillars a charity for children of prisoners in New Zealand already maintain and staff a family friendly visit room at Christchurch Men's Prison and Invercargill Prison.

³⁸ Customs and traditional values.

their status as parents being acknowledged, or their relationship with their children actively encouraged we are failing both them and their children. There is empirical evidence for strengthening family ties while in prison (La Vigne et al., 2005; Visher, 2013) and unless we make changes the intergenerational cycle will continue, as Liam fears it will for his three sons.

‘I was in jail 5 years ago and this young boy comes up to me and goes
‘Um you were in Pare³⁹ about 1998 eh?’ and I said
‘Yeah’ and he goes
‘I came into family day. You were my father’s next neighbour’.
There was a generation... you know what I mean? Like I’d been coming
and there was a man that I knew well and now his son was in. So, there
was two generations but that... stuck with me you know? That father
son thing. Well, and fuck I’m still here in two generations. Sort of
what’s going on so I mean crazy crazy mate gotta change.
Can’t do it no more.

³⁹ Paremuremo, a medium and maximum security prison outside Auckland.

11.0 Appendices

Appendix A: Types and frequencies of father's contact with their target child^a and all their children^b during the previous two months.

Levels of contact frequency	Telephone calls (%)		Letters to (%)		Visits (%)	
	Fathers' contact with 1 of their children (n=38)	Fathers' contact with all their children (n=103)	Fathers' contact with 1 of their children (n=38)	Fathers' contact with all their children (n=103)	Fathers' contact with 1 of their children (n=38)	Fathers' contact with all of their children (n=103)
0= never	34	53	37	60	68	81
1= less than once a month	13	7	21	9	8	6
2= at least once a month	5	10	13	10	5	4
3= weekly	18	10	11	8	8	3
4= daily or almost daily	30	20	18	13	11	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

This table shows two sets of information to allow comparison. The first column for each type of contact, shows the percentage of fathers using that form of contact with their target child. It is common in these studies to collect data on only one child, generally chosen by the father. In this project data was collected for all the father's children. The second column shows this data on contact from all the children of each father. These columns reveal distinct differences in involvement.

^a Child under 18

^b Children under 18

Appendix B: Frequency of contact between imprisoned fathers and their children (under18) during the previous two months.

Type of contact	Father's contact with their children measured by child ^a (n=103) Mean	Father's contact with their children measured by family ^b (n=103) Mean
Telephone calls	1.42	1.54
Mail	1.04	1.24
Visits	0.58	0.70

This table reveals the average amount of contact between fathers and their children during the previous two months in prison. When averaged every form of contact is comparatively rare occurring at a frequency of less than monthly. The individual child was used as the unit of analysis on the left-hand column of this table. This does give extra weight to families with several children but it also fairly reflected the variation in relationships and contact for each child within the family. Sixteen fathers had children from two or more relationships. They had often not maintained these family connections and had quite different patterns of involvement with these children. To balance this in the right-hand column the family results are recorded, giving families with more than one child a weighting (for example 0.5 for families with two children). The mean averages are similar regardless of the unit of analysis, child or family.

^a Scale range was: 0 = never, 1 = less than monthly, 2 = at least monthly, 3 = weekly, 4 = daily or close to it.

^b Scale range was: 0 = never, 1 = less than monthly, 2 = at least monthly, 3 = weekly, 4 = daily or close to it.

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