



PRISON AS A SOLUTION? – THE PRINCIPLES OF ECO-FEMINISM APPLIED TO THE SOCIAL REINTEGRATION OF WOMEN DETAINEES¹

Helena Ferreira²

| 245

ABSTRACT

The aim of this investigation, born within activism, is to present an alternative to the current prison services that requires radical transformations in society. In other words, it aims to replace the space currently occupied by prisons with new institutions that will work to expel the prison from our social and psychic landscape. This project focuses on organizations in open spaces that prioritize the social well-being of female detainees and their families: eco-villages. Besides contributing to the global motion towards a society of sustainable communities, eco-villages promote social reintegration and solve the issue of severe poverty amongst female inmates. These eco-villages, built from the remnants of abandoned villages, on the principles of eco-feminism, provide an opportunity for women to overcome unfavorable conditions and build better lives for themselves and their communities – while contributing to the construction of a fairer, more sustainable democratic society.

KEYWORDS:

Prison; women; social reintegration; eco-villages; eco-feminism.

Introduction

In modern society, prison – designated by Goffman (1988) as a “total institution” – is the main mechanism for punishment and care within the criminal justice system. The length of time spent in deprivation of liberty and rights characterizes the effective penalty degree for “deviants” (Cunha, 2010) in practically every country. In other words, it is “the temporary enclosing of a free citizen in a determined physical space in order for them to learn how to live freely in the future” (Lopes, 2017, p.154). A paradox, then.

Even those who claim to be anti-prison think only of system reforms, intended to improve living conditions for those who are in prison. Abolishing prisons is unthinkable for the vast majority of populations. Prisons are considered “natural”, whereas the ideas of abolitionists are considered “unrealistic and impractical at best, and, at worst, myths and nonsense” (Davis, 2003, p.10). Foucault (1999) emphasized the great inconveniences of prisons, and considered them useless and even dangerous, but could not see a reasonable replacement for this despicable solution. Angela Davis shares this line of thought. Life without prisons is unimaginable for Davis, even though she believes there is a lack of courage to face the lives happening inside them – which means they are simultaneously present and absent from our lives. In other words, prison is something meant for “others”, those who act against the law, and it therefore frees us from them while simultaneously freeing us from the responsibility of having to think about the real problems of society – those that lead to individuals being arrested every day.

¹ Paper presented during the 7th International Congress on Cultural Studies: Gender Performativities in Democracy Under Threat..

² Ph.D. Candidate in Cultural Studies, University of Aveiro. E-mail: helenacarlag@gmail.com

However, prisons have nevertheless been proven not to be a factor in reducing antisocial activity. Quite the contrary: in some cases they favor its increase. Prisons are a system of liberty deprivation that does not rehabilitate prisoners and makes them less and less fit for social life; that is, a system that does not achieve its proposed goals (Kropotikin, 2012).

246 | Still, populist speeches are bound to emerge in a democracy under threat: the extreme dramatization of violence, the call for a close war against crime with the assurance of a hardening in penal practices and public security policies, entailing the creation of new, harsher forms of punishment and devaluing human rights, regarded as privileges for “bandits”. According to Caldeira (2000), these discourses are associated with three central strategies: the first denies the humanity of criminals, relying on stereotyped representations, in terms of the fight for good against evil; the second consists of associating the increase in crime with the efforts of democratic governments to impose the rule of law, control police violence and reform prisons; and, lastly, the third one consists of claiming and arguing the so-called humanizing policies for prison establishments would be nothing more than ways to grant privileges to miscreants.

For Bauman (1999), this discourse, supposedly about more effective public security policies, with promises of a new legislation that will multiply and amplify sentences, increases the popularity of candidates and governments because it conveys an image of austerity, severity, capacity and, above all, commitment to citizen well-being and the country’s economic prosperity. Therefore, they are extremely dangerous in the context of postmodern reality - that should already be discussing possible solutions to end criminality and make current prison facilities obsolete.

Prisons in Portugal

According to the World Prison Brief, in Portugal there are forty-nine prisons of different types: 17 called “central”, which are usually large and destined for prisoners sentenced to more than six months; 27 “regional prisons” for prisoners sentenced to less than six months; four “special” prisons for prisoners in need of special attention, such as women, juveniles, police officers and the sick, and a “support jail”. In June 2020, 1153 people were detained, of which 761 are women – that is, 7.0% of the total prison population and 7.4% per 100,000 inhabitants (WPB, 2020).

The Portuguese prison system is a fragile one, which has been overlooked and “left to its own devices” by the political class over the years. This means each establishment has its own set of rules, without any attempts at administrative or legislative standardization regulated and/or ensured by such entities as courts or police forces. These problems lead to the stigmatization of prisoners and all those who work in prisons. Even though prison statutes establish all minimum requirements for all basic standards of human dignity to be met, in reality, the report of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, resulting from a visit to Portugal from September 27 to October 7, 2016, revealed that prisons offer terrible safety, hygiene and health conditions. In addition, they are overcrowded, not least because Portugal has the highest average prison time in Europe. Facilities are dilapidated and poorly cared for and detainees often have to sanitize their cells with their own cleaning products, when they can purchase them (COE, 2018).



Female prisoners are housed in institutions or units that are separate from male prisoners and were specifically created to meet their needs. Concerning food, prison statutes stipulate that three meals a day and a supplement must be provided. However, food quantity is inadequate and its quality is very poor, not least because contracts with meal providing companies establish an average of 4 euros per detainee and there is no quality control or inspection. Meals are often cold when they reach the cell.

With regard to communication with the outside world, regulation states all prisoners are entitled to one five-minute telephone call a day, except for situations that will have to be authorized by the warden. But some prisoners always have phone cards and others cannot buy them. Nowadays, obviously, there are countless cell phones purchased on the prisons' very own black market – again, only for the privileged. Prisoners are also entitled to one-hour visits twice a week. In practice, due to security procedures at the entrance, this time can be reduced to fifteen minutes. Entry is limited to three or four adults and the visits have little privacy, as the guards can hear all conversations. In exceptional cases, conjugal visits may be granted. They are used as “prizes” for good behavior, as a symbol of power for those who allow such visits to occur – that is, prison guards. Leaving the institution under escort requires special authorization by the wardens, who practically only grant it so that detainees can attend funerals of direct family members. This power is also used to punish prisoners who may be prevented from attending funerals due to their bad behavior. Situations when legal and emotional relationships do not coincide, for example the death of an unmarried partner, may pose a problem as they are not covered by law (Dores, Pontes & Loureiro, 2013).

Although Portuguese legislation foresees the creation of inmate employment programs in different fields, reality is that most available work is institutional cleaning. Employment opportunities are insufficient, which means prisoners spend their days in aimless idleness and are unable to acquire the necessary skills for future job market integration (Dores et al, 2013). Also foreseen by the Law is the Individual Readaptation Plan (IRP), which is to be devised during the prison stay and should aim for “the acquisition of skills that allow [the inmate] to choose a socially responsible way of life, without committing crimes, and provide for their needs upon release” (Law 115/2009). In practice, the IRP is just a formality and generally not implemented.

Women in Prisons

Punishment has always varied according to gender, even though, until the early 20th century, in Portugal and the rest of Europe, women shared the same spaces as men, in collective and mixed prisons, and were therefore subjected to various kinds of violence (Henriques, 2017). Before that, as Angela Davis (2003) rightly states, women were usually punished in private. Female punishments took place in domestic spaces and were carried out by family members such as husbands, parents and even brothers, who could keep women imprisoned in their homes or apply more severe punishments, such as corporal punishment. Since women had no rights or any public position under the law, they could not be punished by being depriving of their rights through imprisonment. Thus, women were punished for their failures against domestic duties committed in private, in their homes, and never for violating public laws, since they did not have a responsible public life. Therefore, domestic corporal



punishment has survived in time, even after these modes of punishment became obsolete for men. This is why we still talk about “culture” when talking about domestic violence in present day.

248 |

Also according to Angela Davis (2003), women were detained in psychiatric institutions in far greater proportion than in prisons. This means that the dominant institutions for the control of women have been mental institutions and while “deviant men have been constructed as criminals; deviant women were constructed as insane” (Davis 2003, p. 66). This fact is also related to the low presence of women in public space. When women expanded their participation in social space, there was talk of an increase in female criminality, as women started to have more opportunities to (also) commit crimes, and thus, facilities for female criminals started to appear.

In women’s prisons around the world, sexual abuse is a constant, though unrecognized, form of punishment women are subjected to. This is an aspect of prison life that “women can expect to find, directly or indirectly, regardless of the institution’s regulations” (Davis, 2003, p.80). Sexual abuse is rendered unfeasible and often perpetrated in customary practices such as intimate inspection. This means the State is directly involved in the sexual abuse routines carried out by guards and other prison officials, including the regulatory procedures that lead to them, such as intimate examination and body cavity search.

It is this same State that establishes, in Portugal at least, that the particular needs of women should be considered. Therefore, in female prisons, conditions exist for children up to 3 years of age (which can go up to 5 years, with authorization special), to be able to live with their mothers (Law 115/2009). The number of children in these conditions is unknown, but in some prisons there are areas specially equipped for children, as well as specialized staff to care for them. Legally, fathers can also have their children with them, but in practice this does not happen (Dores et al, 2013). Reality is, despite all efforts, prison services never provide the right conditions for women to maintain close relationships with their children and family in general, while they also fail to take into account the need for other special conditions concerning gender, such as special health care, for example, or access to specific products such as sanitary pads and tampons. According to the law, all services and products must be provided, but in practice, they do not always arrive when they are needed.

An Alternative to Female Prisons: The Principles of Ecofeminism

The ideal would be to (re)build a society that did not need prisons. However, it seems we are still far from that and, as such, we agree with Angela Davis (2003) when she argues we should set aside the ambition to discover a single alternative system to prison services, but consider a series of alternatives that require radical transformations in society. And, like her, we claim to fill the space now occupied by prisons with new institutions that, in some way, will expel the prison from our social and psychic landscape. In this case, it is still important to note this is a reparative alternative, that is, the law here is no longer criminal but becomes reparative; the transgressive woman is not a “bad criminal”, but a debtor – a person responsible for their actions that assumes the duty of reparation towards society. For this reason, we chose to include the principles of eco-feminism, which aims at coexistence without dominants and dominated, complementation and never exploitation. This way, the



cultivation of collaborative relationships would begin, without linking hierarchical and power relationships, thus directing thoughts towards political, economic and social equality.

Eco-feminism is understood here as a movement that claims for women's equality and autonomy, implementing feminist policies while keeping a strong ecological sense - but not in the essentialist sense that defends women are closer to nature due to their biological characteristics. Quite the contrary. The reasoning coming from Puleo (2011) is constructivist, in the sense that it defends the participation of all human beings to face the current environmental crisis and that gender equality, linked to an ecological conscience, is fundamental in caring for other human beings, activities that will also have to be performed by men. This eco-feminist conception only seeks alternatives in the face of an alienated and consumerist world that has led to nature destruction, environment degradation and, above all, to the suffering of human beings affected by climate change, indiscriminate use of chemicals, water scarcity and the inability to access biological products.

Female inmates, in addition to being victims of all this, are also victims of a system that values incarceration as a solution to crime. Here, they may take on a role of active subjects in the preservation of nature and the environment as well as in the abolition of a penal system that has been unsuccessful. Furthermore, with regard to women who have been imprisoned, it must be said that the stigma of being ex-prisoners, associated with sexism, sexism and stereotypes, contributes for power to remain male and for feelings of female inferiority and submission to intensify.

It is also worth considering that, like Martins (2008), we believe capitalism to be amongst the main causes for the extreme poverty, deprivation and social marginalization of a large part of the population, because it excludes it both from the over-competitive job market and the enjoyment of production. This creates a marginalized class that, when looking for survival strategies, collides with established social order and violates the law. According to Martins

(...) the poor insist on being part of that which does not want them but as victims and residual beneficiaries of their possibilities. In these strategies, not always compatible with the common good, in the use of the illegal and antisocial by the victims, the whole of society is reached and compromised on the understandable actions of survival by those to whom it does not offer an appropriate alternative of life. Because, make no mistake, capitalism that expands at the expense of limitless reduction in labor costs, debiting the price of progress without ethics or principles on the accounts of workers and the poor, privatizes gains which are in this case unjust and socializes losses, crises and social problems. Through different paths, these deformations spread, penalizing everyone and not just some, even the main beneficiaries of this mode of producing and accumulating wealth (2008, pp.10-11).

In fact, the vast majority of female workers, in situations of extreme poverty and discrimination, are subjected to precarious work, in precarious conditions, with wages that do not cover their basic needs. To try to escape these situations they enter the world of criminality that leads them to prisons. Incidentally, this is exactly what Henriques (2017) concludes: women prisoners have low economic conditions and low educational qualifications, and the vast majority are in prison for crimes related to drug trafficking.

The goal, therefore, is for women to seek, "with intelligence, their path of pleasure, equality and autonomy" (Puleo, 2011, p. 23). The movements of poor indigenous and rural women



in Latin America seeking sustainability give us a great lesson and we must learn from them. The idea is a critical eco-feminism that claims ideals of autonomy, equality and freedom.

Unpoliced Prisons Are Already a Reality

250 | In Brazil, since 1972, a model has been implemented that, in some way, holds detainees responsible for their acts and for the duty of reparation to society. The Association for the Protection and Assistance of Convicts (APAC)

is a non-profit legal entity, with the objective of assisting Justice in executing the sentence, recovering the prisoner, protecting society by helping victims and promoting restorative Justice (FBAC, 2016).

Its main philosophy is “kill the criminal and save the man”, using the twelve-element method: 1. Community participation; 2. *Recuperando*³ helping *recuperando*; 3. The work; 4. Legal assistance; 5. Spirituality; 6. Health assistance; 7. Human Valorization; 8. The family; 9. The volunteer and the course for their formation; 10. Social Reintegration Center – CRS; 11. Merit, and 12. Liberation Journey with Christ.

The first APAC was born in São José dos Campos (São Paulo) in 1972 with a group of Christian volunteers led by lawyer and journalist Mário Ottoboni. The acronym originally meant “*Amando o próximo, amarás a cristo*” – Loving your neighbor, you will love Christ, because, in fact, God was seen as the source of everything. It was only in 1974 that APAC – Association for the Protection and Assistance of Convicts was created as a legal entity, because it was necessary to respond to all the difficulties and vicissitudes faced in prison services. APAC’s main objectives are to humanize prisons, prevent recidivism and provide conditions for detainees to recover and achieve social reintegration.

There are about one hundred APAC units throughout Brazil and abroad: Germany, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Chile, Singapore, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Slovakia, United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Hungary, South Korea, Mexico, Moldova, Uruguay, New Zealand, Norway, Holland and Italy. The APAC model was recognized by Prison Fellowship International (PFI), as innovative and an excellent alternative to humanize prison services, since all detainees are seen as recoverable and considered reliable. They are even entrusted with the keys to the premises and relied upon to comply with the rules without the presence of police. This system has numerous advantages: it administers a dignified and humane treatment to detainees, it has adequate facilities for the number of occupants, it leads to a decrease in costs with prison services and a decrease in the rate of recidivism of detainees, it steers them to create ties in family relationships and leads them towards reintegration into work and social environments. But it also has a few problems: it imposes spirituality as an entry requirement, it regards itself as a privilege and uses the common prison system as a threat whenever detainees rise up, it has the explicit goal of religious “conversion”, it severely underpays detainees for their work, among others (Grossi, 2018).

³ Literally, “recoveree”, i.e., the person undergoing a recovery process. APAC uses the Portuguese word in its official online communication.



The detainees, called *recuperandos*⁴, have a lot of responsibility in managing the facilities, which all bear a sign at the entry that reads “Here comes the man, the crime stays out”, a sign of humanization and, mainly, of a fight for difference and change in the obsolete prison system we currently have.

Utopia Is Feminist: Women as Subjects of Action

| 251

Far removed from the APAC model, the principles and assumptions of our worldview and what we want to transform or achieve are present when choosing the alternative proposed in this project. This vision determines the capacities that will have to be developed and the practices that will have to be carried out. The most important aspect of this alternative is the starting point, which is the idea that women are the subjects of action, of transforming their own reality of prisoners/oppressed and that this is marked by the liberation from the occasional situation of detention, on the one hand, and, on the other, and perhaps more importantly, the possibility of autonomy and sustainability in a capitalist patriarchal environment that has always led them to the position of subordinates. It is intended to foster a critical sense that questions the established power relations and values the experiences, perceptions and knowledge of each of the women detained, so that they can transform their reality and respond to their daily needs. It assumes the constitution of women as political subjects as the determining factor in changing the relationships of exclusion and discrimination and that this occurs through emancipation, which is achieved through the feminism/eco-logy alliance that leads to sustainable projects and collaboration/inclusion.

Implementing a new project is never easy. Implementing a project of this scale is extremely difficult and complicated. We must be aware of this. The first step is to admit to wanting to replace prisons not solely because this model is ineffective, but because we want a new society. The second step is to recognize women prisoners as direct beneficiaries of this public policy.

Then, some practices must be put into operation and the necessary skills must be developed. The following are suggested: 1) Survey of abandoned villages and selection according to location, space, conditions; 2) Restoration of the villages, dotting them with the basic and necessary structures to house families; 3) Launching the volunteering program inside and outside prisons, with awareness and information-raising campaigns concerning the future occupation of these villages; 4) Selection of women volunteers, (initially) prioritizing women from single-parent families with small children, to prevent them from growing up in prisons or away from their mothers and to detainees in a continuous cycle of poverty and minor crimes, driven by circumstance or need. Our suggestion is to start with 20 families per village; 5) Survey of experience and knowledge of voluntary participants: what they have already done, what they know and what they will be able to do. This element is extremely important, because from there the roles each one fulfills within the eco-village can be established; 6) Training in the areas of organic farming, sustainability, permaculture, renewable energy, wastewater treatment and sustainable building; 7) Assisting and encouraging women’s self-organization processes; 8) Prompting and assisting the definition of tasks/roles: leader, manager, farmer, trader, educator, cook, artisan, etc...; 9) Providing financial support

⁴ See previous note.



for food and basic expenses for three to five years – time needed for women to organize. Such support will be adapted and readjusted, as needed, until they become independent and sustainable; 10) Promoting and assisting in the admittance to eco-villages of families whose elements are not detained; 11) Acknowledging and favoring the role of women in the production, management and commercialization of products; 12) Promoting experience exchange; 13) Fostering debates on autonomy and sustainability; 14) Working to bring consumers closer to these new producers.

Ecovillages

The first eco-villages emerged in the seventies and were considered

a microcosm within the macrocosm, as they represent a very small area – typically 50 to 400 people – with all the elements and problems of society present, which generate visible solutions to these problems, living sustainably, solving conflicts peacefully, creating jobs, raising children, providing relevant education or simply enjoying and celebrating life (Jackson, 2004, p. 2).

The ideal and fully functioning eco-village does not yet exist, because there is presently still a work in progress where there is much to learn. There are some experiences spread around the world, in completely different cultures, societies and climatic conditions, based on the same premise of challenging the paradigm of the western world that is not working – and there are some studies carried out on these experiences (Algarvio, 2010).

Eco-villages are the most favorable social contexts for putting the ecological principles of the eco-feminist movement into practice. These entail relations of equality that respect differences, opposed to gender domination, as well as the principles of environmental sustainability. These spaces aim to: decentralize power and found a non-hierarchical and democratic system; support an ecological and solidary economy and fair trade; give preference to low-impact technology that is not aggressive to the environment; prioritize local products and producers; and maintain equitable and balanced relations between genders, classes, “races” and the environment (Flores & Trevisan, 2015). Hence, the rules would have to be followed – rules that should always be adjusted over time. As of now, the rules are the following: 1) The eco-village is a democratic system and decisions are taken by consensus of all; 2) Each family lives in a private space – their home – and shares communal spaces; 3) All elements are obliged to cooperate in performing tasks in the activities assigned to them; 4) The plots (agricultural lands) are communal, meant to satisfy the needs of families in the eco-village, and the surpluses are traded in conventional markets or exchanged with other eco-villages; 5) The products sold are produced or created in the community; 6) There are the communal spaces necessary for the survival of the eco-village: school, bakery, workshops, first-aid station, etc. ; 7) The eco-village is responsible for providing educational programs for children, based on the National Education System; 8) Access to health services is guaranteed by the eco-village; 9) Sharing and mutual aid are mandatory.



In Conclusion

This alternative is not meant as a definitive answer; it is merely a way towards the goal of replacing the obsolete prison and, concurrently, of building society that is fairer and more sustainable, particularly for women – who, over the years, have been the main target of patriarchy and, in turn, of capitalism.

Some factors are pointed out that may favor an improvement in the situation of participating women, as well as of society in general: 1) Consolidation of family relationships, because there will be space and time to educate children and keep the remaining family together, if so wishing - which was something that ended as soon as a woman was arrested in conventional prisons; 2) Radical change by the participants in the relationship with other people and with nature, always taking respect and ethics into account in dealing with the environment and other human beings. This attitude calls into question authoritarian and hierarchical relationships; 3) Valuing activities developed by women (vegetable gardens, orchards, animal husbandry, home-made product transformation, handicrafts) that autonomously control the production process – previously monopolized by men – thus implicating them directly in the processes of gender equality; 4) Occupation of public space by subordinate and detained women, that is, women in a very vulnerable situation, which gives them the visibility to be able to debate with external entities (State, NGOs, society in general) over the resolution of their dilemmas, as well as the motivations that led to their detention, in other words, giving them a voice; 5) Possibility of acquiring new knowledge, skills and know-how that bring about social recognition, increasing their self-esteem; 6) Broadening the perspectives of participating women, thus increasing their critical sense and making them hold themselves to higher standards, leading them to seek new knowledge, through courses and seminars; 7) The fact that women attain, on their own, permanent remuneration, a direct result of their work, leads to their independence and autonomy, which is to say they have the ability to support themselves and those who depend on them; 8) Preservation of natural and cultural heritage (abandoned villages) and repopulation of Portuguese villages.

We are evidently in the world of ideas. It will take a big step for this to become something real, something concrete, but maybe the most important is the willingness to acknowledge that in order for there to be a reintegration of female and male prisoners in society, it is necessary to correct the conditions of social exclusion, otherwise they reoffend and return to prison (Henriques, 2018). In other words, it is necessary to provide conditions for survival of female and male prisoners. In addition, we believe that when women understand it is important they collectively organize to fight for their rights and challenge the hierarchical structures that oppress them, they will create new possibilities for an entire society.

Of course, many questions and problems can be raised to this proposal. The most evident is probably the creation of ghettos. It should be noted that this only happens if eco-villages are composed exclusively by prisoners and their families. If they are open in any way to the general community – always through volunteering, as proposed from the beginning – this issue can be safeguarded.

Almost at the end, we cannot fail to hear in our mind the argument that this project is a utopia. Yes, it is true, it is an objective utopia, with the purposes assigned by Bloch: 1. It criticizes the current reality of prisons; 2. It presents a new path, an alternative to the current prison model, outdated and obsolete, with no results to show, in a society that claims to be



and wants to evolved, and 3. It analyzes the possibility that this alternative (utopia) can work - and this is what generates the content of the utopian function: hope for a better world.

References

- Algarvio, I. C. C. (2010). *Ecoaldeias, práticas para um futuro sustentável*. (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Lisbon School of Architecture, Technical University of Lisbon. Retrieved from <https://www.repositorio.utl.pt/bitstream/10400.5/2891/1/Disserta%C3%A7%C3%A3o.pdf>
- Bauman, Z. (1999). *Globalização. As consequências humanas*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor.
- Bloch, E. (2006). *El principio esperanza* (T.1,T.2, T.3). Madrid: Trotta Editorial.
- Caldeira, T. P. R. (2000). *Cidade de muros: crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Editora 34.
- COE (2018). Portal of the Council of Europe. Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cpt/-/anti-torture-committee-urges-portugal-to-tackle-police-ill-treatment-and-the-poor-treatment-of-prisoners>
- Cunha, E. L. (2010). Ressocialização: o desafio da educação no sistema prisional feminino. *Cad. Cedes, Campinas*, 30 (81), 157-178, retrieved from <http://www.cedes.unicamp.br>
- Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?*. Canadá: Publishers Group Canada.
- Dores, A. P., Pontes, N., & Loureiro, R. (2013). *Prison conditions in Portugal. Detention conditions in the European Union*. Retrieved from <https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/Prison%20conditions%20in%20Portugal.pdf>
- FBAC (2016). Portal da Fraternidade Brasileira de Assistência aos Condenados. Retrieved from <http://www.fbac.org.br/index.php/pt>
- Flores, B. N. & Trevizan, S. P. (2015). Ecofeminismo e comunidade sustentável. *Estudos Feministas*, Florianópolis, 23(1), 11-34. ISSN 0104-026X. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0104-026X2015000100011&script=sci_abstract&tlng=pt
- Foucault, M. (1999). *Vigiar e punir, nascimento da prisão*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, Lda..
- Goffman, E. (1988). *Estigma: notas sobre a manipulação da identidade deteriorada*. Rio de Janeiro: Livros Téc. e Cient. Editora.
- Grossi, S. (2018). *Prisões sem polícia: novo modelo ou sofisticação do tradicional*. Paper presented at the 56th International Congress of Americanists, Salamanca.
- Henriques, M. R. (2017). *O Direito processual penal no direito penitenciário à luz de uma metodologia jurídica multidisciplinar* (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Portucalense University Infante D. Henrique. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/11328/2036>
- Henriques, M. R. (2018). La pena de cárcel, como paradigma de evolución, en un sistema de justicia inacabado. Trayectos, para un sistema prisionero humanista. In M. De la P. P. Ballesteros, P. G. Rodríguez & A. M. Ramírez (Eds.): *El cincuentenario de los Pactos Internacionales de Derechos Humanos de la ONU. Homenaje a la Profesora M^a. Esther Martínez Quinteiro* (pp. 1371-1382). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- Jackson, R. (2004). The ecovillage movement. *Permaculture Magazine*, University of New South Wales, 40, 1-15. Retrieved from http://www.steady-state.ca/articles/JTRJ_EV-Movement2004.pdf
- Kropotkin, P. (2012). *As Prisões*. Campinas: Barricada Libertária. Retrieved from <https://coisapreta.noblogs.org/files/2017/01/KROPOTKIN-P-As-pris%C3%B5es.pdf>
- Lei n.º 115/2009. Assembleia da República Portuguesa, Diário da República n.º 197/2009, Série I de 2009-10-12.
- Lopes, J. M. (2017). Pensar, hoje, a execução da pena de prisão. *Revista Esmat*, 9 (12), 153 – 168.
- Martins, J.S. (2008). *A sociedade vista do abismo: novos estudos sobre exclusão, pobreza e classes sociais*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, Lda..
- PFI (2018). Portal do Prison Fellowship International. Retrieved from <https://pfi.org/>
- Puleo, A. H. (2011). *Ecofeminismo para otro mundo posible*. Madrid: Cátedra. Colección Feminismos.
- WPB. (2020). Portal of the World Prison Brief. Retrieved from <http://www.prisonstudies.org/country/portugal>

