

Children on the outside: The experience of mothering among female inmates

*Rafaela Granja
Manuela P. da Cunha
Helena Machado*

Abstract

This paper examines how the experience of female prison confinement, especially in relation to mothering, is shaped by women's different trajectories. Results are drawn from interviews with 20 incarcerated mothers in a female prison in Portugal. We aim to explore issues of identity, representations and practices of inmate mothers in a prison context.

Our purpose is to analyze motherhood as a dynamic and changing experience according to the contexts in which it unfolds. Primarily, we will focus on the biographical pathways of women prior to incarceration. Then, we will analyze how different trajectories are expressed in prison settings, and how they shape carceral experiences. We will highlight family changes, women's strategies, and new forms of experiencing motherhood that emerge from the prison context. Finally, we will explore women's future prospects regarding the relationship and involvement with their children after leaving prison. Our data suggest that traditional gender roles are reproduced insofar as mothering is given as a primary value of femininity. Nevertheless, motherhood in the prison context is affected by contradictions and tensions. While, on the one hand, there's a discursive exaltation of maternal identity, on the other hand it is difficult to act upon it, since children on the outside are being taken care of by others.

Since mothering from prison doesn't involve only mothers and their children, we also highlight how other elements are central in mediating relationships between mothers and their children, promoting or restricting the bonds between them: namely, relationships with caregivers and (re)configurations of mother-child emotional dynamics.

Key Words: Prison, mothering, pathways, women and children.

1. Introduction

Research on mothering from prison has emphasised the centrality of the maternal role in women's identities, both when their children live with them in prison¹ and when they are on the outside, being taken care of by others.² The

imposed separation between mothers and their offspring may be a constant source of guilt, anxiety and stress for the majority of inmate mothers with children on the outside and may also generate feelings of being a “bad mother”.³

Women tend to remain deeply connected to their maternal identity⁴ and try to maintain parental authority and active engagement in their children’s lives by making decisions about their future and keeping informed of their whereabouts.⁵ However, this is not possible for all mothers. If mothers’ experiences outside the prison walls are not homogeneous, we cannot expect them to translate homogeneously into a prison setting.⁶ Several elements influence the mother and child relationship. This article focuses on the relationship between mothers and children prior to imprisonment as the factor that produces varying experiences for mothers during imprisonment. The results are drawn from interviews with 20 mothers serving sentences in a female prison in Portugal, and the aim is to analyse issues concerning the identity, representations and practices of mothers in prison who have children on the outside.

The fieldwork was carried out over six-months in 2011 in a female prison in Portugal.⁷ The women interviewed (20) were serving sentences mainly for drug trafficking (35%) and property offences (35%). The sentences ranged from 2 years and 7 months to 25 years, with 90% serving sentences of more than four and a half years. The majority of interviewed prisoners came from precarious economic, social and cultural backgrounds, reflecting the trends shown in other national and international studies on female inmates.⁸ The women had very low levels of educational and social capital: 45% had not been educated beyond Year 5 and, prior to imprisonment, the majority had been dependent on the welfare system due to low incomes and high rates of unemployment. All of the women were mothers, with an average of three children each, and their ages ranged from 20 to 52 years old.

2. Mothers, trajectories and carers: (dis)connections

The female inmates’ trajectories prior to imprisonment reveal two main scenarios associated with motherhood: mothers who were the main (and sometimes the only) person responsible for their children, and noncustodial mothers who had little or no contact with their children.

The inmates whose lifestyles before prison were defined by drug abuse and continuous delinquency were not, in most cases, responsible for child care. These issues, added to a lack of resources and suitable housing, had prevented them from taking care of their children and led to the termination of parental rights when the children were young or even newly born. In some cases the mothers had taken this decision to ensure the children a more secure and stable environment than they could provide for them.

“I simply had a hard life, at the time I was homeless and on drugs, and I knew that my girl was safe and well with my mother-in-law.” Carla (aged 47, fraud, 5 years).

In other cases it was the child welfare system or family intervention that had removed the children from the woman’s care, even if the mother wanted to raise them herself. Generally, in both scenarios, the grandparents assumed responsibility for child care. When it is impossible for family members to provide care, children are placed in foster homes.

Usually, these custody arrangements lead to family conflicts. Mothers do not agree that other people should raise their children, and do everything in their power to prevent this. Conflicts then emerge, damaging relationships between the mother and the current caregivers and making any future involvement between mother and children difficult. The women’s narratives highlight how their trajectories are subsequently characterised by erratic and discontinuous contact with their children, hindered, in particular, by caregivers.

Often the physical and emotional distance between mothers and children becomes so acute that when the children reach adulthood they choose not to have any contact with their mother, since the relationship has become more distant and has deteriorated over the years. Thus, when these women are arrested their involvement with their children does not change. In these specific situations imprisonment is not the factor that has strained the relationship between the mothers and their offspring, or even the one that caused the separation. In fact, literature on the subject has shown that prison may be a turning point in problematic parent-child relationships by interrupting the parents’ destructive cycles of substance abuse.⁹

A second scenario that emerges when motherhood is analysed in association with imprisonment concerns mothers who had had close relationships with their children. These mothers were the primary or sole carers of their children, since the majority of fathers were in prison or absent from their children’s lives.

When these women are arrested there are three main possibilities for childcare, which vary according to the age of the children and “family elasticity”. This concept, used by Sandra Enos, is defined as ‘the ability of family units to accommodate additional members and responsibilities during times of crisis’¹⁰. The possibilities are: i) family members assuming childcare; ii) mothers taking children with them to prison¹¹; iii) children staying in foster care during the time their mother is in prison.

All of these possibilities are conditioned by the emotional dynamics between mothers and caregivers, social contexts and financial resources. The most common scenario is for children to stay with family members chosen by the mother (usually grandparents). Despite the potential difficulties for all involved, if harmonious relationships are maintained during the term of imprisonment, families make

efforts to maintain contact between mother and children, regardless of the costs involved.¹² However, this is not always the case. In some situations the erosion of social support networks (no relatives available to care for children) and/or overburdened families (families with limited time and resources) leads to the institutionalisation of children or to mothers taking children to prison with them, even if they would prefer not to keep them behind bars.¹³

Furthermore, relationships are dynamic elements that change over time, especially in a situation as demanding as imprisonment.¹⁴ When children are being cared for by others on the outside and the relationship between the mother and the caregiver becomes strained, caregivers may restrict the involvement between mother and child. The inmate mothers interviewed talked about restrictions created by their former partners if the relationship between the couple ended during imprisonment and the children were being cared for by their fathers on the outside. Since the fathers control the extent and all forms of contact between the children and the mother, they are able to limit access to children and deny visits.¹⁵ The mothers perceive these restrictions as a "punishment" for ending the relationship, which in most cases is at the women's initiative.

“... and I ended the relationship with him [ex-husband] and I haven't seen my children in the last three months. He won't let my family bring the children to see me.” Fátima (aged 27, drug trafficking, 4 years and 6 months).

3. Mothering from prison: reconfigurations and strategies

Having analysed how different women's trajectories translate into a prison setting and explored the consequences of family rearrangements, we will now explore how these pathways shape women's experiences of prison, highlighting the new forms of experiencing motherhood that emerge during imprisonment and the mothers' strategies for connecting with their children from prison.

Mothers who had had little contact with their offspring before imprisonment perpetuate this situation in prison, since their involvement with them remains infrequent or nonexistent. This is mainly due to strained relations with caregivers - already problematic before their arrest - or to the children's decision not to contact the mother. Despite the mothers' concerns for their children's well-being, they are surrounded by institutional barriers (now added to the pre-existing barriers created by caregivers) that prevent them from making efforts to contact them. Thus, the mothers' narratives show how little information they have about their children, in some cases knowing nothing about their lives. Sandra, an ex-addict, has not seen her 7 year old son – being cared for by his paternal aunt – for the last 5 years. The only information she has about him consists of a few photographs sent by the father of the child.

“[she] never brought my son to see me (...) it was only through [his father] that I knew how my son was (...) I’ve watched my son grow up through photos, nothing else.” Sandra (aged 25, theft, 7 years).

During their term of imprisonment, the mothers blame themselves for their absence and for never really playing a role in their children’s lives due to a history of addiction or because of their arrest. In other words, the women feel guilty for the periods in which they failed to meet the socially prescribed roles and expectations of a “good mother” by adopting the dominant notion of what being a “good mother” means.¹⁶ ‘I wasn’t a good mother (...) because I never was a permanent mother.’ Andreia (aged 52, theft, 5 years and 6 months).

Instead of resisting being labelled “bad mothers” by the agents of social control and others these mothers reproduce these ideologies.¹⁷

In prison the women draw closer to a given model of motherhood that they feel is dominant. Raquel’s narrative, comparing her life before and during prison, is illustrative of this:

“I was very young at the time, I didn’t think about life, and didn’t care about others, I was just concerned about myself. Today I think differently (...) here we learn everything. (...) I learned to be a woman, to be a mother.” Raquel (aged 20; theft; 7 years).

Raquel shows how, in prison, she learned the gender script that defines the “good mother” and, by association, the “real women”, despite being separated from her son and from other relatives. These discourses reproduce traditional gender roles insofar as they attach a special emphasis to motherhood as a primary feminine value and are hyperbolized in a prison scenario.¹⁸ They convey an idealised notion of motherhood that is impossible to achieve, particularly for marginalised women such as those in the current study.¹⁹ The strong structural constraints that define the women’s lives, both inside and outside prison, prevent them from measuring up to these ideologies.²⁰

After leaving prison, the women plan to reconnect with their children in a permanent way to make up for their absences. This process of reconnecting is focussed mainly on rebuilding relationships in order to help and support children in the future. However, these plans may encounter many obstacles. In the process of returning home, the women may find that their children’s behaviour fails to meet their expectations or that caregivers continue to hinder their involvement with their children.²¹

In the case of women who lived with their children prior to arrest, mothering from prison is a continuously complex and demanding task. Although the mothers

want to preserve, at least partially, the role they played in their children's lives – in most cases having been their main or only carer prior to imprisonment - they are surrounded by a conditioned environment that prevents them from assuming child care. Accordingly, mothering from prison is based on negotiation marked by constant tensions and contradictions. On the one hand, the women cannot measure up to the social expectations that “good mothering” includes since they are surrounded by physical, emotional and institutional barriers. On the other hand, women prisoners reproduce widespread cultural ideas about child raising that focus on the centrality of mother in the children's lives. ‘No one replaces the mother’ (Andreia). This ideology centres mainly on the belief that all “good mothers” should be the main carer of their children, regardless of the time and resources available to them.²² Thus, the tension between this ideology and what is allowed and achievable for inmate mothers creates contradictory feelings.

The children are the mothers' main concern, even when they are outside in the care of family members that the mother has chosen and trusts.

“When she goes to prison a mother who is a mother, is the most frightened woman in the world. If she is a real mother. I felt that way. I still do.” Rita (aged 28, drug trafficking, 5 years).

Despite all efforts to keep up-to-date with their children's lives, the mothers' narratives reflect feelings of guilt, powerlessness and worry about the consequences of their confinement. They also express concern for transferring the responsibility of caring for their children to others.

“Even now, even now I feel angry. I feel sad inside. I feel bitter because I didn't support her, because I was arrested, I wasn't around for my daughter. It had to be my parents who took care of her.” Margarida (aged 30, minor drug trafficking, 3 years and 3 months).

In the Portuguese context the guilt of inmate mothers, as revealed in the majority of prison studies,²³ is compounded by multiple absences in the children's lives, since a growing number of families now have several members behind bars.²⁴

As the mother is socially constructed as the main person responsible for a child's development²⁵, inmate mothers, even if separated from their children, perceive all the negative events in the lives of their offspring as the result of their own conduct. Thus, when something goes wrong in their children's lives, the mothers conceptualise it as their own fault, even though it might be related to other factors that had not been taken into consideration and are typical of the reality in socially stigmatised areas.²⁶ This sense of failure as a mother ends up undermining parental authority.

“The girl failed school this year. (...) She has nothing. Her father has already been in prison. Now I am, and my sister. I won’t punish her because in the end it’s my fault.” Cláudia (aged 35, drug trafficking, 4 years and 8 months).

Nevertheless, despite feelings of failure, guilt, and disappointment, the women are not resigned to an incomplete maternal role. They strive to stay in touch with their children and to preserve their authority. ‘I’m always present. I’m just not there physically, but I do everything I can out here to help my daughter’ (Cláudia). The mothers use several strategies to preserve their role, such as participating actively in their children’s lives by helping them in school and punishing/ rewarding them, seeking out all the available information on their well-being (through the extended family and teachers), sending money to caregivers, and constantly negotiating their role in relation to the role played by caregivers. The latter strategy implies a very fragile balance between distance and attachment. On the one hand, mothers need to allow caregivers some autonomy to handle their children’s lives, mainly to solve everyday issues. On the other hand, the mothers claim they must retain their role as the main person responsible for the children, despite the physical separation.

Thus, mother-child involvement is linked to constant negotiations with caregivers. It is not feasible for the mothers to maintain a relationship with their offspring without the consent and support of the caregivers, since they are the main intermediaries in the relationship between the mother and the children and, as we have seen, can act as gatekeepers if their relationship with the mother deteriorates.

The mothers who had lived with their children prior to their imprisonment plan to reunite with them. However, there is a need to realign family roles, responsibilities and the relationships that have been established between children and caregivers during the term of imprisonment which may interfere with the rebuilding of the relationship.

4. Conclusion

Mothering from prison highlights the experience as one that is dynamic and constantly changing according to the contexts in which it unfolds. It also shows how it is based on tensions and contradictions: on the one hand there is a discursive exaltation of motherhood, yet it is impossible to act on this, since the children are on the outside being cared for by others.

As the experience of motherhood outside prison walls is heterogeneous, it cannot be expected to be homogeneous within the prison walls. This article explores motherhood in a prison context by highlighting how different mothers’ pathways, family histories, and pre-existing relationships shape their experiences during their time in prison.

Two main scenarios were encountered, namely noncustodial mothers who had no contact with their children prior to their imprisonment, and mothers who had played an active role in their children's lives before imprisonment.

In both scenarios there are mothers who are unable to maintain involvement with their offspring. The caregivers are usually the actors who allow or restrict access to children, unless the sons and daughters are adults and decide not to continue a relationship with their mother. Thus, on the one hand, caregivers may be one of the most valuable resources for mothers, in fostering and facilitating contact and involvement in caring for their children. On the other hand, they may act as gatekeepers and restrict the mother's access to her children, actually preventing them from maintaining a relationship with them. The defining factor in these two opposing scenarios is the quality of the relationship maintained with caregivers before and during imprisonment.

Despite the differences between the women, the mothers' narratives showed a homogeneous exaltation of motherhood in a prison context.²⁷ The reproduction of these gender ideologies amplifies feelings of guilt and leads to compensation strategies for motherhood (the women are continuously engaging in ways to connect with their children). Furthermore, this ideology promotes the "bad mothers" myth, without considering that the "good mother" ideology is unattainable for the majority of women, especially those in socially vulnerable situations such as these women, both inside and outside the prison walls.

5. Acknowledgment

The authors would like to thank the Foundation for Science and Technology (Portuguese Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education) for financing this research through a PhD fellowship SFRH/BD/73214/2010.

Notes

- ¹ Cristina Palomar Vereá, *Maternidad en Prisión* (Guadalajara, Universidade de Guadalajara, 2007): 143-153; Dinora Serras and António Pires, 'Maternidade atrás das grades': comportamento parental em contexto prisional', *Análise Psicológica*, 2.XXII (2004): 413-425; Manuela Cunha, *Malhas que a reclusão tece. Questões de identidade numa prisão feminina* (Lisboa, Cadernos do Centro de Estudos Judiciários, 1994), 194 – 200.
- ² Elena H. Tuerk and Ann B. Loper, 'Contact Between Incarcerated Mothers and their Children' *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 43.1(2008): 23-43; Judith Clark, 'Impact of the prison environment on mothers'. *The Prison Journal* 75.3 (1995): 29-35; Katarzyna Celinska and Jane A. Siegel 'Mothers in Trouble: Coping With Actual or Pending Separation From Children due to Incarceration', *The Prison Journal* XX.X (2010): 1-28; Kathy Boudin, 'Lessons from a Mother 's Program in Prison' *Women and Therapy* 21.1 (2008): 103-125; Sandra Enos, 'Managing motherhood in prison - the impact of race and ethnicity on child placements', *Women & Therapy* 20.4 (1998): 61; Susan K. Datesman and Gloria L. Cales, 'I'm Still the Same Mommy': Maintaining the Mother/Child Relationship in Prison' *The Prison Journal* 63.2 (1983): 142-154; Zoann Snyder, 'Keeping Families Together: the Importance of Maintaining Mother-child Contact for Incarcerated Women', *Women & Criminal Justice* 19.1 (2009): 37-59.
- ³ Celinska and Siegel 'Mothers in Trouble', 10-14; Merry Morash and Pamela Schram, *The Prison Experience. Special Issues of Women in Prison* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press Inc, 2002); Susan Mahan, *Unfit Mothers* (Palo Alto, Cal.: R&E Research Associates, 1982).
- ⁴ Creasie Hairston, 'Mothers in Jail: Parent-Child Separation and Jail Visitation' *Affilia* 6.2 (1991): 9-27; Mary Martin, 'Connected Mothers: A Follow-Up Study of Incarcerated Women and Their Children' *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 8.4 (1997) : 1-23.
- ⁵ Celinska and Siegel, 'Mothers in Trouble', 15-16.
- ⁶ See Martin 'Connected Mothers', 1-23.
- ⁷ Santa Cruz do Bispo, in the North of Portugal. Approximately 250 women were incarcerated in this prison at that time.
- ⁸ Manuela Cunha, *Entre o Bairro e a Prisão: Tráfico e Trajetos* (Lisbon: Fim de Século, 2002), 58-77; Marta Cruells and Noelia Igareda, coord, *Women, Integration and Prison. An analysis of the processes of sociolabour integration of women prisoners in Europe* (Barcelona, European Comission, 2005), 29-37.
- ⁹ See Kathryn Edin, Timothy Nelson and Rechelle Paranal, 'Fatherhood and Incarceration As Potential Turning Points in the Criminal Careers of Unskilled Men', in *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*, ed. M. Pattillo, D. Weiman and B. Western (New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 2004), 47 – 75; Manuela Cunha and Rafaela Granja, 'Gender asymmetries, parenthood and confinement in two Portuguese prisons', in *Detained Motherhoods, Fatherhoods: Parenthood in Imprisonment and Conflict Situations*, ed. S. L. Abdallah (Aix-en-Provence, Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2012), forthcoming; Michal Shamai, Michal. "Motherhood Starts in Prison": The Experience of Motherhood Among Women in Prison' *Family Process* 47.3 (2008): 323-340.
- ¹⁰ Enos, 'Managing motherhood in prison', 61.
- ¹¹ In Portugal the allowed age limit for children to live in the institution with their mothers is three years-old, exceptionally five. For recent general regulations see Regulamento Geral dos Estabelecimentos Prisionais, Decreto-Lei n.º 51/2011 <http://dre.pt/pdf1sdip/2011/04/07100/0218002225.pdf>. Regarding children who stay with their mothers behind bars in Portugal see Manuela Cunha and Rafaela Granja, 'Care and respect: mothering, relatedness and confinement in two portuguese prisons', in *Incarcerated Mothers: Oppression and Resistance*, ed. Gordana Eljdupovic and Rebecca Bromwich (Toronto, Demeter Press, 2012), forthcoming.
- ¹² For how family members experience relative's incarceration see Aaron Smith, et al., 'Breaking through the bars: incarcerated parents whose children are cared for by relatives', *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services* 85.2 (2004): 1-8; and regarding costs of maintaining contact with an inmate see Johnna Christian, 'Riding the bus: barriers to prison visitation and family management strategies', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 21.1 (2005): 31-48.
- ¹³ See Cunha, *Entre o Bairro e a Prisão*, 208-209; and, Cunha, and Granja, 'Care and respect', forthcoming.
- ¹⁴ Christian, 'Riding the bus', 45-47; Megan Comfort, *Doing Time Together: Love and Family in the Shadow of the Prison* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- ¹⁵ To see the same situation regarding men's incarceration see Anne Nurse, 'Returning to strangers: newly paroled young fathers and their children', in *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*, ed. M. Pattillo, D. Weiman e B. Western (New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 2004), 80-84.
- ¹⁶ See Phyllis L. Baker and Amy Carson, 'I take care of my kids': Mothering Practices of Substance-Abusing Women' *Gender & Society* 13.3 (1999): 347-363.
- ¹⁷ Women in other studies, instead of reproduce these ideologies, resist being labelled "bad mothers". See Ibid.; Celinska and Siegel 'Mothers in Trouble', 10-14; Mahan, *Unfit Mothers*; Morash and Schram, *The Prison Experience*.
- ¹⁸ However, given that prisons reflect structural and historical variations, the very prominence of gender as an identity category may be highly contextual. See Cunha, and Granja, 'Gender asymmetries, parenthood and confinement', forthcoming; and Manuela Cunha, 'The changing scale of imprisonment and the transformation of care: the erosion of the

- “welfare society” by the “penal state” in contemporary Portugal’, in *Careful Encounters. Ethnographies of Support*, ed. Marcus Fletcher, and Frederika Fleischer (Palgrave MacMillan, 2012) forthcoming.
- ¹⁹ Lurdes Fidalgo, *(Re)construir a maternidade numa perspetiva discursiva* (Lisbon, Instituto Piaget, 2003): 18.
- ²⁰ Cunha, and Granja, ‘Gender asymmetries, parenthood and confinement’, forthcoming; Cunha, and Granja, ‘Care and respect’, forthcoming; Palomar, *Maternidad en Prisión*, 134-142.
- ²¹ See Anne Nurse, *Fatherhood Arrested: Parenting from within the Juvenile Justice System* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002): 72-78 about inmate-father’s reunion with their children.
- ²² Sharon Hays, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood* (Yale, Yale University Press, 1996).
- ²³ Cruells and Igareda, *Women, Integration and Prison*, 40; Kathleen J. Ferraro and Angela M. Moe, ‘Mothering, crime, and incarceration’, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32.1 (2003): 30-33; Shamai, ‘Motherhood starts in prison’, 323-340.
- ²⁴ In this study from 20 interviewed mothers 12 had, at the time of the interview, close family members also behind bars. For develop these issue see Cunha, ‘changing scale of imprisonment’, forthcoming.
- ²⁵ Hays, *Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*.
- ²⁶ Like poverty, marginalization, child delinquency. See Maria Leote Carvalho, ‘Trajectos de vida, do outro lado da cidade: pobreza infantil, território e desvio’, in *Pobreza Infantil*, org. Manuel Sarmiento e Fátima Veiga (Braga, Edição da Rede-Europeia Anti Pobreza Portugal, 2010), 117-140.
- ²⁷ See also See Cunha, and Granja, ‘Gender asymmetries, parenthood and confinement’, forthcoming.

Bibliography

- Baker, Phyllis, and Amy Carson. ‘«I take care of my kids»: Mothering Practices of Substance-Abusing Women’. *Gender & Society* 13.3 (1999): 347-363.
- Boudin, Kathy. ‘Lessons from a Mother's Program in Prison’. *Women and Therapy* 21.1 (2008): 103-125.
- Carvalho Leote, Maria J. ‘Trajectos de Vida, do Outro Lado da Cidade: Pobreza Infantil, Território e Desvio’ In *Pobreza Infantil*, organized by Manuel Sarmiento and Fátima Veiga, 117-140. Braga: Edição da Rede-Europeia Anti Pobreza Portugal, 2010.
- Celinska, Katarzyna, and Jane A. Siegel. ‘Mothers in Trouble: Coping With Actual or Pending Separation From Children due to Incarceration’. *The Prison Journal* XX.X (2010): 10-14.
- Christian, Johnna. ‘Riding the Bus: Barriers to Prison Visitation and Family Management Strategies’. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 21.1 (2005): 31-48.
- Clark, Judith. ‘Impact of the Prison Environment on Mothers’. *The Prison Journal* 75.3 (1995): 29-35.
- Comfort, Megan. *Doing Time Together: Love and Family in the Shadow of the Prison*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Cruells, Marta, and Noelia Igareda, coords. *Women, Integration and Prison. An analysis of the processes of sociolabour integration of women prisoners in Europe – MIP Project. Final report*. Barcelona: EU Research on Social Sciences and Humanities, 2005. Viewed 15 March 2011. <http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/mip_en.pdf>.
- Cunha, Manuela. *Malhas que a Reclusão Tece. Questões de Identidade numa Prisão Feminina*. Lisbon: Cadernos do Centro de Estudos Judiciários, 1994.
- , *Entre o Bairro e a Prisão: Tráfico e Trajetos*. Lisbon: Fim de Século, 2002.
- , ‘The Changing Scale of Imprisonment and the Transformation of Care: the Erosion of the “Welfare Society” by the “Penal State” in Contemporary Portugal’. In *Careful Encounters. Ethnographies of Support*, edited by Marcus Fletcher, and Frederika Fleischer, forthcoming. Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.
- Cunha, Manuela, and Rafaela Granja. ‘Care and Respect: Mothering, Relatedness and Confinement in Two Portuguese Prisons’. In *Incarcerated Mothers: Oppression and Resistance*, edited by Gordana Eljdupovic, and Rebecca Jaremko Bromwich, forthcoming. Toronto, Ontario: Demeter Press, 2012.
- Cunha, Manuela, and Rafaela Granja. ‘Gender Asymmetries, Parenthood and Confinement in Two Portuguese Prisons’. In *Detained Motherhoods, Fatherhoods: Parenthood in Imprisonment and Conflict Situations*, edited by S. L. Abdallah, forthcoming. Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2012.

Datesman, Susan K., and Gloria L. Cales. 'I'm Still the Same Mommy': Maintaining the Mother/Child Relationship in Prison'. *The Prison Journal* 63.2 (1983): 142-154.

Edin, Kathryn, Timothy J. Nelson, and Rechelle Paranal. 'Fatherhood and Incarceration as Potential Turning Points in the Criminal Careers of Unskilled Men' In *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*, edited by Mary Pattillo, David Weiman, and Bruce Western, 47 – 75. Nova York: Russel Sage Foundation, 2004.

Enos, Sandra. 'Managing Motherhood in Prison: The Impact of Race and Ethnicity on Child Placements'. *Women & Therapy* 20.4 (1998): 57-73.

Ferraro, Kathleen, and Angela M. Moe. 'Mothering, Crime, and Incarceration'. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32.1 (2003): 9-40.

Fidalgo, Lurdes. *(Re)construir a Maternidade numa Perspetiva Discursiva*. Lisbon: Instituto Piaget, 2003.

Hairston, Creasie. 'Mothers in Jail: Parent-Child Separation and Jail Visitation' *Affilia* 6.2 (1991) : 9-27.

Hays, Sharon. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. Yale: Yale University Press, 1996.

Mahan, Susan. *Unfit Mothers*. Palo Alto: Cal.: R&E Research Associates, 1982.

Martin, Mary. 'Connected Mothers: A Follow-Up Study of Incarcerated Women and Their Children'. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 8.4 (1997): 1-23.

Morash, Merry, and Pamela Schram. *The Prison Experience. Special Issues of Women in Prison*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press Inc, 2002.

Nurse, Anne. *Fatherhood Arrested: Parenting from within the Juvenile Justice System*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002.

—, 'Returning to Strangers: Newly Paroled Young Fathers and their Children' In *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*, edited by Mary Pattillo, David Weiman, and Bruce Western, 76 – 96. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 2004.

Palomar Vereá, Cristina. *Maternidad en Prisión*. Guadalajara: Universidade de Guadalajara, 2007.

Serras, Dinora and António Pires. 'Maternidade atrás das Grades: Comportamento Parental em Contexto Prisional'. *Análise Psicológica* 2.XXII (2004) : 413-425.

Shamai, Michal. 'Motherhood Starts in Prison': The Experience of Motherhood Among Women in Prison'. *Family Process* 47.3 (2008): 323-340.

Smith, Aaron, Kerry Krisman, Anne L. Strozier, and Marsha A. Marley. 'Breaking Through the Bars: Incarcerated Parents whose Children are Cared for by Relatives'. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services* 85.2 (2004): 1-8.

Snyder, Zoann. 'Keeping Families Together: The Importance of Maintaining Mother-Child Contact for Incarcerated Women'. *Women & Criminal Justice* 19.1 (2009): 37-59.

Tuerk, Elena H. and Ann B. Loper. 'Contact Between Incarcerated Mothers and Their Children'. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 43.1 (2008): 23-43.

Rafaela Granja is a PhD Student in Sociology at the Research Centre for the Social Sciences of the University of Minho (Portugal). Currently her work is mostly related to issues of imprisonment, gender and family, particularly focusing the impact of imprisonment on family relationships. She's is undertaking ethnographic observation and interviews with social actors inside and outside prison walls. Her research interests also include qualitative research methods, social exclusion and ethnicity.

Manuela P. da Cunha Manuela P. da Cunha is an anthropologist at the CRIA-UM (Portugal) and IDEMEC/CNRS (France). Focusing on issues of power, knowledge and identity, she did extensive fieldwork in prisons and other total institutions. She authored and edited several volumes and journal articles. Publications include "Race, Crime and Criminal Justice in Portugal", in *Race, Crime and Criminal Justice: International Perspectives* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); "Ethnography and the Public Sphere" (*Etnográfica*, 2010); "Closed Circuits: Kinship, Neighborhood and Imprisonment in Urban Portugal" (*Ethnography*, 2008).

Helena Machado Helena Machado who has a Ph.D. in Sociology, is Associate Professor, with Agrégation, at the Department of Sociology at the University of Minho. She is a member of the CICS and CES (Portugal). Her research interests focus on the sociology of forensic genetics and the relationship between justice, media and citizenship. She is also

a member of the European Living in Surveillance Societies project and has been developing pioneer research into the political and social impacts of the creation of a forensic DNA database in Portugal.