UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM | THE JUBILEE CENTRE FOR CHARACTER & VIRTUES

# Incarceration and Character: Some Observations on Prison Education Programs in the United States, Norway, and Brazil

**Gerard Robinson**

This is an unpublished conference paper for the 13th Annual Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues conference at Oriel College, Oxford University, Thursday 9th – Saturday 11th January 2025.



Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues

University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT United Kingdom

T: +44 (0) 121 414 3602 F: +44 (0) 121 414 4875

E: jubileecentre@contacts.bham.ac.uk W: www.jubileecentre.ac.uk

# Incarceration and Character: Some Observations on Prison Education Programs in the United States, Norway, and Brazil

**Gerard Robinson** is a Professor of Practice at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia.

## PRISONS: AN INTERNATIONAL OVERVIEW

Our invention of the prison as a punitive response to crime serves as a technology for punishment dating back to antiquity. This includes ideas about justice and crime from Homer to Plato (Saunders, 1994), to the Enlightenment (Abolafia, 2024), and through books written by Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (1748), Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762), and Beccaria's *On Crimes and Punishment* (1764). Reformers such as Elizabeth Fry (Rose, 2019) and John Howard (Roberts, 1985; Vander Beken, 2016) influenced prison protocols on both sides of the Atlantic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Contemporary inquiries into the purpose of imprisonment – and the call for its abolition – remain vibrant (e.g. Foucault, 1975; Davis, 2003; Middlemass, 2017; Barkow, 2019; Shelby, 2022; Dharia, Forman & Hawilo, 2024; Eisen, 2024).

So, what does the state of incarceration globally look like today?

Approximately 11 million people are incarcerated across the globe, marking an all-time high in modern history (Penal Reform International, 2023; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2021). The United States is home to the largest carceral population in the world with 1.9 million people (Buehler & Kluckow, 2024). China is next with 1.69 million prisoners, followed by Brazil with 840,000, India with 573,000, and the Russian Federation with 433,000 (Fair & Walmsley, 2024).

From a continental perspective, Asia at 5.3 million people is home to half of the world's incarcerated population. The Americas have 3.6 million, Africa has 1.3 million, Europe has 1.1 million, and Oceania has less than 100,000 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2024).

In countries and states with at least 500,000 residents, El Salvador has the highest per capita incarceration rate in the world at 1,086 per 100,000 people, followed by Louisiana and Mississippi at 1,067 and 1,020 per 100,000, respectively. Cuba has 794 incarcerated people per 100,000 and Rwanda has 637 per 100,000. Even though Massachusetts has the lowest per capita incarceration rate in the United States at 241 per 100,000, it is higher than the per capital incarceration rate for all the founding NATO nations (Widra, 2024).

According to imprisonment data from 161 countries between 2015-2022 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2024):

- 1 in 4 people live in a prison that is about 150% of prison capacity;
- Suicide accounts for 1 in 10 prison deaths and Europe has the highest rate;
- 1/3 of the global incarcerated population – 3.1 million – remains in pre-trial detention;
- 67% of prison staff time is spent on surveillance in 64 countries;

- 10% of prison staff time is allocated to rehabilitation programs such as education, health, and job training.

Imprisonment data collected from 48 of 59 prison agencies with a membership in the Council of Europe in 2023 reveal the following (Aebi & Cocco, 2024):

- The European average for imprisonment is 124 per 100,000 residents;
- More prisoners live in eastern Europe and caucus regions (e.g., Turkey has 408 prisoners per 100,000 people and Georgia has 256 per 100,000) compared to western and northern Europe (e.g., France has 106 prisoners per 100,000 people and UK/Scotland at 133 per 100,000); and
- Foreigners make up 27% of the European prison population with a high percentage in Switzerland (71%) and Greece (57%).

Men account for nearly 94% of the global prison population (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2024). Women account for nearly 6% of the global prison population but their rate grew at a faster rate than it did for men during the past two decades. The United States incarcerates more than 200,000 women followed by China with 145,000, Brazil with 42,694, Russia with 39,120, and Thailand with 32,952 (Fair & Walmsley, 2022).

Prisons are designed for men – not women. Therefore, some prisons are not equipped to meet the unique needs of women internationally or domestically (Baldwin, Sobolewska & Capper, 2020; McCausland & Baldry, 2017; Seabrook 2019). The same is true for reproductive health issues including pregnancy (Ferszt, 2011; Kuhlik, 2017) and abortion (Sufrin et al., 2017) during incarceration.

Incarceration impacted 23 million children under age 18 worldwide in 2022. This included 22.5 million children with one parent in prison, 261,200 children in a detention center, and 19,000 children living in prison with a parent – mostly a mother (Penal Reform International, 2023). In 2018, at least 97 jurisdictions in the world maintain laws allowing children to live with a parent in prison (Bauer, 2018).

Unlike contemporary global challenges such as mental health or child poverty, policy leaders do not treat the incarceration of adults as an epidemic. Why? Based on a rational model for analyzing decision making, adults choose to commit a crime whereas adults do not willingly choose to be mentally ill nor do children choose to be chronically poor. The criminal gets his or her just deserts through imprisonment.

Nevertheless, incarcerating adults impacts people of all races, faith traditions, income levels, and lifestyles – as does mental health and child poverty. This makes incarceration a reform initiative for our time.

With industrialized and developing nations implementing "tough on crime" laws, leaders in civic, corporate, and academic spaces need examples of promising prison-based programs to prepare men and women for a new life inside prison and after incarceration. In support of this goal, I share observations drawn from my visits to prisons in Brazil, Norway, and the United States between

2023-2024 to show how character-focused prison programs can support civil society. The ARrow Center for Justice in northern Virginia, USA organized the trips. I served as a member of the delegation.

*Note: I provide a very high-level overview of the evolution of prisons in Brazil, Norway, and the United States due to word count limitations. The same is true for my closing thoughts.*

## BRAZIL

Three things come to mind when Americans think about Brazil: soccer, sunny beaches, and samba. Babies nursing inside a prison for women, or a prison governed by incarcerated men instead of gun wielding guards, do not make the top 10 list. Although this is what our delegation saw during our visit to São Paulo, Brazil in January 2024.

São Paulo is the largest city in the Americas with 22 million residents. The city accounts for 21% of the Brazilian population but 35% of the prison population comes from that city (de Oliveira Carlos, 2015).

Brazil incarcerates South America's largest prison population with 839,672 people living inside 1,386 state and federal prisons (Fair & Walmsley, 2024; World Prison Brief, 2024). According to a report published by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights about the demography of Brazilian prisons (2021):

- 94% are men and 6% are women;
- The prison population grew 225% between 2000-2019;
- 31% of prisoners are in pre-trial detention; and,
- 66% of the incarcerated are Afro-descendants.

The character of punishment in Brazilian prisons today, and throughout Latin America generally, grew out of centuries of colonialism, classism, and colorism (Salvatore & Aguirre 2010).

Once Brazil gained independence from Portugal in 1822 its leadership class began the challenging task of nation building. They created a criminal code in 1830 to govern free-world and enslaved people, and laid the foundation for the first penitentiary in Latin America in 1834, a Casa de Correção in Rio de Janeiro, to punish people for not following the rules. Enslaved Africans played a major part in building Casa de Correção. Later in the century, Brazilian leaders moved beyond one of the original goals of the penitentiary, which was to reform criminal whites and immigrants, to utilizing the penitentiary to punish unruly enslaved Africans and to curtail the citizenship of free blacks (Jean, 2023).

Brazil experienced a "cycle of enthusiasm, disbelief, and renewed interest" with the penitentiary. By the 1890s, Brazilan leaders no longer deemed crime a moral problem. They viewed it as a disease in need of a science of corrections, not reform (Sapra, 2018). Many reformers lost faith in prisons to reform criminals (Bender, 1987).

Brazil's prison population growth during the twentieth century experienced ebbs and flows. At times, surprisingly, the incarceration rate in Brazil was comparable to imprisonment rates in Nordic countries; nonetheless, changes in socio-criminal dynamics at the local level during the 1980s influenced the rise in the incarceration rate throughout Brazil (Dal Santo, 2023). When a "tough on crime" era took root in Brazil during the 1990s, as it did in Norway and the United States, implementation of strict drug laws fueled the prison boom in Brazil for the next two decades. By 2016, Brazil imprisoned 62% of women, and 26% of men, for drug crimes (Broach et al., 2019).

In 2025, Brazil incarcerates more prisoners than India, which at 1.4 billion people is seven times larger than the 211 million people living in Brazil.

Brazil's prison system faces several challenges, like many nations do. Between 2017-2019, inmate-on-inmate violence resulted in more than 170 deaths (Bartilotti Picanço, 2019). Gangs control a lot of prisons in Brazil and Latin America (Abi-Habib, Correal & Nicas, 2024). Primeiro Comando da Capital, a prison gang founded in São Paulo, is an example (Wirtschafter, 2024; Taylor & Dudley, 2020). Lack of prison guards and low staff per prisoner ratios leaves enactment of some carceral rules to the imprisoned (Darke, 2013 & 2014).

Nevertheless, bright spots do exist in Brazil's prison system.

***Women, mothers, and nursing babies***

According to the Brazilian Ministry of Justice and Public Security, nearly 50% of the women in prison are under 29 years of age, 66% did not complete high school, and 62% are black. Common crimes resulting in imprisonment are drugs and theft (Faquim et al., 2020). Even though the United States, China, and Russia incarcerate more women than Brazil, its female imprisonment rate skyrocketed 455% between 2000-2016. This surpasses the female imprisonment growth rate of the United States, China, and Russia combined (Infopen Mulheres, June 2016).

Our delegation met with mothers inside Penitenciaria Feminina Da Capital in São Paulo (the Women's Penitentiary for the Capitol of São Paulo). It is the largest and oldest prison for women in the area. Female leaders manage the 600-plus penitentiary. Women are not called inmates or prisoners. They are called *reeducanda*, which means "to be re-educated."

Prison leadership took us on a tour. The women were overwhelmingly brown or black. According to our guides, those women received less formal education that the general population in Brazil and tended to be poorer. A survey I read of 15 prisons for women in eight Brazilian states confirmed what we observed in the prison, and noted that many of the women worked as domestics before incarceration and served as the sole bread winner at home (de Araújo et al., 2020).

The women we met worked making all kinds of items ranging from backpacks to children's clothing. Through an interpreter the women explained their work routine, the diversity of products they create, and the markets that purchase their products. We learned that they receive one day off their sentence for every three days they work. They also earned a wage for their work.

After the tour we dined with prison staff. We asked questions about becoming a correctional officer. The ones we met participated in approximately 400 hours of training at Escola De Administracao Penitenciaria (School of Penitentiary Administration) followed by a three-year probationary period. Approximately 1,000 officers graduate from the school each year.

After our lunch conversation, the prison team escorted us to a maternity ward. Before we arrived, we could hear the precious cries of babies and mothers talking to them. We saw children up to age 6 months old with their mothers. For some members of the delegation they experienced their first visit to a prison nursery.

Unlike the United States and Norway, Brazilian statutes and regulations promote mothers and children living together in prison. For example, the Brazilian Constitution guarantees a right for imprisoned mothers to retain custody with a baby during the breastfeeding period or up to six months (although some children stay longer). The Brazilian Penalty Executive Law of 1984 mandates each female prison include a nursery. In 2018, the Brazilian Federal Supreme Court decided that pregnant women, mothers of children up to the age of 12, mothers of a person with a disability, and mothers who are not accused of violent crimes, should await trial under house arrest rather than go to prison (Carvalho, 2018).

Despite the laws, however, lack of enforcement hinders many mothers from being with their child (Bauer, 2018). According to a survey of incarcerated women in Brazil conducted by the Ministry of Justice, only 19.6% of prisons for women included a nursery and only 16% offered a daycare for children under six years of age (Stella, Sequeira, & Rosa, 2016). Therefore, the practice of breastfeeding inside prison remains sporadic (Santos et al., 2022). The same is true for access to high-quality pre-natal care and hospitalization (Leal et al., 2015).

At some point each child must leave prison. Research reveals that mothers struggled with their identity once their child left prison (Braga & Angotti, 2015). This response, in some ways, uncovers bigger public health issues of anxiety and identity of being a woman in a Brazilian prison – not just a mother (de Araújo et al., 2020).

Nurseries inside prisons exists globally (Van Hout et al., 2022). A 2006 survey of mother-child prison policies in 70 countries, only the United States, the Bahamas, Liberia, and Suriname employed a separation-at-birth policy, of which the pros and cons for keeping a child in prison are well debated among scholars and practitioners (Hamper, 2014).

In America, 42 states have an immediate separation policy of the incarcerated mother and child. (Warner, 2015). Thirteen states have a prison nursery program. National laws such as the *Federal Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997*, or state laws that include "incarceration" as a factor to expedite termination of parental rights, or rights of adoption, make it difficult to support nursery programs in prison (Gilad & Gat, 2013; Genty, 1991).

### *A prison with no guards*

Our prison visit to a male prison required a three hour drive outside of São Paulo into a rural area of Brazil. When our bus pulled into the prison, what I saw did not look like a traditional prison. Absent was a multi-storied, gray brick building resembling an aged castle or giant airport hangar. Nor did I see thousands of silver razor blades crisscrossing snake-like on top of prison buildings. No guns or military-looking guards greeted us at the bus.

Instead, leadership of the Association for the Protection and Assistance of the Convicted (APAC) welcomed us into the colorfully painted prison building. In Portuguese above a door is *"Aqui entra o homen, o delito fica la pora."* It means, *"Here the man comes in, the crime stays there."*

A director of APAC warmly welcomed us. He spent nearly 20 years behind bars for armed robbery. He has worked for APAC for 15 years since leaving prison. He also pursued graduate work to support his career.

The team explained to us that attorney Mário Ottoboni founded APAC in 1972 and emphasized the importance of its partnership with Prison Fellowship International (PFI). According to its webpage, PFI is the largest nonprofit Christian organization in the world working in the criminal justice field in 120 countries on six continents with support from 45,000-plus volunteers.

According to a 2022 interview with APAC leader Valdeci Ferreira, key elements driving the rehabilitation efforts in prison include work, spirituality, health care, and human appreciation, and a focus on family as well as the family of the victim (APAC, 2022). Thousands of men seek access to APAC. Each must meet certain criteria to qualify for admission into an APAC prison:

- Reside in a traditional prison;
- Write a letter about why you want to come to APAC;
- A judge must approve the transfer; and,
- A *recuperando* – or a "recovering person" – must live in an APAC near his family to support both simultaneously.

Once inside APAC, the men spend three months in a program focused on rehabilitation themes.

During our tour of APAC, we noticed something. Unlike the women we saw at Penitenciaria Feminina Da Capital, the *recuperando* or "recovering person," did not wear "prison" clothes. Prison guards do not patrol the men. The men guard themselves. The men prepare their daily meals, cultivate the grounds, and maintain the aesthetics of the prison. Schooling is mandatory for those without a high school diploma. Online higher education is available. Six men sleep inside a room that does not have a locked door.

Later we dined with the men before joining in song, prayer, and personal testimony. Several interpreters facilitated the conversations. The men we communed with are not saints. Some committed crimes ranging from murder and rape to pedophilia and drug trafficking. More than 200 men where in the prison. It was 25 of us. We were in trouble if things got out of hand. Nothing

happened. We felt safe and welcomed. Though cognizant about being inside a prison. Not a hotel or a college.

Overall, APAC did not feel, smell, or behave like a prison.

## NORWAY

Three things come to mind when Americans talk to each other about prisons in Norway: (1) Norway provides good prisons; (2) Norway offers cushy prisons; or (3) Norway does not believe in real punishment. After watching a couple of documentaries about Norway prisons years before this trip in May 2023, I fell into the cushy prisons category. After spending time talking to people in Norwegian prisons, with reentry specialists, nonprofit executives, and prison reformers in Oslo, I come away with a fourth category: Norway delivers humanity behind bars.

According to the Norwegian Correctional Service, Norway has 58 prisons with 3,300 prison cells. Approximately 70% of the prison units are high-security. Norway has one of the smallest prison populations in the world at 3,052 people, and one of the lowest imprisonment rates of 55 per 100,000 residents (World Prison Brief, 2024). Men make up 94% of the prison population and 6% are women (Aebi & Cocco, 2024). Norway also has one of the best prison-staff ratios in the world at one prisoner per correctional officer (Skarbek, 2016). The average prison sentence length is 6.6 months and 2,891 people serve non-custodial sentences (Prison Insider–Norway, n.d.). Life in prison, and imprisonment without possibility of parole, do not exist in Norway. The maximum time a person can spend in prison is 21 years, but a 30-year maximum is available for a person convicted of genocide or a crime against humanity.

Norway opened its first penitentiary in 1851. Later that decade, education programs emerged as a reform model for the incarcerated. Prison leaders continued this practice through the early twentieth century.

The evolution of the Norwegian prison system as a model for other nations materialized over several decades. During the 1980s and 1990s, Norway experienced crime waves, growing HIV/AIDS cases, and drug use problems. Those factors spilled over into a prison system that still centered on punishment. Violence, mental health challenges, and riots were not uncommon. When people left prison, a study of recidivism during the 1980s identified that 63% of people released from prison returned within three years, but nearly 80% returned to prison if they had three or more previous sentences.

The culture of prison guards also supported punishment. When former governor of Halden Prison, Are Høidal (2018), Høidal began working for the Norwegian Correction Service during the early 1980s, the culture of the guards was different than today. "It was completely hard," he said. "It was a masculine, macho culture with a focus on guarding and security. And the recidivism rate was around 60-70%, like in the US" (Kirby, 2019). At the same time, imprisonment rates increased from 44 per 100,000 people in 1980 to 60 per 100,000 people in 1995 (World Prison Brief – Norway, 2024).

At first the government responded with tough on crime laws. Then government leaders changed its course to center on reentry and normalization with the publication of two papers. White Paper

No. 27 (1997-98) entrusted correctional officers (no longer guards) with more authority over prisoner rehabilitation. White Paper II (2008) advanced the principle of normality, reintegration into society, and an import model that brought outside services such as medical, employment, and social welfare into the prison to maintain normality (Høidal, 2018; see Warner, 2011 for a different interpretation of the White papers).

The White papers, coupled with healthy public-private partnerships and a shift in public opinion about the purpose of imprisonment, laid the foundation for today's vision statement for the Norwegian Correctional Service (NCS): "Punishment that makes a difference."

Today, people in Norwegian prisons can receive 60 minutes of visitation weekly, an opportunity for a prisoner's family to stay in a cottage for the weekend, have single cells with a television and shower, access to yoga classes, and sports activities with the correctional staff.

This does not negate the challenges in Norway's prisons or those in Nordic countries (e.g., Lehti et al., 2019). Data comparing members in the Council of Europe in 2023 uncovered the following about Norway prisons (Aebi & Cocco, 2024):

- It has one of the highest percentage of females in prison;
- 27% of prisoners are foreigners;
- 22% of prisoners are 50 and older, which is higher than the Council of Europe average;
- 21% are in prison for a drug offence compared to 6% in UK/Scotland and 14% in Germany; and,
- Escapees from Norway are 63 per 10,000 prisoners.

But why go to Norway?

***The education of correctional officers***

We met with leaders and professors at the University College of Norwegian Correctional Studies in Oslo. It is the only institution in Norway offering a two-year degree program to become a correctional officer. Core courses include psychology, psychiatry, ethics, and law. The curriculum mixes academic coursework with practical training.

Afterward, we toured the facility. It is equipped with a lecture hall, a dining room, and real-world cells to practice extraction of a prisoner. We learned early that the phrase "prison guard" is an American term. They are prison "officers."

The meaning of this distinction became clearer when the principles of normality were explained to us. According to the NCS, the principle of normality means: "Punishment is the restriction of liberty and no other rights have been removed by the sentencing court. Therefore, the sentenced offender has all the same rights as all others who live in Norway." This means prisoners have a right to conjugal visitation, a free education, and employment which can include a job outside the prison walls under certain circumstances. Why? Because the principle of normality in action means, "During the serving of a sentence, life inside should resemble life outside as much as possible."

I asked several correctional officer students about their decision to puruse this career. They noted that the job paid well and provided them a good living. I asked several in-prison Norwegian correctional officers the same question. They all confirmed that working in a prison is challenging, particularly with unruly people. Nevertheless, all correctional officers noted they did not desire a different career. When I asked why, they explained that serving as a correctional officer supports their personal well-being *and* that of their family.

Good for personal and family well-being? This differs slightly from what I hear from correctional officers in the United States.

The United States has 395,700 correctional officers and bailiffs working in the profession (U.S. Department of Labor, n.d.). Although many of them find their work benefits their personal well-being and that of their family, challenges exist. For instance, U.S. correctional officers experience a higher rate of depression and PTSD than the national average (Brower, 2013). Their suicide rate is twice as high as it is for American police officers (Hart, 2019). Home life serves as another challenge. According to a survey of California correctional officers, 41% believe they "would be a better parent, spouse, or partner if they did not work in corrections," and 66% believe the job is negatively affecting their quality of life (Lerman, November 2017).

***Memory as a public policy prompt***

May 8, 2025 marks the 80th anniversary of the Norwegian liberation against Nazi Germany. During the occupation from 1940-1945, the Nazis established approximately 500 prison camps throughout Norway, which included 44,000 Norwegians among the 150,000 people incarcerated during wartime. Of the nearly 2,100 Jews living in Norway, the Nazis deported 722 to concentration camps in 1942-1943, and only 34 survived (Reitan, 2011). Nearly 35% of the Norwegian Jews arrested or deported in 1943-1943 died (Høidal, 2016).

The horrors of WWII prisoner of war and extermination camps influenced future members of the Norway parliament and the criminal justice system to reimagine its ideology of punishment. Imprisonment remained a punishment for crime, but punishment for its own sake (Høidal & Hanssen, 2022).

Nina Hanssen is the co-author of *The Norwegian Prison System: Halden Prison and Beyond* (2023). She served as one of our expert guides in Oslo. I asked her how and why Norway's cultural view of imprisonment is so unique. She told me to look at Norway's war-era political leaders. As Hanssen describes in the book, Nazis imprisoned a lot of Norwegian politicians. Einar Gerhardsen, for example, was imprisoned at a Nazi concentration camp in Oslo and a prison in Sachsenhausen, Germany. After the war, Gerhardsen became Prime Minister in Norway from 1945-51 and 1955-65. He used his memories of inhumanity to inform national penal policy.

During a dinner conversation, I asked former University College director Harald Føsker the same question. Føsker also credits imprisonment as a motivating factor for a generation of Norwegian

politicians that designed a more humane philosophy of punishment when they became a parliamentary majority.

## UNITED STATES

Three themes arose when I asked Brazilians and Norwegians what they think about prisons in the United States: violence, racism, and economic exploitation. Hollywood movies such as *Shawshank Redemption* and *The Green Mile*, or cable shows such as *Orange Is the New Black* and *OZ*, are power narrators of American punishment to global audiences. So are music and academic scholarship about life before, inside, and after prison (e.g., Alexander, 2020; Muhammad, 2019; Travis, Western, & Redburn, 2014; Gabbidon, 2020).

Hollywood markets prison life to Americans, too.

In 1978, *Scared Straight* provided me a peek into American prison life when I was 12 years old. This documentary chronicled several teenagers from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut spending three hours inside Rahway State Prison in New Jersey. Established in 1896 as the first state's first reformatory institution for youth, Rahway transformed years later into a maximum-security prison for men. A group of them with a cumulative total of 1,000 years to serve in prison spoke brutally and truthfully about prison life. They wanted to turn justice-involved youth away from a life of crime.

I was not a justice-involved youth. Nevertheless, a cloud of fear at the thought of being locked up with those screaming guys deeply impacted me. Others feared those guys as well as the communities that birthed them. Thus, imprisonment served two purposes during the 1970s: (1) as our preferred choice for punishment for people who committed crimes; and (2) as our existential sigh of relief for making us feel safer.

*Scared Straight* won an Emmy for Outstanding Informational Program and an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature Film. This cinematic victory honored the Rahway men, the producers, and thousands of community-based stakeholders working with justice impacted youth and adults. Public acclaim of this type materialized during a pivotal season in American culture. This is when a "nothing works" philosophy (Martinson, 1974) was gaining steam with elected officials in Washington and state capitols nationwide, and when the rehabilitative idea (Allen, 1981) for prisons was declining.

The year 1978 remains an important moment in prison history beyond the release of *Scared Straight*. State and federal incarceration totaled 294,396 that year. Making is the last year the total state and federal incarceration number was under 300,000 people (see Cahalan & Parsons, 1986). From 1979 onward, the prison population skyrocketed.

So, what does the state of incarceration in the United States look like today?

The United States leads industrial nations in incarceration with 1.9 million adults sleeping behind bars in state and federal prisons (1.2 million) and jails (663,000), equaling 770 incarcerated people per 100,000 adults (Buehler & Kluckow, 2024). To put this in an international context, the United

States accounts for 4% percent of the world's population but 16% of the globe's prison population (Vera Institute of Justice, n.d.).

The United States spends approximately $80 billion on incarceration for people in 98 federal prisons, 1,566 state prisons, and 3,116 county and city jails (Wagner & Rabuy, 2017; Sawyer & Wagner, 2024). When social and economic impacts of incarceration on families, children, and communities left behind are considered, the true (or hidden) costs of incarceration reaches nearly $500 billion annually (Pettus-Davis, Brown, Veeh & Renn, 2016).

Men account for 93% of the prison population (Carson & Kluckow, 2023). Like many aspects of American life, race unfolds into a troubling story. Black men, for instance, are incarcerated at 1,826 per 100,000 U.S. residents. Similarly, the per capita incarceration rate for American Indian\Native Hawaiian men is 1,443, for Hispanic men is 794, for white men is 337, and for Asian men is 141 (Carson & Kluckow, 2023).

Women account for 7% of people in prison but their rate mushroomed 585% between 1980 and 2022 (Budd, 2024). As such, the incarceration of women is receiving more attention (Leflouria, 2015; Jones & Seabrook, 2017; Jones & Nelson, 2023). American Indian\Native Hawaiian women experience the highest imprisonment rate in the nation at 173 per 100,000 U.S. residents. Similarly, the per capita incarceration rate for black women is 64, for Hispanic women is 49, for white women is 40, and for Asian women is 5 (Carson & Kluckow, 2023).

According to The Sentencing Project (Budd, 2024):

- 46% of women were imprisoned for violent crimes, 19% for property crimes, 25% for drugs, and 10% for public disorder in 2021; and,
- 64% of men were imprisoned for violent crimes, 13% for property crimes, 12% for drugs, and 11% for public disorder.

Unlike Brazil and Norway, the United States has not signed all United Nation resolutions for prisoners (Jarman & Heard, 2023; Jarman & Fair, 2024). Federal, state, and local officials set American prison policy.

The evolution of the penitentiary system in the United States is well documented. From the American Revolution to the Civil War (Morris & Rothman, 1995; Meranze, 1996; Gottschalk, 2006; Manion, 2015; McLennan, 2008), through the post-Civil War and Jim Crow eras ((Du Bois, 2017; Ayers, 2017; Goluboff, 2007; Blackmon, 2009), and with input from several presidential administrations (Obama, 2016; Hinton, 2016; Hinton & Cook, 2021; Murakawa, 2014; Robinson, 2022). Often the pathway to criminal justice reform includes short- and long-term approaches supported by people of various political ideologies (e.g., Goger, Harding, & Henderson, 2021; Orrell, 2020). Education is usually part of the success sequence (Robinson & English, 2019; Corbett, 2024; Andrisse, 2021)

With all the challenges facing American prisons, bright spots do exist.

***Colorado***

We visited a medium-security prison located three hours from Denver in July 2024. When our bus pulled into the prison it looked like prisons I visited in other states. Correctional staff greeted us at the gate and escorted us through metal detectors.

The prison director welcomed our delegation. He works in this field because he's interested in changing the lives of the incarcerated and the communities they left behind. He told us not to focus on the *building*. Instead, we were told to focus on the prison's *brand* of human dignity and second chances practiced inside the building.

The director told us creative partnerships provide an important part of his multifaceted approach to second chances. For instance, he partners with the Frederick Douglass Project for Justice in Washington, D.C. Dr. Marc Howard, a Georgetown University professor and author of *Unusually Cruel: Prisons, Punishment, and the Real American Exceptionalism* (2017), formally launched the Douglass Project in January 2020. Colorado is the first state to partner with the Douglass Project.

The program brings people from all walks of life inside prisons to experience face-to-face conversations with incarcerated people to learn from one another, bridge divides, and challenge stereotypes and stigmas on both sides. Seeing "the other person" as human matters.

Howard's 20+ years in criminal justice reform made him realize that reforming people *inside* prison delivers only one part of the reform equation. Educating people living outside of prison offers another essential component. When you think about it, people visit a prison to see someone they know inside. Rarely do strangers experience an opportunity to go inside a prison to meet people they know nothing about. People who, in some cases, serve as a visible reminder of the person that victimized them or someone they love.

Howard guided the exercise inside the prison.

He invited several incarcerated men into the room and asked them to sit next to someone in our delegation. Two men sat next to me. Both are fathers and one is married. We ate lunch and talked about our lives. After lunch, Howard asked us to join a small group mixed with visitors and residents. We talked about leadership and what it means to each of us.

Taking about leadership can be uncomfortable in any setting. Saying the wrong thing can make a leader seem uninformed in front of his or her peers. Can you imagine how uncomfortable it felt to have this conversation with members of our delegation who come from different walks to life? Or with strangers we just met inside prison? And, on face value, what can a prisoner teach free-world people about leadership? Didn't poor decision-making land him in prison? Maybe. But my prejudice led me to this conclusion.

During the conversation, I learned some men enjoyed a leadership role in their previous lives. I learned that the incarcerated and free-world people struggle with defining the ethos of leadership. I also appreciated the men's guidance about how and when free-world people need to be leaders outside of prison when it comes to sharing what they learned from inside.

Overall, our delegation rose up from our seats acknowledging a common bond with those men that bars alone cannot break.

***North Dakota***

We visited a prison located near Bismark in July 2024. Unlike other prisons I visited in the United States, this one houses low, medium, and high-risk people. The prison leader welcomed us to his prison. So did the director of the Prison Fellowship Academy. He had spent time in prison too. As a free man, he works with men behind bars.

According to the organization's website, Prison Fellowship is the largest nonprofit Christian organization focused on helping people in prison, out of prison, their families, and those impacted by the criminal justice system. Chuck Colson, former White House counsel for President Nixon who pleaded guilty to Watergate-related crimes and spent seven months in an Alabama prison, founded Prison Fellowship in 1976. Colson used his prison experience to work with incarcerated men and women in the United States and abroad. He chronicles this story in a book titled *Born Again*.

Four men from the Academy participated in a lively Q&A conversation with us. All except one has roots in North Dakota. The rest were from different parts of the country. All four men volunteered to participate in the Academy. Here are four important takeaways.

First, each man confirmed that a faith-based program helps them develop professionally, mentally, and personally. One guy told us he was not a religious person when he enrolled in the program. Still, he benefits.

Second, a man of character is a theme the men used to describe who they are or seek to become.

Third, the Academy helped them gain a better appreciation for the people they let down and the people left behind. Some of them had children.

Fourth, the interaction between those men, the Academy director, and the correctional officers appeared healthier than other places I had seen. Nothing was rehearsed or phony.

After our conversation, we spoke with the prison warden. He informed us that a group of North Dakota leaders traveled to Norway to see how they operated their prisons in 2015. The prison warden at the time instituted a reforms upon her return. The warden also told us about his participation in Prison Fellowship's Warden Exchange Program. This seven or nine-month program focuses on moral rehabilitation, transformational leadership, and peer engagement. More than 500 people have graduated from the program which represents 271 prisons in the United States.

Then we toured the prison. It provides theme-based pods, including a pod focused on veterans. The prison also has a place to record music. We walked through a warehouse and talked to men making products with fire and very, sharp metal tools. Prisoners should not have access to those items for concern about violence against one other or the guards. Allowing men access to could-be-weapons displays a level of trust between the incarcerated and prison officials. Another display of trust, which might seem trivial, is walking into a gym without seeing chains hooked to free-weights or a bench press bar. Free weighs can serve as a weapon. This is why some prisons purchase workout machines or prohibit the use of free weights all together.

## CLOSING THOUGHTS

University and think tank scholars, philanthropists, entrepreneurs, and civic leaders interested in how best to address challenges associated with crime, punishment, and human dignity should consider the following recommendations I obtained from my visits to prison in Brazil, Norway, and the United States.

- **Employers matter to all conversations about criminal just reform:** Research by Bushway and Korzenik (2023), and programs supported by the Second Chance Business Coalition, and the Society for Human Resource Managers in the United States, provide a pathway to support hiring people with criminal records.

- **We need model legislation and regulations for correctional officers**: Research and practical lessons offered by Smith (2022) and Abdel-Salam and Sunde (2018), among others, provide templates for consideration.

- **Strategically utilize existing resources produced by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development**. The United States and Norway are OECD members. Brazil is an ascension candidate. These three countries should utilize OECD (2021) resources to support their individual and collective needs for people involved in the justice system. Brazil, Norway, and the United States are different countries. If they can work together on prison reform it will serve as an example for OECD members and non-members alike.

- **Support children of the incarcerated**: Gatewood et al. (2024) provide examples of resiliency among children with an incarnated parent(s). They also focus on an asset-based approach to working with children of the incarcerated.

## REFERENCES

Abdel-Salam, S., & Myhre Sunde, H. (2018). Enhancing the role of correctional officers in American prisons: Lessons learned from Norway. *Fed. Sent'g Rep.*, *31*, 67. Link

Abolafia, J. (2024). *The Prison before the Panopticon: Incarceration in Ancient and Modern Political Philosophy*. Harvard University Press.

Abi-Habib, M., Correal, A., & Nicas, J. (2024, February 26). In Latin America, Guards Don't Control Prisons, Gangs Do. *New York Times*.

Aebi, M. F., & Cocco, E. (2024). Prisons and Prisoners in Europe 2023: Key Findings of the SPACE I survey. *UNILCRIM, 2023 (2)*. Link

Allen, F. (1981). *The decline of the rehabilitative ideal: Penal policy and social purpose*. Yale University Press. World Cat

APAC: Prisons without guards, police, weapons, violence, corruption, drugs and discrimination (July 21, 2022). An interview with Valdeci Ferreira. Link

Ayers, E. L. (2017). *The thin light of freedom: the Civil War and emancipation in the heart of America*. WW Norton & Company.

Baldwin, A., Sobolewska, A., & Capper, T. (2020). Pregnant in prison: An integrative literature review. *Women and Birth*, *33*(1), 41-50. Link

Barkow, R. E. (2019). *Prisoners of politics: Breaking the cycle of mass incarceration*. Harvard University Press. World Cat

Bartilotti Picanço, L. (2019). Brazil's mass incarceration policy has not stopped crime. *Wilson Center*. Link

Bauer, E. (2018). Infant inmates: An analysis of international policy on children accompanying parents to prison. *Mich. St. Int'l L. Rev.*, *27*, 93. Link

Bender, J. (1987). *Imagining the penitentiary: Fiction and the architecture of mind in eighteenth-century England*. University of Chicago Press.

Berry, M. F. (1977). *Military necessity and civil rights policy: Black citizenship and the Constitution, 1861-1868*. Associated Faculty Press Inc.

Blackmon, D. A. (2009). *Slavery by another name: The re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. Anchor.

Braga, A. G. M., & Angotti, B. (2015). From hyper-maternity to hypo-maternity in Women's prisons in Brazil. *SUR-Int'l J. on Hum Rts.*, *12*, 221.

Broach, S., Petrone, M., Ryan, J., Sivaram, A., & Gonsalves, G. (2019). Reservoirs of Injustice: How incarceration for drug-related offenses fuels the spread of tuberculosis in Brazil. *Global Health Justice Partnership Report, Yale Law School/Yale School of Public Health*. Link

Brower, J. (2013). *Correctional Officer Wellness and Safety Literature Review*. U.S. Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs Diagnostic Center.

Budd, K. M. (July 24, 2024). Incarcerated women and girls. *The Sentencing Project*. Online

Buehler, E.D., & Kluckow, R. (May 2024). *Correctional populations in the United States, 2002 – Statistical tables.* Retrieved from U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Bushway, S. and Korzenik, J. (2023, December 13). 3 myths about hiring people with criminal records. *Harvard Business Review*. Online

Cahalan, M. W., & Parsons, L. A. (1986). *Historical corrections statistics in the United States, 1850-1984* (pp. 1-27). US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Online

Carson, E.A., & Kluckow, R. (November 2023). *Prisoners in 2022 – Statistical tables* (NCJ 307149). Retrieved from U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Online

Carvalho, A. *Pregnant Women Will No Longer Await Trial in Brazilian Jails (2018)*. Link

Children of Prisoners Europe (n.d.). *Facts and figures*. Link

Corbett, E.S. (Ed.) (2024). *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Prison Education*. Bloomsbury. Online

Council of Europe. (2020). *European Prison Rules.* Strasbourg, France: Author. Online

Dal Santo, L. (2023). Mass incarceration in times of economic growth and inclusion? Three steps to understand contemporary imprisonment in Brazil. *Theoretical Criminology*, *27*(4), 597-618. Link

Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?* Seven stories press. World Cat

Dharia, P., Forman, J., & Hawilo, M. (Eds.) (2024). *Dismantling mass incarceration*. FSG Originals. Online

Darke, S. (2013). "Inmate Governance in Brazilian Prisons." Howard Journal of Criminal Justice 52 (3): 272–84.CrossRefGoogle Scholar

Darke, S. (2014). Managing with guards in a Brazilian police lockup. *Focaal*, *2014*(68), 55-67.

de Araújo, P. F., Kerr, L. R. F. S., Kendall, C., Rutherford, G. W., Seal, D. W., da Justa Pires Neto, R., da Costa Pinheiro, P. N., Galvão, M. T. G., Araújo, L. F., Pinheiro, F. M. L., & da Silva, A. Z. (2020). Behind bars: the burden of being a woman in Brazilian prisons. *BMC international health and human rights*, *20*(1), 28. Link

de Oliveira Carlos, J. (2015). Drug policy and incarceration in São Paulo, Brazil1. *Briefing Paper–International Drug Policy Consortium*. Link

Du Bois, W. E. B. (2017). *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Routledge.

Durose, M. R., & Antenangeli, L. (2021). Recidivism of prisoners released in 34 states in 2012: A 5-year follow-up period (2012–2017). *Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics*.

Eisen, L.B. (Ed.) (2024). *Excessive punishment: How the justice system creates mass incarceration*. Columbia University Press. Online

Fair, H., & Walmsley, R. (2022 – Fifth Ed). World female imprisonment list. ICPR. Link

Fair, H., & Walmsley, R. (2024). World prison population list. ICPR. Link

Faquim, J., Macedo, J., Oliveira, J., Machado, S., Ivancko, G., Costa, K., & Oliveira, T. (2020). Profile of incarcerated women in the interior of Brazil and the challenge of education in prison. *European Journal of Public Health*, *30* (Supplement_5), ckaa166-1260. Link

Ferszt, G. G. (2011). Who will speak for me? Advocating for pregnant women in prison. *Policy, Politics, & Nursing Practice*, *12*(4), 254-256. Link

Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). Vintage. World Cat

Gabbidon, S. L. (2020). *Criminological perspectives on race and crime*. Routledge. World Cat

Gatewood, J.B., Muhammad, B.M., and Turner, S.M. (2024). *Black children of incarcerated parents speak truth to power*. Routledge. Online

Genty, P. M. (1991). Procedural due process rights of incarcerated parents in termination of parental rights proceedings: A fifty state analysis. *J. Fam. L.*, *30*, 757. Link

Gilad, M., & Gat, T. (2013). US v. my mommy: Evaluation of prison nurseries as a solution for children of incarcerated women. *NYU Rev. L. & Soc. Change*, *37*, 371. Link

Goger, A., Harding, D. J., & Henderson, H. (2021). A better path forward for criminal justice: Prisoner reentry. Brookings Institution.

Goluboff, R. L. (2007). *The lost promise of civil rights*. Harvard University Press.

Gottschalk, M. (2006). *The prison and the gallows: The politics of mass incarceration in America*. Cambridge University Press. World Cat

Hamper, C. (2014). Can Life in Prison be in the Best Interests of the Child? *Ohio Northern University Law Review*, *41*(1), 7. Link

Hinton, E. (2016). *From the war on poverty to the war on crime: The making of mass incarceration in America*. Harvard University Press. World Cat

Hinton, E., & Cook, D. (2021). The mass criminalization of Black Americans: A historical overview. *Annual Review of Criminology*, *4*(1), 261-286. Online

Hirsch, A. J. (1992). *The rise of the penitentiary: Prisons and punishment in early America*. Yale University Press. World Cat

Høidal, A. (2018). Normality behind the Walls. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, *31*(1), 58-66. Link

Høidal, A. & Hanssen, N. (2022). *The Norwegian prison system*. Taylor & Francis. Online

Høidal, O. K. (2016). Vidkun quisling and the deportation of Norway's Jews. *Scandinavian Studies*, *88*(3), 270-294.

Howard, M. M. (2017). *Unusually cruel: prisons, punishment, and the real American exceptionalism*. Oxford University Press. World Cat

Infopen Mulheres (June 2016). Brazil has the fourth highest number of incarcerated women in the world. Link

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2021). *Situation of human rights in Brazil*. Link

Isachsen, A. J., & Gylfason, T. (2022). *Putting oil profits to global benefit*. Link

Jarman, B., & Heard, C. (2023). Labouring behind bars: assessing international law on working prisoners. Link

Jarman, B., & Fair, H. (2024). *Working prisoners in the USA: Laws, policies, and practical realities*. Link

Jean, M. (2023). *Policing Freedom: Illegal Enslavement, Labor, and Citizenship in Nineteenth-century Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.

Jones, C. A., & Seabrook, R. L. (2017). The New Jane Crow: Mass incarceration and the denied maternity of Black women. In *Race, ethnicity and law* (pp. 135-154). Emerald Publishing Limited.

Jones, M.D., & Nelson, E. (Eds.) (2023). *Who would believe a prisoner? Indiana women's carceral institutions, 1848–1920.* The New Press. Online

Kirby, E. (2019). How Norway turns criminals into good neighbours. *BBC News*. Link

Kuhlik, L. (2017). Pregnancy behind bars: The constitutional argument for reproductive healthcare access in prison. *Harv. CR-CLL Rev.*, *52*, 501. Link

Labutta, E. (2016). The prisoner as one of us: Norwegian Wisdom for American Penal Practice. *Emory Int'l L. Rev.*, *31*, 329. Link

Lappi-Seppälä, T. (2007). Penal policy in Scandinavia. *Crime and justice*, *36*(1), 217-295. Link

Leal, M. D. C., Ayres, B. V. D. S., Esteves-Pereira, A. P., Sánchez, A. R., & Larouzé, B. (2016). Birth in prison: pregnancy and birth behind bars in Brazil. *Ciencia & saude coletiva*, *21*, 2061-2070.

Leflouria, T. L. (2015). *Chained in silence: Black women and convict labor in the New South*. University of North Carolina Press. World Cat

Lehti, M., Kivivuori, J., Bergsdóttir, G. S., Engvold, H., Granath, S., Jónasson, J. O., & Syversen, V. S. (2019). Nordic homicide report: Homicide in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, 2007–2016. University of Helsinki, Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy. Link

Lerman, A. E. (November 2017). Officer health and wellness results from the California officer survey.

Manion, J. (2015). *Liberty's Prisoners: Carceral Culture in Early America*. University of Pennsylvania Press. World Cat

Martinson, R. (1974, Spring). What works? Questions and answers about prison reform. *The Public Interest*, *35*, 22–54. Online

McCausland, R., & Baldry, E. (2017). Understanding women offenders in prison. In *The Routledge international handbook of forensic psychology in secure settings* (pp. 25-39). Routledge.

McLennan, R. M. (2008). *The crisis of imprisonment: Protest, politics, and the making of the American penal state, 1776-1941*. Cambridge University Press. World Cat
Meranze, M. (1996). *Laboratories of virtue: Punishment, revolution, and authority in Philadelphia, 1760-1835*. University of North Carolina Press. World Cat

Middlemass, K. (2017). *Convicted and condemned: The politics and policies of prisoner reentry*. New York University Press. World Cat

Morris, N., & Rothman, D. J. (Eds.). (1995). *The Oxford history of the prison: The practice of punishment in Western society*. Oxford University Press. World Cat

Muhammad, K. G. (2019). *The condemnation of Blackness: Race, crime, and the making of modern urban America, with a new preface*. Harvard University Press. World Cat

Murakawa, N. (2014). *The first civil right: How liberals built prison America*. Oxford University Press. World Cat

Norwegian Correctional Service (n.d.). *About the Norwegian correctional service*. Link

Norwegian Correctional Service (n.d.). *Principal of normality in the correctional service*. Link

Obama, B. (2016). The president's role in advancing criminal justice reform. *Harv. L. Rev.*, *130*, 811.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2021). *OECD framework and good practice principles for people-entered justice*. Link

Orrell, B. (Ed.) (2020). *Rethinking reentry*. American Enterprise Institute. Online

Penal Reform International (2023). *Global prison trends.* Link

Pettus-Davis, C., Brown, D., Veeh, C., & Renn, T. (2016). *The economic burden of incarceration in the United States.* Institute for Justice Research and Development, Florida State University College of Social Work. Online

Prison Insider (n.d.) *Norway*. Link

Reitan, J. (2011). The Nazi camps in the Norwegian historical culture. *Historicizing the uses of the past: Scandinavian perspectives on history culture, historical consciousness and didactics of history related to World War II*, 57-77.

Reuters (December 6, 2024). *Norway wealth fund hits record 20 trillion owns*. Online.

Roberts, L. H. (1985). John Howard, England's great prison reformer: His glimpse into hell. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 136-139.

Robinson, G., & English-Smith, E. (2019). *Education for Liberation: The Politics of Promise and Reform Inside and Beyond America's Prisons*. Rowman & Littlefield. World Cat

Robinson, G. (2021). *A story to tell: The importance of education during incarceration as told by 22 men and women who know firsthand*. The Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture at the University of Virginia. Link

Robinson, G. (April 1, 2022). From "undeserving criminal" to "second chance students": Pell grant eligibility and incarcerated students. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Law and Social Change*. Online

Rose, J. (2019). *Elizabeth Fry: The true story of one of the 19th century's most incredible women*. Lume Books.

Salvatore, R. D., & Aguirre, C. (Eds.) (2010). *The birth of the penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on criminology, prison reform, and social control, 1830-1940*. University of Texas Press.

Santos, M. V. D., Alves, V. H., Rodrigues, D. P., Tavares, M. R., Guerra, J. V. V., Calandrini, T. D. S. D. S., & Dulfe, P. A. M. (2022). Promotion, protection and support for breastfeeding in prisons: a scoping review. *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva*, *27*, 2689-2702. Link

Saunders, T. J. (1994). *Plato's penal code: Tradition, controversy, and reform in Greek penology*. Oxford University Press.

Sawyer, W. and Wagner, P. (2024). *Mass incarceration: The whole pie*. Prison Policy Initiative. Link

Seabrook, R. (2019). Collateral Damage: The War on Drugs and the Impact on Women, Children, and Families. In G. Robinson & E. E. Smith (Eds.), *Education for liberation: The politics of promise and reform inside and beyond America's prisons* (pp. 113-123). Rowman & Littlefield. World Cat.

Shelby, T. (2022). *The idea of prison abolition*. Princeton University Press. World Cat

Skarbek, D. (2016). Covenants without the sword? Comparing prison self-governance globally. *American Political Science Review*, *110*(4), 845-862.

Smith, H. P. (Ed.). (2022). *Promoting wellness and resiliency in correctional officers*. Taylor & Francis.

Staff, G. L. R. D. (2014). *Laws on children residing with parents in prison*. Link

Stella, C., Sequeira, V. C., & Rosa, T. L. (2016). Mothers and babies in a Brazilian prison: a study exploring the impact of prison conditions. *Forensic Research & Criminology International Journal, Oklahoma*, *2*(3), 104-110. Link

Sufrin, C., Mosher, B., Beal, L., Clarke, J., & Jones, R. (2017). Incidence of abortion among incarcerated women in the United States: results from the pregnancy in prison statistics study. *Contraception*, *96*(4), 264-265. Link

Taylor, M., & Dudley, S. (2020). The Rise of the PCC: How South America's Most Powerful Prison Gang is Spreading in Brazil and Beyond. Link

Teeters, N. K. (1948). The International Penal and Penitentiary Congress (1910) and the indeterminate sentence. *J. Crim. L. & Criminology*, *39*, 618.

Travis, J., Western, B., & Redburn, F. S., Eds. (2014). *The growth of incarceration in the United States: Exploring causes and consequences*. National Research Council, Committee on Causes and Consequences of High Rates of Incarceration. National Academy of Science. Online

United Nations (2011). *United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders* (the Bangkok Rules). United Nations. Link

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2021). *Data matters*. Link

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2024). *Prison matters 2024: Global prison population and trends; A focus on rehabilitation*. Link

U.S. Department of Labor (n.d.) *Occupational outlook handbook: Correctional officers and bailiffs*. Washington, D.C. Online

Van Hout, M. C., Fleißner, S., Klankwarth, U. B., & Stöver, H. (2022). "Children in the prison nursery": Global progress in adopting the Convention on the Rights of the Child in alignment with United Nations minimum standards of care in prisons. *Child abuse & neglect*, *134*, 105829. Link

Vander Beken, T. (2016). *The role of prison in Europe: travelling in the footsteps of John Howard*. Springer. Link

Vera Institute of Justice. (n.d.). *Incarceration statistics*. Online

Wagner, P., & Rabuy, B. (2017). *Following the money of mass incarceration.* Prison Policy Initiative. Online

Warner, J. (2015). Infants in orange: an international model-based approach to prison nurseries. *Hastings Women's LJ*, *26*, 65.

Warner, K. (2011). Valued members of society? Social inclusiveness in the characterisation of prisoners in Ireland, Denmark, Finland and Norway. *Administration*, *59*(1), 87-109. Link

Widra, E (2024). States of incarceration: The global context 2024. Link

Wirtschafter, V. (2024). The internationalization of organized crime in Brazil. Brookings Institution. Link

World Prison Brief (2024). *Brazil*. ICPR. Link

World Prison Brief (2024). *Norway*. ICPR. Link