

Intersecting realities: Exploring the intersectionality of race and gender among women in Spanish prisons

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In the field of prison research, women have historically occupied a secondary place, with incarcerated migrant women representing an even less studied minority.¹ The lack of specific reintegration strategies perpetuates their discrimination and vulnerability, hindered by the intersection of poverty, gender, and migratory status.

This intersectionality magnifies the disadvantages in reintegration and exposes deficiencies in public policy that could be addressed through development cooperation by creating programs aligned with the rehabilitative objectives of imprisonment.

A key phenomenon that stands out in the discussion about the imprisonment of migrants is 'cimmigration', the convergence of criminal and immigration policies, resulting in the criminalisation of migrants. This implies a legal and social distinction that marginalises a growing group of people, depriving them of rights and placing them in a position of systematic exclusion, contributing to their overrepresentation in prisons and reinforcing barriers in their reintegration process.

This article explores the challenges and opportunities of development cooperation in the reintegration of incarcerated migrant women in Spain, adopting an intersectional lens, acknowledging how race, gender, and migratory status intersect to shape the experiences of imprisoned women.

Gender, migration and the penal system: An intersectional approach

Building on the intersectional framework outlined above, it is clear that poverty plays a pivotal role in

exacerbating the vulnerabilities of migrant women in prison.

In this context, the feminisation of poverty has drawn attention for over 40 years,² highlighting how women face higher levels of poverty than men in general.³ Currently, 1 in 10 women face extreme poverty, and if the trend does not change, by 2030, 342.4 million girls and women will be in this situation, with 220.9 million residing in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ This is closely related to gender inequality as there are fundamental aspects of poverty that go beyond money where women encounter greater limitations, such as opportunities to accumulate human capital, exercise autonomy, and contribute to economic production. Gender differences in access to education and health, as well as their reduced agency, create disparities in economic opportunities, which affect their ability to generate income and overcome poverty.⁵ As women are overrepresented in part-time jobs, earn lower incomes, and dedicate more time to unpaid care work at home,⁶ this leads them to the margins of the labour market, underemployment and illegal work.

Contexts of poverty, scarcity, and social exclusion create a fertile ground for short-term decision-making,⁷ which, although potentially leading to severe future consequences, initially serves to meet the most basic and pressing needs.⁸ In this regard, committing a crime emerges as an alternative to solve difficult situations.

However, rather than addressing the root causes, the structural response to these acts of survival is increasingly one of criminalisation. Criminal law, while ostensibly neutral, disproportionately targets women in poverty, especially single heads of households.⁹ This reflects a classic system where subsistence crimes are heavily punished, while corporate crimes often escape

1. Varela Portela, C. (2017). Gestionando la diversidad cultural en las prisiones. El caso de las mujeres. *Revista de Estudios e Investigación en Psicología y Educación, Extra (8)*, 55-58.
2. Pearce, D. (1978). The Feminization of Poverty: Women, Work, and Welfare. *The Urban and Social Change Review, 11*, 23-36.
3. Naciones Unidas. (1995). *Informe de la Cumbre Mundial sobre Desarrollo Social*, Copenhague.
4. Naciones Unidas. (2023). *El progreso en el cumplimiento de los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible. Panorama de Género 2023*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
5. De Paz Nieves, C., & Muller, M. (2021). *From Data into Action: The Impact of Gender Analysis on Policy and Programming*, World Bank.
6. See footnote 4: Naciones Unidas. (2023).
7. Haushofer, J., & Fehr, E. (2014). On the psychology of poverty. *Science, 344* (6186), 862-867.
8. Shah, A.K., Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2012). Some Consequences of Having Too Little. *Science, 338* (6107), 682-685.
9. Calandra, N., et al. (2021). *Feminización de la pobreza y feminización del encierro*. Universidad Nacional de Villa María Argentina.

scrutiny.¹⁰ Crimmigration¹¹ now encompasses aspects related to social practices, discourses, immigration controls, media perspectives,¹² and the design and implementation of public policies.¹³

However, linking criminality with migration in a simplistic way entails a reductionist view of a topic that needs in-depth analysis due to its multiple facets. To address this phenomenon adequately, it is necessary to consider crime statistics, the complexity of migration processes, and the contexts in which migrant women settle after arrival. García España shows that migration acts as a protective factor against crime, contributing to a decrease in crime figures, although he clarifies that 'the extent to which it does so depends on other types of conditions'.¹⁴

To better understand these complex dynamics, we turn to the concept of intersectionality, highlighting the connections between different systems of power,¹⁵ and the importance of studying these relationships not only at their points of convergence but also within specific power contexts that allow for an adequate analysis of these dynamics.¹⁶

Migrant women imprisoned in Spain

Characteristics and context of prior vulnerability

Since 2000, the number of imprisoned women globally has increased by nearly 60 per cent,¹⁷ though they remain a minority. In Europe, women average 5 per cent of the prison population;¹⁸ in Spain, it is 7.3 per

cent, with nearly 25 per cent of these being foreigners,¹⁹ mostly from Latin America.²⁰ In this context, Lynch and Verma emphasise the importance of examining how social power dynamics influence formal and informal methods of social control.²¹ This perspective suggests that, globally, imprisonment is disproportionately applied to minorities and impoverished individuals. The majority of the prison population is made up of people living in poverty.^{22 23}

Although Spain does not systematically collect racial or ethnic data in its penal system, the overrepresentation of foreign women, especially from Latin America, suggests that race and racialisation play a significant role in incarceration trends. In the broader European context, Latina women are often racialised in ways that intersect with gendered stereotypes, such as being perceived as hypersexual, emotionally volatile, or involved in illicit economies. These stereotypes, though subtle and often implicit, can influence policing, sentencing, and the treatment women receive in prison. The absence of race-disaggregated data in Spain not only obscures the full picture of structural discrimination but also reflects a broader issue of data invisibility, which hinders justice and the development of equitable public policies.

Acknowledging this limitation is

essential in intersectional analysis, as it signals both the need for improved data practices and a deeper understanding of how race and ethnicity, even when unmeasured, shape the lived experiences of incarcerated migrant women.

Poverty plays a pivotal role in exacerbating the vulnerabilities of migrant women in prison.

10. Ferrajoli, L. (2008). La desigualdad ante la justicia penal y la garantía de la defensa pública. In Ministerio Público de la Defensa & Asociación Interamericana de Defensorías Públicas (Eds.) *Defensa pública: garantía de acceso a la justicia* (77-89). La Ley.
11. Stumpf, J. (2006). The crimmigration crisis: Immigrants, crime, and sovereign power. *American University Law Review*, 56, 367-419.
12. Brouwer, J., Van Der Woude, M., & Van Der Leun, J. (2017). Framing migration and the process of crimmigration: A systematic analysis of the media representation of unauthorized immigrants in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Criminology*, 14(1), 99-119.
13. Rosenbloom, R.E. (2016). Policing Sex, Policing Immigrants: What Crimmigration's Past Can Tell Us About Its Present and Its Future. *Californian Law Review*, 104(1), 149-199.
14. García España, E. (2019). Más inmigración, menos delincuencia. *Revista Crítica Penal y Poder*, 18, 199.
15. Hill Collins, P., Da Silva, K.A., & Aires Gomes, M.C. (2021). Intersectionality, epistemic oppression and resistance: an interview with Patricia Hill Collins. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada*, 60 (1), 328-337.
16. Hill Collins, P., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality* (2nd edition). Polity Press.
17. Fair, H., & Walmsley, R. (2022). *World Female Imprisonment List* (Fifth Edition). Institute for Crime & Justice Policy Research.
18. Aebi, M.F., & Cocco, E. (2024). *Prisons and Prisoners in Europe 2023: Key Findings of the SPACE I report*. Council of Europe & University of Lausanne.
19. Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023). *Informe General 2022*. https://www.interior.gob.es/opencms/pdf/archivos-y-documentacion/documentacion-y-publicaciones/publicaciones-descargables/publicaciones-periodicas/informe-general-de-instituciones-penitenciarias/Informe_General_IIPP_2022_12615039X.pdf
20. Data obtained from the National Institute of Statistics, https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=25715#_tabs-grafico
21. Lynch, M., & Verma, A. (2016). The imprisonment boom of the late 20th century: Past, present, and future. In J.D. Wooldredge & P. Smith (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of prisons and imprisonment* (1-34). Oxford University Press.
22. See footnote 11: Ferrajoli, L. (2008).
23. Sepulveda Carmona, M., & Donald, K. (2014). Access to Justice for Persons Living in Poverty: A Human Rights Approach. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 1-42.

Although earlier research assumed a uniform profile for incarcerated women,²⁴ more recent studies highlight differences.²⁵ For example, foreign women in Spain tend to avoid substance abuse, experience worse work conditions, and are often first-time offenders with long sentences, especially for drug trafficking.²⁶ They also tend to have higher education levels.²⁷

The three most common crimes among incarcerated women in Spain are: crimes against property, public health, and homicide.²⁸ These offences, especially drug trafficking, are frequently linked to poverty and traditional gender roles.²⁹ Many 'mules' seek fast income to support families, unaware of the high risks, including being used as decoys or suffering health complications.³⁰

Research in Latin America, the region of origin of many imprisoned women in Spain, reveals that most are marginalised, poorly educated, victims of violence, and main providers for dependents. They typically work informally and become involved in crime due to survival pressures.³¹ The feminisation of poverty and patriarchal norms push women into the lower tiers of drug trafficking.³² Inside prison, the system reflects external inequalities: designed for men,³³ with scarce gender-adapted facilities, and minimal access to programs or qualified work.³⁴ This marginalisation perpetuates their exclusion.³⁵

Race and racialisation play a significant role in incarceration trends.

The Brasilia Rules³⁶ and the UN³⁷ both highlight key vulnerabilities — gender, poverty, and migration - that shape access to justice and reintegration after prison. Incarcerated women often face all three, compounded by histories of gender-based violence;^{38 39} many are trapped in cycles of abuse and criminalisation due to economic dependence and lack of support.⁴⁰

Challenges and barriers in the prison system

Spain's penal philosophy, as enshrined in its Constitution (Article 25.2), emphasises rehabilitation and social reintegration as core goals of imprisonment. This aligns with other EU models like Sweden and Norway, which prioritise reintegration and support over punishment. However, Spain's decentralised prison system, in regions like Catalonia and the Basque Country, creates disparities in the availability and quality of programmes, particularly those that are gender-sensitive and culturally responsive. As a result, migrant women receive uneven support, complicating the implementation of effective nationwide reintegration strategies.

This has profound consequences for incarcerated women, whose experiences in prison are shaped by the system's structural gaps and, by embedded gender norms and roles. Imprisonment affects women differently: a woman violates not only

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24. Atabay, T. (2014). *Handbook on women and imprisonment: with reference to the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (The Bangkok Rules)*. United Nations.
 25. See footnote 23: Atabay, T. (2014).
 26. Quiroga-Carrillo, A., Varela Portela, C., & Míguez Salina, G. (2023). Una aproximación al perfil de las mujeres extranjeras privadas de libertad en España. *Quaderns de Psicologia*, 25(2), 1-20.
 27. Jiménez Bautista, F. (2015). Seguridad y migraciones: las mujeres extranjeras en las prisiones españolas. *SOCIAL REVIEW. International Social Sciences Review / Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales*, 4(2), 195-205.
 28. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).
 29. Giacomello, C. (2013). *Mujeres, delitos de drogas y sistemas penitenciarios en América Latina*, Consorcio. Internacional sobre Políticas de Drogas.
 30. Serrano Suárez, D.S. (2020). Pobreza y criminalidad femenina. *Revista Sistema Penal Crítico*, (1), 113-133.
 31. See footnote 28: Giacomello, C. (2013).
 32. Laurenzo Copello, P. (2019). Mujeres en el abismo: delincuencia femenina en contextos de violencia o exclusión. *Revista Electrónica de Ciencia Penal y Criminología*, (21), 1-42.
 33. Agudo Arroyo, Y. (2012). Desigualdades implícitas y sentidas por mujeres extranjeras en centros penitenciarios españoles. In M.L García de Cortázar et al. (Eds.), *Estudios sobre discriminación en el ámbito penitenciario: extranjeras en las prisiones españolas* (79-112). Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
 34. Juanatey Dorado, C. (2018). Delincuencia y población penitenciaria femeninas: situación actual de las mujeres en prisión en España. *Revista Electrónica de Ciencia Penal y Criminología*, (20), 1-32.
 35. Azaola, E. (2005). Las mujeres en el sistema de justicia penal y la antropología a la que adhiero. *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, (22), 51.
 36. Cumbre Judicial Iberoamericana (2008). *Reglas de Brasilia sobre acceso a la justicia de las personas en condición de vulnerabilidad*.
 37. Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas. (2014). *Los Derechos Humanos en la Administración de Justicia (Resolución 69/172)*.
 38. See footnote 24: Atabay, T. (2014).
 39. Chatha, S.A., Ahmad, K., & Sheikh, K.S. (2014). Socio-economic Status and Domestic Violence: A Study on Married Women in Urban Lahore, Pakistan. *South Asian Studies: a research journal of South Asian Studies*, 29 (1), 229-237.
 40. Schuler, S.R., Bates, L.M., & Islam, F. (2008). Women's Rights, Domestic Violence, and Recourse Seeking in Rural Bangladesh. *Violence Against Women*, 14 (3), 365-345.

the law but also gender expectations.⁴¹ Most have dependents,⁴² and separation is emotionally devastating,⁴³ especially for those in poverty, and imprisoned for the first time. The Bangkok Rules recognise these intersecting vulnerabilities, which are further aggravated for non-resident foreign women.⁴⁴ In such cases, imprisonment can deteriorate mental health or trigger new disorders.⁴⁵ Adapting to prison life often leads to behaviours maladaptive in free society, complicating reintegration.⁴⁶

Entering prison generally represents an abrupt break with family ties and support networks. For foreign women, this can represent an additional challenge in family and social terms, especially when they lack prison visits, support, and economic assistance for their dependents.⁴⁷ Having a support network in these circumstances is crucial to mitigate the adverse effects of imprisonment, such as feelings of loneliness and disconnection from reality, phenomena that contribute to prisonisation. Communication challenges, such as five-minute phone calls and time zone mismatches, frustrate relationships with families abroad.⁴⁸

The lack of connections hinders access to release permits and third-stage classification, which represents a significant obstacle in the reintegration process for migrant women. This situation highlights the need to strengthen treatment programmes and activities in penitentiary institutions, focusing on the social integration of these women. These programmes not only focus on the rehabilitation of inmates in general but are essential to address the specific needs

of vulnerable groups, such as migrant women, thus facilitating their effective reintegration, a fundamental objective of prison sentences according to our constitution.

The (re)production of gender stereotypes in activities aimed at women not only disempowers them⁴⁹ but also reinforces gender differentiation and perpetuates the social inequalities that disadvantage them. This situation results in the frequent neglect of women's needs in the prison system, reflecting a reality also observed in other areas of society.⁵⁰ Therefore, treatment programmes and activities must be focused from equality perspectives, thus facilitating adequate training that allows women to access qualified and valuable professions in the labour market.⁵¹

Regarding paid employment within the prison, gender biases are also observed. While 'specific' jobs for men are carpentry, metal carpentry, cooking, and baking, those for women are sewing, laundry, and cleaning.⁵² This division reflects a traditional distribution of roles according to gender, which perpetuates stereotypes and inequalities in the prison environment. However, the opportunity to perform paid work allows foreign women to 'maintain the sense of their migration project'.⁵³

As for treatment programmes, the Spanish prison system currently only offers three specific programmes for the foreign population: educational (formal education, languages, vocational training, and health); multicultural (legal matters, sociocultural characteristics, and intercultural activities); and values and cognitive skills, in which only 46 inmates have

Imprisoned women often combine poverty, foreign status, and victimhood - three overlapping vulnerabilities.

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41. Naredo Molero, M. (2004). ¿Qué nos enseñan las reclusas? La criminalización de la pobreza desde la situación de las reclusas extranjeras y gitanas. *Humanismo y trabajo social*, (3), 67-94.
42. Malalcaza, L. (2015). Gobernabilidad y violencia: acerca del ejercicio de la maternidad en las cárceles bonaerenses. *Derecho y Ciencias Sociales*, 12, 154-168.
43. See footnote 23: Atabay, T. (2014).
44. Naciones Unidas. (2010). *Reglas de las Naciones Unidas para el tratamiento de las reclusas y medidas no privativas de la libertad para las mujeres delincuentes* (Resolución 65/229).
45. Laishes, J. (2002). *The 2002 Mental Health Strategy for Women Offenders*. Correctional Service Canada. Rickford, D. (2003). *Troubled Inside: Responding to the Mental Health Needs of Women in Prison*. Prison Reform Trust.
46. See footnote 1: Varela Portela, C. (2017).
47. Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía. (2020). *Informe sobre la situación de las mujeres presas: Tratamiento y derechos de las mujeres privadas de libertad en los centros penitenciarios de España y Andalucía*.
48. Castillo Algarra, J., & Ruiz García, M. (2010). Mujeres extranjeras en prisiones españolas. El caso andaluz. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 68 (2), 453-472.
49. Gargari Casas, M.M. (2022). Patrones de la melanina: color y género en el CEFERESO. In M. Belausteguigoitia Rius & C. Giacomello (Coords.), *Mujeres privadas de libertad: Perspectiva de género, prácticas artísticas, jurídicas y pedagogías en resistencia* (73-88). Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres INMUJERES.
50. See footnote 34: Azaola, E. (2005).
51. Cervelló Donderis, M.V. (2021). Mujer, prisión y no discriminación. *Estudios Penales y Criminológicos*, (41), 551-591.
52. See footnote 46: Castillo Algarra, J., & Ruiz García, M. (2010).
53. See footnote 46: Castillo Algarra, J., & Ruiz García, M. (2010).

participated in 2022.⁵⁴ None of these has a specific gender focus.

Only two national programmes address women specifically: 'Gender Violence Prevention Program for Women in Penitentiary Centres, *Ser Mujer*' and the 'Program of Actions for Equal Rights Between Men and Women in the Penitentiary Field'. Neither is targeted at migrant women. *Ser mujer* has improved self-esteem and emotional balance, especially for gender violence survivors,⁵⁵ with high foreign participation. However, effects on non-victims are mixed.⁵⁶ The 'Program of Actions' focuses on coordination with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), supporting violence victims, family assistance, and awareness campaigns.⁵⁷ While promising, it still lacks focus on cultural migratory specificity.

Cultural and occupational activities also reflect gender stereotypes. For example, women participate in sewing, laundry, and aerobics, while men have access to the bakery, carpentry, and athletics. Few women join general competitions.⁵⁸ This (re)production of stereotypes disempowers women and limits their post-prison options.

Migrant women in Spanish prisons face several challenges and barriers based on gender inequality and migration status.

The lack of specific programmes addressing their cultural background, legal, and family situation deepens their vulnerability and hinders reintegration. Separation from their families and the absence of support networks, combined with limitations in communication and access to prison benefits, complicate their isolation and mental health, seriously compromising their reintegration opportunities.

To untangle these issues, it is necessary to design policies and programmes with an intersectional approach that includes factors such as gender, migration, and caregiving responsibilities. Some of them encompass the creation of non-stereotyped vocational training programmes, targeted psychological support, and fostering healthy family and social relationships. An integrated and equitable approach is the only way to advance towards a functioning prison system that genuinely aids in the rehabilitation and reintegration of these women.

Recommendations for a gender-sensitive, inclusive reintegration strategy

Strategies for the reintegration of imprisoned migrant women must account for their socio-structural frameworks. Imprisoned migrant women have undergone the process of being criminalised due to deep-rooted class and gender discriminatory forces within society, suffered well before their incarceration period. Therefore, any approach towards reintegration goes beyond the incarcerated barriers of rigid, development-focused, and rights-neglecting techniques.

From this perspective, development cooperation plays a key role as a mechanism to confront the root causes of feminised poverty and social exclusion. Migrant women often come from areas where access

to education, formal employment, and health care is limited. Furthermore, deeply rooted patriarchal norms tend to curtail their autonomy. These factors drive many of them to migrate in search of better opportunities, only to face new barriers such as restrictive immigration policies, labour market discrimination, precarious legal status, and social isolation. Under these circumstances, many women develop what are

typically viewed as 'survival strategies', which are then criminalised, transforming poverty into a matter of penal concern.

In this context, a human rights-based approach to development cooperation calls for tackling the structural inequalities that shape their lives, both before and during incarceration. Spanish development cooperation policy, particularly through Law 1/2023 on Sustainable Development Cooperation and Global Solidarity, reflects a commitment to gender mainstreaming and the empowerment of women and girls across all levels of action. From this rights-based and gender-sensitive framework, cooperation must aim not only to improve basic living standards but to dismantle the institutional and social barriers that prevent migrant women in prison from achieving full development and equal participation.

It is at this point that the importance of NGOs comes into play. Their involvement inside jails and

The effectiveness of Spain's rehabilitative ideals is moderated by its decentralised prison management system.

54. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

55. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

56. Viedma Rojas, A., & Del Val Cid, C. (2019). *Evaluación de la eficacia de un programa de tratamiento para el empoderamiento de las mujeres en prisión*, Ministerio de Interior. Secretaría General Técnica. Instituto de la Mujer y para la Igualdad de Oportunidades.

57. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

58. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

beyond serves as a vehicle for applying inclusive reintegration strategies. Organic Law 1/2023 recognises the importance of their presence in the penitentiary system, which is especially relevant in the area of rehabilitation, as they bring complementary resources, programmes, and human support to those carried out by the state. They are also major players in open-regime interventions, particularly in community service programmes and alternative sentences. Recent data show that 140 NGOs and partner entities operate in open-regime contexts through delivering 219 broad programmes, which encompass a total of 718 specific initiatives.⁵⁹

While there are no programmes explicitly targeting migrant or foreign women as a specific group, some interventions do address these populations separately. In 2022, for example, seven partner entities-led programmes specifically for women reached a total of 56 participants.^{60 61} In the same year, social integration centres (SIC) carried out programmes focused on foreign nationals, involving 145 women in activities related to employment, family relations, and integration support.⁶²

One particularly relevant area is the operation of supervised accommodation units, often managed in partnership with NGOs and typically used by women.⁶³ These residential facilities, located in regular community setting with no external identifiers, offer a less stigmatising environment that facilitates gradual reintegration. Their importance is especially pronounced for imprisoned migrant women, as penitentiary institutions often lack sufficient resources to address the full range of needs faced by this population,⁶⁴ many of whom have lived in poverty or exclusion before their incarceration.

Beyond their formal role in reintegration, NGOs are deeply valued by those living behind bars. Many of them experience profound disconnection and

abandonment by society and institutions. The emotional connection helps restore dignity, build self-esteem, and sustain hope, all of which are crucial elements in the process of rehabilitation. This offers a glimpse of life beyond the prison walls, a safe space for self-expression, emotional support for those without families, and a vital bridge to the outside world,⁶⁵ which often feels distant during incarceration.

The criminalisation of migrant women stems from structural inequalities, poverty, educational gaps, and caregiving burdens. These push women toward crime as a survival mechanism. Tackling this requires addressing the feminisation of poverty and the structural causes behind it.

A rights-based, inclusive prison system must recognise women's diverse trajectories. Migrant women face unique barriers - language, legal status, lack of networks - that hinder reintegration. Policies must reflect diversity.⁶⁶

A holistic approach should promote autonomy, build capacity, and prevent recidivism. Strategies must include gender-sensitive training, family contact facilitation, and psychological care tailored to their backgrounds.

Only through intersectional, inclusive policies can we ensure that imprisonment does not perpetuate inequality but supports reintegration and justice for all women. This requires not only acknowledging the compounded effects of gender, migration status, and poverty but also committing to culturally appropriate, gender-sensitive, and trauma-informed reforms that respond to the real needs of incarcerated migrant women.

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59. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

60. Workshop "New Technology for employment" (developed in CIS A Coruña by *Fundación Erquete* where 4 women participated); Workshop "Employment and prison" (developed in CIS Alcalá by *Fundación Arco Iris* where 2 women participated); Workshop "Employment counseling" (developed in CIS Alicante by *Asociación programa reinserción mujeres* where 12 women participated); Workshop "Pathways to freedom" (developed in Madrid V.Kent by *Fundación Alamedillas* where 11 women participated); Workshop "Hosting and rehabilitation for women" (developed in Madrid V.Kent by *Fundación Prolibertas. Arco Iris* where 7 women participated); Workshop "Nice to meet me" (developed in Málaga by Arrabal where 14 women participated); Workshop "making purses" (developed in CIS de Valencia by *Pastoral Penitenciaria* where 7 women participated).

61. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

62. See footnote 19: Secretaría General de Instituciones Penitenciarias. (2023).

63. Rodríguez Yagüe, C., & Pascual Rodríguez, E. (2022). *Las mujeres en prisión: la voz que nadie escucha. Explorando nuevas vías de cumplimiento de las penas impuestas a mujeres a través de la cultura*. La Cultivada (Fundación Gabeiras).

64. See footnote 23: Atabay, T. (2014).

65. Benito López, R., & García Almonacid, J.A. (2019). La intervención de las ONG'S y el voluntariado en el medio penitenciario. *Revista de Estudios Penitenciarios, Extra*, 75-86.

66. See footnote 49: Cervelló Donderis, M.V.