



FIADYS

FUNDACIÓN PARA LA INVESTIGACIÓN APLICADA
EN DELINCUENCIA Y SEGURIDAD

IMPACT OF SEXISM AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE ON THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN MIXED PRISONS

Funded by:



In collaboration with:



2025

FIADYS Reports

#19

Study funded by:

Ministry of Equality

In collaboration with the team from the General Secretariat of Penitentiary

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Fiadys Reports

ISSN: 3020-2639.

ISBN: 978-84-09-76342-9

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors of this study would like to thank the General Secretariat of Penitentiary Institutions, of the Ministry of the Interior, and its staff for their essential assistance in planning, designing, and accessing prisons to collect data from the samples. Without their collaboration, this study would not have been possible.

We especially appreciate the work and collaboration of the technical team at the following prisons:

- Tenerife II Penitentiary Centre.
- Mallorca Penitentiary Center.
- Madrid Penitentiary Center VI.
- Albacete Penitentiary Centre.
- Madrid Penitentiary Center VII.
- Asturias Penitentiary Center.

FINANCING

This research has been funded by the Ministry of Equality, with a public grant, under a competitive bidding process in 2024, intended for awareness programs and projects, prevention and research of the different forms of violence against women.

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The general objective of this study is to analyze the situation of women in mixed-gender prisons and how previously experienced sexism and gender-based violence can affect them. To this end, the study seeks to understand the specific conditions in which they live within these prisons by administering instruments designed to assess the internalization of sexist attitudes, which can contribute to normalizing and perpetuating gender inequalities in the prison context. The sample consists of 78 women serving prison sentences in mixed-gender prisons, ranging in age from 23 to 63 years.

The results of the quantitative phase of the research revealed the following in relation to women's internalized sexist attitudes:

- They obtained an average score of 2.18 in hostile sexism and 2.4 in benevolent sexism, values that are higher than those observed in other investigations with samples of women in the community and lower than those recorded in the male prison population.
- A positive and significant correlation was observed between hostile and benevolent sexism, which seems to indicate that the greater the agreement regarding hostile statements towards women, the greater the agreement also tends to be regarding those seemingly positive statements towards them, even if they are also discriminatory.
- No statistically significant differences were found in the internalization of sexist attitudes by women based on their nationality, age, level of education, or marital status.

The results of the quantitative phase showed that, in the support relationships identified by the inmates, women were identified as support links significantly more frequently than men. Likewise, no significant differences were found between the number of women identified as support persons and variables such as nationality, marital status, education level, or age of the inmates.

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In a second phase of the investigation, interviews were conducted with 33 of the women surveyed to explore their perceptions of sexism and gender discrimination experienced both during their time in prison and at relevant earlier points in their life and criminal history. This phase allows us to conclude that:

- The women interviewed were victims of sexual violence in 15.15% of cases and of gender violence in 24.4% of these, according to their own testimony.
- Prostitution is a present element in the description of the history of drug use of 21.2% of the women interviewed, sometimes identified as the cause of the start of consumption and, in others, as a consequence.
- In 24.2% of cases, female inmates detected situations of inequality with respect to men in terms of medical care during the execution of the sentence, sometimes alluding to priority care for men or, in other cases, more adequate care.
- The women mentioned a significant difference in access to services, facilities, and the educational and employment opportunities offered by the prison compared to men. However, they did not report having experienced sexist treatment from other inmates or staff at the prison.

2. INTRODUCTION

The reality of women in the prison system is an issue that deserves the attention of society in general and public administrations in particular. Although historically research in this area has focused primarily on the male population, it is crucial to recognize that women face unique and particularly complex challenges within the prison environment. In this context, the main objective of this research proposal is to analyze the situation of women in mixed-gender prisons and the impact that inmate sexism, and the environment itself, has on their experience during their time in prison.

Organic Law 1/1979, of September 26, the General Penitentiary Law, together with its implementing regulations—the Penitentiary Regulations approved by Royal Decree 190/1996, of February 9—establishes the principle of gender equality in the execution of custodial sentences. However, certain exceptions are provided for based on the biological and social condition of women deprived of their liberty, such as the prohibition of imposing the disciplinary sanction of isolation on female inmates who are pregnant, breastfeeding, living with their children, or who have recently given birth (Art. 43.3 of the General Penitentiary Law and Art. 254 of the Penitentiary Regulations).

The presence of women in the Spanish prison system is significantly underrepresented, comprising only 7.1% of the prison population compared to 92.9% for men (Ministry of the Interior, 2022). Currently, Spain has 91 prisons, of which only three are exclusively for women: Brieva Prison (Ávila), Wad-Ras Prison (Barcelona), and Madrid I Prison. Given this limited dedicated infrastructure, approximately 75 women's modules have been established within general prisons, known as mixed-gender facilities (Almeda, 2005). The majority of incarcerated women are housed in these modules, some of which allow cohabitation with men in shared spaces, such as mixed-gender "respect" modules or in contexts related to addiction treatment or programs for mothers with children.

This prison configuration means that the treatment offered in these centers is, in general, uniform, without differentiated attention to the particular needs of women. Behind prison walls, the needs of female inmates often go unnoticed (Quiroga-Carrillo et al., 2024). In the Spanish context, significant shortcomings persist regarding gender, either due to a lack of application of existing regulations or a disregard for gender issues in relation to female crime and the reintegration process. Among these shortcomings, limitations in the internal classification of incarcerated women stand out, primarily because most Spanish prisons are mixed-gender facilities in which, with few exceptions, there is only one module for women. This prevents adequate classification according to individualized criteria of dangerousness, needs, or treatment, unlike what occurs in male modules.

The second deficiency relates to the geographical location of women's prisons. The scarcity of dedicated units or facilities for women often means that they must be transferred to establishments far from their family and social environment, hindering the maintenance of emotional bonds and the process of social reintegration. This situation affects women more than men.

Third, there is a notable lack of evaluation of treatment programs. Therapeutic and intervention programs implemented in prisons can reproduce gender stereotypes and often lack a specific perspective focused on women. However, in recent years, a significant effort has been made to incorporate a gender perspective into treatment, in line with the Bangkok Rules (Rules 40 and 41), which advocate for treatments tailored to the needs of female inmates.

On the other hand, there is a lack of post-prison reintegration programs for women, despite Rule 46 of the Bangkok Rules highlighting the importance of establishing support resources that facilitate women's social reintegration after their release from prison. However, in the Spanish case, there is a notable absence of programs offering specific psychological, medical, or legal assistance for this population. In this regard, it has been shown that activities designed for female inmates within prisons are closely associated with traditional perceptions.

traditional roles for women and gender roles as caregivers for their families. Occupational training activities for inmates focus on catering, hairdressing, beauty, sewing, cooking, etc., highlighting the "domestication" of these activities, perpetuating social gender stereotypes (Quiroga-Carrillo et al., 2024) and the patriarchal structure.

Finally, it is worth noting the scarcity of research focused on female offenders. Despite the provisions of Section IV of the Bangkok Rules, in Spain, not enough empirical studies have yet been conducted to fully understand the causes of female offenders and, consequently, to prevent them effectively (Izco, 2018). In addition to the invisibility of women in prison, a significant portion of the literature concludes that the criminal trajectories of female offenders are defined by gender and racial inequalities, characterized by poverty, family problems, and prior histories of violence and victimization. All of these characteristics must be addressed if the aim is to achieve desistance from these criminal trajectories and the subsequent social reintegration of these women. Following Quiroga-Carrillo and collaborators (2024): "Without adequate intervention during prison, women return to their communities in the same downward spirals of social exclusion that they had already experienced before entering prison, but now with the added stigma of being an 'ex-inmate'.

The focus on mixed-gender prisons stems from the need to understand the gender dynamics that develop in these spaces where women and men share the same environment. Although the proportion of women in prison is usually much lower than that of men, as previously mentioned, their presence in mixed-gender facilities raises questions about how these conditions affect their well-being, safety, and access to resources and services within the prison system.

Sexism is an attitude directed toward people as a consequence of their membership in a group based on their biological sex. However, in research in this field, there has been a tendency to limit sexism to negative attitudes toward women (Expósito et al., 1998). In general, sexism is an omnipresent force that shapes social interactions and power structures within any context, including the prison system. Women in prison are exposed to various manifestations of sexism, ranging from unequal treatment to...

Inequality in access to rehabilitation programs, difficulties and equal distribution of opportunities for access to training and employment, to the different forms of violence (psychological, physical, institutional etc.) experienced before entering the penitentiary center as well as during the fulfillment of the sentence.

Several international studies have highlighted specific risk factors that influence women's criminal trajectories, as mentioned previously, emphasizing issues closely related to sexism, such as the high prevalence of prior experiences of victimization. A significant percentage of incarcerated women have suffered physical, psychological, or sexual violence during childhood and adolescence, as well as gender-based violence in youth and adulthood (Edwards et al., 2022; Schonbrun et al., 2017). In the Spanish context, available research points to similar patterns (Fontanil et al., 2013; Loinaz and Andrés-Pueyo, 2017; Yurrebaso et al., 2022). Likewise, other factors that differentially affect the female prison population are the social stigma associated with their role as mothers and caregivers (Mapelli et al., 2013), as well as the disproportionate burden of family responsibilities, especially in contexts of social exclusion (National Drug Plan, 2021).

The relevance of this research project lies in its potential to inform prison policies and practices that promote gender equality and guarantee respect for the human rights of women in prison. By identifying and understanding the specific barriers women face due to sexism, effective interventions can be designed to address these issues comprehensively. Furthermore, by highlighting the importance of considering the needs and experiences of women within the prison system, this research will contribute to building a more inclusive and equitable approach to the management of prison institutions.

3. OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of this study is to analyze the situation of women in mixed-gender prisons and how previously experienced sexism and gender-based violence may affect them. Therefore, it will seek to understand the specific conditions in which women find themselves within these facilities.

The following specific objectives are planned:

- 1.To identify the sexist attitudes internalized during the socialization process of women in mixed centers and to analyze whether there are differences in these beliefs based on sociodemographic characteristics.
- 2.Explore the support network of women in prison and how this relates to gender roles.
- 3.To understand the influence that perceived sexism and gender discrimination has on the experience of women in prison, with special emphasis on the influence of previous experiences of victimization.
- 4.Develop recommendations to improve the situation of women incarcerated in mixed centers regarding perceived situations of sex discrimination.

4. METHODOLOGY

To answer the research questions, a mixed-methods approach was adopted, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative phase was structured around an assessment protocol that included sociodemographic variables and psychological variables, evaluated using various standardized instruments. The qualitative component of the research was conducted through semi-structured interviews with female inmates with substance use disorders, allowing for a deeper understanding of their personal experiences and providing context for the results obtained in the quantitative analysis.

4.1. Sample

The sample consists of women serving prison sentences who have substance use problems [1]. With the help of prison staff, a total of 139 women with substance use problems were contacted. Of these, 61 (43.6%) declined to participate in the study. The main reasons given for declining were failure to complete the questionnaire and a lack of recognition of their substance use problems (see Table 1).

Thus, the resulting sample consists of 78 women serving their sentences in mixed-gender prisons, aged between 23 and 63 years ($M=39.9$; $SD=8.3$). Of the total number of inmates, regarding the prison regime: 68.8% resided in women-only modules, 2.6% in women's modules but receiving treatment in a mixed-gender module (sharing spaces with men), and 28.6% in mixed-gender residential modules.

[1] The sample used corresponds to the female sample used in a previous research project, "The situation of women with substance use problems in mixed-gender centers. Analysis of barriers to access to treatment," funded by the Government Delegation for the National Drug Plan. Link to the full report: <https://www.fiadys.org/publicaciones/la-situacion-de-las-mujeres-con-problemas-de-consumo-de-sustancias-en-centros-mixtos-analisis-de-las-barreras-de-acceso-al-tratamiento/>

Table 1. Reasons for refusing to participate in the study

Reason for rejection	Frequency (n)	Valid percentage (%)
He doesn't want to participate	17	27,9
It has no consumption problems	16	26,2
Language difficulties	4	6,6
It is not found in the module	10	16,4
Fear of reprisals	2	3,3
He has not appeared	7	11,5
Sanction	1	1,6
Third grade	1	1,6
Intellectual developmental disorder	1	1,6
Total rejections	61	100

The resulting sample comprises 78 women serving their sentences in mixed-gender prisons, aged between 23 and 63 years ($M=39.9$; $SD=8.3$). Regarding their prison regime, 68.8% of the inmates resided in women-only units, 2.6% in women's units but receiving treatment in mixed-gender units (sharing spaces with men), and 28.6% in mixed-gender residential units. Of the 78 women in the sample, 59% were not receiving treatment at the time the questionnaire was completed, while the remaining 41% were.

The research team emphasizes the importance of investigating the sexism experienced by female inmates who share spaces with men within the prison. It is known that one of the areas within prison life where men and women coexist is precisely in drug and narcotics treatment programs.

Subsequently, in a second phase of the research, interviews were conducted with women who were not receiving treatment at the time of the study. The aim was to gain a deeper understanding of their history of substance use, the difficulties they faced in rehabilitation treatment, their access to it, and their perceptions of sexism/gender discrimination experienced both during their time in prison and at relevant earlier points in their history of substance use, treatment, and criminal activity. Of the 78 women who participated in the questionnaire, 33 were interviewed (42.3% of the sample). Table 2 shows the prison where the women surveyed and interviewed were incarcerated.

Table 2. Number of surveys and interviews conducted according to the prison.

Penitentiary center	Frequency of women surveyed (n)	Frequency of women interviewed (%)
Tenerife II	18	14
Majorca	17	9
Madrid VII	14	5
Albacete	7	1
Madrid VI	12	3
Asturias	10	1
Total	78	33

4.2. Instruments

This study is part of a broader investigation into the situation of women with drug dependencies serving prison sentences, in which various psychological questionnaires and structured interviews were used. The instruments specifically used for this research are described below, including the scales and questionnaires applied, as well as the interview guide.

4.2.1. Psychological scales and questionnaires

- Sociodemographic questionnaire: age, nationality (Spanish/foreign), number of years residing in Spain, level of education (unfinished basic studies, basic studies, secondary, university studies), marital status (single, married, separated, widowed), number of children, relationship with children, parents and siblings (yes/no), number of siblings, stay in prison (mixed residential module, women-only module with treatment in mixed module (outpatient), women-only module), level of satisfaction with the module in which you live (very satisfied, satisfied, sufficient, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied), the number of sanctions and permits and the activities carried out in prison (school/ destination/ training course/ occupational workshop/ paid work/ sport or gym/ reading/ others).
- Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI): (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Spanish version by Expósito et al., 1998). It assesses sexism toward women through two distinct components: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Both types of sexism are beliefs about the inferiority of women in relation to men. Hostile sexism manifests as an offensive attitude that degrades or undervalues the role of women and comprises 11 items on the scale (SE2, SE4, SE5, SE7, SE10, SE11, SE14, SE15, SE16, SE18, and SE21). (See

In contrast, benevolent sexism is revealed through paternalistic or protective attitudes and comprises the remaining 11 items of the scale (SE1, SE3, SE6, SE8, SE9, SE12, SE13, SE17, SE19, SE20, and SE22) (see Appendix I). The inventory consists of 22 items scored from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on a Likert-type scale. The psychometric properties of the instrument are satisfactory, with an internal consistency alpha coefficient of 0.852 for hostile sexism and 0.879 for benevolent sexism. These values support the suitability of both subscales for consistently assessing the corresponding attitudes within the analyzed sample.

- The Social Support Scale (SSS) (Funch et al., 1986) quantitatively assesses the number of people who support the user and their level of satisfaction with the support received in different situations. It also considers the sources of support (family, friends, partner, etc.). The results are obtained in three phases. First, the average number of people the user can rely on is calculated. Second, the main sources of support are identified. Finally, a Likert scale with scores ranging from 0 (Not at all satisfied) to 3 (Very satisfied) is used to determine the level of satisfaction with the support received. Higher scores indicate greater satisfaction. The alpha values for this scale are adequate, showing internal consistency values between 0.61 and 0.84.

4.2.2. In-depth interview

The structured interviews conducted aimed to delve deeper into the inmates' histories regarding their substance use and the treatment they received, or did not receive, during their time in prison. A semi-structured interview format was used, in which, based on a predefined script of questions, the interviewer had sufficient flexibility to adjust the order, rephrase them, and add new ones according to the responses obtained. This type of interview allows for a high level of detail in the information gathered and significant adaptability to the interviewee's context. The inmates made references to the sexism, or lack thereof, they perceived during their time in prison.

The script followed in the interviews is structured around 8 thematic blocks:

1. History of her addiction. The first section gathers information about her history of substance use, when it began, influences on the process, experiences with withdrawal, the rehabilitation treatments she underwent, and the role that gender has played in this process. In this last respect, she was asked: Do you think being a woman has affected you differently in your situation with drugs? In what way? Have you felt that you are treated differently or do you have different problems than men in relation to this issue?
2. Perception of the need for treatment. The second section addresses issues related to self-perception, current consumption, perception of safety experienced in their environment, and consideration of their support needs for quitting substance use.
3. Barriers to accessing treatment. The objective of this third section is to gather information about the obstacles these women perceive in seeking addiction treatment. Questions were asked about previous negative experiences with treatment or healthcare professionals, as well as other factors such as fear of external judgment or fears related to jeopardizing their ability to care for their children. The section also directly explored how being a woman might present greater difficulties in accessing treatment. Specifically, the questions asked were: Have you faced specific obstacles related to what others expect of you as a woman that you believe have affected your situation? Is there anything that particularly worries you about seeking help, as a woman, that you think others don't understand?
4. Concerns, fears, and motivations for change. This section explored concerns, emotions, feelings, and fears regarding quitting substance use or undergoing rehabilitation treatment. Participants were also encouraged to reflect on the factors that would motivate them to abstain and how they envisioned a future life free from these substances.
5. Social and family support. The fifth section explores the inmate's relationship with her family and friends regarding drug use, the support she feels from these groups, the possibility of confiding in her environment, and the expectations placed on her by family and friends because she is a woman in relation to this issue.
6. Personal goals and motivation for change. This involved identifying the goals that women have for a future life away from consumerism, their motivations for these goals, and their desires for change.

7. Knowledge about rehabilitation treatment options. The aim is to determine which resources offered by the prison are known to the inmates.
8. Practical and logistical aspects. This last section gathers information on the inmates' knowledge of the resources available for treatment and the barriers to accessing them, the information provided by the technical team on the resources provided in the prison regarding rehabilitation treatment, and their opinions on what would be an ideal rehabilitation treatment for them.

4.3. Procedure

The determination of the inmates who would make up the sample for the investigation was facilitated by the General Secretariat of Penitentiary Institutions, through its technical teams, collecting cases from the following cases selected by convenience: Tenerife II Penitentiary Center, Mallorca Penitentiary Center, Madrid VII Penitentiary Center, Albacete Penitentiary Center, Madrid VI Penitentiary Center and Asturias Penitentiary Center.

In each of the prisons, the research team members, in collaboration with the institution's technical staff, contacted all the women with substance use problems to inform them about the study and offer them the opportunity to participate. Participation was entirely voluntary, without any compensation, and anonymity was guaranteed at all times, as well as compliance with current data protection and confidentiality regulations regarding the information collected.

Prior to completing the research instruments, the participating women signed an informed consent form, granting permission for the use of the information they provided in the questionnaires and interviews. The FIADYS research team offered support to those with reading difficulties, explaining the content and scope of the questions and guiding them through the response options.

Regarding the interviews, they were only carried out with respect to those women who at the time of application of the protocol were not receiving any type of detoxification treatment during their stay in prison, thus allowing to delve deeper into the barriers to access to it and into the perception of the discrimination and sexism experienced in their case.

4.4. Data Analysis

To describe the characteristics of the women in the sample, a descriptive analysis of the sociodemographic variables collected in the questionnaire was performed.

The statistical analysis plan is divided into two distinct parts in relation to specific objectives 1 and 2 of the research. To address objective 1, "To identify manifestations of sexism in the prison system according to the perceptions of women in mixed-gender facilities and to determine if there are differences in these manifestations based on sociodemographic characteristics," the results of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory were analyzed, focusing on hostile and benevolent sexism to describe the degree to which these were experienced by the surveyed female inmates. Furthermore, various inferential statistical tests were used to investigate the differences between benevolent, hostile, and total sexism based on sociodemographic characteristics such as age, nationality, education level, and marital status, among others. Depending on the case, the Kruskal-Wallis and Spearman statistical tests were used. To address this first objective, the results of the interviews were also analyzed, supported by their subsequent transcriptions. This would allow the research team to delve deeper into the inmates' own perceptions of the sexism they experience and how this does or does not influence their life trajectory, criminal history, and prison experience.

On the other hand, and in order to achieve objective 2 "to know the influence that perceived sexism has on the experience of women in prison", the research team used a content analysis of the discourse of the female inmates that allowed them to collect testimony of those direct or indirect allusions by the women to issues related to sexism and discrimination based on sex, if any, perceived during their stay in the penitentiary center, thus being able to also address objective 3 of this research and draw conclusions about how this may have influenced their prison experience.

The statistical analyses performed were carried out using the SPSS statistical package (version 29.0.1.0).

5. RESULTS

This section presents two main parts. The first part addresses the quantitative results, focusing on the sociodemographic and psychological characteristics of the female inmates with substance use problems. It also presents the results regarding the overall sexism—both benevolent and hostile—experienced by these women, considering the degree to which these attitudes manifest in relation to sociodemographic variables such as nationality and age. These first two parts aim to describe the sample under analysis and to understand the level of perceived sexism. The research team also examined whether the women's sexist attitudes varied according to certain sociodemographic characteristics, such as age, marital status, and nationality.

Third, the first section presents data on the social support reported by the women surveyed, focusing on the people they consider supportive, trustworthy, and accepting of their situation, as well as the gender of these individuals. The aim is to use the results obtained from the Social Support Scale (SSS) to analyze the people chosen by the inmates as support figures, specifically identifying who they turn to and their gender. The objective is to determine whether there is a preference for male or female figures as sources of support and how this choice may be related to sexist attitudes. Several studies have shown that sexism can manifest itself in dynamics of protection or dependence on men (Glick & Fiske, 2001), so exploring whether women tend to seek more support from men or women can offer relevant information on how these patterns are perpetuated.

The second section focuses on presenting the qualitative results obtained from the interviews conducted, concentrating on identifying all issues related to gender, discrimination experienced, and sexism identified by women, both in terms of their history of consumption, development of prison life, and participation in rehabilitation treatments in the prison environment, where applicable.

5.1. Quantitative results

Next, to address the first and second objectives of the research, information on female drug users in prison is presented, beginning with their sociodemographic characteristics. The results described below are drawn from the three questionnaires administered, as previously mentioned.

5.1.1. Sociodemographic and prison variables

Of the total sample studied, Table 3 shows that the majority of women are of Spanish origin (87.3%), followed by women from Colombia (3.8%), Germany (2.8%), Brazil (2.7%), Russia (1.4%), and Ecuador (1.3%). Regarding their level of education, 39% of the women have completed secondary education; 31.2% have completed basic education; 22.1% have not completed basic education; and only 7.8% have a university degree. Most of the women are single (57.1%) or separated (16.9%) and have children ($M=2.2$ children; $SD=2.1$; $max=12$, $min=1$). Overall, there is a relationship with their children (74.6%). It is also important to highlight that women refer to mental health problems in 42.1% of cases, requiring psychiatric medication in 50.6% of these cases, with antidepressants, anxiolytics and hypnotics being the most frequent medications.

35.6% of these individuals received sanctions during the execution of their sentence, and only 16.7% enjoyed any temporary release permits while serving their time in prison. Regarding activities undertaken during their prison life, the most frequent is participation in community service assignments, which consist of unpaid work for the proper functioning of the prison and are carried out by the inmates themselves, generally involving food distribution or cleaning (71.9%); participation in school (67.7%), the gym (66.2%), reading (55.2%), paid work (46.2%), participation in training courses (43.6%), and participation in occupational workshops (43.1%).

Table 3. Sociodemographic and prison variables

Sociodemographic and prison variables	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Place of birth: Spain, Germany, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador Russia	71	87,3 12,7
Level of education: Basic education (incomplete) Secondary education University studies	77	22,1 31,2 39,0 7,8
Marital status Single Married Separated Widow	77	57,1 16,9 16,9 9,1
Does she have children? (Yes)	78	68,8
Relationship with children (Yes)	59	83,0
Relationship with parents (Yes)	70	74,3
Does he/she have siblings? (Yes)	78	94,9
Relationship with siblings (Yes)	71	73,2
Mental health problems (Yes)	76	42,1
Takes psychiatric medication (Yes)	77	50,6
She has been in PAIEM (Yes)	75	8,0
He's been in PPS (Yes)	78	25,6
It has sanctions (Yes)	73	35,6
He's gone on leave (Yes)	72	16,7
Has he/she carried out these activities in prison? (Yes) Destination School Training Course Paid Work Occupational Workshop Gym Reading	62 57 55 52 58 65 58	53,8 52,6 30,8 30,8 32,0 55,1 41,0

Note: PAIEM = Comprehensive Care Program for the Mentally Ill; PPS = Suicide Prevention Program

5.1.2. Hostile sexism and benevolent sexism

Regarding the hostile sexism subscale, participants obtained a mean score of 2.2 (SD=1.2). This result indicates a moderately low level of agreement with statements reflecting hostile attitudes toward women. Furthermore, the standard deviation suggests some variability in the responses provided by the 73 participants who completed the entire scale, implying that, despite the low mean, there are notable differences among the women participants in their perceptions of hostile sexism.

Regarding the benevolent sexism subscale, participants obtained a mean score of 2.4 (SD=1.2), slightly higher than their score for hostile sexism. Again, this is a moderately low score in accordance with the statements reflected.

They reflect benevolent attitudes towards women. The standard deviation again suggests a notable variability in the responses obtained (see Table 4).

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Subscale	Media (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	Minimum (min)	Maximum (max)
Hostile sexism (n=73)	2,2	1,2	0	4,6
Benevolent sexism (n=73)	2,4	1,2	0	4,4

In addition to the above, a positive and significant correlation was observed between hostile sexism and benevolent sexism ($r=0.594$; $p<0.001$), which seems to indicate that the greater the agreement regarding hostile statements about women, the greater the agreement also tends to be regarding seemingly positive statements about them, even if these statements are also discriminatory. This implies the existence of an interrelationship between both forms of sexism, which, although seemingly opposite, nevertheless form part of the same ideological structure that perpetuates gender inequalities. The research team considered it relevant to verify whether there were differences in women's sexist beliefs according to different profiles: national and foreign, age, level of education (incomplete basic education, basic education, secondary education, and university education), and marital status (married, separated, single, and widowed).

The analysis began by comparing scores on the sexism scale and subscales according to the inmates' nationality (see Table 5). Regarding total sexism, the sum of the items comprising hostile and benevolent sexism, there were no significant differences in the results between Spanish and foreign inmates. Specifically, concerning hostile sexism, Spanish participants obtained a mean of 2.4, while foreign participants had a slightly lower mean of 2.0. However, the statistical test did not reveal statistically significant differences between the two groups ($U=162.50$; $p=0.359$), indicating that both nationalities exhibited similar levels of hostile sexism. Regarding benevolent sexism, Spanish women had a mean of 2.1, while foreign women had a higher mean of 2.4. In this case, again, there were no significant differences between the groups ($U=229.50$; $p=0.632$).

Table 5. Differences in the variables Total sexism, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism according to the nationality of the inmates.

Variable	Nationality	n	Media (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	U Mann-Whitney	p
Hostile sexism (n=66)	Spanish women	59	2,4	1,2	162,500	0,359
	Foreigners	7	2,0	1,4		
Benevolent sexism (n=66)	Spanish women	59	2,1	1,2	229,500	0,632
	Foreigners	7	2,4	1,5		
Total sexism (n=66)	Spanish women	59	2,3	1,1	201,000	0,909
	Foreigners	7	2,2	1,3		

Regarding the relationship between participants' age and scores on hostile sexism, the analysis revealed a positive but non-significant correlation ($p=0.199$; $p=0.158$; $n=52$), indicating no statistically significant association between participants' age and their level of agreement with statements about hostile sexism. The relationship was even weaker for benevolent sexism ($p=0.052$; $p=0.715$; $n=52$), and positive but very weak for overall sexism ($p=0.128$; $p=0.366$; $n=52$). This suggests that age is not significantly related to levels of either hostile or benevolent sexism.

As shown in Table 6, no statistically significant differences were observed in overall sexism scores according to the inmates' level of education ($\chi^2=0.874$; $p=0.832$). Therefore, the level of academic training is not associated with variations in sexist attitudes in the analyzed sample. No differences were observed regarding benevolent sexism or hostile sexism either ($\chi^2=0.889$; $p=0.828$; $\chi^2=1.060$; $p=0.787$).

Table 6. Differences in total sexism, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism according to the level of education attained

Variable	Level of education	n	Media (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	χ^2	p
Hostile sexism (n=72)	Basic studies not completed	16	2,6	1,2	1,060	0,787
	Basic studies	23	2,2	1,3		
	Secondary	28	2,3	1,2		
	University studies	5	2,5	0,8		
Benevolent sexism (n=72)	Basic studies not completed	16	2,2	0,9	0,889	0,898
	Basic studies	23	2,1	1,4		
	Secondary	28	2,3	1,3		
	University studies	5	1,8	1,5		
Total sexism (n=72)	Basic studies not completed	16	2,4	0,9	0,874	0,832
	Basic studies	23	2,1	1,3		
	Secondary	28	2,3	1,1		
	University studies	5	2,2	0,9		

Sexism scores (hostile/benevolent/total) were compared according to the marital status of the inmates (see Table 7). The results showed no statistically significant differences between the groups ($\chi^2=0.400$; $p=0.940$; $\chi^2=3.382$; $p=0.336$; $\chi^2=1.612$; $p=0.656$), indicating that marital status is not associated with variations in these attitudes in the analyzed sample. Despite the lack of statistical significance, slight differences in the means between groups were observed, with total sexism scores, for example, being higher in the group of single women than in the others, although these differences did not reach the threshold of significance, as previously stated.

Table 7. Differences in total sexism, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism according to the marital status of the inmates

Variable	Civil status	n	Media (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	χ^2	p
Hostile sexism (n=72)	Married	12	2,4	1,2	0,400	0,940
	Separated	13	2,4	1,3		
	Single woman	42	2,5	1,2		
	Widow	5	2,0	0,8		
Benevolent sexism (n=72)	Married	12	2,1	1,4	3,382	0,336
	Separated	13	2,1	1,4		
	Single woman	42	2,4	1,1		
	Widow	5	1,4	0,9		
Total sexism (n=72)	Married	12	2,2	1,1	1,616	0,656
	Separated	13	2,3	1,3		
	Single woman	42	2,4	1,0		
	Widow	5	1,7	1,0		

5.1.3. Characteristics of the support relationships experienced by the inmates

Within the framework of ambivalent sexism, women tend to internalize both hostile and benevolent norms that regulate gender relations. The fact that the Social Support Scale allows us to observe the gender of most of the people identified as these women's primary sources of support, in turn, leads us to evaluate whether affective and protective networks perpetuate the dynamics of traditional gender roles. Therefore, the aim here is to determine whether women tend to seek emotional support primarily from other women or whether, on the contrary, they tend to turn to men, which would reveal an internalization of the protective paternalism characteristic of benevolent sexism.

First, the results presented here focus on the person or people identified by the inmates as "trustworthy," that is, those they felt they could rely on when they needed help. The number of people identified as trustworthy by the inmates (n=62) is 160, of whom the gender could only be determined for 129 (80.6%). Thirty-one percent of the valid cases identified men, and the remaining 69% identified women. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that of the total number of people identified by the women whose gender was specified, the inmates mentioned up to five women and only up to two men.

The study also explored the individuals identified by the inmates as people they could "count on to feel more relaxed" in stressful situations. The results indicated that a total of 115 people were mentioned as potential confidants, but the gender of only 99 was specified: 34.3% were men and 65.7% were women. Again, the number of women mentioned by the inmates as potential confidants was up to 5, while the number of men mentioned was higher, at 2.

The results are similar regarding the people they feel accept them, both for their best and worst qualities. Of the 158 people surveyed, the gender of 99 (62.6%) is known. Of this latter group, it is again known that the majority of those they feel accept them are women (60.6%). Notably, the number of women they consider to be people they can rely on for care is again similar. The figures are also comparable in terms of the number of women mentioned as people they can feel better with if needed (65% of women versus 35% of men) and the number of women they can rely on for comfort (66.2% of women versus 33.8% of men).

The results are similar in the remaining 3 items: people to "count on for care" (39.3% of men and 60.6% of women), people to "count on to feel better" (35% of men and 65% of women) and people to "feel comfort" (33.8% of men and 66.2% of women).

In summary, the percentage of women identified by the inmates as support links on the measurement scale analyzed here is higher than that of men (it stands at 64.7% compared to 35.3% of men) (see Table 8).

Table 8. Percentages by sex of people indicated by the inmates in each of the items that make up the Social Support Scale (SSS).

SSS Items	Gender		Total (n)
	Men n (%)	Women n (%)	
People they feel they can trust when they need help	40 (31,0)	89 (69,0)	129
People they feel they can count on to help them relax	34 (34,3)	65 (65,6)	99
People by whom they feel completely accepted	39 (39,4)	60 (60,6)	99
People you can count on for care	35 (39,3)	54 (60,6)	89
People you can count on to feel better	28 (35,0)	52 (65,0)	80
People to rely on for comfort	24 (33,8)	47 (66,2)	71
Total number of people indicated by SSS	200 (35,3)	367 (64,7)	567

Turning our attention to the characteristics of the female inmates and their relationship to perceived social support, we calculated the proportion of women identified across the six items of the SSS Scale by the surveyed inmates. The aim was to determine whether statistically significant relationships existed based on variables such as nationality, marital status, education level, and age (see Table 9).

Although the analysis did not show significant differences ($p=0.690$), it was observed that people with secondary education have a higher average proportion of trusted women ($M=0.7$) than people with basic education ($M=0.6$), suggesting a possible trend that could be explored in larger samples.

A similar pattern emerges regarding the marital status of the female inmates. Although there are no statistically significant differences ($p=0.059$), the means obtained show that the largest proportion of women selected on the SSS Scale corresponds to single women in the sample ($M=0.7$). There are no statistically significant differences according to the nationality of the inmates.

Table 9. Differences in the proportion of women indicated on the Social Support Scale according to sociodemographic variables: level of education, marital status, nationality and age.

Variable	n	Media (M)	Standard deviation (SD)	Krusall-Wallis// U of Mann Whitney	p
Level of education: Basic education (incomplete), Basic education, Secondary education, University studies	15	0,6	0,3	1,4	0,690
	19	0,6	0,3		
	25	0,7	0,4		
	5	0,6	0,1		
Marital status Single Married Separated Widow	39	0,7	0,3	7,4	0,059
	9	0,4	0,4		
	11	0,6	0,4		
	6	0,5	0,3		
Spanish Nationality Foreigner	52	0,6	0,3	173,0	0,662
	6	0,7	0,2		

For their part, the age of the inmates also does not allow determining a statistically significant relationship with respect to the proportion of women selected within the SSS Scale by the inmates ($\rho = -0.198$; $p = 0.188$).

5.2. Qualitative results

To complement the quantitative approach of this research, and in relation to the third research objective, a qualitative methodology based on structured interviews is incorporated. This aims to delve deeper into the meanings, experiences, and perceptions underlying sexist attitudes and experiences of gender-based discrimination and victimization experienced by these women. This will allow for a complementary response to the first two objectives of this research.

The quantitative phase allows obtaining general data on the level of sexism perceived by these women and the people identified as support by the inmates; however, the qualitative phase aims to access the complexity of the relationships established by the women, the internalized discourses that support sexist beliefs or attitudes, and to understand, through their own discourse, the perception of discrimination experienced throughout their life and criminal trajectory and during their prison sentence.

5.2.1. Life trajectory and consumption history

The interviews revealed various issues related to gender discrimination and violence against women, primarily linked to consumption patterns. Three variables were most frequently identified: sexual violence, gender-based violence, and prostitution.

In 5 of the 33 cases (15.1%), the women acknowledged having been victims of sexual violence, which, in one case, was the cause the woman attributed to the beginning of her substance use. In general, they reported violent and repeated sexual assaults over time. In this regard, the words of inmates MC158 and MC205:

MC158: "I mean, they managed to grab me, they managed to grab me in my drunken and drugged states and all that, they managed to make me do serious rapes. He grabbed me tightly, he...he...he... I have breast augmentation surgery, my breasts would appear with bruises."

MC205: "I was raped, the rape made me fall even more and I started smoking heroin, I was selling all the things from my house."

Regarding gender violence, it was identified in 8 of the cases (24.2%), alluding to the different types of violence: physical, sexual and psychological, sometimes several types of violence were referred to together by the women interviewed. In this regard, inmate MC176 stated, "I fell in with a bad crowd, and one of them... well, it wasn't really in my hands, you know? Because if you hang out with bad people, things can end badly, you know? And I was hanging out with aggressive people, with bad drinks, with bad drugs, and whether you like it or not, it ends up being a problem, and I started experiencing abuse. He started abusing me, the guy started abusing me, taking advantage of me. I pretended not to notice because I had a drug addiction problem, I pretended not to notice until I reached a point where I couldn't take it anymore. The abuse I suffered—because I suffered abuse, I suffered assaults, assaults you can't even imagine—they did everything to me... I mean, they had sex with me, they had sex with me when I was drunk and high on pills and all that, he even made me commit violent rapes. He would grab me tightly, he..." "Me, me... I've had breast augmentation, my breasts would appear bruised. I'd turn up beaten, drunk, I'd throw myself off a cliff..."

In some cases, violence was identified that began during the romantic relationships of these women during their adolescence.

Of particular interest is prostitution as a central element in the descriptions of their substance use history given by 7 of the women (21.2%). Sometimes, they themselves identify a relationship with a male partner as the cause of their entry into prostitution, and sometimes it is this participation in prostitution that, in turn, triggers the beginning of substance use, which becomes chronic over time, as seen in the words of inmate MC205. In other cases, the process occurs in reverse, and it is habitual use and the need to pay for the substances that leads to prostitution as a means of obtaining income. Both paths can be observed in the testimonies mentioned below:

MC205 (prostitution leads to drug use): "Well, I started using drugs when I was 21. The reason I started using was because the father of my children—I got married when I was 17 and had two kids—he got me into prostitution. After two and a half years of marriage, since I was already working as a prostitute, and for you on top of that, I decided to get a divorce. After the divorce, I went to work in a brothel. And in that brothel, I had to use drugs to work with the clients. Either they came from a drug-fueled lifestyle, or if they didn't come from a drug-fueled lifestyle, I had to use drugs to cope with them. But that's how I got my money to raise my four children, whom I raised on my own."

MC186 (consumption leads to prostitution): "I even ended up prostituting myself, for a micron worth 10 euros."

5.2.2. Discrimination in prison on the grounds of gender: medical care and training and employment opportunities

Turning our attention to gender discrimination and the sexism perceived by the female inmates themselves in their prison life, as well as in relation to the rehabilitation treatment they may have participated in, it is interesting to highlight how in 8 of the 33 cases (24.2%), the inmates detected situations of inequality compared to men regarding the medical care they received during their sentences. In some cases, the women requested medical services and even pointed out that men tend to receive priority or more adequate care than they do. In this regard, inmate MC164 indicated that inequality existed because "at least

"Except when we go to get our medication, we arrive and the men are already there, and they go first." Intern MC178 mentioned a prioritization of medical attention for men that could be explained by their tendency to create conflict situations more easily than women: "Men get more, more help. For example, the 'lyrics,' the 'gabapantin,' and all that, well, whether you like it or not, if you're addicted, they help a lot, because they boost you. They don't make you come down as much, your body isn't tired, your bones don't ache. But for women... for them to give it to a woman, there has to be... appeal, appeal, boss, appeal, appeal. I got fed up, I told them to go take a walk. Faster, because men cause trouble, men riot. So they say, 'Let's give them the pills, it's cheaper for us to give them the pills.' Here, since they tell us no, we stay quiet, so they ignore us."

This view is not shared by all. On one occasion, an inmate stated that she could not answer the question about inequalities in medical care due to her lack of knowledge about how the men's module operates: MC183: "I can't answer because I don't know how the system works in the men's modules, but here the care and attention we receive is minimal... we don't have a doctor, we get sick and spend days and days feeling unwell. Nobody pays attention to us." In another instance, an inmate denied that any differences existed in this regard.

Another relevant issue raised by several of the women interviewed concerns the different opportunities available to men in terms of access to certain services, facilities, and the educational and employment opportunities offered by the prison. The inmates specifically mentioned the lower representation of women compared to men in cleaning positions, activities such as radio broadcasting, flamenco classes, and access to the sports center or the commissary. They allege that men generally have more resources, including the cohabitation of women in a single module, in a space they consider cramped. In the words of some inmates:

MC173: "So it's like you never get out of the loop: 'I'm here, I see the same four walls all the time.' I can't go to school, I can't work. The men have more things to do than we do. Even inside the cellblock. They have wood, they have clay... We don't, we're the lowest of the low in prison. We don't have activities, we don't have any workshops, in the gym there's only one bike and four weights. You only have the yard to run around in. People kill themselves here because they're not occupied. If all the workshops that are

"If they opened those locked-up areas, people would be more occupied with doing things than doing drugs or fighting. All the men's modules have workshops, except for ours. And I don't know, it's true that the men have more... they have more things to do than we do, even in their own module."

MC164: There are many things, you know? There are many things where I see inequality. This is a single module for the 30-odd women who fit here; we feel like sardines in a can. Yes. More activities, more classes, more things, so much inequality.

5.2.3. Sexist attitudes in prison

In some cases, the women's accounts revealed a perception of unequal treatment by center staff: civil servants, technical team, etc. Some even reported sexist attitudes on the part of these staff members and felt judged for not meeting expectations that they believe the staff place on them simply because they are women. However, other women alluded to the absence of any kind of discrimination by the civil servants compared to the men at the center. In this regard:

MC209: Sexism. Because you go around, I've started doing things right and I was super focused, I realized it. Before, I didn't because I was on pills. But my god, if we leave the cellblock, the officers start asking, "Where are you going?" As if we were a flock of sheep. Or, "Because we're sluts, because we're women and you're wearing low-cut tops."

MC154: Interviewer: Are you treated differently? Interviewee: Uh-huh. Interviewer: In what way are you treated differently? Interviewee: Well, I don't know... In that, I don't know, a woman is like, you have to do everything perfectly. You know? Everything perfect, perfect, perfect, perfect. And men, well, they get away with more... Interviewer: Are they given more leeway? Interviewee: More leeway, yes.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this study was to conduct an in-depth analysis of the situation of women in mixed-gender prisons, focusing on whether sexism or the social support they receive can influence their time in prison. Regarding the results on the internalization of sexist attitudes among female inmates, participants obtained an average score of 2.2 on hostile sexism and 2.4 on benevolent sexism. A positive and significant correlation was observed between the two, which seems to indicate that the greater the agreement with hostile statements toward women, the greater the agreement with seemingly positive statements toward them, even if these statements are also discriminatory. Although the scores obtained in this sample are relatively low, they are higher than those observed in community samples of women (Esteban-Ramiro & Fernández-Montaña, 2017), which could be related to the particular social and personal vulnerability of incarcerated women. In contrast, when compared with scores found in the male prison population, lower levels of sexism were observed (Expósito & Moya, 2007), suggesting possible differences in how men and women internalize and express sexist attitudes in the prison context. The scores obtained for this variable did not show a significant relationship with any of the sociodemographic variables studied (nationality, age, education level, and marital status).

On the other hand, the results of this study show that the female inmates analyzed identified other women more frequently as their primary sources of social support. This finding makes sense when analyzed within the theoretical framework of ambivalent sexism, specifically benevolent sexism, of which it is a part. Benevolent sexism is defined as the set of positive attitudes toward women that, nevertheless, reinforce gender inequality by placing them in a position of subordination and dependence with respect to men.

Benevolent sexism is based on the idea that men should care for, support, and protect women, which, although it may seem positive, has adverse effects because it is not recognized as a form of discrimination and contributes to reproducing traditional ideals of femininity and subordination (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005). In this sense, the fact that female inmates more frequently identify other women as their primary sources of emotional and vital support can be interpreted as a positive indicator of less adherence to these sexist beliefs, as it implies a rejection of traditional expectations of dependence on and protection from men. This trend is reflected in the low scores obtained on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, which reinforces the interpretation of less internalization of sexist attitudes in the studied sample.

Furthermore, this could reflect greater relational and emotional autonomy on the part of these women and a tendency toward building bonds based on empathy and understanding with other women. This would indicate a form of symbolic resistance against traditional gender mandates, moving toward attitudes that promote gender equality.

The findings of this research allow us to conclude, among other things, that female inmates perceive different situations of gender inequality within the prison context. Consistent with national and international literature, a significant percentage of them, specifically 24.2%, reported perceiving differences in access to medical services, as well as limitations in job opportunities, training, and the use of common areas compared to men. However, the participants did not report experiences of direct discrimination or sexist attitudes from other inmates or prison staff. In this sense, the results suggest that these are not individual attitudes, but rather structural dynamics inherent to the prison system, which may indirectly contribute to reproducing traditional gender inequalities (Yagüe, 2007).

In any case, and despite the fact that we have found results of particular relevance to understanding the perception of sexism and gender discrimination experienced by female inmates, we must take into account the limitations encountered in this research.

The main limitation concerns the composition of the sample, which consists of women serving sentences in mixed-gender prisons. The majority reside in women-only units, while only a minority live in mixed-gender units with men. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether living with men during incarceration leads to a greater or lesser perception of discrimination during their sentence. Furthermore, the study did not include women residing in women-only prisons, which could have led to different results, particularly regarding their perception of discrimination during their sentence. For example, women in these facilities have greater access to educational and employment opportunities. Additionally, the refusal of a significant portion of the sample to participate in the interview or to have it recorded resulted in a limited sample of testimonies, hindering a deeper exploration of perceived sexism and discrimination.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

In response to the third objective of this research, aimed at identifying practical implications from the results obtained, a series of recommendations are formulated that aim to contribute to a more gender-sensitive prison system, as well as to the promotion of support relationships of special relevance to the success of the criminal desistance process.

One recommendation that can be derived from this study is the systematic incorporation of validated instruments for assessing perceived sexism among female inmates. The use of such scales allows for the identification of internalized or normalized sexist beliefs and attitudes that may be influencing the interpersonal relationships established by the inmates and their perception of social support and their motivation for change. This preliminary assessment will enable the design of intervention programs and strategies tailored to the psychological and relational profile of the individuals, facilitating a more effective approach with a gender perspective and oriented toward changing the thought patterns that perpetuate gender inequalities.

On the other hand, it is recommended that prison intervention programs systematically incorporate the qualitative and relational identification of the support figures identified by women serving prison sentences. Investigating who cares for, accepts, and supports incarcerated women, both inside and outside the prison environment, not only allows for an understanding of their emotional and support network but also enables the planning of interventions tailored to their actual needs. Fostering prosocial bonds and improving motivation for change through these connections should be objectives of the technical team, proposing a sentence execution oriented toward the reintegration of women without neglecting their relational context, always considering a gender perspective.

The Social Support Scale could guide interventions with incarcerated women, providing targeted support to foster the maintenance of social connections with the support sources they themselves have identified. However, it is crucial to ensure that each participant understands the scale, grasping the nuances that differentiate each item. Furthermore, it would be highly beneficial to supplement the scale results with additional feedback from the inmates to gain a deeper understanding of these connections, their structure, strengths, and weaknesses.

Finally, given the qualitative results obtained in this research, a review of the services, training, and employment opportunities offered within the prison system is recommended to eradicate the inequalities that women identify compared to male inmates. The main objective is to ensure that the prison system does not perpetuate traditional gender inequalities. In some facilities, women report having limited access to programs, spaces, and employment opportunities, both in terms of variety and availability. This gap perpetuates traditional gender stereotypes and hinders their social reintegration after release. A gender-sensitive prison treatment program that addresses the real needs of women and the differences between the sexes will be more effectively aligned with the goal of desistance from crime and social reintegration.

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9. APPENDIX

Annex I. Inventory of ambivalent sexism

A continuación, se presentan una serie de frases sobre los hombres y las mujeres y sobre su relación mutua en nuestra sociedad contemporánea. Por favor, indique el grado en que Vd. está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de las frases usando la siguiente escala:

Totalmente en desacuerdo	Moderadamente en desacuerdo	Levemente en desacuerdo	Levemente de acuerdo	Moderadamente de acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
0	1	2	3	4	5

1	Aun cuando un hombre logre muchas cosas en su vida, nunca podrá sentirse verdaderamente completo a menos que tenga el amor de una mujer	0	1	2	3	4	5
2	Con el pretexto de pedir “igualdad”, muchas mujeres buscan privilegios especiales, tales como condiciones de trabajo que las favorezcan a ellas sobre los hombres	0	1	2	3	4	5
3	En caso de una catástrofe, las mujeres deben ser rescatadas antes que los hombres.	0	1	2	3	4	5
4	La mayoría de las mujeres interpreta comentarios o conductas inocentes como sexistas, es decir, como expresiones de prejuicio o discriminación en contra de ellas.	0	1	2	3	4	5
5	Las mujeres se ofenden muy fácilmente.	0	1	2	3	4	5
6	Las personas no pueden ser verdaderamente felices en sus vidas a menos que tengan pareja del otro sexo.	0	1	2	3	4	5
7	En el fondo, las mujeres feministas pretenden que la mujer tenga más poder que el hombre.	0	1	2	3	4	5
8	Muchas mujeres se caracterizan por una pureza que pocos hombres poseen	0	1	2	3	4	5
9	Las mujeres deben ser queridas y protegidas por los hombres.	0	1	2	3	4	5
10	La mayoría de las mujeres no aprecia completamente todo lo que los hombres hacen por ellas.	0	1	2	3	4	5
11	Las mujeres intentan ganar poder controlando a los hombres.	0	1	2	3	4	5
12	Todo hombre debe tener una mujer a quien amar.	0	1	2	3	4	5
13	El hombre está incompleto sin la mujer	0	1	2	3	4	5
14	Las mujeres exageran los problemas que tienen en el trabajo.	0	1	2	3	4	5

15	Una vez que una mujer logra que un hombre se comprometa con ella, por lo general intenta controlarlo estrechamente.	0	1	2	3	4	5
16	Cuando las mujeres son vencidas por los hombres en una competencia justa, generalmente ellas se quejan de haber sido discriminadas.	0	1	2	3	4	5
17	Una buena mujer debería ser puesta en un pedestal por su hombre	0	1	2	3	4	5
18	Existen muchas mujeres que, para burlarse de los hombres, primero se insinúan sexualmente a ellos y luego rechazan los avances de éstos.	0	1	2	3	4	5
19	Las mujeres, en comparación con los hombres, tienden a tener una mayor sensibilidad moral.	0	1	2	3	4	5
20	Los hombres deberían estar dispuestos a sacrificar su propio bienestar con el fin de proveer seguridad económica a las mujeres.	0	1	2	3	4	5
21	Las mujeres feministas están haciendo demandas completamente irracionales a los hombres.	0	1	2	3	4	5
22	Las mujeres, en comparación con los hombres, tienden a tener un sentido más refinado de la cultura y el buen gusto.	0	1	2	3	4	5



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