

“Many endure because of what people will say”. Psychological gender based violence in Spanish rural women

Laura Pavón-Benítez^{a*} y Carmen Ruiz-Repullo^a

^a *Department of Sociology. University of Granada, Granada (Spain) C/Rector López Argüeta, s/n 18071 Granada (Granada) Spain*

*laurapbenitez@ugr.es

“Many endure because of what people will say”. Psychological gender based violence in Spanish rural women

Gender-based violence, understood as the most extreme expression of asymmetric power relations based on gender, aims primarily to perpetuate inequalities, acting as a significant obstacle to progress towards equality. The psychological gender-based violence manifests as a prelude to a complex scenario of abuse within and outside heterosexual partner relationships and emerges as the main strategy of abusers to exert their system of dominance. In rural areas, this type of violence takes on specific nuances, conditioned by demographic, familial, and socioeconomic factors. The aim of this study is to analyze how the rural context influences in these cases, shedding light on the needs, proposals, and opportunities for intervention and prevention in these territories. To achieve this, a qualitative study is presented, based on in-depth interviews and discussion groups with women who have experienced psychological gender-based violence and specialists in gender-based violence of Spain (N=27). The results show the sociocultural difficulties that arise in rural environments related to psychological gender-based violence, affecting the experience and impact on women, further intensifying their concealment. The social pressure and stigma associated with disclosing situations of gender-based violence are more prominent due to close relationships and the small size of the population. These factors represent significant barriers that discourage women from taking the step to seek help or report. The support network formed by the community, feminist associations, and specialized professionals can be of vital importance and can make a significant difference in the recovery of victims and in the cessation of gender-based violence in these contexts. There is an urgent need to incorporate the assessment of psychological risk into evaluation tools, inter-institutional coordination, and support programs adapted to rural reality.

Keywords: Psychological violence, rurality, gender-based violence, survivors, professionals, qualitative

Introduction

1. Patriarchal root of psychological gender-based violence

Gender-based violence, understood as the most extreme expression of asymmetric

power relationships based on gender, aims primarily to perpetuate inequalities, acting as a significant obstacle to progress toward equality (Osborne, 2009; Díaz-Aguado, 2013). We will focus on psychological violence, also called psychological/emotional abuse (Lagdon, 2014), within the context of intimate partner violence (IPV), as a form of gender-based violence. According to Dokkedahl et al. (2019), psychological violence is the most common form of intimate partner violence (IPV) compared to physical and sexual violence, both in the USA (Smith et al., 2023) and Europe (FRA, 2014). It manifests as a prelude to a complex scenario of abuses in heterosexual relationships and stands as the main strategy of abusers, establishing domination patterns that frequently precede other forms of gender-based violence (Alonso et al., 2010; Del Rio & Del Valle, 2016).

Psychological violence encompasses a broad spectrum of behaviors, attitudes, and actions, both active and passive or omissive by abusers. These can be physical, verbal, or non-verbal, varying in intensity and characterized by their repetition and sustainability over time. These patterns threaten the dignity, freedom, integrity, and psychological and emotional stability of the affected women, as well as their children if applicable (Paz & Fernández, 2014). These acts can occur in person, over the phone, or through digital means, such as emails and social media (Krook, 2020). This type of violence generates significant deterioration across various levels: psychological, emotional, cognitive, behavioral, and relational (Jaramillo et al., 2023).

The classification of psychological violence behaviors proposed by Cantera et al. (2009) highlights indicators such as control, isolation, jealousy, harassment, belittling, humiliation, emotional manipulation, emotional indifference, threats, pressure, and sexual neglect. These behaviors do not occur in isolation but gradually infiltrate women's daily lives, acting as the foundation of more explicit violence

(Lorente, 2013; True, 2012). In this sense, they are part of what Walker (2016) calls the cycle of violence and what Bosch et al. (2006) refer to as the patriarchal labyrinth, referring to the ease of initiating these relationships and the difficulty in leaving them.

Díaz-Aguado (2013) provides a detailed analysis of the progression of gender-based violence in heterosexual partner relationships. In the initial phase, a scheme is established in which emotional abuse and coercive control are the norm. This implies imposing unwanted activities, breaking previous ties to the relationship, and consequent diminishing of self-esteem. To avoid abuse, women are compelled to comply with the abusers' wishes, even at the expense of their own will. The second phase is characterized by a strong emotional bond, where abusers alternate between violent behaviors and expressions of remorse, accompanied by the promise of change. This duality leads many women to stay in the relationship, trusting in a transformation that rarely materializes. When the emotional bond proves insufficient, the third phase marked by threats emerges. At this point, women, eager to break free from violence, face intimidation from abusers who perceive abandonment as an affront that they must prevent.

Regarding the prevalence of psychological violence at the European level, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2014) highlights that one in three women (32%) has experienced psychological violence from their partner, whether current or previous. This phenomenon includes behaviors such as belittling or humiliating women in public or private settings, prohibiting them from leaving home or confining them, forcing them to watch pornographic material against their wishes, scaring or intentionally intimidating them, and/or threatening them with violence or harming other people they care about. Overall, 43% of women have suffered some form of psychological violence from their intimate partner, covering aspects like behavior

control, economic violence, and blackmail. Of women currently in a relationship, 7% have experienced four or more different forms of psychological violence from their current partner (FRA, 2014).

Moreover, the European Survey on Gender Violence (DGVG, 2022) reveals that the most prevalent gender-based violence is psychological violence, with approximately 27.8% of women experiencing it within a partner relationship. This involves being humiliated or insulted alone or in front of others by their partner or ex-partner, accused of infidelity or getting angry with them for talking to other people, being prohibited from seeing their friends or engaging in hobbies or work, and/or being intimidated, shouted at, breaking things, or threatening to take their children away.

Nationally, according to data from the latest Macro-Survey on Violence against Women (DGVG, 2020), it is estimated that around 23.2% of women aged 16 and over residing in Spain have suffered psychological violence from a current or past partner. Furthermore, following a recent report by the Ministry of Equality (Díaz-Aguado et al., 2021), youth increases the risk of all types of violence, including psychological violence, with control being especially frequent among adolescents, with 20% in women aged 16 to 17 years.

These figures underscore the urgency of addressing this problem comprehensively and continuing to work towards the eradication of gender-based violence. Additionally, it should be noted that despite its high prevalence, psychological violence has not been adequately studied independently from other forms of gender-based violence (Salvazán et al., 2014).

2. Barriers to identifying and reporting psychological gender-based violence

Despite social advancements, psychological gender-based violence remains a silent

reality and complex to identify. On one hand, its subtle, often indirect and manipulative mechanisms perpetrated over time by abusers make victims not always aware of their condition, keeping them immersed in the cycle of violence (Walker, 2016). In psychology, this is known as learned helplessness, where everyday violence is normalized using mechanisms such as minimization or denial, and even dissociation (Bravo, 2022). Also, the lack of visible external signs further complicates its detection and, therefore, social reporting (Paz & Fernández, 2014).

On the other hand, the romanticization of violent behaviors, such as jealousy, possession, and isolation, adds another layer of complexity. Instead of being perceived as control, these behaviors are disguised under the veil of romantic love (Altable, 2005). Promises of change by abusers contribute to perpetuating this trap, making it difficult to identify underlying violence (Walker, 2016). Likewise, when psychological violence is identified, the consequences are often severe. The deterioration, isolation, and depersonalization of women, along with the internalization of violence as part of their daily routine, hinder reporting (Ruiz-Repullo & Pavón-Benítez, 2022).

Lastly, we cannot ignore that demonstrating psychological violence is not easy today. The shadow of doubt still looms over victim-survivors, making it difficult for them to break their silence and file reports (Tarancón et al., 2021). The lack of tangible evidence and the complexity of psychological dynamics make validating these experiences a challenging terrain. Various studies highlight (Paz & Fernández, 2014; Ruiz-Repullo & Pavón-Benítez, 2022) that positioning oneself as a victim and recognizing abusers as criminals is also not an easy matter.

3. The role of rurality in psychological gender-based violence

In rural areas, gender-based violence takes on specific nuances influenced by demographic, familial, and socioeconomic factors. Territorial dispersion and distance from urban centers generate greater mobility dependence and access to resources, according to Martínez & Camarero (2015). The small size of rural communities conditions job opportunities, amplifying women's economic dependence. This scenario, in turn, fosters more pronounced control over aspects such as mobility and enhances women's economic and emotional dependency, influenced by community pressure, to avoid potential harm to family networks and escape public scrutiny (Lorente & Castro, 2010).

Internationally, numerous studies indicate that psychological gender-based violence is the most frequent form of gender-based violence in rural areas of Asia, South America, Africa, or Europe (Balogun et al., 2013; George et al., 2016; Terelak et al., 2019; Zakar et al., 2015). In this regard, a qualitative study conducted by Ragusa (2017) through in-depth interviews with gender-based violence survivors in rural areas of Australia highlights how rurality affected both the experience of violence, undergoing feelings such as shame or fear due to stigma and other sociocultural factors, and the way out of this situation, conditioned by socioeconomic problems and greater difficulty in accessing existing resources.

The most recent report by the Federation of Rural Women's Associations (FADEMUR, 2020) underscores the additional burden faced by rural women in Spain in terms of caregiving, resulting in a lack of leisure time, difficulties in reconciling family and professional life, as well as a lack of economic independence and personal autonomy. This study also highlights the lack of knowledge among women victims of

gender-based violence about available resources, as well as the invisibilization of behaviors related to the revictimization of women in the public sphere.

The masculinization of Spanish rural areas is a growing phenomenon, driven by the emigration of young women to urban areas in search of better job and educational opportunities (Camarero & Sampedro, 2008). However, migration decisions are not solely based on economic factors but also stem from gender inequalities and gender-based violence (Pérez, 2013). In this regard, Franco & Grilló (2012) highlighted how constant control, criticism of gender transgressions, sexual double standards, and a lack of equality act as continuous drivers for young women to leave rural areas.

Gender-based violence tends to be perceived more as a "family and private matter" than as a social and structural problem, further complicating its detection and eradication. Rural women face a triple isolation, both geographical, social, and familial, hindering their ability to claim public spaces and relegating them to private spheres. Additionally, the prolonged duration of violent situations, averaging 20 years, reflects the economic dependence of abused women and the fear of judgment by their environment (Flores et al., 2022; FADEMUR, 2020).

These specific conditions in rural settings complicate the recognition and reporting of gender-based violence (Martínez & Camarero, 2015). The National Survey on Violence against Women (DGVG, 2020) in Spain shows that as the size of the victim's municipality of residence decreases, so does the percentage of reports of violence. Women residing in smaller municipalities tend to report or seek help to a lesser extent than those living in larger urban environments.

In summary, taking into account all the aforementioned aspects, psychological violence in rural areas acts as a silent prelude to a network of abuses, entangled in the complexity of territorial, family, and economic factors. The main objective of this

article is to explore the personal experiences of women subjected to psychological violence in rural settings and specialized professionals in gender-based violence who attend to them, unraveling abusers' dominance strategies, analyzing how the rural context influences cases of psychological gender-based violence, and shedding light on intervention and prevention needs and opportunities in these territories.

Methodology

Qualitative and Feminist Research

The research methodology supporting this investigation is of a qualitative nature. Our primary interest is not limited to confirming known facts but rather to explore the complexities and nuances of the protagonists' experiences, as we understand their discourses as a master key to interpreting the researched reality. The purpose of this work lies in understanding for change, a central premise of feminism.

It is important to note that feminist research has an intrinsic commitment to generate results that transcend mere academic knowledge, with a firm purpose to promote social change (García & Montenegro, 2014). From this perspective, we emphasize carrying out a reflective practice that allows us to adopt a critical stance both regarding ourselves and regarding our own research (Schongut, 2015). Furthermore, we address the challenge of this critical and situated positioning (Harding, 1986; Haraway, 1991) to act dually without compromising rigor in any of our roles. On the one hand, we function as researchers committed to social transformation, and on the other, we assume the role of activists interested in the production and systematization of knowledge (Biglia, 2014).

Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted from March to June 2022. During this period, sixteen in-depth interviews (N=16) and two discussion groups (N=11) were conducted. Due to the pandemic situation caused by SARS-CoV-2, fieldwork combined both in-person and virtual methods. The two discussion groups were held in person. Regarding the interviews, five were conducted online via the Google Meet platform, and eleven were in-person.

The discussion groups were made up of women survivors of gender-based violence and a professional who worked with them to provide psychological support. Each session was moderated by one of the researchers from the team, although both researchers were present with the goal of creating a safe and supportive environment for both the researchers and the participants. In terms of group size, the adult group consisted of seven women, while the youth group included four participants.

Following a non-probabilistic snowball sampling, we accessed the participants through informal networks and key professionals in the region who work within the Municipal Centers for Women's Information (CMIM) in Andalusia who maintained direct contact with women who had suffered gender-based violence. These individuals played a key role in identifying and inviting participants to join the discussion groups, as well as finding spaces in which to carry out the sessions in an environment of sincerity. Regarding the individual interviews, it was the researchers who determined the participants, based on the criteria established to ensure a diversity of experiences and perspectives in the study, also with the support of the CMIM professionals. Fieldwork was conducted by the research team members with previous experience in qualitative methodology and training in gender-based violence.

The question protocols for in-depth interviews and discussion groups were designed around psychological gender-based violence occurring in partner relationships. The questions revolved around seven thematic blocks, coinciding with research objectives: 1) Definition and manifestations of psychological gender-based violence; 2) Onset and cycle of gender-based violence; 3) Exiting processes and support networks; 4) Recovery and repair of harm; 5) Reporting and the judicial system; 6) Gender-based violence support resources; 7) Prevention and intervention of psychological gender-based violence.

Sample

It is important to note that the sample in qualitative techniques does not respond to statistical criteria. It does not consider the distribution of variables in the population but seeks a structural sample where different population profiles are found, allowing us to know, analyze, and interpret different perspectives. Consequently, an intentional segmentation of the sample was carried out considering the following inclusion criteria:

- 1) Women who have experienced psychological gender-based violence, aiming to understand the current circumstances surrounding this form of gender-based violence.
- 2) Professionals from various fields such as law, psychology, education, and direct victim support, in order to comprehend alternatives and proposals for comprehensive treatment.

All the participants were survivors of psychological violence in the context of previous intimate relationships, meaning that they had already separated from their partners. The inclusion of participants was focused on women who had experienced psychological violence as a fundamental requirement. However, this criterion did not

exclude those who had also been victims of other forms of gender-based violence, such as: physical, economic, sexual, environmental, vicarious, etc.

The total number of participants is 27 individuals (21 survivor women and 6 gender-based violence specialists from different fields). Among the survivor women of gender-based violence, two major age groups were established with the intention of exploring potential differences in the experiences and perceptions of psychological violence based on different life stages: young adults aged 18-25, and adult women within three age ranges: 30-40, 40-50, and 50-60 years old, with and without children.

Table 1. Total sample of participating survivor women in interviews and discussion groups according to segmentation criteria

Adults	30-40 years old	2	9,5
	40-50 years old	3	14,3
	50-60 years old	10	47,6
Young Adults	18-24 years old	6	28,6
With Children	Yes	13	61,9
	No	8	38,1
Nationality	Spanish	19	90,5
	Other	2	9,5
		Total (N=21)	Percentage

Table 2. Total sample of specialist professions in gender-based violence and professional field

Interviews	Specialist professional field in gender-based violence
E1	Psychology. Therapeutic care
E2	Law. Advocacy
E3	Education. Intervention in masculinities
E4	Forensic psychology
E5	Law. Prosecution
E6	Psychology and professional collective training

All participants in this research voluntarily consented and provided informed consent before being interviewed. Prior to their participation, detailed information about the study, its objectives, and procedures was provided to them. Additionally, throughout the research process, it was ensured that their personal data remained confidential, and their anonymity was protected, in line with the ethical principles of qualitative research (Miguélez, 2016).

Data Analysis

All interviews and discussion groups were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The average duration of interviews was 90 minutes, and that of the groups was 180 minutes. Although the time may seem excessive, we decided to prioritize the women's narratives and not cut them short due to the trustful atmosphere that was created in the sessions. The conclusion of the data collection process was determined following the principle of theoretical saturation. Following Glaser & Strauss (1967), theoretical saturation is achieved when, from the analyzed data, no new categories emerge or the information

provided by the narratives of the participating individuals becomes repetitive.

A content and critical sociological discourse analysis was conducted. During the analysis phase, the model proposed by Diekelmann et al. (1989) was followed: first, a general reading of the transcriptions was conducted; second, an examination of emerging themes took place; and lastly, identification of interrelated themes occurred. The analysis categories were established and triangulated independently by the researchers to enhance the reliability and validity of the analytical process. This entire process was carried out with the support of NVivo 11 qualitative analysis software.

The analysis of qualitative data obtained through interviews and discussion groups was complemented by an exhaustive review of relevant secondary sources, which allowed for the construction of a broad interpretive framework. To this end, a literature review was conducted, including the analysis of previous studies on gender-based violence in rural contexts. These studies were analyzed, organized, and categorized based on emerging themes, such as the different types of gender-based violence, the particularities of rural conditions, and the specific impacts of this violence on women at physical, psychological, and social levels. This provided a solid foundation for interpreting the study's findings.

Funding

This study has been funded through the grant program of the Ministry of Equality, Social Policies, and Conciliation, General Directorate of Gender-Based Violence, Equal Treatment, and Diversity to the Women's Association Páginas Violeta (Resolution of February 25, 2021. BOJA No. 42, March 4, 2021).

Results

1. Breaking the silence in the voices of rural protagonists

Psychological control violence takes on multiple forms and affects various aspects of women's lives, including regulating their whereabouts, social circle, physical appearance, economic independence, among others. The purpose of the abusers is to constantly monitor the actions of the women they believe they own. In rural settings, this control can intensify due to the smaller environment and the social pressure of "what will people say." The following testimonies illustrate these dynamics:

"When I got my driving license, I used to come here to see my parents. The problems started there... to go and come from work. And he didn't want that..." (GD3 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

"I was short on money. I've always been working... what I earned, well, they took what they had to take for the mortgage from the bank, and the rest I put in a drawer. And the drawer, well, every time I went there was nothing." (GD6 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

Psychological violence is also manifested through devaluations, often carried out in front of children, family, or other close people, focusing on women's roles as mothers and responsible for household chores. These actions generate feelings of guilt, fear, and helplessness in the victims, constituting a form of emotional abuse that embarrasses and publicly humiliates them, promoting their (self) isolation. The abuser seeks to discredit and erode the victim's image in front of their loved ones, creating an environment where they feel judged and isolated, increasing their shame and hindering the search for help. Furthermore, by spreading these types of comments, the abuser tries to ensure control over how others perceive the victim, undermining their self-esteem and ability to relate to their family and social environment:

"In front of her family, with her family. Because, 'you have to see, you're lazy, because you do nothing, because you're a slacker'" (E8 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

"That if I wasn't good for anything... Because I have a degree in Geography and History, I had been teaching and all that. He says: 'you're a crappy teacher, because you're not even good with your children.'" (E6 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

Manipulation and distortion of reality are recurrent tactics in abusive partner relationships. The strategy known as "gaslighting" involves modifying facts in a way that makes the victim believe that the problem is theirs or that they were responsible for an argument or conflict. This behavior underscores the manipulative nature of the abuser, who uses the threat of separation as a tool to exert power and control over the woman. Furthermore, these manipulations are part of the cycle of violence, thus perpetuating a pattern of dominance and submission in the relationship:

"At one point, he tells me that he wants to take me to a psychologist because I'm the one who's not okay... I ended up doing everything. And still, I understood: 'the thing is that I'm not okay.' He knows well what he's going to do. He threatened me with that. Until one day he says: 'I'm going to leave.' 'Fine.' It was like a blackmail... he would go back and say he didn't want to leave, that he had made a mistake." (E3 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

A woman who suffers violence from her partner is more vulnerable when she lacks a support network, one that accompanies her and is part of her life. Therefore, another strategy of abusers is isolation, separating the victim from her support network to reduce her options for breaking away. Psychological violence gradually manifests in a relationship, starting with social isolation by distancing the victim from her friendships and continuing with the imposition of restrictions to go out or interact with others. In certain cases, abusers seek to reduce the victim's social circle exclusively to their family sphere. This dynamic is observed not only in adult women but also in young girls:

"There was always an excuse not to see my friends or say they were bad people. He started to put me off with my friends... 'They're not good for you, they don't do you any good.' And when I saw it, I had stopped seeing my friends." (E11 Young, 18-25 years, rural)

"In fact, he would grab the phone and write to my friends, 'don't call her anymore, don't do this or that,' with my friends. He began to control the friendships." (GD2 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

In rural environments, there is often a greater attempt to maintain appearances and avoid the acknowledgment of problems. In fact, there are numerous accounts from women alluding to the fact that many neighbors, peers, and/or acquaintances choose to remain silent and stay in relationships characterized by gender-based violence. This testimony highlights the social pressure and stigma associated with separation decisions in rural settings:

"When I separated... oh my, this was... I became the bad one for his family and for half the town, because the other half is on my side... so, let's say I was among the first to ring the bell... many endure, many because of what people will say, to not make a scene, so to speak, in front of others... and they don't take the step" (E4 Adult, 50-60 years old, rural)

On the other hand, living in a rural environment and being a victim of gender-based violence by one's partner does not always elicit the same response from neighbors, even from family members. We can find accounts from women who, in contexts of isolation and concealment, have had the support of neighbors or the knowledge of village authorities, which has been crucial for their exit from the situation and reporting it:

"Thank God, my neighbors did help me a lot"... they were seeing it... they called the Civil Guard: 'He's going to kill her. If he doesn't kill her today, he'll kill her tomorrow.' And the kids, well, they had their antennas up all day long. And they warned several times" (GD2 Adult, 50-60 years old, rural)

Nevertheless, numerous accounts from survivor women asserting the opposite have emerged; how different people in the village witness various public incidents of gender-based violence on the street and do not interfere or intervene to help them. The following account highlights the lack of action from those who witnessed the

incident, illustrating the community's apathy or lack of response to violence, even when it's evident:

"People don't stand up, they don't do anything, um... It happened to me at the school gate and nothing happened... He was waiting for me where my car was parked, he grabbed my arm, started pulling me... And people drove by. And the next day: 'Was something happening to you?'" (GD5 Adult, 40-50 years old, rural)

"We had finished work, came here to the bar and had something to drink. And he, well, arrived drunk and in front of everyone on the terrace said: 'Look, there's the whore. She just arrived.' He grabbed my arm, took me to an empty lot across the street. In front of a terrace and people did nothing" (GD4 Adult, 40-50 years old, rural)

In rural environments, added social difficulties hinder reporting gender-based violence. These difficulties include the community's stance, questioning towards the victim, and social support towards the perpetrator. Additionally, maintaining anonymity becomes more difficult, and identification becomes easier. There are numerous cases where both perpetrators and victims continue to live in the same village after separation, increasing the risk of danger and harassment. This testimony illustrates the profound impact that violence has on the daily lives of victims, emphasizing the constant sense of vulnerability and fear that persists even after the case goes to trial:

"He came to my house to threaten me... no, not me; my mother. So, of course, when the time for trial came, my mother said... Well, I'm not at peace. My child goes away, the week he goes away... Because I can't live... I'm going to X (another nearby village)... I can't go to the Mercadona... Because he has a lot of family and he's threatening me" (GD3 Adult, 50-60 years old, rural)

2. Needs identified by gender-based violence professionals

An important point identified in this research has been the need to establish standardized tools for assessing the risk in survivor women in non-jurisdictional or police services, especially concerning psychological violence and assessing women who do not report. This deficiency is of great concern because current assessment tools tend to focus on the risk of death or physical injury, without adequately

considering the destructive process of psychological violence. To address this, it is proposed to rely on the reports from the professional team providing care to these women, which could be valuable in legal proceedings by offering a deeper understanding of survivors' experiences due to their ongoing work with them:

"We lack standardized tools in non-jurisdictional or police services, so a woman who doesn't report isn't evaluated. It's a serious problem... the assessment tools that exist don't give the importance that psychological violence deserves... because it's gone towards the risk of death, of injury, and the destructive process that a person can undergo isn't being quantified... (E6: Psychology and professional collective training)

Additionally, there is consensus among interviewed professionals regarding care and preparation for judicial processes in cases of gender-based psychological violence. They agree on the need to build as detailed a narrative as possible through counseling and accompanying women by specialists, as well as preparing survivors by adjusting their expectations. This is expressed by the following legal expert:

"We need to ensure that the victim provides a detailed account with the help of a specialist professional... and that the victim is also prepared for what they will encounter, that is, adjusting their expectations... We need to prepare victims... to gather evidence of the violence that has occurred within the healthcare system, in public services for women, in the education system, among their friends or with the authorities... We need to assist victims in recovering all this evidence and presenting it to the judicial system" (E2: Law. Advocacy)

In terms of resources, there's a highlighted need to design and implement a gender and intersectionality perspective in support programs and resources aimed at addressing gender inequalities. This involves focusing on the specific needs of women, considering variables such as age, ethnicity, social class, disability, and responsibility for minors in their care:

"The life project is very broad; especially with women who have family responsibilities, who have minors in their care, there is a need for support resources in caregiving and shared responsibility in that work. It's work that

needs to continue and be valued within its context" (E1: Psychology. Therapeutic care)

"There's a need for specific programs for older women, which currently are not providing the appropriate response, programs for immigrant women... The therapeutic process is quite covered, but there are still people we are not reaching" (E6: Psychology and professional collective training)

An essential key to attending and intervening with survivor women is the effective coordination of resources across different administrations. Proposals have been suggested to improve this coordination, such as implementing more fluid communication and information tools among professionals and establishing a common reporting mechanism to prevent the secondary victimization of women. This aspect becomes especially important in rural areas where close relationships limit anonymity:

"There's a lot of need for coordination, especially among the resources of different administrations... much more fluid information mechanisms, not just information... mechanisms to, not only can I call to say: 'Hey, this woman needs attention and this is happening to her,' but also there can be a circulation of reports, even a common reporting mechanism, which would reduce secondary victimization. Just like there's a Single Health Record, why can't we have something similar? Obviously, with all the safeguards for professional secrecy" (E6: Psychology and professional collective training)

3. Intervention and prevention opportunities in rural areas

Both in the process of leaving and throughout the recovery process, encountering professionals who accompany, guide, understand, and assist them is essential. As we know, when a victim decides to seek any kind of help, whether psychological, police, or legal, having qualified professionals in this field makes the process less burdensome for them. For some, that first professional is crucial in continuing the process of leaving and/or reporting. We've seen how when professionals sincerely engage with women, they cease to be just the "police officer," the "psychologist," or the "lawyer," and establish personal relationships, becoming vital for them. Rural areas are privileged spaces for personal contact and building close relationships:

"My own lawyer is a court-appointed lawyer, whom I still have because it's not a client-lawyer relationship anymore, but a friend, someone I didn't

know at all, and it seems like he was an angel... if it wasn't for him, how he has helped me, not just from a legal point of view, but psychologically. How this man has behaved with my children, I have so much to thank him for, without having given him a dime, the most I can do in my economy is to give him a gift from time to time" (E8 Adult, 50-60 years, rural)

We've also seen that group therapies and collaboration with women's associations in rural areas function positively, becoming fundamental support networks for many women in their comprehensive recovery and as a form of social commitment against the fight gender-based violence. These relationships can make a difference in their lives, providing safe spaces and essential empowerment activities for their recovery:

"Women's associations in rural environments are very attentive to those who are struggling, who are isolated, who come close to their homes and give them a nudge to join, spaces where women feel secure, ranging from adult centers to spaces with cultural and activity offerings... yoga, zumba, dance... artistic: painting workshops or crafts, writing... These resources seem fundamental to me. And then the support of other women" (E4: Forensic Psychology)

"Group therapies work and present many advantages... they break isolation and find a place where they can speak freely... reaching a space where they can talk without having to think: 'will they believe me, will they understand me,' gives them enormous relief. Because they see that their situations are very similar to those of other women and that gives a social component to the problem, taking it out of the individual, they see how other women are moving forward... they start to create networks and bonds... it's very, very powerful" (E6: Psychology and professional collective training)

Discussion

The results obtained from women's narratives are consistent with previous research (Bosch et al., 2006; Jaramillo et al., 2023; Paz & Fernández, 2014) that highlight the complexity and diversity of manifestations of psychological violence, including control, devaluations, blackmail, manipulations, threats, isolation, and ultimately, all the strategies that abusers use to exert their system of dominance within the patriarchal labyrinth. These behaviors, as corroborated in previous studies (Bravo, 2022; Jaramillo

et al., 2023), have a direct impact on women's daily lives and well-being, undermining their self-esteem, their ability to make autonomous decisions, and affecting the separation from their support networks. Additionally, our data aligns with other studies, such as Donoso-Vázquez et al. (2017), where psychological violence overlaps and coexists with other forms of gender-based violence, such as physical, economic, sexual, environmental, vicarious, among others; intensifying each other and creating a complex cycle of violence that is difficult to escape for the victims. All of this, combined with the abusers' promises of change and manipulation strategies, makes it difficult to identify violence early and seek help. These results are consistent with those reported by Amor & Echeburúa (2010), which emphasize the complexity and difficulty of leaving due to circumstances related to the victim: low self-esteem, guilt, emotional distress, and fear; to the abuser: severity of violence, intermittent regrets, threats, and manipulation; and to the relationship: dependency, isolation, family or social pressures, and access to resources.

Additionally, our work highlights the added difficulties that arise in rural environments, which add another layer to the concealment of cases of gender-based violence. Social pressure and the stigma associated with revealing situations of violence are more prominent due to close relationships and the small size of the population. These factors represent significant barriers that discourage women from seeking help or reporting, aligning with previous studies on how cultural factors and the preservation of appearances can influence victims' decision-making (FADEMUR, 2020; Flores et al., 2022; López, 2017; Lorente & Castro, 2010; Martínez, 2011; Martínez & Camarero, 2015; Ragusa, 2017). As our data reveals, even after separation, women continue to suffer other forms of violence and harassment from their ex-partners, which intensify in rural areas, such as: violence from the abuser's family, violence through children,

violations of restraining orders, among others; increasing the culture of fear for the victims within small communities. Therefore, there is no total break with the abuser; the violence does not cease, because it is structural and the abuser continues to stalk. These findings demonstrate the need for specific and differential approaches to psychological violence in these contexts, considering these additional difficulties from an intersectional gender perspective.

On the other hand, the crucial importance of the support network formed by the community and specialized professionals in rural areas has been illustrated. Support from neighbors, friends, family, and professionals can make a significant difference in the recovery of victims and in leaving gender-based violence in these contexts. Likewise, our study highlights the challenge of some common idyllic rural perceptions (Gallego, 2014) about the community's response to gender-based violence. In some cases, silence and lack of intervention by the community in the face of obvious signs of violence can perpetuate the suffering of victims, limiting the effectiveness of reports and seeking help. This underscores the need for greater awareness and collective action, an aspect highlighted in previous studies, such as Saletti-Cuesta et al. (2020) work on community participation in preventing gender-based violence. Furthermore, personal involvement through professional support, feminist associations, and psychological interventions with women emerges as potential opportunities in rural areas due to social proximity. These aspects should be given greater consideration in the design and implementation of local intervention programs.

A critical aspect detected in this research is the lack of standardized tools in non-jurisdictional or police services to assess cases of gender-based violence in Spain, which exclude women who do not report. This is considered a serious issue because, in addition to excluding women who do not report (with the complexity that we know this

entails), the existing assessment tools¹ mainly focus on more immediate risks, such as the possibility of death or physical injury, rather than the long-term psychological damage. As a result, the destructive impact that psychological violence can have on victims is not being adequately assessed. In this regard, professionals who accompany women throughout the process of leaving gender-based violence can play a key role in assessing damage in a broader sense. It reveals the urgency of improving communication and cooperation among professionals to provide more effective support in Spain, a challenge identified in other research on the care of gender-based violence victims (Lila et al., 2016; Yugueros, 2021). Furthermore, the importance of preparation and support during judicial processes in cases of psychological violence is a concern shared by specialized professionals. This need is linked to the construction of detailed narratives that reflect the reality experienced by women, as well as preparing them to face the judicial process. This approach allows for the recovery of significant evidence and experiences to present before the judicial system. This is consistent with the recommendations of Asensi (2016), who asserts that such evaluation should be supported by a socio-cultural, legal, and psychological reality, taking into account all those variables and intervening factors in situations of gender-based psychological violence.

¹ The assessment of damage by women victims of gender-based violence who report in Spain is carried out through the VioGén Monitoring System, which has recently been modified to VioGén II, incorporating two new measures: on the one hand, the update of criteria and standard procedures for deactivating open cases in the VioGén System to restrict deactivation scenarios in favor of the victim's safety and protection, and the integration of new functionalities that will facilitate comprehensive follow-up in cases of gender-based violence; and on the other hand, the VioGén II system will consider that any woman victim who reports is at risk, meaning the "non-appreciation of risk" in assessments is eliminated. <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/serviciosdeprensa/notasprensa/interior/paginas/2024/080224-grande-marlaska-viogen.aspx>

In summary, the complexity of psychological violence in rural environments is evident, highlighting the importance of specialized professional intervention and community support. The effective approach to this problem requires multidimensional strategies that recognize the diversity of social responses and address the identified gaps in risk assessment, judicial processes, and the availability of specific resources for women in rural contexts affected by gender-based violence. Following intervention proposals found in previous research (Ragusa, 2017), formal and informal training in the identification and recognition of gender-based violence becomes important. However, the work must be bidirectional, and the involvement of men in prevention becomes fundamental, as suggested by the study by Correa et al. (2023).

Conclusions

The results obtained from this study represent a significant advancement in understanding psychological violence in rural contexts, filling a gap in existing literature and providing valuable information in this regard. The impact of gender-based psychological violence is not limited to the victim but extends to their reference community, where a process of blame and social stigmatization occurs, characteristic of patriarchal discourse, reinforcing their isolation and exclusion. This social harm is particularly tangible in rural areas, translating, as defined by Simón (2020), into "social injuries," a vulnerability that places women at a social disadvantage, and "social aftermath," in terms of the loss of their social network, which negatively affects their personal development and comprehensive recovery. Psychological violence intertwines with cultural and community aspects, emphasizing the need to understand these power dynamics. We highlight the following contributions:

First, this study specifically focused on rural areas, an aspect scarcely explored in previous research on gender-based violence, revealing how the dynamics specific to these contexts impact the experience and manifestation of this gender-based violence and highlighting the need to address this issue in a contextualized manner.

Second, it delves into psychological violence, a type of violence less visible and understood compared to other types of gender-based violence, highlighting its diverse manifestations, abusers' dominance strategies, its impact on women's daily lives, and the barriers that hinder its recognition and reporting in rural contexts. This study emphasizes the culture of silence and greater concealment among rural women due to sociocultural, geographical, and access to resource factors.

Third, the inclusion of direct testimonies and personal narratives of women who have experienced this form of violence offers a real insight into the problem, sharing the narrative as an act of resistance against the impunity of abusers. Their experiences reveal the complexity of psychological violence, rooted in control, isolation, and concealment. In this regard, breaking the silence, as the first step towards eradicating gender-based violence, is presented as a collective challenge. A profound cultural change is required that dismantles the very foundations of gender-based violence rooted in power structures and traditional notions of gender roles. This cultural change must go hand in hand with a media transformation that stops normalizing and instead condemns violence, focusing not only on the victims but also on the perpetrators.

Fourth, gaps are identified at both institutional and social levels within rural areas, highlighting deficiencies in support systems and emphasizing the urgent need to incorporate the assessment of psychological risk into evaluation tools, inter-institutional coordination, and support programs adapted to rural reality; supporting the

implementation of more sensitive public policies addressing gender-based violence in these areas.

On the other hand, it is important to note that this study is not without limitations. Our sample is composed primarily of women survivors of psychological gender-based violence in rural areas of Spain. Consequently, the findings may not respond to the diverse range of experiences related to psychological violence and limits their generalizability to other communities. An expansion of this study to other international contexts would allow for the identification of common patterns and significant variations in the experience of gender-based psychological violence in rural areas. However, we also consider it relevant to explore how these dynamics may vary within the different ruralities of Spain, with the aim of deepening the understanding of the complexities of this issue in the Spanish context.

Furthermore, our research indicates differences in psychological violence as a function of factors such as socioeconomic status and age. This suggests that older, less-resourced women in rural settings may experience and cope with psychological violence differently. Future research should therefore delve deeper into these inequalities and consider other diversity factors such as ethnicity, gender, religion, and geographic location. These intersectional approaches will not only enrich our understanding of this complex issue but also guide the development of more effective and equitable prevention and support strategies.

Ultimately, it is crucial to continue deepening the understanding of how cultural, social, and economic factors in rural environments can affect the manifestation and response to psychological violence, as well as further exploring the role of new technologies and their impact on these dynamics.

References

- Alonso, M. B., Manso, J. M. M., & Sánchez, M. E. G. (2010). Theoretical review of psychological abuse in spousal violence. *Psychology and Health, 20*(1), 65-75.
<https://doi.org/10.25009/pys.v20i1.618>
- Amor, P., & Echeburúa, E. (2010). Psychosocial keys for the victim's permanence in an abusive relationship. *Contemporary Clinic, 1*(2), 97-104.
<https://doi.org/10.5093/cc2010v1n2a3>
- Asensi P., L. F. (2016). The psychological expert report in gender violence cases. *Practical Doctrine, 26*, 201-218.
https://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/88728/1/Asensi_Perez_Pericial.pdf
- Balogun, M. O., Fawole, O. I., Owoaje, E. T., & Adedokun, B. (2013). Experience and attitude of rural women to IPV in Nigeria. *Journal of Public Health, 21*(4), 333-341. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10389-013-0564-9>
- Biglia, B. (2014). Advances, dilemmas, and challenges of feminist epistemologies in social research. In I. Mendia, M. Luxán, M. Legarreta, G. Guzmán, I. Zirion, & J. Azpiazu (Eds.), *Other ways of (re)knowing: Reflections, tools, and applications from feminist research* (pp. 21-44). HEGOA and UPV.
- Bravo, J. (2022). Psychosocial factors that influence the permanence of women in romantic relationships with domestic violence. *Psychological Studies Journal, 2*(2), 116-127. <https://doi.org/10.35622/j.rep.2022.02.007>
- Bosch, E., Ferrer, V., & Alzamora, A. (2006). *The patriarchal labyrinth*. Anthropos.
- Camarero, L., & Sampedro, R. (2008). Why do women leave? The mobility continuum

as an explanatory hypothesis of rural masculinization. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 124(1), 73-105.

<https://doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.124.73>

Cantera, I., Estébanez, I., & Vázquez, N. (2009). *Violence against young women: Psychological violence in dating relationships*. BBK, Emakunde Eusko Jaurlaritza.

Correa, L. C. J., Zapata, D. E., & Vargas, M. G. (2023). Theoretical and methodological approach to psychological violence in romantic relationships: A state of the art. *Poiésis*, 44, 15-32. <https://doi.org/10.21501/16920945.4399>

Díaz-Aguado, M. J. (2013). Evolution of Spanish adolescence on equality and the prevention of gender violence. *Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality Publications Center*.

https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/pdf/Libro_19_Evoluc_Adolescencia_Igualdad.pdf

Díaz-Aguado, M. J., Martínez, R., Martín, J., & Falcón, L. (2021). The situation of violence against women in adolescence in Spain. *Ministry of Equality Publications Center*.

https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/investigaciones/2021/pdfs/Estudio_ViolenciaEnLaAdolescencia.pdf

Diekelmann, N. L., Allen, D., Tanner, C. A., & National League for Nursing Council of Baccalaureate and Higher Degree Programs. (1989). *The NLN criteria for appraisal of baccalaureate programs: A critical hermeneutic analysis*. National League for Nursing.

DGVG: Delegation of the Government for Gender Violence (2020). 2019 Macro-survey on Violence against Women. *Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality Publications Center*.

<https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/macroencuesta2015/Macroencuesta2019/home.htm>

Del Rio, I. D., & Del Valle, E. S. G. (2016). The consequences of intimate partner violence on health: A further disaggregation of psychological violence—Evidence from Spain. *Violence Against Women, 23*(14), 1771-1789.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216671220>

DGVG: Delegation of the Government against Gender Violence (2022). European Survey on Gender Violence. *Ministry of Equality Publications Center*.

https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/Encuesta_Europea/home.htm

Dokkedahl, S., Kok, R. N., Murphy, S., Kristensen, T. R., Bech-Hansen, D., & Elklit, A. (2019). The psychological subtype of intimate partner violence and its effect on mental health: protocol for a systematic review and meta-analysis. *Systematic reviews, 8*, 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13643-022-02025-z>

Donoso-Vázquez, T., Luna-González, E., & Velasco-Martínez, A. (2017). The relationship between self-esteem and gender-based violence. A study with indigenous and migrant women in Spanish territory. *Global Social Work, 7*(12), 93-119. <https://digibug.ugr.es/handle/10481/47028>

FADEMUR: Federation of Associations of Rural Women (2020). Women victims of gender violence in the rural world. *Delegation of the Government against*

Gender Violence. <https://violenciagenero.org/recurso/publicacion/mujeres-victimas-violencia-genero-mundo-rural>

Flores, R. M., Zamarripa E., E. A., & Mendoza C., E. (2022). “It’s what you got.” Violence and inequality in rural older women throughout their life course. *Guillermo de Ockham Journal*, 20(1), 39-49.
<https://doi.org/10.21500/22563202.5588>

FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2014). *Violence against women: An EU-wide survey. Main results report*.
<https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report>

Franco, P., & Grilló, C. I. (2012). What happens outside the cities? Gender violence and rurality. *European Journal of Fundamental Rights*, 19, 215-243.
<file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Downloads/Dialnet-QuePasaFueraDeLasCiudadesViolenciaDeGeneroYRuralid-4055504-2.pdf>

Gallego, R. S. (2014). Work-life balance in rural areas: Gender, invisible work, and “rural idyll.” In V. Maya (Ed.) *Rural women: Multidisciplinary gender studies* (pp. 81-93). University of Salamanca Press.

García, N., & Montenegro, M. (2014). Re/thinking narrative productions as a feminist methodological approach: Research experiences on romantic love. *Athenea Digital*, 14(4), 63. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/athenea.1361>

George, J., Nair, D., Premkumar, N. R., Saravanan, N., Chinnakali, P., & Roy, G. (2016). The prevalence of domestic violence and its associated factors among married women in a rural area of Puducherry, South India. *Journal of Family*

Medicine and Primary Care, 5(3), 672. <https://doi.org/10.4103/2249-4863.197309>

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Aldine Press.

Haraway, D. (1991). *Science, cyborgs, and women. The invention of nature*. Cátedra Editions.

Harding, S. G. (1986). *The science question in feminism*. Cornell University Press.

Krook, M. L. (2020). Psychological violence. In M. L. Krook (Ed.) *Violence against women in politics*. Springer International Publishing.

Lagdon, S., Armour, C., & Stringer, M. (2014). Adult experience of mental health outcomes as a result of intimate partner violence victimisation: a systematic review. *European journal of psychotraumatology*, 5(1), 24794. [10.3402/ejpt.v5.24794](https://doi.org/10.3402/ejpt.v5.24794)

Lila, M., Conchell, E., Catalá-Miñana, A., & Cañete, M. A. (2016). Intervention programs with abusers as an alternative measure: A tool for the prevention of gender violence. In M. L. Rodrigo-Estevan, & M. A. Cañete L. (Eds.) *Some forms of violence: Women, conflict, and gender* (pp. 217-242). University of Zaragoza Press.

López, M. (2017). Violence in rural and urban media. A comparative study on gender violence in Spain. *Skopein: Justice in the Hands of Science*, 15, 2. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/5877992.pdf>

Lorente, M. (2013). *The puzzle. Anatomy of the abuser*. Leer-e.

- Lorente, M., & Castro, P. (2010). Gender violence in small municipalities of Spain. *Ministry of Health, Social Policy, and Equality Publications Center*.
<https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/gl/violenciaEnCifras/estudios/colecciones/estudio/pequenoMunicipio.htm>
- Martínez, M. Á. (2011). Where can I go?: Gender violence in rural areas of Asturias [National Distance Education University]. <http://espacio.uned.es/fez/eserv/tesisuned:CiencPolSoc-Mamartinez/Documento.pdf>
- Martínez, M. Á., & Camarero, L. A. (2015). The reproduction of gender violence: A reading from rural areas. *Ager. Journal of Studies on Depopulation and Rural Development*, 19, 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.4422/ager.2015.12>
- Miguélez, B.A. (2016). Qualitative social research and ethical dilemmas: From empty ethics to situated ethics. *EMPIRIA. Journal of Methodology of Social Sciences*, 34, 101-119. <https://doi.org/10.5944/empiria.34.2016.16524>
- Osborne, R. (2009). *Notes on gender violence*. Bellaterra.
- Paz, J. I., & Fernández, P. (2014). *Guide for mothers and fathers with adolescent daughters who suffer gender violence*. Andalusian Institute for Women.
https://www.uma.es/media/files/guia_padres-y_madres_con_hijas_adolescentes_que_sufre_violencia_de_genero.pdf
- Pérez, J. S. (2013). Why do they leave? Women from rural areas and uprooting in the Valencian countryside. *Encrucijadas: Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales*, 6, 101-116. <https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/encrucijadas/article/view/78909>
- Ragusa, A. T. (2017). Rurality's influence on women's intimate partner violence

experiences and support needed for escape and healing in Australia. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 43(2), 270-295.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2016.1248267>

Ruiz Repullo, C., & Pavón Benítez, L. (2022). An invisible reality: Psychological gender violence in couples. *Páginas Violetas*. https://paginasvioleta.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/UNA_REALIDAD_INVISIBLE_isbn.pdf

Saletti-Cuesta, L., Ferioli, A., Del Valle Martínez, F., Viel, E., Baudin, V., Romero, P., Funk, N., González, A. C., & Rodríguez, A. (2020). Gender violence approach from the perspective of northern Córdoba communities, Argentina. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, 36(1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-311x00184418>

Salvazán, L. N., Almiñán, Y. C., & Durán, Y. D. (2014). Psychological violence in intimate relationships: A current issue. *Scientific Information Journal*, 88(6), 1145-1154. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/6145485.pdf>

Schongut G., N. (2015). Narrative perspective and feminist research: Possibilities and methodological challenges. *Psychology, Knowledge, and Society*, 5(1), 110-148. <http://www.scielo.edu.uy/pdf/pcs/v5n1/v5n1a06.pdf>

Simón, G. M. (2020). Social harm: aftermath and social injuries, the evaluation of forensic social work in gender-based violence victims. *Social Services and Social Policy*, 124, 11-27. <https://www.serviciosocialesypoliticasocial.com/-79>

Smith, S. G., Khatiwada, S., Richardson, L., Basile, K. C., Friar, N. W., Chen, J., Zhang Kudon, H., & Leemis, R. W. (2023). *The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2016/2017 State Report*. Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control.

<https://icasa.org/uploads/documents/Stats-and-Facts/NISVS-2016-2017-State-Report-508.pdf>

Tarancón G., P., Romo-Avilés, N., & Pavón-Benítez, L. (2021). “I do believe you”: Alcohol-facilitated sexual violence among young women in the Spanish night-time economy. *Social & Legal Studies*, 31(4), 580-602.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663921105728>

Terelak, A., Kolodziejczak, S., & Balsa, M. (2019). Scale and forms of domestic violence against schoolchildren in rural, rural-urban, and urban areas. *Annals of Agricultural and Environmental Medicine*, 26(4), 572-578.

<https://doi.org/10.26444/aaem/103871>

True, J. (2012). *The political economy of violence against women*. Oxford University Press.

Walker, L. E. (2016). *The battered woman syndrome*. Springer publishing company.

Yugueros G., A. J. (2021). Gender violence, victim security from the psychosocial perspective. *iQual*, 4, 60-88. <https://doi.org/10.6018/iqual.435621>

Zakar, R., Zakar, M. Z., & Abbas, S. (2015). Domestic violence against rural women in Pakistan: An issue of health and human rights. *Journal of Family Violence*, 31(1), 15-25. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-015-9742-6>