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1 **Abstract**

2 Social status is found to interfere with health outcomes after adverse life  
3 experiences. Evidence suggests the importance of subjective social status (SSS), above and  
4 beyond objective status. This study tests the moderating role of SSS in the association  
5 between victimization and mental health, considering the effect of distinct forms of  
6 victimization, clinical symptoms and psychological well-being. A sample of 300 adults  
7 completed self-reported questionnaires. Results revealed that greater psychological  
8 victimization was associated with lower self-acceptance and autonomy, and greater sexual  
9 victimization was associated with lower autonomy, particularly when participants reported  
10 lower SSS. Implications for intervention with victims are discussed.

11  
12 **Keywords:** interpersonal violence; subjective social status; mental health;  
13 psychopathology; psychological well-being

24 Violence has been conceptualized as a public health problem with high costs for victims,  
25 families, communities, as well as health care and welfare systems (Krug et al., 2002 p. 5).  
26 For that reason, additional efforts must to be made to understand the association between  
27 victimization experiences and the mental health outcomes, as well as to identify potential  
28 protective factors that affect this association. Over decades extensive research has focused  
29 on the impact of victimization on psychopathology or traditional clinical outcomes, but less  
30 attention is devoted to exploring a comprehensive perspective of mental health, which  
31 considers both psychopathology and well-being (Grych et al., 2015; Ferreira et al., in  
32 press). Also, even if social class has been shown to impact a wide set of individual and  
33 interpersonal experiences (Manstead, 2018), to our best knowledge, none efforts have been  
34 made to explore how SSS can affect the association between victimization and most  
35 common clinical outcomes (e.g., depression and anxiety), as well as psychological well-  
36 being.

### 37 **Victimization and mental health: conceptualization and empirical evidence**

38 The World Health Organization (WHO) defines violence as “the intentional use of physical  
39 force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or  
40 community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death,  
41 psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation”. Violence is a multidimensional  
42 concept that includes related but yet distinct abusive acts (physical, sexual, and  
43 psychological) (Krug et al., 2002). Physical violence includes acts that physically inflict  
44 suffering and harm (e.g., slapping, beating, kicking push) and psychological violence  
45 involves humiliation and control behaviours (e.g., threats, insults, isolation of the victim

46 (Ali et al., 2016). In turn, sexual violence involves any sexual act (or attempted) using  
47 coercion and without the individual's consent (Ali et al., 2016).

48         Research has documented the negative impact of adults' victimization in mental  
49 health outcomes (Priester et al., 2016), namely, the association between victimization and  
50 higher levels of depression and anxiety (e.g., Bonomi et al., 2007; Coker et al., 2002  
51 Hochstetler et al., 2010). However, if the research has been mostly focused on maladaptive  
52 functioning (e.g., psychopathology) and less on well-being, the WHO defines mental health  
53 as a "state of well-being in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope  
54 with normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully and is able to make a  
55 contribution to his or her community" (WHO, 2001). Thus, based on the assumption that  
56 mental health is more than the mere absence of psychopathology (Keyes, 2005), some  
57 authors have highlighted the need for a more holistic and comprehensive approach of  
58 mental health when studying the impact of victimization, by including both  
59 psychopathology and well-being (Grych et al., 2015). Psychological well-being is defined  
60 as including self-actualization, personal growth and "flourishing" processes of human  
61 development (Novo, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). It is a  
62 multidimensional construct consisting of six dimensions (Ryff & Singer, 1996), such as  
63 autonomy (i.e., self-determination and independence), personal growth (i.e., openness to  
64 experience, development of individual potential), self-acceptance (i.e., the ability to accept  
65 the multiple aspects of personal self), purpose in life (the ability to set individual objectives  
66 and directions for life), environmental mastery (i.e., individual capacity to manage the  
67 environment) and positive relations with others (i.e., the individual capacity to develop  
68 bonds of affection and intimacy) (Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff & Keyes, 1995).

69 Although the literature on the association between victimization and well-being is sparse  
70 (Ferreira, et al., in press), studies have revealed that victimization experiences (e.g.,  
71 physical and psychological abuse, sexual harassment) negatively affect subjective and  
72 psychological well-being, preventing the individual personal growth and self-actualization  
73 (e.g., Buchanan et al., 2009; Conway et al., 1995; Grych et al., 2015; Jradi & Abouabbas,  
74 2017). Nevertheless, few studies have including well-being outcomes (Ferreira, et al., in  
75 press; Grych et al., 2015) or the both constructs simultaneously (well-being and  
76 psychopathology).

77 Specifically, considering the role of different types of victimization on mental health,  
78 studies have suggested that sexual victimization is more strongly associated with depressive  
79 symptoms and post-traumatic stress (Dworkin, 2018; Norris et al., 2003). Although  
80 psychological violence is an invisible subtype of victimization, as physical marks are not  
81 identifiable, some data suggests that it may be more harmful to the victims' mental health,  
82 particularly in terms of anxiety, depression (Lagdon et al., 2014) and psychological well-  
83 being (Mir & Naz, 2017). In turn, the co-occurrence of physical and psychological  
84 victimization has more adverse effects on mental health, particularly with regard to  
85 depression and anxiety (Calvete, et al., 2008).

86 Even if the negative impact of victimization on mental health is well-established,  
87 evidence also shows a great heterogeneity of victims, suggesting a set of risk, protective  
88 and compensatory factors that interact and contribute to adaptive or maladaptive outcomes  
89 (Cicchetti & Toth, 2009; Karakurt et al., 2014). Grych and colleagues (2015) proposed that  
90 the effects of violence may be moderated by the individuals' "resilience portfolio". This  
91 portfolio includes external resources (e.g., social support) and personal strengths (e.g.,

92 adaptive meaning-making) that affect individuals' appraisals and coping behaviors to deal  
93 with adverse events. The absence of these resources or strengths may enhance the risk for  
94 mental health difficulties. Accordingly, evidence has suggested that greater risk and  
95 stressful factors are associated with greater depression and anxiety (Fedock et al., 2018;  
96 Hammen, 2003; Plieger et al., 2015; Schneiderman et al., 2005). Among these risk factors  
97 are socioeconomic related stressors, such as subjective and objective social status.

### 98 **Victimization and Mental health: the role of Subjective Social Status**

99 Literature has pointed out the relevance of socioeconomic status – SES (i.e., income,  
100 education, and occupation prestige) as a predictor of mental health and well-being. Studies  
101 have suggested that low SES is associated with negative psychological health outcomes  
102 (Honjo, Kawakami, Tsuc, hiya, Sakurai & WMH-J 2002–2006 Survey Group, 2014), such  
103 as depression (Ibrahim et al., 2013; Walsh et al., 2012; Wee et al., 2014) and anxiety (Vine  
104 et al., 2012). However, the relevance of objective measures of social and economic status,  
105 when taken solely, has been challenged (Adler et al., 2000; Manstead, 2018). Research  
106 consistently suggests that the association of SES with well-being is either weak or  
107 inconsistent (Anderson et al., 2012; Dolan et al., 2008) and shows that not everyone in  
108 adverse economic circumstances consistently displays poor health and well-being outcomes  
109 (Ferrer & Palmer, 2004; Lachman & Weaver, 1998). Some studies showed that the impact  
110 of income and social status depends greatly on social comparison and is therefore more  
111 dependent on subjective appraisals (Clark et al., 2008; Mishra & Carleton, 2015). For this  
112 reason, subjective social status (SSS) has been gaining relevance, with the literature  
113 suggesting its contribution over and above factual SES (Manstead, 2018).

114 SSS is defined as one's appraisal of their relative social standing as compared to others  
115 (Diemer, et al., 2013). SSS is a more comprehensive measure of personal social standing,  
116 accounting for several variations that are usually left out by objective SES indicators  
117 (Cohen et al., 2008; Diemer et al., 2013). Research consistently shows that subjective social  
118 class or status influences the ways individuals, from higher to lower social statuses,  
119 perceive their relationship with the surrounding environment, with others, and with life  
120 events (Manstead, 2018). SSS may help to explain variations in an array of health  
121 outcomes, including physical and mental outcomes, that go over and above the impact of  
122 objective indicators (Adler et al., 2000; Cohen et al., 2008; Manstead, 2018). Several  
123 studies support that the effect of SSS on physical and mental health consistently remains  
124 after controlling for traditional SES indicators (e.g., Ghaed & Gallo, 2007; Hu et al., 2005;  
125 Scott et al., 2014; Zorotovich et al., 2016; Zell et al., 2018). This association is particularly  
126 stronger when self-reported health and well-being are considered (Cundiff & Matthews,  
127 2017; Zell et al., 2018).

128 The literature on victimization has highlighted the role of structural inequalities,  
129 specifically calling attention to socioeconomic status as a risk factor to worsen the impact  
130 of abuse (Hamby & Grych, 2016). The negative impact of victimization on mental health  
131 outcomes is found to be exacerbated by reduced socio-economic resources, often associated  
132 with low autonomy and less access to informal and formal support networks (e.g.,  
133 including health and justice systems of support) (Hamby & Grych, 2016; Shah & Subedee,  
134 2016). Nevertheless, studies that empirically examined this association exclusively used  
135 objective indicators of socioeconomic status (Tankard et al., 2019; Vameghi et al., 2018).  
136 To our best knowledge, studies that consider the moderating role of SSS in associations

137 between stressful experiences, such as victimization, and mental health are absent.  
138 Nevertheless, we know that lower SSS is associated with higher levels of perceived stress,  
139 as well as greater individual vulnerability to stress (Adler et al., 2000). In turn, greater SSS  
140 might involve higher feelings of security and hope which in turn may buffer the effects of  
141 stress (Operario et al., 2004). Given this, we assume that higher SSS may buffer the  
142 negative impact of victimization on mental health, while, on the contrary, lower SSS may  
143 enhance this effect.

#### 144 **The Current Study**

145 This study was developed in Portugal, between 2016 and 2017. SSS, as well as its role in  
146 mental health, should be understood considering macrostructural and national contextual  
147 factors (Hong & Yi, 2017). In the aftermath of the post-economic crisis (2009-2014),  
148 Portugal remained as "one of the most unequal countries in Europe" (Rodrigues, et al.,  
149 2016, p.15), seating in the 5th position among the most unequal countries ( $S80/S20 = 5,7$ ;  
150  $S90/S10 = 10$ , in 2016). Despite timid decreases in inequality and the retraction of poverty,  
151 between 2014 and 2017, the average household income remains below the pre-crisis  
152 average), about 1 in 4 (23.3%; 2.6 million people) still live in risk of social exclusion  
153 (PORDATA, 2020). The average monthly income corresponds to approximately 56% and  
154 51% of the average in the USA and EU countries, respectively (PORDATA, 2020). This  
155 context of increased social and economic vulnerability led us to explore the participants'  
156 appraisals of social status in the context of interpersonal victimization. Existing literature  
157 demonstrates that victimization can result in poorer mental health outcomes. However, the  
158 extent to which different subtypes of victimization affect distinct dimensions of mental  
159 health - depression, anxiety, and psychological well-being deserves to be better explored.



160 Likewise, the role of SSS as a risk or protective factor to the negative effects of  
161 victimization remains undetermined. Additionally, studies exploring SSS have been  
162 developed mostly in the USA. This study intends to contribute to additional and more  
163 informed insights on this topic from a European country perspective.  
164 The current study aims to examine how different subtypes of victimization are associated  
165 with depression, anxiety, and psychological well-being, and specifically to investigate the  
166 moderating role of SSS on these associations. Drawing on previous literature review, we  
167 propose the following hypotheses: a) The association between psychological victimization  
168 and depression, anxiety and psychological well-being will be stronger than physical or  
169 sexual victimization; b) The association between victimization and depression and anxiety  
170 will be stronger among victims reporting lower SSS; c) The association between  
171 victimization and psychological well-being will be stronger among victims reporting  
172 stronger SSS.

## 173 **Method**

### 174 **Data Collection**

175 This study is part of a larger project about the associations between victimization and  
176 mental health. Following the approval of the university ethics committee. Data was  
177 collected, through an online platform, between May 2016 and June 2017. Participants were  
178 recruited, targeting Portuguese adults in the community (convenience sample), through  
179 social networks and mailing lists. Before completing the questionnaire, participants were  
180 informed about the study conditions and purposes. Anonymity and confidentiality were  
181 explained and guaranteed. An electronic contact was provided to participants in case they  
182 needed additional information from the research team.

183 **Participants**

184 A convenience sample of 300 adults (50% female and 50% male) participated in  
185 this study ( $M_{age} = 34.68$ ;  $SD = 10.58$ ; from 18 to 63 years old). Most participants completed  
186 high school ( $n = 116$ ; 38.7%) and 50% completed a graduate or post-graduate degree (% of  
187 population with upper-secondary education was 20.4%; PORDATA, 2019). Most work ( $n$   
188 = 257; 83.7%), 34 (11.3%) are full-time students, and 14 (4.7%) are unemployed (range of  
189 unemployment 11.2%-9.4; PORDATA, 2019). Net income per capita range was €100 to  
190 €3750 ( $M = 765.77$ ;  $DP = 444.23$ ), being €1000 the most common income (range of  
191 average national mensal income was €1170.9 - €1133.3; PORDATA, 2019). Regarding the  
192 Subjective Social Status (SSS), the majority ( $n = 164$ ; 54.6%) of participants reported  
193 median levels of SSS (i.e., 5 or 6) on a 10 scale. Finally, concerning victimization  
194 experiences, 82% reported at least one experience of psychological victimization, 18.8% of  
195 sexual victimization and 16.3% of physical victimization.

196 **Instruments**

197 **Socio-demographic Questionnaire.** This questionnaire was developed specifically  
198 for this study and included self-reported questions about gender (male/female) and age.

199 Also, relational status was assessed through four categories: Single, Married, Divorced and  
200 Widower. Three objective indicators of social and economic status were collected:  
201 education (1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles of elementary school, high school, college graduation,  
202 and master's, doctoral's grade and other post-college degrees), occupation (open answer)  
203 and income (open answer).

204 **Adulthood Victimization Experiences Questionnaire** (adapted from Lisboa et al., 2009  
205 by Magalhães, et al., 2019). This self-reported questionnaire is responded using a five-point

206 Likert scale (ranging from 0 [*Never*] to 4 [*Often/Frequently*]) and allows the assessment of  
207 three dimensions: Psychological Victimization (nine items; “*During the last year, were you*  
208 *subjected to behaviours or words to humiliate you or to make you feel diminished?*”),  
209 Physical Victimization (five items; e.g., “*During the last year, has someone punched or*  
210 *beating you?*”) and Sexual Victimization (five items; e.g., “*During the last year, has*  
211 *someone had or tried to have with you any sexual act by using force or threatening to hurt*  
212 *you or someone close?*”). For all subscales, very good reliability values were found:  
213 Psychological Victimization ( $\alpha=.884$ ), Physical Victimization ( $\alpha=.923$ ) and Sexual  
214 Victimization ( $\alpha=.915$ ).

215 **Brief Symptom Inventory** (BSI; Derogatis, 1993, adapted by Canavarro 2007). The BSI is  
216 a self-reported inventory focused on psychological symptoms, widely used to assess mental  
217 health difficulties. In this study, merely anxiety and depression subscales were selected as  
218 they are the most prevalent mental health problems across countries (Davies et al., 2019;  
219 WHO, 2017). Participants responded this inventory using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging  
220 from 0 (*Never*) to 4 (*Too often*). Depression subscale includes six items, evaluating mood  
221 and affect distress/problems, lack of motivation and loss of interest in life. Anxiety subscale  
222 includes six items, evaluating symptoms of nervousness and tension, panic attacks and  
223 feelings of terror. In the present study, very good reliability values were found: anxiety  
224 ( $\alpha=.885$ ) and depression ( $\alpha=.886$ ).

225 **Psychological Well-Being Scales** (PWBS; Ryff, 1989, adapted by Silva et al., 1997). In  
226 the present study, the Ryff’s Scales of Psychological Well-Being was used to measure  
227 psychological well-being (84 items) through a multidimensional and theoretically grounded  
228 instrument. This instrument allows the assessment of six dimensions of well-being: a)

229 Autonomy (14 items; e.g., “*I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to*  
230 *the general consensus*”), b) Environmental Mastery (14 items; e.g., “*In general, I feel I am*  
231 *in charge of the situation in which I live*”), c) Personal Growth (14 items; e.g., “*I think it is*  
232 *important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the*  
233 *world*”), d) Positive Relations with Others (14 items; “*People would describe me as a*  
234 *giving person, willing to share my time with others*”), e) Purpose in Life (14 items; “*Some*  
235 *people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them*”), and f) Self-Acceptance  
236 (14 items; “*I like most aspects of my personality*”). In this study, for all subscales, very  
237 good reliability values were found: Autonomy ( $\alpha=.832$ ), Environmental Mastery ( $\alpha=.785$ ),  
238 Positive Relations with Others ( $\alpha=.872$ ), Personal Growth ( $\alpha=.823$ ), Purpose in Life  
239 ( $\alpha=.862$ ), Self-Acceptance ( $\alpha=.798$ ).

240 **Subjective Social Status.** Based on one-item measure widely used in the literature (e.g.,  
241 Operario et al., 2004), the subjective social status was measured using the following  
242 instruction: “Think of a ladder as representing of how Portuguese people are socially  
243 distributed. Considering the scale below, in which ladder would you place yourself? Step 1:  
244 people who are worst off – who have the least money, least education, and the least jobs/no  
245 job. Step 10: people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most  
246 education, and the best jobs”.

#### 247 **Data analytic approach**

248 Descriptive statistics and correlation analysis were performed through *IBM SPSS*<sup>®</sup>  
249 *for Windows* (version 23.0). A sum score of items composing victimization, depression,  
250 anxiety and psychological well-being was created and the associations between the  
251 variables were tested using the Pearson bivariate correlation. The index of SES was created

252 based on three objective indicators of social and economic status: education, occupation  
253 and income (Cardoso, 2006; Duncan et al., 2002). Level of education completed ranged  
254 from “no formal education completed” to “post-graduate degree”. Total net household  
255 income by month was adjusted based on household size. Occupation was coded,  
256 considering the level of qualification and social status associated with profession, by from  
257 “unqualified” (0) to “entrepreneur or politician” (6). A total SES score was calculated  
258 adding the zcores of the three indicators. Higher scores indicate higher levels of SES.  
259 Participants who reported no experience of victimization were not filtered out for the  
260 purpose of this study.

261 In order to guarantee quality of the data, recommendations for online data were  
262 implemented (Funk & Rogge, 2007; Kraut et al., 2004). Database was checked for the  
263 presence of univariate and multivariate outliers, using z-scores, scatter-plots, q-q plots,  
264 standardized residuals and Mahalanobis distance. Error outliers were sorted from  
265 interesting outliers and removed based on qualitative analysis of consistency and accuracy  
266 responses patterns. Further criteria and procedures to check for influential outliers included  
267 Cook’s  $D_i$  (Field, 2013). Participants failing to complete 70% of the entire survey or  
268 missing data for 4 or more of the items from measures of dependent variables were  
269 excluded (Funk & Rogge, 2007). The percentage of missing values for the remaining cases  
270 was below 5% (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Missing data was handled by imputation of the  
271 mean score for each of the subscale set of items. The moderating effects of subjective social  
272 status on the relationship between victimization and mental health were tested through the  
273 SPSS PROCESS macro 3.4 (model 1) with bootstrapping (5000 samples) (Hayes, 2017).  
274 Eight models were tested for each predictor (psychological, physical and sexual

275 victimization), controlling for the effect of SES and the effect of other types of  
276 victimization. Moderating effects were plotted using data provided by PROCESS for  
277 visualizing interactions.

## 278 **Results**

### 279 **Descriptive associations between variables**

280 Higher levels of physical and Psychological Victimization were associated with lower  
281 levels of psychological well-being (all subdimensions) and greater psychopathology  
282 (Depression and Anxiety). Higher levels of Sexual Victimization were associated with  
283 lower levels of psychological well-being (except Positive relations with others and Self-  
284 Acceptance). Results also showed that higher levels of SSS were associated with greater  
285 Positive relations with Others, as well as with lower Depression and Anxiety. Higher  
286 objective social status was associated with lower Depression and Anxiety, and with higher  
287 SSS and Sexual Victimization. Finally, greater psychological well-being (all subscales) was  
288 associated with lower Depression and Anxiety (Table 1).

### 289 **Victimization and Mental Health: the moderating role of SSS**

290 Results revealed a set of main effects of Victimization and Psychological Well-being.  
291 Specifically, greater Psychological Victimization predicted lower Autonomy ( $B = -0.88$ ;  
292  $p = .007$ ), Environmental Mastery ( $B = -0.72$ ;  $p = .030$ ), Positive Relations with Others ( $B = -$   
293  $1.38$ ;  $p = .001$ ), Self-Acceptance ( $B = -1.66$ ;  $p < .001$ ), Anxiety ( $B = 0.66$ ;  $p < .001$ ) and  
294 Depression ( $B = 0.76$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Greater Sexual Victimization predicted lower Autonomy ( $B =$   
295  $-2.06$ ;  $p = .018$ ). Furthermore, three statistically significant moderating effects of SSS were  
296 found: a) between Psychological victimization and Autonomy ( $B = 0.12$ ;  $p = .046$ ), b)  
297 between Psychological Victimization and Self-Acceptance ( $B = 0.18$ ;  $p = .006$ ), and c)

298 between Sexual Victimization and Autonomy ( $B= 0.25$ ;  $p=.037$ ). Specifically, we found  
299 that greater Psychological Victimization was associated with lower Self-Acceptance and  
300 Autonomy, particularly for participants reporting lower SSS (Figures 1-2). Greater Sexual  
301 Victimization was associated with lower Autonomy, particularly for participants reporting  
302 lower SSS (Figure 3).

### 303 **Discussion**

304 This study aimed to test the moderating role of SSS in the association between  
305 victimization during adulthood and mental health outcomes, considering both  
306 psychopathology and well-being. Significant evidence has been gathered on the role of SES  
307 as a risk factor for mental health (e.g., Ibrahim et al., 2013; Wee et al., 2014), and further  
308 evidence shows that SSS effect goes beyond traditional objective indicators (Adler et al.,  
309 2000; Cohen et al., 2008). However, even if the relevance of subjective facets of  
310 socioeconomic status (Manstead, 2018) is supported by evidence, the moderating role of  
311 SSS has not been explored in the victimization research field.

312 Results show that objective and subjective indicators of socioeconomic status were  
313 positively correlated, which suggests that participants with a higher socioeconomic level  
314 tend to perceive themselves as standing in a superior social position when compared to  
315 others. However, results from correlations also seem to suggest the rather distinct character  
316 of SES and SSS. If both SES and SSS were associated with lower levels of anxiety and  
317 depression, only the SSS was positively associated with psychological well-being (i.e.,  
318 Positive Relations with Others). Additionally, only SES were associated with more  
319 experiences of sexual victimization, i.e., higher levels of SES were associated with higher  
320 levels of reported sexual abuse. This result may suggest that high-SES victims are more

321 able to identify sexually abusive behaviors, that go beyond explicit and physical coercion  
322 acts (e.g., sexual harassment). Sexual violence may include less explicit variations in the of  
323 use force, such as manipulation and psychological intimidation, as part of the coercion  
324 *tactic* (Lyndon, White & Kadlec, 2007). Hence, high-SES victims may be more aware of  
325 the dynamics of these abusive behaviors and circumstances. Still, these are only exploratory  
326 results and, therefore, tentative explanations that need further investigation in the future.  
327 Taken together these results suggest that objective and subjective indicators of social status  
328 are associated differently with mental health outcomes and victimization experiences,  
329 therefore meriting further inspection on their interdependence and particularities in future  
330 research.

331         Considering that these experiences may co-occur, when we tested for one form of  
332 victimization the effect of the others was controlled. Results suggested that psychological  
333 victimization has de subtype with a more general impact on dimensions of mental health  
334 (anxiety, depression and psychological well-being), confirming our first hypothesis. Main  
335 effects confirmed previous evidence (Lagdon et al., 2014) by revealing the deleterious  
336 effect of psychological victimization for mental health, namely anxiety and depression.  
337 Results also adds for a more comprehensive and detailed understanding of this this effect  
338 by showing an equally negative effect on various dimensions of psychological well-being,  
339 such as the experiences of Autonomy, Environmental Mastery and Positive Relations with  
340 Others, and of Self-Acceptance. Sexual victimization is, in turn, associated with decreased  
341 perception of personal autonomy.

342         Considering the moderating effects, has expected, the negative association between  
343 psychological victimization and autonomy and self-acceptance, is intensified when



344 participants reported lower SSS. The moderating effect of SSS, controlled for the effect of  
345 SES as well as physical and sexual victimization, supporting the added explanatory  
346 contribution of SSS. These results are in line with theoretical assumptions and previous  
347 evidence suggesting the way people deal with various life's events and challenges might be  
348 affected by their SSS (Manstead, 2018). Our findings suggest that psychological  
349 victimization is particularly detrimental to the victims' autonomy (i.e., self-determination  
350 and independence), and self-acceptance (i.e., the ability to accept and integrate the multiple  
351 aspects of identity/self), when in conditions of reduced SSS. Psychological victimization  
352 involves humiliations and verbal offenses, as well as coercion, threats, intimidation, control  
353 and social isolation that may undermine the victims' self-esteem (Pico-Alonso et al., 2006).  
354 Our results show that this might to be particularly evident when these victims perceive  
355 themselves as being socially more vulnerable or less privileged, when compared to others.  
356 These results may also be understood in light of previous research showing that those in  
357 lower social classes tend to experience life events and circumstances as less achievable and  
358 controllable, as well as more unpredictable (Kraus et al., 2009; Stephens et al., 2014),  
359 which might be associated, in this case, with lower victims' perceptions of autonomy.  
360 Furthermore, feelings of security usually experienced by people with high SSS (Kraus et al.,  
361 2009; Operario et al., 2004), might result in an advantage to deal with the negative effects  
362 of psychological victimization. These feelings may protect the sense of self-acceptance and  
363 the perception of autonomy and self-determination, hence preventing worst psychological  
364 well-being outcomes.

365           Greater sexual victimization was associated with lower autonomy particularly for  
366 those reporting lower SSS. Sexual violence may involve tactics of manipulation,

367 persuasion, and verbal persistence and often occurs among victims and aggressors who  
368 previously know each other and who may have a close or intimate relationship (Cook &  
369 Parrott, 2009; Gidycz, & Kelley, 2016). As such, the perceived victims' inability to resist  
370 may be associated with greater feelings of blame, powerlessness and low sense of control  
371 (Frazier et al., 2005; Nurius et al., 2004; Zerubavel & Messman-Moore, 2013). Thus, it is  
372 expected that this type of violence may particularly affect the psychological well-being of  
373 low-SSS victims (e.g., specifically their autonomy, the ability to make independent  
374 decisions, assertiveness, or self-confidence), given that these victims may experience and  
375 perceive more unpredictability associated with lower social status condition (Kraus et al.,  
376 2009; Stephens et al., 2014).

377         These results suggest that not all victims of violence reveal the same pattern of  
378 psychological outcomes, as the associations between victimization and psychological well-  
379 being vary according to SSS. The same was not found, however, in the case of depression  
380 and anxiety. Taken together, our results contribute and advocate for the need and the  
381 importance of adopting a comprehensive approach to mental health, considering its various  
382 dimensions and different outcomes (i.e., depression, anxiety, psychological well-being),  
383 when exploring the impact of victimization. A more fine-grained approach should also be  
384 applied regarding the distinct forms of victimization (i.e., sexual, physical and  
385 psychological) and its potential distinct consequences for mental health.

### 386 **Limitations, Implications for Research and Practice**

387 The current study proposes that SSS might be viewed as a condition that interferes with the  
388 impact of victimization experiences on victims' mental health. Mental health is  
389 conceptualized beyond a mere absence of psychopathology (Keyes, 2005) and is proposed

390 to also include psychological well-being. Our results provide initial insights about how  
391 different subtypes of violence may be differently associated with mental health; here  
392 operationalized under a comprehensive framework that included outcomes of both  
393 psychopathology and psychological well-being. This study gathers new evidence  
394 suggesting the protective role of SSS to both - psychopathology and psychological well-  
395 being.

396 It is, however, important to note some limitations. The study included a convenience,  
397 nonrandom and, hence, non-representative sample, and our evidence was based on self-  
398 reported measures and on a correlational and cross-sectional design; all these advises for  
399 caution on the assumption of the causality of associations. We did not include samples of  
400 victims from official services or clinical samples, only participants from the general  
401 community. Greater variability on sample experiences and mental health profiles could  
402 provide more accurate evidence on how SSS might affect negative effects of victimization.

403 Ethnic and racial identifications were not systematically assessed in this study and for that  
404 reason they were not included in the data analyses, which prevented the ability to test for  
405 ethnic and racial related differences and interactions with SES and SSS. Future research  
406 should also consider the assessment of intrapersonal variables, such as personality and  
407 social aspects of identity, as well as collective identities and community related factors,  
408 such as ethnic and racial identity, quality of community based social support. This might  
409 allow us to explore how those variables might interact with SSS, coping resources and,  
410 consequently, help to better understand the impact of victimization. Also, additional health  
411 indicators (e.g., physical health, subjective and social well-being) should be included in  
412 further analytic models.

413 Despite these limitations, our results suggested relevant implications for practice. On the  
414 one hand, professionals working with victims of violence should be aware that, along with  
415 objective economic status indicators, assessment processes and protocols should also  
416 include victims' appraisals of their social status, as this may affect the way victims deal  
417 with the victimization experience. In addition, different results were found regarding  
418 psychopathology and well-being outcomes, which advises for the need for practitioners to  
419 fully and comprehensively assess mental health. Traditionally, psychological assessment  
420 tends to be focused on psychopathology and professionals typically assume that the absence  
421 of clinically significant symptoms may justify the lack of intervention. However, research  
422 has showed that people revealing no symptoms do not necessarily experience well-being  
423 (Magalhães & Calheiros, 2017; Suldo & Shaffer, 2008). For that reason, intervention with  
424 these individuals (described in the literature as vulnerable) should provide opportunities to  
425 enhance their human potential, psychological well-being and personal growth. Furthermore,  
426 our findings suggested the importance of delivering the intervention with victims of  
427 violence in adulthood considering the role of social class. Indeed, we found that the  
428 association between victimization and psychological well-being (autonomy and self-  
429 acceptance) seems to vary depending on the level of SSS. Victimization experiences (and  
430 particularly psychological victimization) seem to be more damaging to victims who reveal  
431 lower SSS levels. As such, individuals who describe their relative social standing as  
432 inferior compared to others may perceive their environment as less predictable and  
433 controllable, as well as to have more difficulties to access to significant resources (Hamby  
434 & Grych, 2016). Experiencing psychological violence plus having low levels of SSS can  
435 amplify the victims' negative perception of their autonomy and self-acceptance, which

436 require professionals who are able to activate individual and social resources, empowering  
437 these victims and promoting greater perceived self-determination beliefs.

438 Finally, different subtypes of violence and consequent diverse profiles of victims  
439 are possible. Professionals working with victims should avoid stereotyping processes and  
440 general representations about victims' mental health outcomes (e.g., "damaged victims"),  
441 being aware of potentially resilient trajectories, as well as unexpected vulnerabilities and  
442 strengths. This calls for the need to develop public health policies and training efforts and  
443 initiatives that help professionals working in primary and specialized intervention with  
444 victims. Specifically, it would be important to challenge and deconstruct beliefs on the  
445 inevitability of trauma, and misconceptions of health as the absence of symptoms, which  
446 hinder the ability to a full identification of factors that may protect individuals' mental  
447 health (e.g., social support, subjective social status, self-regulatory factors).

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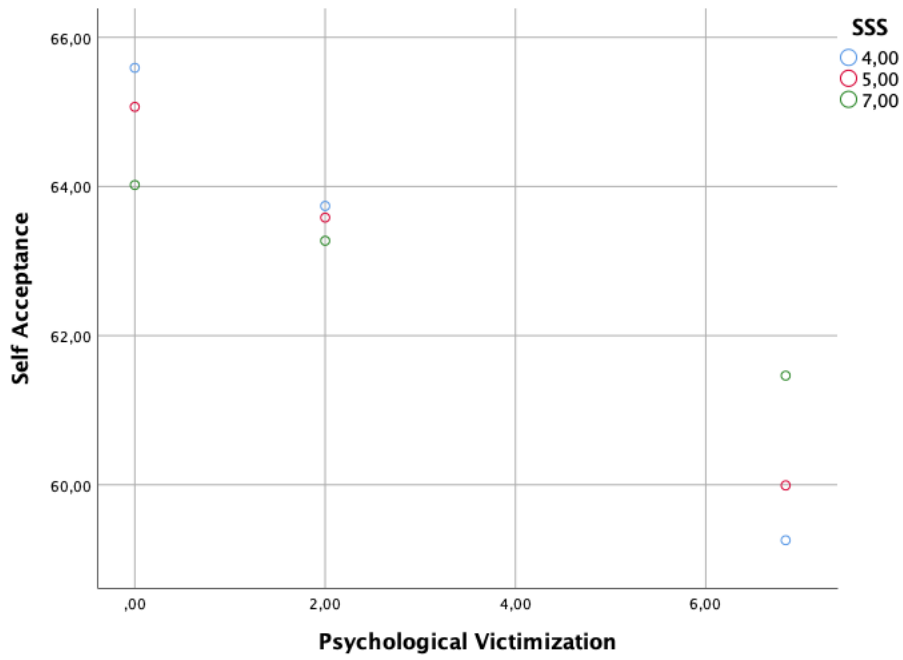
Table 1.  
Intercorrelations between variables in the study

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1. Objective Social Status	.339***	.051	.061	.175**	.039	.052	-.021	.029	.002	0.112	-.176**	-.128*	
2. Subjective Social Status		-.059	.024	.076	-.018	.089	-.015	.128*	.089	.084	-.158**	-.162**	
3. Psychological Victimization			.700***	.514***	-.213***	-.245***	-.217***	-.286***	-.229***	-.316***	.345***	.366***	
4. Physical Victimization				.660***	-.174**	-.163**	-.236***	-.151**	-.165**	-.180**	.169**	.164**	
5. Sexual Victimization					-.168**	-.145*	-.223***	-.101	-.117*	-.097	.061	.076	
6. Autonomy						.607***	.609***	.495***	.514***	.660***	-.393***	-.371***	
7. Environmental Mastery							.630***	.641***	.741***	.782***	-.489***	-.572***	
8. Personal Growth								.553***	.703***	.579***	-.328***	-.377***	
9. Positive Relations with Others									.666***	.649***	-.397***	-.547***	
10. Purpose in Life										.746***	-.432***	-.563***	
11. Self-Acceptance											-.516***	-.657***	
12. Anxiety												.769***	
13. Depression													1

Note. \*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

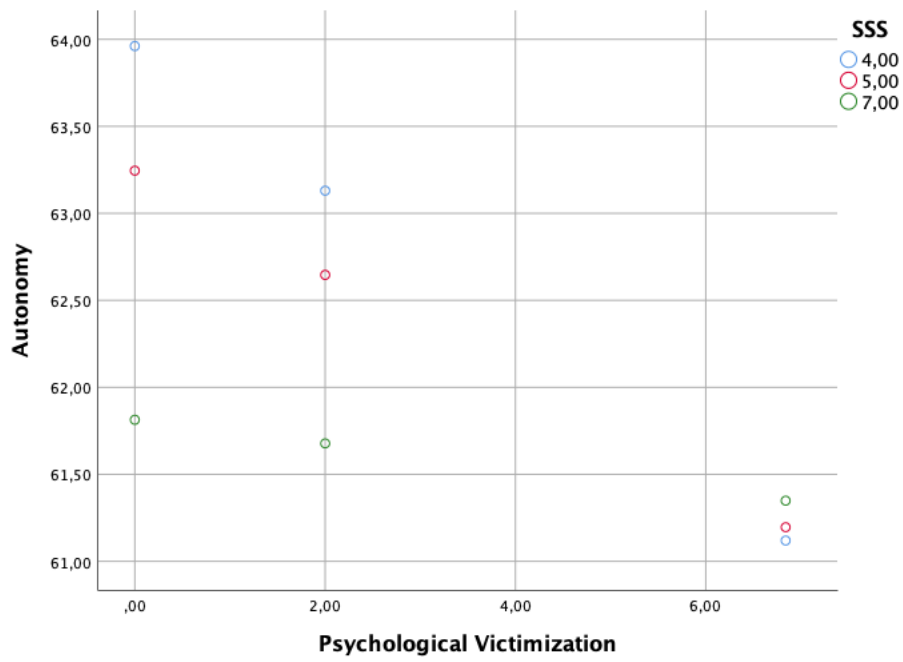
**Figure 1**

*The moderating role of SSS in the relationship between Psychological Victimization and Self-Acceptance*



**Figure 2**

*The moderating role of SSS in the relationship between Psychological Victimization and  
Autonomy*



**Figure 3**

*The moderating role of SSS in the relationship between Sexual Victimization and Autonomy*

