

INSTITUTO UNIVERSITÁRIO DE LISBOA

More Than Endurance: Women's Resistance Strategies in Contexts of Economic
Dependency and Gender-Based Violence in Colombia
Erika Lorena Infante Tavera
Erasmus Mundus Joint Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and
Diversity in Society
Supervisor
Dr. João Manuel Calhau de Oliveira, Invited assistant professor (with habilitation)
ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa
Co-supervisor

Cecília do Rosario da Mota Aguilar, Associate Professor

ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa



E HUMANAS

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

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ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

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Abstract

This study explores how economic dependency shapes women's experiences of gender-based violence (GBV) in Colombia, and how they respond through coping, resistance, and collective strategies for empowerment. Grounded in feminist and decolonial epistemologies, the research adopts a qualitative design using semi-structured interviews with twelve women who have experienced economic dependence in intimate relationships. Data were analyzed through Reflexive Thematic Analysis, guided by a situated and relational approach to mental health and well-being.

Findings reveal that economic dependency operates not only as a risk factor, but also as a mechanism of control and a normalized form of structural violence. Participants described complex intersections between cultural mandates (e.g., *aguantar*), institutional neglect, and emotional abuse, which impacted their autonomy and mental health. Despite these challenges, women developed meaningful strategies for survival, relational support, and economic agency, while envisioning personal, collective, and structural change.

The study concludes that women's everyday acts of resistance challenge systemic inequality and highlight the need for gender-transformative responses that move beyond individualistic frameworks.

Key words: Gender-based violence, economic dependency, feminist research, resistance, coping mechanisms, cultural norms, transformative change

Resumo

Este estudo explora como a dependência econômica molda as experiências de mulheres em situações de violência baseada em gênero (VBG) na Colômbia, e como elas respondem por meio de estratégias de enfrentamento, resistência e empoderamento coletivo. Com base em epistemologias feministas e decoloniais, a pesquisa adota um desenho qualitativo, utilizando entrevistas semiestruturadas com doze mulheres colombianas que vivenciaram relações íntimas marcadas por dependência econômica. Os dados foram analisados por meio da Análise Temática Reflexiva, orientada por uma abordagem situada e relacional da saúde mental e do bem-estar.

Os resultados revelam que a dependência econômica atua não apenas como um fator de risco, mas também como um mecanismo de controle e uma forma naturalizada de violência estrutural. As participantes descreveram intersecções complexas entre mandatos culturais (como o *aguantar*), negligência institucional e abuso emocional, que impactaram sua autonomia e saúde mental. Apesar desses desafios, as mulheres desenvolveram estratégias significativas de sobrevivência, apoio relacional e agência econômica, ao mesmo tempo em que projetaram mudanças pessoais, coletivas e estruturais.

O estudo conclui que os atos cotidianos de resistência protagonizados por essas mulheres desafiam as desigualdades sistêmicas e ressaltam a necessidade de respostas transformadoras que vão além de abordagens individualistas.

Palavras-chave: Violência baseada em gênero, dependência econômica, pesquisa feminista, resistência, mecanismos de enfrentamento, normas culturais, mudança transformadora

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Chapter 1: Literature Review

Theoretical and Epistemological Framework: Positioning the Research

This research is grounded in a feminist, critical, and situated epistemology that centers the experiences of Colombian women who have lived through economically dependent relationships in contexts of gender-based violence (GBV). In contrast to traditional psychological approaches, which tend to individualize human action and emotional experience from social and structural conditions (Martin, 2014), this study aligns with a feminist, decolonial, and intersectional perspective (Espinosa, 2015; Lugones, 2008). It understands women's psychological distress not as a personal failure but as a response deeply intertwined with historical, cultural, and economic contexts of inequality.

Therefore, positioning the research means grounding knowledge in local realities, and adopting an ethical, political, and situated knowledges standpoint. As Haraway (1988) points out, what counts as rational knowledge is always shaped by ethical and political commitments.

Feminist Psychology and Critique of the Traditional Clinical Model

Feminist psychology is guided by principles that critique the social, political, and historical processes of inequality and domination, and it aims at transforming social relationships (Troncoso et al., 2017; Iñiguez, 2007).

While studying women is not new, feminist approach emphasizes "studying them from the perspective of their own experiences so that women can understand themselves and the world" (Harding, 1987 p. 8). This includes a study of gender, the idea that there's a systematic social construction of masculinity and femininity, and the role of social power and imbalance (Iñiguez, 2007) that affects women differentially.

It questions models that pathologize women's suffering and the silencing of their experiences (Daskal, 1991). Because so much of traditional psychological theory and practice centered on men's experiences and named male experience as the norm (Harding, 1987), feminist psychology brings female experience from the margins of theory and practice to the center (Brown, 1994) as a way of repositioning and respecting experience as it is defined by those who live it.

Symptoms often attributed to women, such as anxiety, low self-esteem, indecision, emotional dependency, are not individual disorders but valid responses to sociopolitical contexts of oppression and inequality (hooks, 2000; Brown, 1994: Montero, 2004; Daskal, 1991). This is why women's psychological suffering cannot be understood in isolation from the structures that shape their lives (Montero, 2004). Poverty, the burden of unpaid domestic labor (Fraser, 2013), and traditional mandates of imposed motherhood (Ruiz-Navarro, 2024) limit their autonomy and deeply affect their emotional health and capacity for agency (Batthyány & Montaño, 2012; CEPAL, 2016). However, these lived conditions also enable women to articulate forms of resistance that emerge from structural struggle.

This research addresses the suffering derived from economic dependence from a critical perspective that articulates the personal with the political. As Segato (2003) states, violence is not just an individual act, but a way in which the patriarchal and colonial order is sustained over feminized bodies.

Epistemologies of the South and Situated Knowledge

Inspired by epistemologies of the South (Santos, 2010), this research acknowledges that theories and practices developed in the Global North do not represent a universal truth, but rather geopolitics of knowledge that has historically silenced, subordinated, or exoticized Southern knowledge (Quijano, 2008).

However, it is not enough to incorporate voices from the South, it is also necessary to decolonize our analytical tools, our ways of naming, and of doing research (Cusicanqui, 2010). From this perspective, the narratives of the participants are not simple testimonies or data, but valid, complex and embodied forms of knowledge (Fulchiron, 2014) that allow us to understand how structural violence is suffered, interpreted, and resisted from a situated place.

Montero (2004) understands the production of knowledge as the result of a dialectical process between critical reflections and practice in the field in dialogue with people who are agents for their own transformation (Montero, 2004; Serrano-García e Irizarry, 1979). In this way, frameworks of understanding are applicable in concrete contexts and remain open to constant revision.

From this epistemological standpoint, all knowledge is situated, partial and co-constructed, rather than neutral or objective (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2004; Iñiguez, 2007) it emerges from a body, a history, and a context. This research, therefore, does not seek to speak about women, but with them, recognizing their narratives as political analysis and a practice of resistance.

Intersectional and Decolonial Approach

The intersectional approach makes it possible to understand how multiple systems of oppression (gender, class, ethnicity, motherhood, territory) intersect and reinforce each other, generating specific forms of subordination (Crenshaw, 1989; and Espinosa, 2015). Espinosa proposes the need for a decolonial approach, recognizing that the categories of liberal feminism have been constructed in the name of a white, Western, and urban subject, which has led to epistemological consequences, especially for the realities of racialized women from the Global South, who suffer other forms of oppression (Curiel, 2007).

This perspective brings an understanding of how different forms of oppression are structurally articulated. In that sense, it is proposed that economic dependence is not isolated, but a structural condition of inequality reproduced by patriarchal, capitalist, and racist systems that rely on gendered divisions of labor, subordinate women through unpaid labor, exploit domestic and care work without compensation or recognition (Fraser, 2013), and marginalization in the political and economic sphere. This ultimately limits their autonomy and generates differentiated emotional and social impacts (Curiel, 2007).

The decolonial approach allows to interrogate the discourses that legitimize inequality. As Segato (2016) argues, gender mandates, such as female obedience, are upheld by religion, the family, and the State, naturalizing violence and perpetuating asymmetrical power relations both in the intimate and collective spheres.

Both intersectional and decolonial approaches challenge universal narratives about female empowerment, emotional well-being, and autonomy, recognizing that resistance and healing must be understood within specific sociocultural contexts.

Moreover, these approaches bring a critical perspective on the category of gender, as an instrument of the coloniality of power and as a historically imposed construction (Mendoza, 2010). Gender mandates are deeply tied to colonial power relations that have subordinated

certain bodies in order to sustain the status of others. These perspectives dismantle generalizing assumptions about what it means to be a woman, recognizing that this meaning is neither universal nor ahistorical. What María Lugones (2008) defines as the "coloniality of gender" refers to the imposition of gender as a colonial strategy that introduced new forms of violence, control, cruelty, and hatred against women that were not characteristic of previous communities, although they also contained patriarchal and unequal elements (Segato, 2016).

Gender-Based Violence and Economic Dependency as Power Relations

Gender-based violence (GBV) against women is legally defined as any action or omission that causes death, harm, or suffering, physical, psychological, sexual, or patrimonial, as well as threats, coercion, or deprivation of liberty, committed in either public or private spheres because the victim is a woman (Ley 1257 de 2008). This violence is shaped by intersecting systems of patriarchal control, gendered power relations, and inequalities that position women in subordinate and dependent roles (Balbuena et al., 2011).

Gender-based violence encompasses a range of manifestations, but this study mainly focuses on violence against women (VAW), intimate partner violence (IPV), domestic violence, and economic violence, as these reflect the structural nature of GBV and reveal how control and inequality are maintained within intimate and household relationships.

Women's economic dependency and female unemployment are key determinants of gender-based violence (Moreno, 2023; Correa et al., 2023). Economic dependency refers to a condition in which a woman relies financially on her partner or family and lacks access to independent income, employment, or resources. In Colombia, this is closely tied to traditional gender roles and the unequal distribution of unpaid care work. Approximately 52% of women participate in the labor force, compared to 76% of men (Llanes, 2024). This disparity leaves many women without their own income, increasing their reliance on partners or relatives.

Women who are not employed outside the home generally have a lower degree of economic independence, making it more difficult to leave abusive or harmful relationships (OECD, 2023). Abusers often exploit this dependency: financial instability can bind a woman to her abuser, as lack of economic means traps many in violent situations (Stylianou, 2018; Bernal et al., 2024). Many survivors hesitate to escape or report abuse out of fear of losing financial stability or being unable to support their children (Gray et al 2023). Economic dependency is thus both a cause and

consequence of GBV, creating a vicious cycle where violence impedes a woman's ability to achieve autonomy, and the lack of autonomy reinforces her vulnerability to abuse.

Economic violence, including control over finances and employment restrictions, is a recognized form of GBV in Colombia that directly undermines women's economic autonomy. Around 31% of Colombian women (nearly one in three) report having experienced economic abuse by an intimate partner (Gray et al., 2023). This includes controlling or sabotaging access to finances, education, or employment, confiscating earnings or property, spending money required for household needs, or forbidding women from holding a job (Nelson et al., 2023; Gray et al., 2023). Such abuse not only affects immediate well-being but also has long-term consequences: women may accumulate debt, miss educational or career opportunities, and see their financial prospects diminished.

In many cases, women responsible for unpaid domestic labor face resistance when seeking paid employment, as this shift threatens traditional gender dynamics; male partners may respond with heightened violence or stricter control to reassert power and prevent economic independence (ACAPS, 2023). Economic violence is therefore both a method of enforcing and a barrier to financial autonomy.

There is a clear link between women's socioeconomic status and vulnerability to economic violence (Moreno, 2023). Women in precarious conditions face more severe consequences, including diminished autonomy, development, participation, and decision-making power, making it harder to exit the cycle of abuse (Bernal et al., 2024). However, Núñez (2022) notes that even women in privileged contexts may experience this violence in silence, particularly those dedicated to caregiving without independent income, who must ask their partners for money to meet personal and family needs.

Mental Health and Well-being in Contexts of Structural Inequality

To understand the mental health of women in situations of economic dependency, it is necessary to move away from reductionist and pathologizing approaches. This research adopts critical perspectives which view emotional distress as a response to structural inequality, symbolic violence and internalized gender norms.

Approaches to Mental Health and Well-being

Mental health, according to the WHO (2024), is a fundamental right which is defined as a state of mental well-being that enables individuals to cope with the stresses of life, realize their abilities, learn and work well, and contribute to their community. However, the Public Mental Health Policy for Bogotá's Capital District 2023-2032 offers a more situated perspective, defining it as a historical, dynamic, and contextualized process that engages people's agency, relational ties, and collective potential, exercised freely and consciously through human interaction. This study adopts a definition of mental health that understands the human being in their physiological, psychological, and social dimensions, situated within specific historical, political, cultural, economic, and environmental contexts that shape their well-being and rights.

Building on this, Montero (2004) and Prilleltensky (2003) propose that well-being is not merely an individual phenomenon. It is deeply relational and political, grounded in access to rights and the satisfaction of relational needs such as affection, support, recognition, and participation. They argue that emotional states and personal behaviors cannot be separated from the structural conditions in which people live. Personal, relational and collective well-being are thus interconnected and co-constitutive.

Relational needs, such as being cared for, respected, and connected, are vital to psychological well-being. However, meeting these needs become insufficient when structural injustices remain unaddressed. Access to fair employment, healthcare, education, housing, and legal protection are not separate from mental health, they are central to it. In this sense, well-being cannot be detached from socioeconomic status, the ability to end abusive relationships, or the political power to demand change.

Data from a gender-focused survey on mental health (OMEG, 2024) identified social support as a protective factor for women's well-being. It provides emotional and practical resources to navigate life's challenges, directly correlates with better health outcomes, and acts as a buffer that mediates stressful situations to reduce their psychological impact.

However, being a woman was found to be a risk factor itself, due to the structural inequalities, gender stereotypes and the double or triple burden of work (unpaid domestic work, paid employment, and community responsibilities) that disproportionally impact on women's mental health and cause chronic exhaustion and psychological strain. (OMEG, 2024). Women who

reported permanent disability, low education, lack of family support, or ethnic marginalization were more likely to experience poor well-being (OMEG, 2024). This suggests that ableist views on mental health and societal expectations centered on labor force participation, reinforce exclusion and pathologize those who do not conform.

Violence as a Risk Factor

OMEG (2024) revealed that traumatic or deeply distressing events, often related to violence, greatly increase the risk of depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior. In this cases, crucial protective factors include social support, personal resilience, and the ability to process violence without stigma (Menéndez, 2021). Crossman et al. (2015) noted that the emotional and mental consequences of coercive, non-physical abuse, such as economic or psychological violence, are similar to those of physical abuse. Women may experience extreme fear, anxiety, guilt, depression, and diminished self-esteem. Mellar (2024) adds that women exposed to economic abuse are at greater risk of poor mental health outcomes and financial insecurity than those who experienced other forms of intimate partner violence or no violence at all. Addressing economic abuse is thus key to improving women's mental health.

Rubio et al. (2021) found that many women remain silent about abuse due to fear of social stigma or losing custody of their children. This silence can lead to feelings of anxiety and helplessness, and further health issues. In this line, Pacheco (2015) confirms that such states of acute distress can evolve into depression, confusion, and a loss of reality. Women may gradually become more submissive and disconnected from themselves, unable to envision a way out.

Coping and Empowerment Strategies in Experiences of Violence

Far from reducing women in situations of economic violence to the role of passive victims, this research focuses on their everyday strategies of resistance, coping, and agency. It recognizes the complexity of breaking away from abusive relationships and structural dependency.

Adaptive and Transformative Coping Strategies

Research consistently shows that the most effective coping strategies in the face of violence are those that promote action, autonomy, empowerment, and social support. In contrast, passive or avoidant strategies tend to prolong suffering and reinforce the cycle of abuse.

Among the most effective strategies identified by Ayala et al. (2015), Miracco et al. (2010), and OMEG (2025), seeking social and psychosocial support plays a fundamental role. Participating in support networks facilitates emotional expression, informed decision-making, and access to resources. Seeking emotional support has been shown to be an inverse predictor of violence, breaking the social isolation often imposed by the aggressor, as noted by González-Monzón and García (2024).

Literature on coping in the context of gender-based violence also highlights the importance of active problem-solving strategies, such as recognizing the situation, seeking information about available rights and services, and pursuing actions like employment, legal consultation, or reporting abuse (Ayala et al., 2015; Miracco et al., 2010). Other studies point to the relevance of personal development processes, where rebuilding self-esteem, acquiring new skills, and working toward economic independence are seen as the process of regaining autonomy. The act of reframing one's experience as a process of learning and growth has also been described as a way to reduce guilt and enhance a sense of self-worth (OMEG, 2025). These diverse strategies share the common orientation toward reclaiming power and reasserting women's role as a subject of rights. In contrast, some less effective strategies such as denial, social isolation, use of religion as resignation, passivity, or hoping the aggressor will change can create temporary relief but eventually increase emotional suffering, weaken sense of self, and tend to prolong exposure to violence (Ayala et al., 2015; Miracco et al., 2010; González-Monzón & Garcá, 2024).

Isolation was shown to heighten emotional and material dependency, and it reinforces the aggressor's control and reduces women's access to information or support.

The Role of the Family of Origin

Literature identifies that the family of origin plays an ambivalent role in coping processes. In many cases, it serves as a source of emotional support, relational learning, and the transmission of tools for dealing with crisis. (Ayala et al., 2015) Women raised in families with high emotional cohesion and good adaptability tend to use more active coping strategies, such as identifying abusive situations, making autonomous decisions, and seeking help. (Reyes et al., 2021; OMEG, 2024).

In other cases, family may reproduce patterns of dependency, violence, or silence (Ayala et al., 2015). Histories marked by emotional distance, authoritarianism, abuse, or poor

communication tend to hinder the recognition of violence and reinforce patterns of subordination.

Factors such as childhood attachment, parenting styles, and the presence or absence of emotionally available caregivers shape the psycho-affective foundation from which women face violence in adulthood (Ayala et al., 2015). However, studies highlight that focusing exclusively on family as a source of support can be limiting and even harmful. It is necessary to recognize the diversity of support networks that offer spaces where women find validation, emotional support, and practical resources, such as social organizations, community groups, friendships or state institutions.

Situated Context: Violence and Gender Inequality in Colombia

This research acknowledges that women's experiences of economic dependency in intimate relationships are neither individual nor isolated phenomena, they are the result of persistent structural inequalities. In Colombia, the economic barriers women face are intertwined with cultural mandates, gender inequality, inadequate public policies, and historical forms of violence, creating conditions in which economic autonomy is deeply constrained.

Gender-Based Violence in the Colombian Context

Gender-based violence against women in Colombia remains a critical human rights concern. In global comparisons, Colombia's rates of intimate partner violence are among the highest in the world (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2023). A 2018 national survey indicated that about 11.9% of Colombian women aged 15–49 had experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in the previous year (UN Women, 2023), above the Latin American regional average of 8% (World Bank, 2023). In 2022, 47,771 cases of domestic or IPV were reported (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2023). These figures reveal insufficient protection and justice for women (Bernal et al., 2024).

Feminization of Poverty and Structural Barriers to Autonomy

Colombia exhibits a persistent gender gap across all economic indicators that reaffirms the feminization of poverty. Women have a lower labor force participation rate compared to men (OECD, 2023). Approximately 60% of working women are in informal jobs. This often means they have unstable incomes and no contributions to a pension for old age.

Additionally, 90,4% of women participate in unpaid domestic and care work (DANE, 2021), labor that has been historically feminized and undervalued. On average, Colombian women dedicate 7 hours and 46 minutes per day to these tasks, while men dedicate only 3 hours and 6 minutes (DANE, 2021). This unequal distribution of time limits women's participation in formal labor sectors, especially those that offer social protection.

In 2023, 37.7% of households living in monetary poverty are headed by women compared to 29.5% of male-headed ones (DANE, 2023). This reality is further exacerbated in rural, Afrodescendant, and Indigenous contexts.

Barriers to access quality education and job training affect women's economic autonomy. As of 2015, about 23.4% of Colombian women aged 20–24 were married or in union before age 18 (World Bank, 2023) a practice more common in rural areas that truncates schooling.

The lack of affordable, accessible childcare and elder care services exacerbates this barrier (OECD, 2023). These conditions not only restrict access to personal income, but also generate everyday material dependency, which can be weaponized in intimate relationships as a mechanism of control, emotional blackmail, or justification for isolation.

Public Policy: Advances and Gaps

Colombia has a National Public Policy on Gender Equality, equality plans, and legislation addressing gender-based violence (Law 1257 of 2008), but its implementation has been fragmented, with limited capacity to address the complexity of economic violence.

Although this law recognizes economic violence as a form of GBV, in practice it remains difficult to identify, report, or prosecute. It is often overshadowed by more visible forms of violence, such as physical or sexual abuse. Furthermore, programs aimed at economic autonomy for women tend to focus on entrepreneurship and income generation, reproducing a neoliberal logic of individual empowerment that fails to consider the structural and relational factors that sustain dependency (Curiel, 2007; Espinosa, 2015).

Despite this robust legal framework, implementation gaps and cultural norms hinder effectiveness. Colombian law formally guarantees gender equality and protection from violence, but traditional machista attitudes can impede enforcement at the community level. Research shows that deeply rooted stereotypes often blame victims or treat domestic violence as a private

matter, discouraging women from reporting abuse due to fear of stigma or retaliation (Moreno, 2023). Local authorities sometimes lack training or the political will to fully apply gender laws, resulting in uneven protection (Defree & Leon, 2021).

Women often lack awareness of available GBV support services and frequently distrust the ones they do know, limiting their access to protection and recovery (OECD, 2023). However, there have been improvements: for example, many cities and departments have established gender-based violence observatories and women's secretariats that monitor cases and coordinate services (OMEG, 2024).

5.4 Cultural Discourses and normalization

One reason the violence cycles are difficult to break is the normalization of economic abuse. Rodelli et al. (2021) describe this normalization as a set of cultural beliefs that justify or minimize violence. In Colombia, notions of endurance, are cultural and familial patterns that play a significant role in silencing women and justifying the idea that "good women" are those who tolerate infidelity, mistreatment, the deterioration of their own health, or violence, and who do not separate from their spouse in order to keep the family together (Lagarde, 2005 cited in Correa et al., 2023).

From early childhood, women are socialized to assume passive and compliant roles, in which dependency and silence are valued (Berni, 2018). These roles are reinforced by machismo, religious teachings, and family expectations that assign women the duty of sacrifice and caregiving. As a result, many women internalize guilt or shame when questioning their roles or seeking autonomy (Rubio et al., 2021; Molina, 2019), even when they are aware that violence is illegal or unjust (Moreno, 2023).

This cultural conditioning limits not only individual responses, but also institutional ones. When economic and psychological abuse are not socially recognized as "real" violence, public policies and justice systems often fail to respond effectively. According to Women's World Banking (2023), economic violence is frequently underreported and remains invisible to many, despite its long-term effects on women's self-worth, access to services, and ability to exit abusive relationships.

As Lagarde (1990) notes, although women's presence in public and economic life has grown, traditional stereotypes continue to restrict their agency and reinforce subordination. The result is a symbolic system in which economic dependency is not only tolerated but expected, legitimized through narratives of love, motherhood, and moral duty. This symbolic violence sustains structural inequalities, making it more difficult for women to envision alternatives to dependency or imagine lives free from control.

This research situated women's experiences in the Colombian context and aims to understand how these intersecting systems of economic inequality, institutional failure, and cultural mandates converge to constrain women's autonomy and normalize economic violence.

Definition of the problem

As the literature shows, economic dependency is deeply interconnected with gender-based violence (GBV), particularly in contexts where structural inequalities restrict women's access to resources, employment, and institutional support. While GBV is often framed in terms of physical or sexual violence, economic and psychological abuse remain underrecognized and underreported. These forms of violence frequently operate in silence, reinforced by cultural discourses, unequal gender roles, and the normalization of women's subordination.

In Colombia, these dynamics are intensified by cultural expectations, unequal gender roles, feminized poverty, and the normalization of women's subordination. Women in economically dependent relationships often face multiple barriers to leaving violent situations or seeking help. However, their responses are not passive. Women develop complex emotional, psychological, and social strategies to cope, resist, and assert their agency, even under conditions of constraint.

Despite this, much psychological research continues to individualize women's suffering, focusing predominantly on the risks, consequences, or symptoms associated with violence and dependency. Far less attention has been paid to how women actively respond to these conditions, resist, reclaim power, and navigate paths toward autonomy despite structural limitations.

This research therefore seeks to reframe the conversation around economic dependency and GBV by centering women lived experiences and acknowledging their coping and resistance strategies. It contributes to a feminist psychological understanding of mental health and well-being as shaped by structural violence, social norms, and relational contexts. At the same time, it

aims to produce context-sensitive knowledge that can inform transformative interventions and support pathways to autonomy and healing.

The research goals, thus, include:

General Objective:

 To explore how women in economically dependent relationships experience and navigate the challenges of seeking support or leaving constraining situations, and the emotional, psychological, and social strategies they use to cope or resist.

General objectives:

- To investigate the role of economic inequality as a form of gender-based violence (GBV).
- To understand the emotional, psychological, and social strategies that
 women develop or adopt to navigate economic, social, and cultural barriers
 in the context of dependency or violence.
- To identify the protective, resilience, and empowerment factor that shape women's responses and well-being while facing economic barriers and vulnerability.
- To explore how women describe the structural and relational changes necessary to overcome barriers to their well-being and autonomy.

Chapter 2: Methods

Study Design and Methodological Approach

This research follows a qualitative approach based on feminist research methodology and guided by Reflexive Thematic Analysis, as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2019).

In alignment with this framework, the researcher's role is not detached neutrality but active engagement. Harding (1987) argues that researchers are historically and socially situated subjects, and our beliefs and actions are part of the knowledge we produce (p. 9). Similarly, Montero (2004) stresses that research committed to social transformation must move beyond the extraction of information to become a collaborative, horizontal, dialogic process that recognizes participants as agents of their own change.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis fits within this critical framework. It provides an accessible and flexible way to identify and interpret patterns of shared meaning across the data. The process for RTA is guided by six phases: (1) familiarization with the data, (2) coding, (3) generation of initial themes, (4) developing and reviewing themes, (5) refining, defining and naming themes, and (6) producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2019). The researcher actively develops themes through a reflexive and iterative process.

The use of RTA is particularly suited to exploring the lived experiences of women in situations of economic dependency and gender-based violence, as it enables the emergence of complex and situated themes grounded in participants' voices. RTA allowed for a nuanced and situated understanding of how these women make sense of their lives, resist different forms of oppression, and envision change.

Researcher Positionality

As a Colombian feminist psychologist, my perspective and positionality is shaped by my work supporting women who live with structural inequality and gender-based violence. My experience in community-based and psychosocial services has shown me how economic dependence and patriarchal norms limit women's autonomy, well-being, and life choices. I acknowledge that my background, values, lived experiences, and political commitments are closely connected to the purpose of this research, and therefore, influence every stage of this project from the formulation of research questions to the interpretation of findings.

I embrace my subjectivity as a source of insight and critical tool, guided by feminist epistemologies that advocate for transparency, reflexivity, and co-construction of knowledge (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2004; Iñiguez, 2007), rather than a bias to be eliminated. This proximity to the topic enabled a deeper emotional presence, ethical engagement, and accountability in the research process. It also compels me to honor the complexity, resistance, and agency in all women's stories.

Participants

A total of 12 adult women participated in this study. All were Colombian, with ages ranging from their late twenties to mid-sixties (29-65). Sociodemographic data collected from participants included: age, level of education, occupation, number of children, relationship status, and geographic location. Participants were based in urban and smaller cities across Colombia, and two resided abroad. The relationship status varied: some were separated or divorced, others remained in the relationship, and a few were in new partnerships.

In terms of educational background, 2 participants (16.7%) had not completed secondary education, 6 (50%) had completed or were enrolled in undergraduate studies, and 4 (33.3%) had pursued postgraduate education. Regarding occupation, 8 participants (66.7%) had current or past experience in the informal labor sector, and 4 of them (33.3%) were fully dedicated to caregiving work at the time of the interview. (Annex A. Participants)

Interview Instrument

The primary method of data collection was in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The interview guide (Annex B. Interview Guide) was developed as a flexible tool to support a dialogical and respectful conversation with each participant. All interviews were conducted in Spanish, through video calls, and lasted between 60 and 100 minutes.

The interview included broad areas of exploration such as economic barriers and dependency within intimate relationships, strategies of coping and resistance, support systems, and participants' visions for change. Additional questions were adapted in response to each participant's narrative, allowing for sensitivity to individual context, emotional rhythm, and specific concerns.

Procedures and Research Ethics

Ethical approval was obtained from the university's ethics committee prior to data collection. The study adhered to the principles of respect for autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence, and justice. Participation was entirely voluntary, and participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any stage without consequence.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher. To protect confidentiality, all identifying information was removed during transcription, and pseudonyms were used throughout the analysis and reporting. Participants obtained and signed informed consent before participation (Annex C. Informed Consent). They were fully informed of the study's aims and how the findings would be used and disseminated.

During the interview, questions were phrased carefully to avoid re-traumatization, and participants were encouraged to pause, skip questions, or redirect the conversation at any point. While no compensation was provided, a debriefing process was conducted after each interview, during which participants were given space to reflect or ask questions and were informed about available psychosocial resources verbally and through a document (Annex D - Debriefing).

Data Analysis

Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) was used to analyze and interpret the interview data, following the six-phase model proposed by Braun and Clarke (2019). All transcripts and coding processes were conducted in Spanish, the participants' native language, to remain as close as possible to the voices and cultural meanings of their expressions. Only the final selected excerpts included in the Results chapter were translated into English.

Coding and analysis were conducted using MAXQDA software, employing tools such as memo-writing, code grouping, and visual mapping to identify relationships and patterns across the data. Codes were generated inductively, with attention to both semantic and latent meanings, and refined through an iterative process that involved repeated readings of the transcripts and analytic reflections in relation to the research questions and objectives.

Similar codes were clustered into potential themes, and each theme was refined and reviewed for coherence, distinctiveness, and theoretical significance. The final themes were defined and named based on their central meaning and their contribution to understanding the lived realities

of women navigating economic dependency and gender-based violence. These themes do not represent objective categories, but interpretative constructions that reflect a dialogic relationship between the participants' experiences and the researcher's reflexive engagement with the data.

Chapter 3: Results

This section presents the findings of the RTA, built from the voices of the twelve women who participated in the study. The themes emerged through the process of coding semi-structured interviews, analyzed using a reflexive thematic analysis approach grounded in a feminist perspective. The analysis was supported by the MAXQDA software, through which the interviews were coded, and five themes were generated. (Appendix E - Thematic Map).

Theme 1: Structural and Cultural Conditions Shaping Dependence and Violence offers a context and situates participants within a specific culture and social setting, as bodies that embody beliefs, values, and norms from a particular place. Providing an overview of the social context, existing norms, and the role of institutions brings clarity and helps situating how economic dependence or the economic burden intersects with and relates to various forms of violence, including gender-based violence.

Theme 2: Gender-Based Violence addresses the forms of violence that emerge in participants' experiences, as this violence manifests in many ways. Primarily through control, manipulation, economic abuse, and the imposition of dynamics that make it difficult for women to ask for help or leave those relationships. This becomes even more complex due to the normalization of violence.

The intersections between economic inequality, violence, and cultural norms have an impact not only on a social level, but also on an individual level, especially on the mental health of the participants. For that reason, theme 3 explores Mental Health and Emotional Impacts.

In theme 4: Coping, Resistance, and Emerging Empowerment, the coping strategies and forms of resistance that women mobilize to confront these situations are presented. This theme represents the heart of this research, as it makes visible the resources, knowledge, and processes that can emerge in the midst of vulnerability and mistreatment.

Finally, as part of a feminist research approach, one that is co-constructed with the voice and experience of the participants, the last theme 5 explores their Visions for Change and Transformation. Including their proposals and beliefs about changes they believe are necessary to transform this problem.

Theme 1: Structural and Cultural Conditions Shaping Dependence and Violence

This theme explores the broader socio-political and cultural context in which economic dependence and gender-based violence occur. It situates women's experiences within Colombian society, revealing how the socioeconomic context, cultural expectations, traditional gender roles, institutional failings, and systemic neglect all contribute to both dependence and violence.

Subtheme 1.1: Socioeconomic Context

As part of the socioeconomic context, participants described issues such as Colombia being permeated by *machismo* and economic inequality. They also reflected structural barriers like limited access to education, lack of job opportunities, and growing up in families with economic difficulties. These factors, while not determinant, can influence women's life paths and access to autonomy.

Machismo is experienced through culture and relationships and has adapted into more subtle or hidden forms of violence within marriages. One participant also named the state itself as *machista*, recognizing that dynamics of inequality are not individual, they reflect a larger system that pushes women aside.

"The state, if we really look, is very machista. It's very ingrained, it's something tacit that says women don't count. Even though women have been empowered and some can do things, the state itself doesn't give women the importance or support they deserve in society. Only now are we starting to be visible. If you look at the most powerful positions, they're held by men. And why not women?" — P8

These reflections show how structural inequalities and cultural dynamics intersect, creating a context where institutions and social norms continue to limit women's possibilities.

Subtheme 1.2: Traditional Gender Roles and Power Dynamics

This subtheme addresses how traditional and conservative gender roles sustain power dynamics that place women in subordinate position to what the man wants or decides. These beliefs are often transmitted from childhood through generational mandates.

One common role mentioned was the man as the provider, which automatically positions him as the one in control, and who sets the conditions of the relationship and household.

We still live in a society where it's whatever the man says... they raised us with the idea that the man is the one who provides and has the money. So, he's the one who rules. And it shouldn't be that way." — P2

Women, in contrast, are assigned the role of care. These expectations are instilled from a young age, shaping women's life projects as ones centered around motherhood, marriage, and staying home as the only natural path. There are still some beliefs that women should not study or work:

"In your house, they shape you mentally. They tell you: you grow up, you get married, and that's it. You raise your kids and grow old with your husband." — P5

Traditional gender roles, learned at home and reinforced socially, are at the root of the difficulty women face in imagining alternative paths. What is expected of them is not questioned, even when there is discomfort or violence.

Subtheme 1.3: Cultural Pressures, Religion, and Family Norms

This subtheme explores how cultural expectations, religious discourse, and family norms act as powerful forces that keep women in relationships. They are interconnected and often reinforced by the very people or institutions from which women might expect support.

There is cultural pressure to stay in a relationship, and the belief that divorce or separation is a personal failure. Many women felt pressured to maintain appearances and the image of a "functional" family. When some participants tried to seek support, particularly from their own parents, they were often met with judgment or silence, making the experience of isolation even deeper. In several cases, it was evident that these discourses are part of generational beliefs that reinforce both violence and dependence.

"If you went to your parents for support, many times they would say... 'she must stay there with her husband. If she likes it, fine. If not, too bad'... regardless of whether there was physical violence." — P12

While many participants expressed a strong personal spirituality, they questioned the harm caused by certain religious teachings. Beliefs about endurance and sacrifice, led women to feel guilty, sinful, or responsible for the failure of a marriage. The following extract shows how a

woman sought comfort from the catholic church and was met with condemnation and moral punishment after divorce:

"My mom got divorced... she went to church to feel better... and that day the priest said: 'All divorced women raise your hand. You are living in sin.'... imagine going to church for comfort, and that's the message you get." — P9

Cultural pressures around motherhood and sacrifice were also found. Women who, for economic or survival reasons, had to separate from their children, even temporarily, were judged and questioned. The expectation of being a mother who sacrifices everything was unequally applied to fathers. For some, the fear of being judged as a "bad mother" became another barrier in why they couldn't leave the relationship or go out in search of economic means, reinforcing both dependency and silence.

Subtheme 1.4: Institutional Inaction and Revictimization

This subtheme addresses systemic failure, including lack of access to services, police negligence, and the emotional harm of being blamed or not believed. Many participants reflected or directly criticized how institutions treat women, where they usually encounter injustice, inefficiency, systemic bias, and harmful practices.

There were many cases where abuse was reported and there was no response. One participant, after leaving an abusive relationship, was stalked and harassed by her ex-partner. Authorities issued a restraining order and told her to leave the city, but when she reported new incidents where she felt her life was at risk, they simply changed the date of the restraining order; no support or protection was offered.

"They told me, 'You have the paper, use it' ... but what could I do with a piece of paper? I had to hide, I had to constantly flee and live in fear that I'd run into him at any moment."—P7

Participants also described being judged, blamed, disbelieved, or revictimized by public officials or professionals when seeking help or reporting violence. These experiences are not isolated but speak to a broader institutional failure:

"Once, he hit me and I called the police. They came to the apartment, and I had blood on my face ... I said, 'He just hit me.' And the police said, 'But he's very calm. You're the one who's upset. And he says you were drinking.' So basically, it was like it was my fault." – P4

Theme 2: Gender-Based Violence

This theme explores how economic dependence can function as a mechanism of coercion, invisibilized violence, and sustained control when it occurs within relationships marked by power imbalances. These findings show that economic dependence by itself is not inherently violent, but when it is combined with relational dynamics of control, it can enable and sustain different forms of gender-based violence.

In some cases, dependence was a consequence of violence, for example, when women were not allowed to work, were psychologically manipulated into thinking they were incapable, or experience direct economic abuse. In others, economic dependence was used as a strategy of domination. These dynamics are shaped by the broader cultural factors discussed in Theme 1, which contribute to the normalization and tolerance of these patterns.

Subtheme 2.1: Intersections of Violence

Through participants' narratives, multiple and intersecting forms of violence were identified. They included coercive control, isolation, manipulation, early warning signs (red flags), "social masking" and appearances of kindness. Experiences also included forms of physical, sexual, psychological, verbal, economic, institutional, and vicarious violence, parental neglect, and post-separation abuse.

The most prevalent dynamics included manipulation and control, often tied to psychological and economic violence, which overlap with the development of dependence, the loss of autonomy, and impacts on self-worth perception. The negative effects of these forms of violence are portrayed by one participant:

"It wasn't physical violence, no hitting or anything, but there are things that leave deeper marks. Like telling you, 'You can't, you don't do anything right, you're nothing.' Or not letting you work or continue your studies. So yes, for me, with time, I've come to recognize that as a serious form of violence, because it limits you completely and doesn't let you live a normal life, which is a violation of my rights." — P12

Violence was also exercised through jealousy, isolating the person from support networks and controlling all aspects of their lives, which created a sense of incapacity and loss of independence and autonomy:

"He was extremely jealous, really jealous. If anyone talked to me, he didn't like it. He didn't like me visiting my parents. (...) And little by little, I ended up locked in, without anyone, no friends, no talking, no going out. Even with my clothes'" — P4

Violence often continued after the relationship ended, especially for women with children, through post-separation abuse, stalking and neglect of parental responsibilities as strategies used to maintain control. The voices of these women reveal how economic dependence can be weaponized and sustained as an active mechanism within gender-based violence.

Subtheme 2.2: Economic Dependence as a Barrier to Exiting the Relationship

Economic dependence took different forms across the participants, but most of the experiences were tied to power, control, limited autonomy, and restrictive gender roles. Barriers to leave the relationship became stronger when women were denied access to employment, education, or financial decision-making, reinforcing cycles of dependence. These circumstances combined, lead participants feel constantly limited:

"I'd look for jobs, but I'd get told, 'You don't need to work.' (...) For every little thing I needed, I had to ask him. You feel tied, like you're stuck. I didn't finish my studies. That dependency was very limiting in every way." — P12

Economic dependence was also reinforced through covert forms of economic and emotional manipulation. Some participants described how control was masked as love or protection, with partners positioning themselves as "saviors" who made them believe their financial stability and well-being depended on them. Others experienced being gradually isolated from their support networks or made to feel incapable of surviving alone. In some cases, this vulnerability deepened due to health struggles:

"It started slowly, with my health, and I got sicker. I couldn't work. And suddenly, I was completely locked inside the house, with no options, nothing. Not even the possibility of calling my parents." — P4

Economic barriers or economic dependence do not necessarily meant women had no access to work or resources. There were cases where women earned more than their partners but, still encountered economic abuse or barriers to leaving. Some participants were the sole providers but couldn't afford housing, childcare, or education for their children without the partner's presence.

"Leaving him, I thought about it many times. But I'd think, if I separate, the girls won't have school, no college. I just can't afford it. And he knew it." — PI

Others reflected on the long-term consequences of economic decisions made during the relationship, like dropping out of university or giving up work, which later reinforced their dependency. A few had wanted to leave their relationship from the beginning but felt they were unable to do so.

Economic barriers and difficulties in leaving the relationship were found to be just about money. They were linked to a lack of possibilities, institutional barriers, limited access to education, absence of support networks, emotional control, and difficulty recognizing and breaking out of cycles of violence, because their self-perception and self-worth were affected. Rather than a single cause, it's a multidimensional issue involving cultural, institutional, relational, and personal dimensions.

Subtheme 2.3: Normalization: Aguantar

In this subtheme, normalization helps explain why many intersecting forms of violence were tolerated, excused, or went unrecognized. Many women described growing up with the belief that abuse, especially economic and emotional, was a normal part of intimate relationships or as a form of justification they hold onto.

In several cases, what is normalized is not just the violence itself, but the idea that providing for the household excuses abuse, and women are expected to "aguantar" (endure), a word that appeared 68 times across the narratives. For some, it was passed down explicitly as advice or learned behavior:

"My dad was very violent. My mom was also violent with him. It was a relationship full of every kind of violence except physical. And my mom always depended on him financially. She always said, 'You need a man who provides. And if you find one, you stay, aguántese.'" — P11

Their narratives reflected generational expectations; they used terms like "patterns" or "replicas" to describe how their own relationships mirrored the domestic violence and behaviors they saw growing up.

"What if I can't live without him? It was like a replica of my ancestors' stories 'You got married, you stay, you endure.'" — Participant 11

Normalization wasn't only learned at home. One participant described how violence was present in school spaces. These experiences shaped what was perceived as acceptable or "normal," making it harder later in life to recognize abusive behavior.

This normalization also contributed to emotional confusion. Some women shared that although they sensed something was wrong, they couldn't name it or recognize it as violence. Normalization was not passive acceptance, but it delayed recognition, reinforced emotional dependency, and kept women in dynamics of control, even when the harm was clear.

Theme 3: Mental health and Emotional Impacts

This theme explores how the intersections of economic inequality, violence, and cultural expectations affect how women feel, think, and relate to themselves. Participants commonly associated emotional distress with economic precarity, relational control, and the pressure to meet societal expectations. Their narratives challenge pathologizing or individualizing interpretations of mental health and instead suggested that suffering is a response to long-standing inequality and violence.

Subtheme 3.1: Mental Health Impacts

Findings were primarily related to impacts in participants' self-esteem and self-perception, as a consequence of prolonged exposure to messages that made them feel incapable, worthless, or unable to succeed on their own. Many shared that after years of abuse and being told they couldn't do things on their own, they stopped seeing themselves as valuable, capable, or deserving.

Fear, generated over time, became one of the most lasting emotional consequences, remaining even years after the relationship had ended. For example, one participant mentioned how these experiences left long-term impacts on her sleep, mental health, and the relationship with herself.

"It's something that stays with you, that hurts constantly. There are nightmares... that voice saying, 'You're sick, you'll never be able to do it.' (...) I still feel like I can't, that it'll be too hard to make it on my own financially ... it's still there like a constant voice." — P4

Several participants shared how the relationship deeply damaged their sense of self-worth and confidence, making them believe they couldn't survive on their own. As one woman reflected:

"I didn't leave because of that. Because he crushed my self-esteem.... I believed the story that I was worthless at that time." — P9

Other participants commonly described how their mental health and wellbeing deteriorated gradually over time. The emotional impacts they mentioned included feelings of anxiety and depression, psychological distress, fear, and somatic symptoms. They were linked directly to the unpredictability and control exerted by their partners, combined with lack of support and structural limitations.

Subtheme 3.2: Shame, Silencing, and Isolation

This subtheme explores how stigma, cultural expectations, and guilt contribute to women's silence and invisibility. Guilt and shame were often tied to gendered expectations around motherhood, *aguantar* and silence, which in turn reinforced isolation and self-blame.

One participant described living in a constant state of self-silencing, unable to speak her mind or express herself. The unspoken rule that the provider had the power meant she had to conform, which led to feelings of shame and guilt years later, because in many cases, women blamed themselves for not having left the situation sooner.

"I felt like I was locked in a place where I couldn't... say, 'I don't like this,' or 'I don't want this,' or 'I want to do it differently.' So I was always holding things in, always with a knot in my throat. And you end up full of fear, full of panic." — P12

In other cases, guilt came from external pressure to keep the family together and ensure children had a father figure. When partners appeared to others as a "good man," the blame fell on the woman, for not being grateful or tolerant enough. This contributed to isolation from others and prevented seeking support, for fear of judgment.

"Everyone kept saying, 'You're so lucky to have a man like that. He provides, he's responsible, he doesn't go out drinking.' So I stayed silent, thinking, 'Maybe it's me.' Because he would always tell me, 'It's your fault. You're the one who makes me angry. You're the reason I'm like this.'" — P4

Abuse was also silenced through overwork. Some participants were so overloaded working, caregiving, and surviving that they had no time or space to recognize what was happening to them. Others prioritized maintaining the appearance of a "functional" family over their own well-being. This tended to lead to regret and guilt.

"I reproach myself for the things I didn't see. And I ask myself, 'Why didn't I see it?' But I didn't see it because I was working 24/7 and raising my daughters. Back then, what mattered more was 'what will people think' and maintaining the image, rather than finding the courage to leave with my daughters." — P1

Theme 4: Coping, Resistance, and Emerging Empowerment

This theme looks at how participants responded to situations of emotional, economic, and psychological control. Coping wasn't described as a straight path or a final outcome, it was made up of everyday actions that helped them survive, make sense of what they were going through, and slowly regain strength. These strategies included personal mechanisms to deal with emotional distress, support from others, and steps toward economic independence. Their voices show how resistance and empowerment don't always come from big turning points, but often from small, meaningful decisions made in daily life.

Subtheme 4.1: Personal Strategies and Coping Mechanisms

This subtheme explores how women developed personal strategies and coping mechanisms toward self-recognition, regaining their time, reclaiming their space, and recovering their voice.

Speaking up to others or to themselves emerged as a powerful coping mechanism. Talking was useful to process the experience, break the silence, and name violence. In many cases, it became a protective factor, it prevented them from returning to the relationship, strengthened support networks and reduced isolation. Talking also served to access information, about mental health services, legal aid, or support groups. In some cases, simply being heard by someone empathetic created the emotional shift needed to imagine other paths. It also enabled reflection across generations and helped denormalize abuse.

"When I told all those people what he had said to me... I drew a line. If I had kept it to myself, maybe I would've fallen back into it." — P9

Participants also shared how physical and spiritual self-care helped them regulate emotions and reconnect with themselves. Everyday rituals or activities like going to the gym, dressing up, going for a walk, reconnecting with their bodies or keeping routines provided grounding and a stronger connection to themselves, especially after periods of isolation and emotional distress.

One common strategy found to be very important for them was studying as a way of reclaiming their purpose and agency. Other strategies included praying and engaging in creative practices like music or writing. Even small daily actions, like managing routines or reconnecting with social spaces or nature were framed as forms of survival and resistance. These helped women reestablish purpose and reclaim a sense of identity outside the abusive dynamic.

Access to mental health support was a key strategy for participants who began to recognize the dynamics they were living through. Therapy created space to reflect on their capacity, boundaries, and non-negotiables. For others, digital tools like podcasts or social media became alternative strategies for reflection and learning. This internal work often supported later steps towards economic and emotional independence.

"In therapy I was working through all this because I wanted to leave that relationship, but I didn't know how. I had already started a process of revising my own capacities."—P11

Together, these coping strategies show that healing happens in the everyday small acts of resistance, care, and dialogue. They reflect agency in adversity and the complexity of navigating life under conditions of control and inequality.

Subtheme 4.2: Support Systems and Relational Empowerment

This subtheme explores the role of support networks in enabling resistance and offering emotional or material support. Support systems were found to be vital for recognizing violence, navigating economic hardship, accessing jobs, preserving mental health, rebuilding self-esteem, and escaping isolation. However, for some, support networks were not accessible, or they reinforced the same beliefs that sustain cycles of violence.

Participants' narratives showed that sharing with trusted people helped them reframe their stories and imagine new relational possibilities. Friends, colleagues, and women's networks (subtheme 5.2) became sources of empathy and everyday care. Participants who had children considered them to be their main source of strength and motivation to move forward. Family

support was found to be particularly important, especially when they recognized the abuse and believed them:

"My mom and my sister believed me and told me, 'You have to get out of there.' And even though I couldn't bring myself to leave, they always told me, 'You are strong, you are capable, look how far you've come'" — Participant 9

Some women received economic support from family or friends while still in the relationship, when access to money was restricted or controlled. Others began to build economic independence through people who helped them find or access a job. For a few, it was family members who covered part or even all the household expenses, including childcare and basic needs, making it possible to leave.

"She [my sister] said, 'Come live with me. I can give you a better life...I won't let you and your daughter go hungry' ... I feel like that push helped me make the decision to leave." — P10

Some participants talked about finding support through spiritual or community-based spaces. These places often offered material help and a sense of comfort.

"So going to a church, talking about the situation... there are many people in churches who really help you. I mean, if you're going hungry, someone will step in and give you food.." — P10

These diverse narratives demonstrate that relational empowerment looks different for each woman. While some had strong support systems, others described having just one person who made a difference. Some preferred not to share what they were going through for fear of judgment, or because they didn't have close relationships.

Subtheme 4.3: Economic Autonomy and Empowerment

This subtheme explores how women engaged in income-generating activities not only as a way to gain financial independence but also to rebuild self-worth, identity, and future possibilities. Economic empowerment included earning money, but mostly it was a symbolic and emotional shift from being controlled to regaining autonomy.

Many participants described their work as a form of resistance and personal recovery.

Becoming the provider for their children helped them move away from emotional and economic dependence. These activities weren't always formal jobs; they included small-scale entrepreneurship and informal activities.

"Becoming the provider and protector for my daughter was what helped me the most to get out of that hole ... Look, I did cleaning jobs, rented out my living room, did transport runs, whatever... but all with my own hands and effort. That gave me strength." — P5

Others highlighted how economic autonomy helped them navigate hard times and ultimately reconstruct their self-image. Being active, staying busy, and leading projects allowed them to envision a life where they were no longer reduced to a dependent role.

"I think I spent 33 years ignoring that economic abuse... Working, being active, living, having those leadership qualities... Helping people and knowing I was useful, that really helped me. And looking back now, I also see it as a form of escape." — Participant 1

Even when their earnings were limited, the act of producing something without relying on their partner was a form of freedom. They were able to recognize they could sustain themselves on their own, gain self-confidence and independence.

Employment also became a space for connection, helping women escape isolation, reconnect socially, establish routines. In some cases, work became a space for affirmation and contact with other women with similar experiences.

Theme 5: Visions for Change and Transformation

This theme reflects the findings in participant's agency, resistance, and imagined different futures. In line with the essence of feminist research, these proposals were co-created in dialogue with participants.

Participants shared their visions for change within themselves, in their relationships, in the community, and in the broader structural conditions that sustain gender-based violence and economic dependence. Their voices articulate desires for autonomy, collective empowerment, and intersectional policy change, and proposals grounded in their realities.

Subtheme 5.1: Desired Personal and Relational Change

This subtheme focuses on the internal transformation and emotional reconstruction women envision for themselves and their relationships. It includes desires to redefine womanhood and gender roles, build healthier models of intimacy, and raise new generations without reproducing patterns of violence and silence.

Participants described decisions they are making to change how they relate to themselves and others. One woman who suffered different forms abusive in previous relationships, shared forms of resistance and re-signification of what a relationship can look like:

"In this relationship, no form of violence is allowed. (...) There are moments when we disagree, and we evaluate if those disagreements are deep enough to not continue the relationship. But there's always dialogue at the center." — P11

Another important aspect was their intention to interrupt generational cycles. This included rejecting traditional expectations, seeking new ways of being women, and offering their children alternative examples of care and gender relations. They exposed the need for early education, especially for girls, to help them recognize violence and set boundaries.

Subtheme 5.2: Collective Processes: Apañe

This subtheme explores the role of women's networks, collective care, and mutual aid as spaces of transformation. The idea of *apañe*, a feminist term for support or holding each other up, emerged as a relational and political proposal for change.

Participants found that talking in women's circles had a powerful impact. Sharing and listening to difficult stories of violence helped others identify warning signs, denormalize abuses, break isolation. They described women's strength as a legacy, as wisdom passed through shared experience:

"The strength of women left me with a legacy that helped me leave—that helped me recognize that red flag in that phrase, and say, 'I can't repeat these stories.'"—P9

Some participants developed a feminist consciousness through conversations with others, especially women with a gender perspective or sensitivity to these issues. These spaces helped them feel more informed and less alone in their decision to leave.

Once women began to speak out, others came forward with similar stories. Naming violence publicly didn't only help the speaker; it helped others recognize themselves in the story and started to advocate for change. Peer support, in that sense, became a chain reaction of collective resistance:

"Strangely, when I started this process, friends who had gone through the same thing came to me. It was like they were telling my story. (...) And as I started talking, I saw I wasn't the only one. That I had to do something—just like I was telling them to."

--P1

In these collective forms of *apañe*, women also built support systems for entrepreneurship, as a way of reclaiming economic autonomy. In many cases, this openness to collective support also challenged stereotypes that women don't support one another.

Subtheme 5.3: Political and Structural Demands

This subtheme brings together participants' proposals for broader structural change. Four main areas were identified: education as prevention, support for women's economic autonomy, gender-sensitive public policies, and cultural transformation. These demands critique current institutional gaps and reflect the lived knowledge about what is needed to prevent violence and support autonomy.

Education was the most commonly mentioned tool for prevention. Participants emphasized that talking about gender and relationships from an early age, especially in schools, could help denormalize violence and build healthier dynamics. They also highlighted the role of social media as a space to challenge traditional roles, and the importance of access to incomegenerating knowledge adapted to their own realities and care responsibilities.

"In education, I think the easiest entry point is through schools. It would be easier to start with prevention—working from an early age, with activities that teach what to allow and what not to allow in a relationship, learning together." — P1

Economic empowerment was also seen as an important aspect. Many participants realized that without economic independence, it's much harder to leave or avoid returning to violent situations. They mentioned the need for productive networks, job training, and opportunities adapted to their realities, especially in moments of crisis. Projects where they can generate income while they regain their agency and autonomy.

"There should be productive networks already running, and it should be easy to join. Train someone, help them, make a product, and sell it. Something small that feels like a way out in a moment of crisis." — P4

There was also a strong call for institutional and cultural change. Participants advocated for public policies that include a gender and intersectional perspective, better access to mental health services, training professionals to avoid revictimization, and care policies that reflect women's realities.

"I think we need to mainstream public policy with a gender lens that includes care policies, consumption, and violence. (...) In institutions, sensitivity and training are essential. It should be part of public policy guidelines, training for people who work in health, in public systems. And within families too, naming these issues and promoting behavior change that contributes to reducing violence." — P11

These demands come from their embodied knowledge and experience. They show what needs to change to make autonomy possible for women, not only for themselves, but for the next generations. At the cultural level, they envision a transformation in the norms that tell women they must "aguantar" (endure everything).

"Just because we're women doesn't mean we have to put up with anything... We don't have to accept being mistreated in any way." — P4

Chapter 4: Discussion

This study set out to explore how women in situations of economic dependency experience gender-based violence, navigate structural and emotional barriers, and develop strategies of coping, resistance, and transformation. Participants' narratives revealed diverse and multifaceted realities. Economic dependency was not experienced as an isolated factor, it shaped and sustained multiple forms of emotional, economic, symbolic or institutional violence, operating through social expectations and relational dynamics. These findings respond directly to the study's aim by demonstrating how these experiences relate to the broader landscape of gender-based violence.

Women were invited to participate if they had ever wanted to leave a relationship but felt unable to do so due to their economic situation. This invitation did not assume experiences of violence. However, results revealed that all participants had gone through different forms of violence which were deeply connected to their experience of economic dependency. These findings, in line with previous studies (Stylianou, 2018; Bernal et al., 2024; Gray et al., 2023), affirm that economic dependency is not a background condition; it is a central mechanism through which violence can be enabled and maintained.

Dependency was identified as a risk factor or gateway into abusive dynamics; a mechanism of control used to limit autonomy and access to support; a strategy of domination enacted through financial restrictions; and a consequence of prolonged abuse, as dependency often deepened over time due to emotional, institutional, or psychological barriers. Each of these dimensions reflects how economic dependency intersects with structural and relational dynamics of violence, reinforcing the need to treat it as a multidimensional and active force within systems of inequality.

Participants described not one act of abuse, but a continuum of harm through emotional manipulation, control over finances, isolation from support networks, fear of judgment, and institutional inaction. These forms of GBV were co-occurring, mutually reinforced, and related to cultural mandates and institutional failings. In this sense, the study confirms what Crenshaw (1989) identified as structural intersectionality, showing how gender, patriarchy, class inequality, and institutional neglect combine to produce specific and layered vulnerabilities for women.

An outstanding finding was the normalization of violence through the cultural mandate to *aguantar*, to endure. Participants had been taught that being a woman meant sacrificing, staying silent, and putting others first. These expectations were reinforced by religion, family, and dominant narratives of femininity. As Lagarde (2005) argues, this conditioning produce learned helplessness and doubt in one's own judgment.

Alongside this, the study also revealed the "normalization of resistance". In their daily life, women began to reclaim their right to speak, set boundaries, seek support, and reimagine themselves. These were not only personal decisions; they disrupted gender norms and produced shifts in the meaning of womanhood, relationships, and generational patterns. This affirms the feminist claim that what is personal is political, as everyday acts of resistance challenge the structures that sustain subordination, these are acts of empowerment that confront the patriarchal and colonial logics that have historically silenced them (Lagarde, 2005; Curiel, 2007). Participants revealed a generational shift from reproducing the logic of *aguantar*, as they demonstrated to have questioned it, resisted it, and through that, positioned themselves as agents of transformation.

It was found that economic abuse and experiences of violence occurred even when women earned more than their partners. This challenges assumptions that financial self-sufficiency alone can guarantee autonomy and suggests that dependency is not simply an economic condition but a gendered power relation. As Fraser (2013) argues, capitalism and patriarchy are mutually reinforcing systems that devalue domestic labor and care work and uphold male authority over women.

Moreover, the emotional and psychological impacts found in this study are aligned with the situated and relational understanding of mental health previously proposed. By positioning emotional suffering as a response to structural conditions, it was possible to interpret the impact of prolonged exposure to control, silencing, and lack of opportunities on participants' self-worth and emotional well-being. Without this lens, these impacts might have been misread as individual difficulties, pathologizing women's experiences and limiting the understanding of well-being.

Using Montero's (2004) three interrelated spheres of well-being, participants showed disruptions at personal (low self-confidence and anxiety), relational (absence of social support,

particularly from family), and collective level (exclusion from education, justice, and services). As OMEG (2024) notes, traditional indicators of well-being often overlook the realities of many women, the present study indicates that many simply do not have the time, energy, or support to take care of their mental health. Their efforts to survive, provide, and resist must be understood as legitimate expressions of well-being within adverse structural conditions.

Far from reducing women to the category of passive victims, findings show that they did not merely survive, but developed complex strategies of coping, resistance, and agency reconstruction. Their responses were shaped by their context, need, and relational knowledge, which Fulchiron (2014) and Serrano-García & Irizarry (1979) described as embodied knowledge rooted in lived experience rather than in abstract ideals.

Some of these strategies align with what other studies have shown: emotional support, access to therapy, rebuilding social ties, and earning income helped participants reduce isolation, recognize violence, and regain confidence and agency (Ayala et al., 2015; Miracco et al., 2010; OMEG, 2024). Consistent with findings by González-Monzón and García (2024), being listened to, believed, or offered small acts of help had a positive impact on emotional well-being. These peer-based responses or protective relational resources (OMEG, 2024) were often more impactful than institutional services, and they reflect feminist approaches of care rooted in *apañe* and collective resistance.

Given the situated nature of this study, it is not surprising that collective spaces emerge as a highly transformative factor. These spaces, often created by women, are fundamental to the process of denormalizing abuse. While much of the dominant literature focuses on individual coping strategies, it often overlooks the cultural value of collective care, particularly in context where collectiveness and community are central to social life, and therefore to survival and resistance as well.

This study reaffirms the dual role of the family as either a source of protection and economic support, or of reinforcement of judgment and subordination (Ayala et al., 2015; OMEG, 2024). Participants often identified intergenerational patterns of silence and endurance as legacies they consciously sought to interrupt. In this sense, maternity also emerged as an ambivalent force: for some, it became the reason to break the cycle, motivated by the desire to create a different future for their children; for others, it was a barrier to leaving, marked by guilt, fear, financial pressure,

or judgment (Rubio et al., 2021; Lagarde, 2005). This shows that caregiving and agency are not opposites but are often intertwined in women's daily negotiations of risk and hope.

One significant finding was the role of digital content as a source of education, reflection, and emotional support, reflecting the growing presence of online resources. Studying also emerged as an act of resistance and purpose, especially for women who saw it as a path toward rebuilding their identity. Other strategies, such as talking to themselves, reconnecting with nature, bodily rituals, and small daily routines, were described not as superficial, but as necessary ways to survive and hold onto a sense of self. These practices highlight the embodied, emotional, and cultural dimensions of coping, shaped by each participant's possibilities, history, and access to resources. They showed resistance in everyday acts that carry both psychological and political significance.

Economic empowerment was also experienced as a turning point, but not only in financial terms, it allowed for a restoration of dignity and autonomy, consistent with previous findings (González-Monzón & García, 2024; Ayala et al., 2015). Yet this study also points how even empowerment can be conditioned by ableist expectations that center individual success or self-sufficiency as the only way out of dependency. While some women gained autonomy through work, others felt overwhelmed by the double or triple burden of labor and caregiving. This echoes Curiel's (2007) critique of empowerment models that simply insert women into violent systems without transforming the structures that produce inequality, as participants were not asking to be empowered; they were asking for just and situated conditions. This resonates with Espinosa's (2015) call to center epistemologies rooted in lived experience and relational autonomy, rather than universalized ideas of empowerment.

The findings also carry significant implications for policy and practice. Programs that aim to support survivors of violence must move beyond isolated economic interventions. Without accompanying strategies that address cultural norms, caregiving burdens, emotional support, and institutional violence, financial aid alone risks reinforcing existing inequalities. Education systems, legal protections, and health services must be restructured around relational, gendersensitive and transformative care, not punishment or surveillance. Prevention should include structural shifts in how we teach, relate, and distribute responsibility, especially around caregiving and relational labor. Support systems must recognize the emotional labor involved in

leaving and recovering from violence, and institutional responses must be designed to accompany women, not revictimize them.

Conclusion

This study contributes to a deeper understanding of economic dependency and gender-based violence by showing that dependency is not simply a background condition, but a relational experience, a consequence of inequality, and a form of violence in itself. It highlights how violence becomes normalized through cultural mandates, gender norms, religious discourse, family roles, and institutional inaction, shaping what women are taught to tolerate. At the same time, it reveals how women resist these norms through individual strategies, framed as everyday acts of resistance, as well as through collective practices like apañe, shared reflection, and relational care.

The findings challenge dominant narratives of coping and empowerment that emphasize individual responsibility or self-sufficiency, and instead center situated responses rooted in dignity, time, emotional support, and community. Finally, this study affirms that participants are not only survivors, but their lived experiences and reflections offer critical insight, and concrete proposals for structural, cultural, and institutional change.

The methodological and epistemological contributions are grounded in the feminist, situated, and dialogic approach. It intended to create interview spaces not only for data collection, but also for reflection, and connection with women. In several cases, participants expressed that it was the first time they had fully put their experience into words. This process of naming what had been silenced embodied the core of feminist research, where the personal is political and voice is a tool for transformation. In doing so, the study resisted extractivism and reaffirmed that participants are not objects of study, but co-producers of knowledge (Haraway, 1988: Harding, 1987).

As a situated qualitative research, this study acknowledges its limitations. Its study's exploratory nature and number of participants do not allow for statistical generalization. However, the depth and richness of the narratives offer critical insight into structural phenomena that are often overlooked from a lived experience perspective. Since all interviews were

conducted virtually, participants had internet access and lived in urban areas. Future research should aim to include the voices from rural areas, Indigenous communities, or women with disabilities, whose realities may reveal different forms of dependency, violence, and coping. This would allow for a more robust incorporation of intersectional perspectives across ethnicity, class, disability, and territorial belonging.

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ANNEX A
PARTICIPANTS

Participant	Age	Education	Occupation	No of	Relationship	City of
		level		Children	Status	residence
P1	54	Postgraduate	Pension and	2	Separated	Bogota
			Entrepreneur			
P2	43	Undergradua	General	2	Divorced	Tunja
		te degree	Services			
P3	29	Postgraduate	Sales	1	Married	Abroad
P4	39	Undergradua	Student and	0	Married	Cali
		te degree	Freelancer			
P5	52	Higher	Sales	2	Separated	Tunja
		education				
P6	32	Undergradua	Online sales	2	Separated	Tunja
		te degree	self-employed			
P7	65	Incomplete	Household	3	Separated	Tunja
		secondary	caregiver			
		education				
P8	54	Undergradua	Household	3	Married	Bogota
		te degree	caregiver			
P9	30	Postgraduate	Engineer	0	In a	Abroad
					relationship	
P10	35	Undergradua	Home-based	2	Separated	Meta
		te degree	caregiver and			
			Student			
P11	40	Postgraduate	Psychologist	0	In union	Pereira
P12	53	Incomplete	Home-based	2	Divorced	Bogota
		secondary	caregiver			
		education				

ANNEX B INTERVIEW GUIDE

This document contains some guidance questions that can take place during interviews. They can vary according to each participant and context. Some questions can be brought up or dismissed during the conversation.

Opening and General background

Welcoming the women to the interview, making them feel comfortable and creating a safe space. Assuring they understand the informed consent, participation is voluntary, anonymous and confidential. They can skip questions or take a break. The voice will be recorded for research purposes.

Could you tell me a little about your personal background (age, family, work, etc.)?

How would you describe your financial situation right now? What challenges or strengths do you experience in terms of financial stability?

Experiences with Economic Dependency and GBV

Could you describe your experience in the relationship you found challenging? What kind of difficulties did you face related to the economic barriers?

Were there moments when you wanted to leave the relationship but felt unable to? What were the reasons?

Did financial factors affect your ability to leave or seek help? How?

How did this relationship impact your sense of financial independence and autonomy?

What does violence against women mean to you? Can you identify different types of violence?

How did the financial dependency or the challenges you faced impact your mental and emotional well-being?

Economic and cultural factors

Do you think cultural or societal expectations influenced your decision to stay or seek help? (whether from expected roles from you, family pressures, societal norms, political environment)

Do you think your experience might have been different if your economic situation had been better? How?

Exploring Resilience, Coping Mechanisms, and Support Systems

What helped you get through difficult times in your relationship? Were there any strategies, people, or resources that gave you support?

Did you ever feel empowered, resilient or able to regain control? If so, what enabled that feeling?

Did you reach out for help, either from institutions (social services, shelters, etc.) or relevant people or close circle (friends, family)? How did those experiences shape your decisions?

What do you think could have made it easier for you to leave or seek support?

Do you think a feminist approach to supporting women in similar situations would be beneficial? In what way? (For those with experience in feminist approaches, e.g., therapy or activism, ask about their perspectives.)

Future Hopes and Recommendations

What do you think needs to change, whether in policies, society, or communities, for women in economically challenging situations to leave abusive relationships?"

What improvements should services or policies make to better support women facing financial difficulties and gender-based violence?

Closing Check-in and Reflection

We are close to the end of the interview. Before leaving, I want to thank you for your courage and willingness to share such sensitive personal information. It is very important for us to know how you feel right now after this conversation. Information on support services and organizations will be provided if needed.

If you could give advice to other women in similar situations, what would it be?

ANNEX C

INFORMED CONSENT

The present study arises in the context of a *master's dissertation* underway at Iscte - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, which will be Responsible for the Treatment and University of Limerick. This study aims to explore the experiences of women in financially dependent relationships, constrained by limited economic resources, particularly regarding the challenges they face in seeking support or leaving vulnerable situations, as well as the factors that may influence their responses.

The study is carried out by <u>Erika Lorena Infante Tavera elita@iscte-iul.pt</u>, who can be contacted if you have any questions or comments. This thesis will be supervised by <u>João Manuel de Oliveira joao.oliveira@iscte-iul.pt</u>.

Your participation in the study, which will be highly valued, as it will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field of science, consists of primarily semi-structured interviews, to gather in-depth information on women's experiences of gender-based violence while facing economic challenges. The interview will explore participant's experiences with economic barriers, relationship dynamics, and the factors that have shaped their responses to these challenges. Questions will also address how their social, cultural, and economic environments impact their ability to seek help or change their circumstances. The interviews will last approximately 60-90 minutes and will be recorded with your consent. Each participant will take part in one interview session, either in person or online, depending on their preferences and safety.

While there are no anticipated risks associated with participation, the study acknowledges the sensitivity of the topic. The interview will be conducted with care, following ethical guidelines to ensure participants' comfort and well-being. All individual data will be treated confidentially, pseudonymized, and retained for six months after the defense of the master's thesis, after which personal information will be destroyed.

Participation in the study is strictly voluntary, anonymous and confidential. In exceptional circumstances, if credible and serious threats to your safety or the safety of others are identified, the researcher may be ethically and legally required to report this to the appropriate support services or authorities. If you choose to participate, you can withdraw your participation at anytime without any justification.

I declare that I have understood the objectives of what was proposed and explained to me by the researcher. I consent to the processing of personal data and I acknowledge that the digital material resulting from these sessions is solely for academic purposes and will not be shared or disclosed beyond this scope. Accordingly, I give my consent for the results to be used anonymously within the framework of the thesis project. And I declare that I have been given the opportunity to ask all the questions about the present study, and for all of them, to have received an answer, and I agree to participate in it.

	(location),	//	(date)	
Name:				
Signature:				

ANNEX D

DEBRIEFING

Thank you for your participation

We sincerely appreciate your time and effort in contributing to this research. Your participation is invaluable in helping us understand the impact of economic inequality on the experiences of gender-based violence, as well as the protective, resilience, and empowerment strategies women use in such situations.

Research Objectives and Study Information:

This study explores how economic inequality shapes women's experiences, including the challenges they face in seeking support or leaving vulnerable situations. It also examines the emotional and psychological strategies they use to navigate these circumstances, as well as the factors that foster resilience and empowerment. Your insights are essential to understanding the socio-economic dynamics that influence women's experiences and their paths toward support and well-being.

Expected Contributions:

The findings of this study will contribute to a deeper understanding of the challenges women face in economically vulnerable situations, as well as the strategies and experiences that have been helpful to them. We aim to explore factors that may foster resilience and empowerment, recognizing the diversity of experiences among participants. By analyzing these insights, we hope to inform interventions, policies, and a broader understanding of how resistance and empowerment take shape in different contexts. This research will not only enrich academic discussions but also support the development of more effective resources and support systems for women navigating economic and gender-based violence.

Contact Information:

If you have any further questions, comments, or concerns regarding this study, or if you would like to discuss your participation, please feel free to contact us at:

- Lead Investigator (supervisor): João Manuel de Oliveira
- Email: joao.oliveira@iscte-iul.pt
- Investigator: Erika Lorena Infante Tavera
- Email: elita@iscte-iul.pt

Accessing Study Results:

If you are interested in receiving further information on the results and conclusions of this study, we would be happy to share them with you once the research is completed. You can contact us at the email provided above to request access to the final report.

Thank you once again for your participation and contribution to this important research. Your experiences and insights are key to driving change and creating better support systems for women

facing economic and gender-based violence.

Considering that participating in this study might activate some negative emotions, you may contact any of the following organizations for support:

Directory of Support Channels for Gender-Based Violence and Mental Health Cases in Colombia (Spanish version)

Organización/Institución	Contacto	Ubicación – Nacional	
Líneas de Atención en Violencia de Género	Teléfono: 155		
Sisma Mujer	Teléfono: 2859319 Ext. 104 Celulares: 3147709729 – 3158942140 Correos: asistentelitigio@sismamujer.org asistentenoviolencias@sismamujer.org	Nacional	
Línea 141 ICBF	Teléfono: 141	Nacional	
Red Nacional de Mujeres	Aplicación: Ellas App (Google Play, App Store)	Nacional	
Red Jurídica Feminista	Celular: 3197817007 Correo: redjuridicafeministacol@gmail.com casos@redjuridicafeminista.com	Nacional	
Red de Psicólogxs Feministas Colombia Hagamos Ruido	Teléfono: +57 3145624165	Nacional	
Línea de Apoyo en Salud Mental	Teléfono: 01 8000 113 113	Nacional	
Línea de Emergencia	Teléfono: 123	Nacional	
Línea Púrpura de la Secretaría de la Mujer (Bogotá)	Teléfono: 018000112137 Celular: 3007551846 Correo: lpurpura@sdmujer.gov.co	Bogotá	
Casa de la Mujer	Teléfono: 2229172 Correo: coordiacion@casamujer.com	Bogotá	
Red Comunitaria Trans	Teléfono: 3508115624	Bogotá	
Colectiva Justicia Mujer	Teléfono: 6044798898	Antioquia	
Atención Psicojurídica Territorial de la Secretaría de la Mujer	Teléfono: +57 3004740530 Teléfono: +57 3214677071	Medellín	
Ellas – Red Nacional de Mujeres	Aplicación móvil	Nacional	

ANNEX E THEMATIC MAP

