

GENDER AND RURALITY IN SPANISH GEOGRAPHY: A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

María Egea-Hernández, Aida Pinos-Navarette,
Juan Carlos Maroto-Martos¹



¹ María Egea-Hernández, PhD. Student, corresponding author, ORCID: 0009-0008-3284-5661, e-mail: mariaegea@ugr.es; Aida Pinos-Navarrete, PhD., ORCID: 0000-0003-2934-9321, e-mail: apnavarrete@ugr.es; Juan Carlos Maroto-Martos, Professor, ORCID: 0000-0002-0391-5797, e-mail: jcmaroto@ugr.es; Department of Human Geography, University of Granada, Spain

Abstract: This review examines the development of gender studies in Spanish rural geography over the last two decades. To achieve this, the PRISMA framework was employed. The analysis of 80 articles revealed three main trends: (1) the reconfiguration of gender relations in the rural labour market, (2) the demographic and cultural impact of women's mobility and return migration and (3) the notable silences surrounding sexualities and environmental issues. The literature shows a strong orientation toward feminist qualitative traditions, partly due to the limitations of gender-blind statistical systems and a preference for empirical, locally focused research. Beyond mapping the current state of the field, Spanish studies offer valuable insights for rethinking core concepts in rural studies and for enriching debates on the challenges and opportunities of integrating a gender perspective into rural development policy, particularly within the broader European context.

Keywords: feminist geography; rural studies; thematic analysis; PRISMA

Highlights:

- Increase of gendered ruralities studies in Spain (2004–2025).
- Persistent gender gaps in rural women's economic and political participation.
- Women's mobility shapes depopulation and return migration dynamics.
- Progress toward methodological pluralism.
- Spain provides a framework for future rural gender policies in Europe.

1. Introduction

The incorporation of women in rural development remains a pending challenge in most areas of the European countryside (Shortall & Bock, 2014). Spain stands out as a particularly significant case, where political neglect, lack of economic investment and limited services and infrastructure have severely impacted numerous mountainous and inland rural regions, in stark contrast to the privileged growth of metropolitan areas (Delgado, 2019). These structural imbalances, compounded by the persistence of traditional gender roles, have generated selective mobility patterns, notably the migration of young women to urban centres, attracted by enhanced employment prospects and the economic, social and leisure-related advantages associated with urban life (Llorent-Bedmar et al., 2021). This selective outmigration has significantly contributed to the acceleration of depopulation, ageing and the masculinization of the rural population, posing a major threat to rural sustainability (Camarero & Sampedro, 2016).

Historically absent from academic narratives of the rural world, women began to gain visibility from the 1970s onward through the emerging field of gender geographies. In Spain, the earliest references appeared a decade later than in Anglosphere countries (Delicado-Moratalla, 2023), focused on making visible the roles of rural women in agriculture, resource management and local economies (Sabaté-Martínez, 1989; Cruz-Villalón et al., 1994; García-Ramón & Baylina, 2000). The establishment of the *Grup de Recerca de Geografia i Gènere* at the Autonomous University of Barcelona in 1987 was central to this trajectory. From the outset, it was argued not simply for *adding women* to existing knowledge gaps, but for embedding feminist theory into the explanation of geographical processes (Baylina & Salamaña 2006). This perspective has since shaped recurring topics at the intersection of gender and rurality, which has received considerable attention in international academic debates, especially in relation to labour, migration and gender relations in the rural world (Berg & Forsberg, 2003; Bock & Shortall, 2006; Bryant and Pini, 2011).

Rural areas are undergoing deep economic transformations that have reshaped gender roles and dynamics, opening new avenues for research. Initial themes have progressively increased and redefined

as the conceptualization of rurality has evolved, now recognized as increasingly heterogeneous, multifunctional and complex in its very definition (Foronda, 2013). In this context, feminist geographers argued that rurality should not be understood as a static backdrop but as a socially produced and contested space, shaped by intersecting axes of gender, class, sexuality or ethnicity, integrating the concept of intersectionality to capture the growing diversity of rural populations (Rodó-de-Zárate & Baylina, 2018).

The *social representation* approach conceives rurality as a social construct shaped by how people perceive, experience and imagine the rural, as well as by the potential influence of representations produced through media discourses (Baylina & Gunnerud, 2010). The so-called *rural idyll*, one of the most extensively studied perspectives, depicts the countryside as a way of life that is friendly, safe and closely connected to nature, but at the same time reinforces traditional gender roles, notably those related to motherhood and community participation (Cloe, 2006). This representation has regained prominence in both social and academic discourse since the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns. Rising housing costs, mass tourism and mobility pressures in many large cities have contributed to a renewed appreciation of rural lifestyles (Del Romero & Fernández, 2024). Various studies have emphasized the other side of this narrative, deconstructing the idealized vision and revealing the multiple, conflictive and dynamic character of the rural, both in its representations and in its lived realities (Baylina et al., 2016).

Within this amalgam of concepts, themes and approaches, the integration of gender perspectives into rural studies has sparked significant methodological discussion (Baylina, 2004). The revaluation of qualitative methods fostered by this approach has facilitated the inclusion of marginalized voices in rural narratives while also emphasizing the researcher's reflexive positioning throughout the research process (Caretta & Riaño, 2016). Today, rural landscapes are viewed as diverse and dynamic, requiring interdisciplinary methodological approaches, with mixed methods often considered best suited to achieving diverse research objectives (Woods, 2010).

Previous reviews of gender geography in Spain have noted the centrality of rural contexts, but none have systematically examined how rurality itself is theorised within gendered geographical research (García-Ramón, 2005; Santos, 2014; Ortiz & García-Ramón, 2016; Ortiz & Baylina, 2021). This review seeks to address that gap by mapping two decades of scholarship, not just to catalogue the state of the field, but to analyse its epistemological trends, thematic foci and methodological challenges. To achieve this objective, the following research questions guide the inquiry: Who are the key authors and what are the key journals shaping research on this topic? What central themes define the field? Which methodologies and techniques have been predominantly applied? What gaps and trends point to a future research agenda? Beyond mapping the current state of the field, Spanish studies offer valuable insights for rethinking core concepts in rural studies and enriching debates around the challenges and opportunities of integrating a gender perspective in rural development policy, particularly within the broader European context (Bock, 2014).

2. Methods

The methodological sequence consists of four main stages: (1) identification of relevant studies through academic databases; (2) bibliometric analysis of publications (authorship, journals and keywords); (3) thematic classification; and (4) methodological analysis. Firstly, the PRISMA framework is employed to identify and analyse relevant research articles, following the guidelines proposed by Page et al. (2021). Originally designed for systematic reviews in the health sciences, this statement has since been adapted for use in other fields, such as education (Leles et al., 2024) and tourism (Carballo-Cruz et al., 2024). In rural studies, PRISMA has been applied to explore differences in economic well-being between rural and urban areas in Europe (Meloni et al., 2023), rural women's entrepreneurship at the global level (Aggarwal & Kaur, 2021), the role of women in family economies in poverty contexts (Meseguer-Sánchez et al., 2020) or the barriers faced by women in the agricultural sector (Dabkienė, 2025).

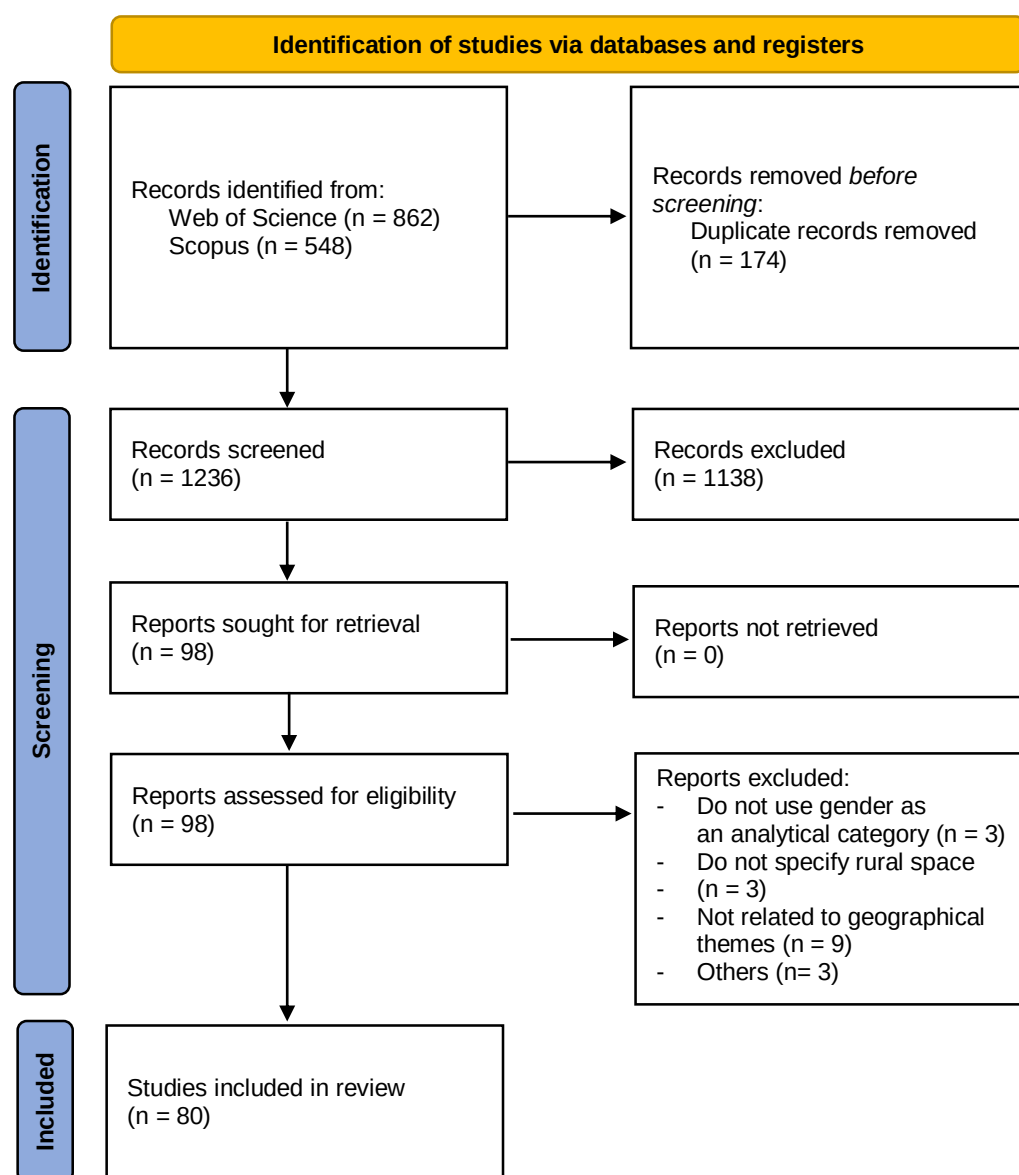


Fig 1. Systematic search and selection process based on the PRISMA statement. Source: adapted for this study based on Page et al. (2021)

The procedure follows the initial stages of the PRISMA methodology (see Figure 1): definition of eligibility criteria, selection of information sources and search strategy, quality assessment and analysis of the results. The inclusion criteria were as follows: (a) studies published in peer-reviewed journals; (b) gender must appear as a central analytical category or be addressed through an intersectional approach; (c) the rural environment must constitute the primary territorial focus or be analysed in connection with urban dynamics; and (d) the study area must be in Spain. Exclusion criteria included: (a) publications other than journal articles (e.g., book chapters, monographs, conference papers); (b) articles on non-geographical topics (e.g., medicine, physical activity, social work); (c) historically oriented works or case studies conducted outside Spain. The literature search was conducted using the Web of Science and Scopus databases, focusing on publications in English or Spanish from January 1, 2004, to February 1, 2025, thereby covering the last two decades. The core search terms included: “rural*” and “gender” or “female” or “women” or “feminis*”. A total of 1,410 articles were initially identified. After removing 174 duplicates, 1,236 records remained. These were screened based on title, abstract and keywords, yielding a refined sample of 98 articles. After full-text review and application of the exclusion criteria outlined in Figure 1, a final set of 80 articles was selected for in-depth analysis. The following data were extracted: title, authorship, publication year, journal, keywords, methodology, main thematic area

and geographical scale of analysis. This information served as the basis for subsequent analysis of results. All analysed articles are included in the reference list.

Secondly, a co-citation cluster analysis was conducted using VOSviewer to identify groups of authors frequently cited together and the most prolific journals publishing on this topic. Additionally, co-occurrence analyses were conducted to identify significant word associations. Based on the results of the systematic review and cluster analyses, the 80 selected articles were classified into eight thematically related categories, according to each study's primary focus. It is important to emphasize that this categorization is based on analytical criteria and should not be considered exclusive, as many of the works address multiple themes in a cross-cutting manner. The classification was accompanied by a methodological diagnosis detailing the main research methods and techniques employed.

3. Results

The articles published from 2004 to 2025 show an upward trend, averaging 4 per year. It is also observed that almost half of the scientific production corresponds to the last five years (see Figure 2). Spanish is the predominant language of publication ($n = 50$), followed by English ($n = 29$). Only one article is published in Catalan.

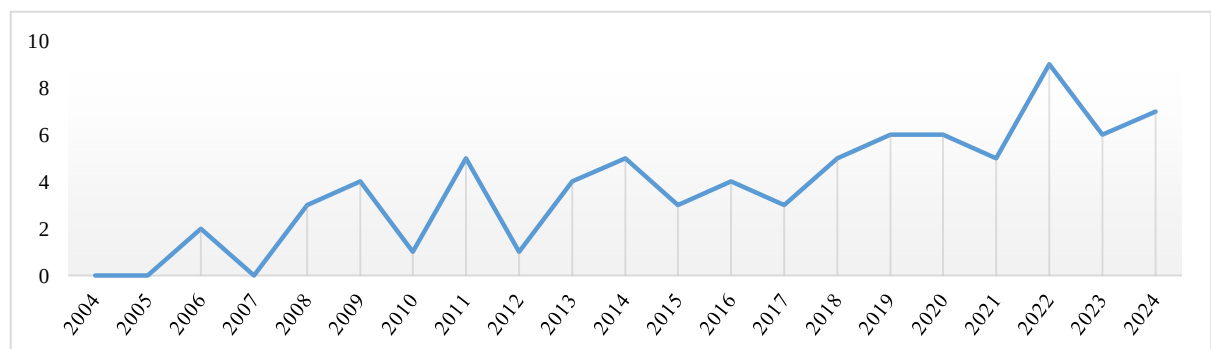


Fig 2. Evolution of scientific production per year. Source: the authors

The authorship network reveals a concentration among a relatively small number of authors, predominantly women (see Figure 3). In this graph, node size represents the number of publications associated with each author and the links between nodes indicate co-authorship relations and their intensity. Colours represent clusters of authors who collaborate more frequently, reflecting partially differentiated research communities. It should also be noted that the network does not only include the authors of the analysed sample. Some nodes correspond to internationally recognised scholars who appear due to their strong citation or collaboration links with the authors included in the dataset.

The Catalan school stands out as a consolidated group, with García-Ramón appearing as an intermediary node between clusters. This centrality aligns with her pioneering role in introducing the gender perspective into Spanish geography (García-Ramón, 2005) and with her connections with international scholars engaged in feminist rural geography (Little, 2017a). Closely following her trajectory, Baylina and Porto, frequent co-authors, continue to explore rural women's experiences, identity and discourse in the Catalan context. The red and green clusters (see Figure 3) include other Spanish authors, mainly from rural sociology, whose work focuses on depopulation processes (e.g., Camarero & Sampedro 2008; 2016). Overall, the network structure illustrates distinct approaches to rural issues, drawing from perspectives rooted in cultural and social geography, spatial planning or demography.

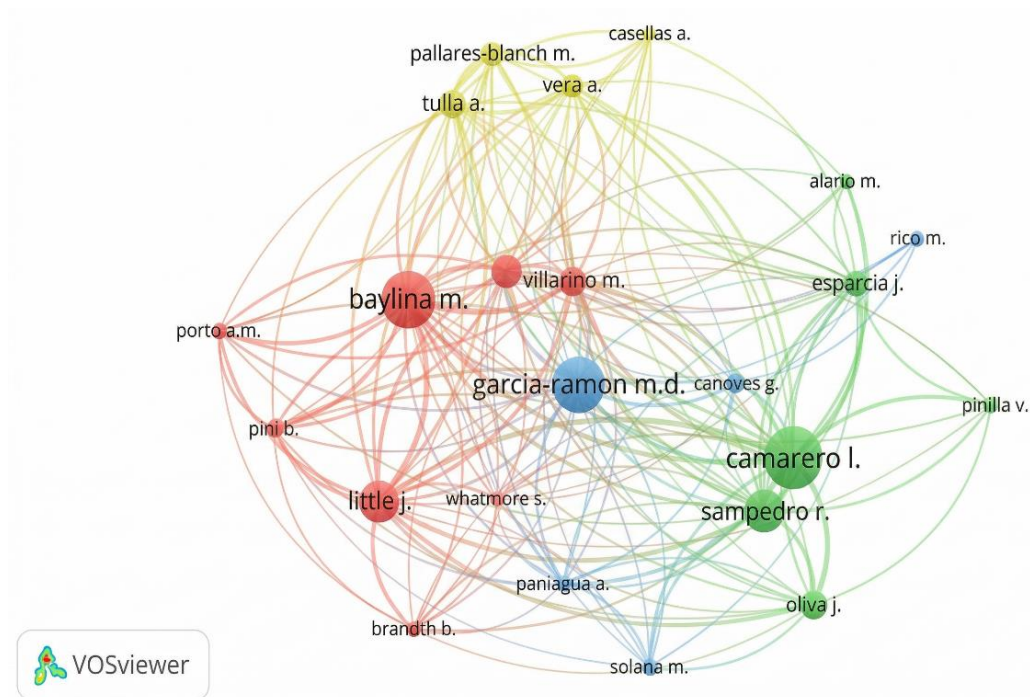


Fig 3. Cluster and concurrency analysis of co-citation of authors. Source: the authors

The articles analysed were published across 48 different journals. Of the total sample, 44 articles appeared in Spanish journals and 36 in international journals. The journal co-occurrence analysis highlights the main publication venues addressing gender and rural studies (see Figure 4). In this network, node size reflects the number of articles published in each journal, links indicate how frequently journals co-occur in the reference lists of the analysed papers and colours identify clusters of journals that tend to be cited together, revealing groups of outlets with related thematic orientations.

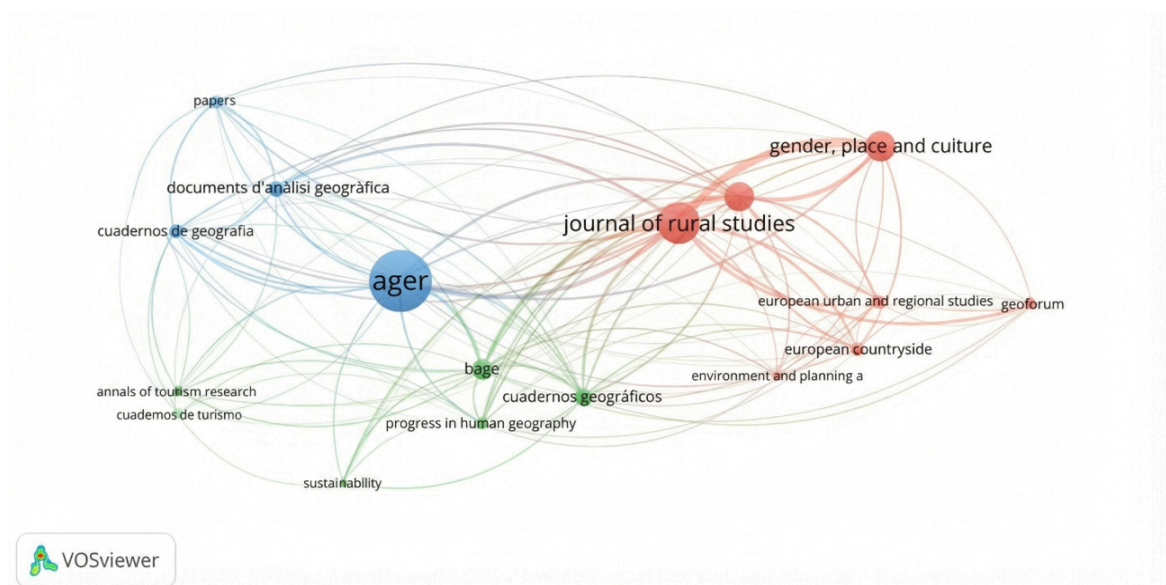


Fig 4. Cluster and concurrency analysis of journals. Source: the authors

International English-language journals are mainly associated with critical approaches and are recognized as pioneers in publishing gender-focused research, such as *Journal of Rural Studies* or *Gender, Place and Culture*. The blue cluster (see Figure 4) groups journals published in Spanish or Catalan, including *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica* or *Ager* (*Journal of Studies on Depopulation and Rural Development*), which predominantly address Iberian or Latin American contexts. The green cluster includes journals

dealing with sustainability, tourism and human geography from a holistic perspective, where *BAGE* (*Bulletin of the Association of Spanish Geographers*) appears as a connecting node due to its multidisciplinary scope and contributions from diverse areas of the geographical research.

3.1 Mapping the field: key themes, gaps and shifts

The keyword co-occurrence analysis reveals the thematic structure of research on gender and rural studies in Spain. In this network, node size indicates the frequency of keyword occurrence, links represent the co-occurrence of terms within the same publication and colours identify clusters of frequently associated keywords. The graph is structured around the central terms *gender*, *Spain* and *rural areas*.

Several thematic clusters can be identified (see Figure 5). The green cluster groups keywords related to gender relations and socio-economic dynamics in rural contexts. The red cluster links concepts related to women's status, entrepreneurship, social capital and innovation, highlighting research on women's participation in rural development processes. The blue cluster focuses specifically on rural women's employment and gender equality, with connections to regional contexts such as Andalusia. Finally, the yellow cluster brings together keywords related to population dynamics, including demographic change and female migration.

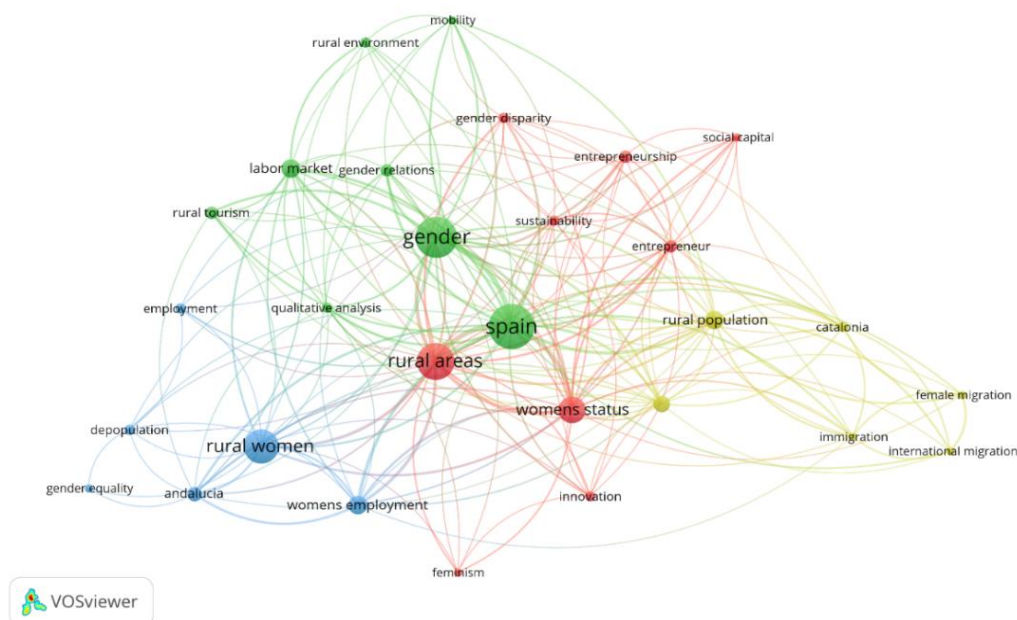


Fig 5. Cluster and concurrency analysis of keywords. Source: the authors

3.1.1 Representations of rurality

Rurality is less a fixed category than a contested cultural construct, where notions of rootedness and uprootedness are continuously negotiated (Baylina & Salamaña, 2006). This literature reveals that women's experiences of rural areas are marked simultaneously by attachment and disconnection: on the one hand, ideals of belonging and continuity; on the other, feelings of constraint, lack of opportunity and pressures to migrate (Sayadi & Calatrava-Requena, 2008; Águila, 2024). The concepts of *ruralophilia* and *ruralphobia* capture this ambivalence, highlighting how women's trajectories oscillate between idealisation of the rural and critique of its limitations (Pérez, 2013).

At the same time, rural women's subjectivities cannot be reduced to a single narrative. Empirical accounts point to diverse life models, shaped by generational positions, mobility patterns and intersections with class and education (Vercher et al., 2019). These pluralities are also shaped by media discourses, public policies and cultural imaginaries, which influence perceptions of rural life (Baylina & Gunnerud, 2010). López (2020) analyses films about the Camino de Santiago (the Way of St. James) and shows how gender

stereotypes are reinforced by portraying female characters in passive, subordinate roles. Such representations fail to recognise women's agency and contribute to reproducing reductive understandings of rural femininities. More recent theoretical approaches seek to move beyond the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, arguing instead for a systemic perspective that understands rurality as an evolving assemblage of social, economic and symbolic relations (Rodero, 2022).

3.1.2 Mobilities and rural exodus/return

Early studies on rural-to-urban mobility examine the factors driving population outflows from the countryside, a phenomenon particularly pronounced among young women. This trend has been conceptualised by Camarero & Sampedro (2008) as an *enlightened flight*, referring to migration motivated by access to higher education and improved employment opportunities in dynamic urban centres. Additional contributing factors include job dissatisfaction, geographic isolation and the disproportionate burden of domestic and caregiving responsibilities, all of which reinforce female outmigration (Cobano-Delgado & Llorent-Bedmar, 2020; Álvarez-Muguruza 2021; Pérez-Morote et al., 2023; 2024; Cejudo et al., 2024).

At the same time, return migration disrupts the idea of exodus as irreversible loss. For some highly educated women, returning is a strategy to re-signify the rural as a space for personal and professional development and entrepreneurial activity (Baylina et al., 2019). Porto et al. (2015) underscore the pivotal role of education in shaping the life trajectories of women returning to rural areas in Galicia and Catalonia and Callejo-González & Ruiz-Herrero (2024) highlight the significance of social ties in constructing new rural identities. Return thus becomes less about *going back* and more about transforming inherited ruralities into sites of experimentation, often linked to innovation, agroecology or ecofeminist practices (Fernández, 2022).

International and seasonal migrations add further complexity. The labour insertion of migrant women, predominantly from Latin America, Romania and Morocco, in agriculture, care and tourism underscores that rural renewal often rests on precarious, seasonal and feminized forms of work (Soronellas & Torrens, 2013; 2014a; Sonorellas et al., 2014b). These dynamics highlight the uneven geographies of mobility: for some, movement enables autonomy and re-imagination; for others, it reinforces subordination and exploitation. Everyday mobility makes the material constraints of these dynamics visible. Although women often engage in broader, more sustainable travel practices, inadequate infrastructure restricts their options, underscoring the need for targeted policy action (Miralles-Guasch et al., 2015).

3.1.3 Labour and care economies

Research on gender and work in rural contexts emphasised women's incorporation into formal employment (Vera-Toscano & Moyano, 2010; Díaz, 2011) and their contribution to rural development (Rico & Gómez 2009; De Pablo Valenciano et al., 2021). Yet these processes unfolded alongside the persistent visibility of structural disadvantages: precarious contracts, wage gaps and horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market (Alario et al., 2009; Patino-Alonso et al., 2016).

Within this context, entrepreneurship has emerged as both an alternative pathway and a dominant policy discourse. Over time, the figure of the rural entrepreneur has shifted from low-educated caregivers seeking subsistence to highly educated women pursuing professional fulfilment, quality of life and proximity to nature (Alario & Morales 2016; Pallarès-Blanch et al., 2018; Nicolás et al., 2021; Porto et al., 2022). Women see entrepreneurship to achieve personal and professional growth while facilitating work-life balance (Baylina et al., 2016). This transformation reflects a broader neoliberal translation of empowerment: structural barriers to employment are reframed as opportunities for self-realisation through entrepreneurial initiative. However, literature has shown that this discourse often masks the persistence of gendered constraints such as limited access to capital, excessive bureaucracy, lack of role models, scarce financial resources and the continued burden of care responsibilities (Driga et al., 2009; Millán-Vázquez et al., 2017; Morales-Valero et al., 2024). It is also pointed out that the central role

of social networks, both formal (associations, institutional support) and informal (family, community ties), in shaping entrepreneurial trajectories (Lozano, 2012; Vercher et al., 2020).

Recent studies incorporating intersectional perspectives have broadened this debate. For some women, notably those with greater cultural or class capital, entrepreneurship enables the incorporation of values related to sustainability and ecofeminism into business practices (Baylina et al., 2024). For others, especially migrant or working-class women, entrepreneurship functions as a survival strategy in the absence of formal employment, often confined to small, low-margin ventures in the service sector (Sánchez-Flores et al., 2014). Finally, social economy enterprises, particularly cooperatives, have also been analysed for their potential to promote female employment (Nieto, 2006; Esteban et al., 2016, 2018). Despite this, Rico & Gómez (2011) highlight a significant disconnect between gender equality policies and their practical application within the social economy sector.

3.1.4 Rural tourism

The literature on rural tourism can be understood as an extension of debates on labour and entrepreneurship, as women's participation in this sector is often framed through narratives that emphasize their capacity to mobilize endogenous territorial resources to diversify rural economies (Gómez, 2023). In this regard, most women who benefited from the LEADER programme -a European Union rural development initiative supporting locally led projects through community-based action groups- opted to launch initiatives oriented toward rural tourism (Engelmo, 2022). Women-led tourism initiatives are frequently presented as emblematic of empowerment, yet their economic sustainability is often precarious. Income generated tends to be insufficient for full autonomy (Morales & Fernández, 2019), and many ventures remain small-scale, family-based and embedded in traditional gender divisions of labour (Rivera, 2018; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2019).

In addition, tourist imaginaries often portray rural women as custodians of tradition and culture, limiting their economic practices to an extension of their domestic responsibilities (Flores & de la O Barroso, 2011). The work of Jiménez-Esquinas (2017) challenges this simplistic interpretation, demonstrating that interactions between rural women and tourists are far more complex and reciprocal than previously assumed. The COVID-19 pandemic has further exposed the ambivalence of women's economic participation in rural tourism, sharpening tensions between empowerment narratives and the precarious realities of tourism-dependent livelihoods (Gago-García et al., 2021).

3.1.5 Agro-livestock farms

Since the inception of gender studies in rural geography, one of the most recurrent themes has been the recognition and visibility of rural women's roles in family-based agro-livestock farms. Several studies point to the strong resistance within rural communities to shifting traditional gender roles and the continued invisibility of women's labour (García, 2008; Guadalajara-Olmeda et al., 2009; Eскурriol et al., 2014; Gómez-Pellón, 2024). For instance, Botana & Novas (2023) examine "eco-producers" in Galician family gardens, where women not only grow food but also sustain agroecological knowledge, food sovereignty and community ties, often without pay or recognition. Segovia-Pérez et al. (2022) argue that agricultural innovation is deeply shaped by gender structures and that women face systemic, not individual, barriers to entrepreneurship in this sector. Additionally, women are still underrepresented in agricultural decision-making spaces, where a persistent glass ceiling limits their influence (Hernández et al., 2018; Arce et al., 2022). Such inequalities are even more acute for migrant women in agriculture, where exploitation, discrimination and asymmetric power relations are deeply entrenched (Güell, 2022).

Women's participation in extensive livestock farming illustrates how agency is negotiated within these constraints (Castelló & Romano, 2023). Through everyday practices, collective initiatives and support networks, they carve out spaces of recognition and gradually reshape rural power relations (Fernández-Giménez et al., 2021; 2022). Finally, Silva-Pérez & González-Romero (2023) highlight the persistent absence of a gender perspective in agri-food system research, noting that masculinized frameworks continue to marginalize women's experiences despite the growing number of female authors.

3.1.6 Activism, social networks and political participation

In the rural context, women's participation takes diverse forms that transcend institutionalized channels of political action. Traditionally, formal participation, such as access to public office or involvement in local decision-making bodies, has been limited by patriarchal structures and rigid social norms (Egea-Hernández et al., 2026). Rural areas pose significant barriers to women's political engagement compared to urban settings, due to weaker support for equality, stronger social control and less autonomy and free time (Lavizzari & Portos, 2023). While there has been a gradual increase in female representation, particularly in smaller municipalities, this presence often remains tied to ideals of a vocation for service and community commitment rather than to structural transformations in gender power relations (Palenzuela & Cruces, 2011; Casellas et al., 2013).

Against this backdrop, informal participation becomes central. Women's associations (Sánchez-Muros & Jiménez 2013), local and digital social networks (Pallares-Barbera & Casellas 2019) and activism, especially feminist activism (Baylina & Rodó-Zárate 2020), create alternative channels through which rural women articulate demands, generate social capital and reshape the political field from below. These non-institutional forms help circumvent traditional barriers, build spaces of autonomy and reinforce the collective action of rural women.

3.1.7 Digital and technological gap

The impacts of incorporating Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in rural areas are positive insofar as they facilitate greater political participation, the use of social networks, expanded access to distance education or the creation of new employment opportunities. However, the rural population, characterized by low levels of education and advanced age, often lacks the necessary training to adapt to this new digital context. Studies encompassed within this theme demonstrate that public policies and training programs have helped reduce the digital gap (Vico-Bosch & Rebollo-Catalán, 2018; García et al., 2020). Despite this, structural barriers persist, stemming from both individual factors (such as motivation, prior training and perception of utility) and broader social structures (including age, gender, class and family and community relationships) (Novo-Corti et al., 2014; Sánchez-Oro & Fernández, 2017; Sierra-Daza & Fernández-Sánchez, 2022).

3.1.8 Silences, margins and the politics of absence

Beyond the dominant themes of work, mobility and participation, a smaller body of research has addressed issues such as gender-based violence and sexuality in rural contexts. These studies reveal how territorial dispersion, weak institutional infrastructures and restrictive labour markets hinder both prevention and intervention in cases of violence (Martínez & Camarero, 2015; Ferrás & González-Rodríguez, 2023). Similarly, the scarce attention to non-heteronormative identities shows how rural environments often reinforce isolation and stigma, with profound effects on emotional well-being and social belonging (Fernández-Rouco et al., 2019). Limited services, prevailing cultural norms, and weak support networks further contribute to social vulnerability and exclusion in rural areas (Little, 2017b).

3.2 Analysis of methodological techniques and tools

The articles analysed predominantly employ qualitative methodologies (39%), followed by quantitative research techniques (31%), while 24% utilize mixed methods. A minority (6%) are classified as other methodological approaches. Within purely qualitative studies, interviews are the dominant technique. The most frequent format is the in-depth individual interview (Fernández, 2022), followed by semi-structured individual interviews (Morales-Valero et al., 2024), group interviews (Baylina & Rodó-Zárate, 2020), individual life-history interviews (Fernández-Giménez, 2022) and open interviews (Callejo-González & Ruiz-Herrero, 2024). Focus groups or discussion groups are relevant as participatory techniques because they allow observation of individual opinions alongside the interactions, agreements,

tensions and symbolic negotiations that emerge within the group. Communication circulates horizontally and non-hierarchically, capturing multiple voices of the study object.

Occasionally, interviews are supplemented by other techniques, such as walking interviews or tours (Álvarez-Muguruza, 2021), and by field notes recording observations throughout the research process (Porto et al., 2022). Most studies employ qualitative data analysis software, such as *Atlas.ti*, which enables rigorous systematization of discourse content (Águila, 2024). Discourse and textual analysis are also used, particularly in symbolic productions such as media and film, to unravel social representations and ideological frameworks regarding rurality and femininity (Castelló & Romano, 2023). Some studies adopt ethnographic or visual approaches, combining interviews with participant observation to deepen understanding of identity processes and territorial dynamics (Gómez-Pellón, 2024).

In quantitative studies, structured surveys and questionnaires are commonly used to collect primary data through closed-ended forms applied to representative samples of diverse social groups (Sayadi & Calatrava-Requena, 2008). Statistical and multivariate methods are predominant, encompassing both descriptive and inferential approaches, as well as techniques such as factor analysis and cluster analysis (Pérez-Morote et al., 2024). A smaller number of studies use secondary sources, including institutional or census databases, for comparative or longitudinal analyses (Miralles-Guasch et al., 2015). Spatial and cartographic analyses, combining statistical techniques with Geographic Information Systems (GIS), are less frequent and aim to represent territorial inequalities or sociodemographic dynamics (Gago-García et al., 2021).

Mixed-methods studies combine quantitative data analysis with qualitative techniques, such as interviews and focus groups (Lozano, 2012). This integration enables initial identification of patterns, trends, or typologies, as exemplified by Díaz (2011), who applies cluster analysis to characterize different rurality profiles. The quantitative results are then enriched through in-depth interviews that interpret the data, considering personal experiences, subjectivities and social contexts (Rivera, 2018). In some cases, qualitative methods not only complement but precede quantitative design, as in Patiño-Alonso et al. (2016), where discussion groups and interviews informed questionnaire development. Additionally, some studies adopt triangulated approaches (Segovia-Pérez et al., 2022), integrating multiple sources and techniques to reflect notable methodological complexity.

Finally, the persistent lack of sex- and habitat-disaggregated data constitutes a major barrier for conducting gender-sensitive analysis of rurality. Two proposals point beyond this limitation by developing multidimensional indicators. Hernández et al. (2020) propose a qualitative methodology for developing the VIMUR index, a participatory tool designed to assess women's integration in rural settings from a territorial perspective. On the other hand, Rico & Gómez-Limón (2011) develop a quantitative methodology to construct synthetic indicators of gender inequality across thematic areas (education, employment, participation, quality of life, etc.) for rural, intermediate and urban habitats. Their study stresses the urgency of producing reliable, disaggregated and multidimensional information to compare and evaluate gender gaps in differentiated territorial contexts. These efforts signal a shift from merely compensating for statistical gaps to rethinking how knowledge about rural territories is produced, underscoring the need for contextualized, gender-sensitive metrics that can inform both theory and policy.

4. Conclusions, limitations and future lines of research

The first studies on rural spaces from gender perspectives in Spain emerged during the 1980s and 1990s, led by a small group of female geographers (Delicado-Moratalla, 2023). Since then, the field has undergone significant development, particularly over the past decade; however, it has yet to achieve widespread presence across the national academic landscape. Most publications are concentrated in the regions of Galicia and Catalonia, followed by Andalucía and Castile and León, a distribution closely linked to co-citation networks among authors, institutions and journals (Baylina et al. 2016).

From a thematic perspective, the 80 selected articles have been classified into eight groups. The studies analysed consistently argue that rural women's experiences cannot be adequately understood through

fixed categories (García, 2019). Research addressing representations of rurality, migratory processes, labour dynamics, forms of sociopolitical participation and entrepreneurial models reveals a wide diversity of trajectories and subjectivities. Over time, these experiences have been shaped by structural transformations in rural areas and by the growing recognition of women as key actors within their territories (Shortall & Bock, 2014).

The rural labour market constitutes a central focus of scholarly attention, characterised by profound gender gaps manifested in occupational segregation, informality, the burden of double workdays and unequal access to land ownership or financial resources (Wiest, 2016). Even so, numerous studies highlight rural women's capacity to build alternatives through support networks, resilience strategies and collective organisational forms. Initiatives such as social entrepreneurship, sustainable tourism or feminist activism illustrate how women are reshaping their roles within rural communities (Baylina & Rodó-Zárate 2020; Engelmo, 2022; Baylina et al., 2024).

The migration axis offers a relational perspective essential to understanding contemporary rural dynamics. Outmigration, driven by limited opportunities, coexists with return flows led by educated women seeking new lifestyles and forms of professional fulfilment in rural contexts (Porto et al., 2015). The reversal of migratory cycles generates tensions but also opens possibilities for gender-sensitive reterritorialization processes. This trend toward the re-feminization of the countryside has also been analysed in other European rural contexts (Forsberg & Stenbacka, 2013). Through the analysis of narratives and media discourses, this study examines how gender relations in rural contexts are subject to ongoing negotiation, marked by an increasing participation of women in leadership roles. An increasing interest has been noted among new rural settlers, particularly among migrant women seeking employment opportunities. These mobilities are increasingly visible across diverse rural regions of Europe, and Spain provides a particularly illustrative case (Kalantaryan et al., 2021).

The analysis reinforces the argument made by Baylina and Rodó-de-Zárate (2019) that gender research in Spain has primarily developed through empirical case studies. As a result, these studies display a strong local orientation while also engaging with broader theoretical and epistemological debates within international feminist geography. The openness and editorial focus of international journals on gender studies help explain why a substantial portion of this research is published in international outlets. At the methodological level, qualitative approaches still predominate (Caretta and Riaño 2016). The increasing use of mixed methods reflects the need to capture the complexity of rural territories and the multiple dimensions that shape their social, economic and spatial dynamics.

As with any systematic review, this study also presents certain limitations. Restricting the analysis to peer-reviewed journal articles indexed in major databases ensures editorial quality but excludes significant academic contributions from books, book chapters, conference proceedings and other forms of grey literature. Indeed, the geographic focus on Spain limits broader generalization, but it also provides a valuable basis for future comparative research with other regions in both the Global North and the Global South. Despite these constraints, this study represents the first systematic review specifically focused on gender and rural geography research in Spain and can help identify future research lines.

In this regard, topics including sexuality and the environment have garnered considerable attention since the emergence of gender geographies at the international level (Little and Panelli 2003). It is noted that these areas remain largely underexplored in rural Spain. Further research should explore how gender relations influence responses to climate change, transitions toward renewable energy sources or sustainable agricultural practices.

Increasing efforts have been made to incorporate intersectional perspectives that address multiple axes of inequality beyond gender (García, 2019). However, most studies continue to focus on adult rural women, while comparatively less attention has been paid to underrepresented groups, including children, adolescents, LGBTQ+ individuals, people with disabilities and older adults in rural environments. Greater attention should therefore be given to the educational and professional aspirations of young people, as well as to their everyday experiences in rural settings, including how they use and appropriate public spaces through leisure and social activities. Understanding the factors that shape decisions to remain in

or leave rural areas is particularly important in a context of significant demographic decline affecting many municipalities in inland Spain.

Similarly, empirical studies focused specifically on masculinities and the lived experiences of men in rural Spain are notably scarce compared with other regions of northern Europe (Stenbacka, 2011; Areschoug, 2024). Examining how men negotiate economic, sociodemographic and gender role changes in rural societies can shed light on gender dynamics. Future systematic reviews could also incorporate more specific search criteria related to intersectionality and masculinities (Pini & Mayes, 2019).

Advancing this research field will also require methodological innovation. Qualitative case studies have provided valuable insights into lived experiences and local dynamics, yet expanding the range of methods employed would facilitate more comparative and multi-scalar analyses. It is also advisable to further encourage the application of underutilized methodological tools, including Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and innovative techniques like Relief Maps (Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014), to spatially illustrate gender-based territorial inequalities in rural contexts.

In sum, gendered rural geographies in Spain are no longer a marginal line of inquiry but rather a fertile and expanding field. By acknowledging its silences and limitations, future research can move beyond documenting inequalities, toward actively contributing to the understanding and reimagining of rural territories through feminist, inclusive and transformative perspectives.

Acknowledgement

This work is part of a PhD thesis conducted within the Doctoral Programme in City, Territory and Sustainable Planning at the University of Granada, Spain. The first author thanks the Spanish Ministry of Education and Vocational Training for the FPU23/02237 scholarship. The research has also been funded by the grant C-HUM-355-UGR23 funded by Consejería de Universidad, Investigación e Innovación and by ERDF Andalusia Program 2021–2027.

Academic references

- [1] Aggarwal, M. & Kaur, R. J. (2021). Rural women entrepreneurship: a systematic literature review and beyond. *World Journal of Science, Technology and Sustainable Development* 18(4), 373–392. DOI: 10.1108/WJSTSD-04-2021-0039.
- [2] Águila, J. (2024). “Entre dos aguas”: Representación del medio rural y elementos de arraigo en mujeres jóvenes rurales con estudios superiores. *ENCRUCIJADAS* 24(2).
- [3] Alario, M. & Morales, É. (2016). Iniciativas de las mujeres: emprendimiento y oportunidades en el espacio rural de Castilla y León. *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 62(3), 613–637. DOI: 10.5565/rev/dag.369.
- [4] Alario, M., Pascual, H. & Baraja, E. (2009). Segregación laboral de las mujeres en la industria rural: el caso de Castilla y León. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, (50), 173–192.
- [5] Álvarez-Muguruza, I. (2021). Indagaciones encarnadas sobre el deseo de irse de las mujeres rurales jóvenes. *Revista Iberoamericana de Estudios de Desarrollo*, 10(1), 288–308. DOI: 10.26754/ojs_ried/ijds.561.
- [6] Arce, C., Díaz-Gaona, C., Sánchez-Rodríguez, M., Sanz-Fernández, S., López-Fariña, M. D. & Rodríguez-Estévez, V. (2022). The role of women on dairy goat farms in southern Spain. *Animals*, 12(13), 1686. DOI: 10.3390/ani12131686.
- [7] Areschoug, S. (2024). Subculture, masculinity and place in young rural men’s resistance to counter-migration. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 27(9), 1341–1357. DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2024.2314502.

- [8] Baylina, M. (2004). Metodología para el estudio de las mujeres y la sociedad rural. *Estudios Geográficos*, 65(254), 5–28. DOI: 10.3989/egeogr.2004.i254.190.
- [9] Baylina, M. & Gunnerud, N. (2010). Selling the countryside: Representations of rurality in Norway and Spain. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 17(3), 277–292. DOI: 10.1177/0969776409356215.
- [10] Baylina, M. & Rodó-de-Zárate, M. (2020). Youth, activism and new rurality: A feminist approach. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 79, 189–196. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.08.027.
- [11] Baylina, M. & Salamaña, I. (2006). El lugar del género en la Geografía Rural. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 41, 99–112.
- [12] Baylina, M., García Ramón, M. D., Villarino, M., Mosteiro, M. J., Porto, A. M. & Salamaña, I. (2024). Crisis global y ruralidad: impacto en emprendedoras jóvenes muy cualificadas. *Ager: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, 39, 161–190. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2024.05.
- [13] Baylina, M., García-Ramon, M. D., Porto, A. M., Rodó-de-Zárate, M., Salamaña, I. & Villarino, M. (2016). Work–life balance of professional women in rural Spain. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(1), 72–84. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2016.1249345.
- [14] Baylina, M., Villarino, M., García Ramón, M. D., Mosteiro, M. J., Porto, A. M. & Salamaña, I. (2019). Género e innovación en los nuevos procesos de re-ruralización en España. *Finisterra*, 54(110), 5–91. DOI: 10.18055/Finis16053.
- [15] Baylina, M. & Rodó-de-Zárate, M. (2019). Mapping feminist geographies in Spain. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 26(7–9), 1253–1260. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2019.1567473.
- [16] Berg, N. G. & Forsberg, G. (2003). Rural geography and feminist geography: Discourses on rurality and gender in Britain and Scandinavia. In Öhman, J. & Simonsen, K., eds., *Voices from the North. New Trends in Nordic Human Geography* (pp. 173–190). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- [17] Bock, B. (2014). Gender mainstreaming and rural development policy; the trivialisation of rural gender issues. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22(5), 731–745. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.879105.
- [18] Bock, B. & Shortall, S., eds. (2006). *Rural Gender Relations: Issues and Case Studies*. Wallingford: CABI.
- [19] Botana, C. & Novas, M. (2023). Ecoproductoras invisibles: Espacios de la agricultura familiar gallega para el autoconsumo de proximidad. *Astrágalo: Cultura de la Arquitectura y la Ciudad*, (33), 259–284. DOI: 10.12795/astragalo.2023.i33-34.14.
- [20] Bryant, L. & Pini, B. (2011). *Gender and Rurality*. London: routledge.
- [21] Callejo-González, J. J. & Ruiz-Herrero, J. A. (2024). Factors influencing the decision of young adults to remain in their rural environment: social origin, education and gender. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 106, 03206. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103206.
- [22] Camarero, L. & Sampedro, R. (2008). ¿Por qué se van las mujeres? El continuum de movilidad como hipótesis explicativa de la masculinización rural. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 124(1), 73–105. DOI: 10.5477/cis/reis.124.73.
- [23] Camarero, L. & Sampedro, R. (2016). Exploring female over-migration in rural Spain – Employment, care giving and mobility. In Wiest, K., ed., *Women and migration in rural Europe. Labour markets, representations and policies* (pp. 189–208). London: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-48304-1.
- [24] Carballo-Cruz, E., Maroto-Martos, J. C. & Pinos-Navarrete, A. (2024). Overview of touristic innovation in Spain spa tourism. *International Journal of Spa and Wellness*, 7(3), 320–340. DOI: 10.1080/24721735.2024.2406173.
- [25] Caretta, M. A. & Riaño, Y. (2016). Feminist participatory methodologies in geography: creating spaces of inclusion. *Qualitative Research*, 16(3), 258–266. DOI: 10.1177/1468794116629575.

- [26] Casellas, A., Tulla, A. F., Vera, A. & Pallarès Blanch, M. (2013). Gobernanza local y espacio rural: un análisis territorial desde la perspectiva de género. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* (62), 379–402. DOI: 10.21138/bage.1582.
- [27] Castelló, E. & Romano, M. J. (2023). Shepherdesses: New representations of rural women in Spain. *Feminist Media Studies* 23(4), 1659–1675. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2021.1992646.
- [28] Cejudo, E., Ríos, M. J. & Cejudo, M. I. (2024). Women and the rural world: The reasons put forward by women as to why the population continues to fall in many parts of Andalusia (Spain). *European Countryside*, 16(4), 668–689. DOI: 10.2478/euco-2024-0034.
- [29] Cloke, P. (2006). Conceptualizing Rurality. In Cloke, P., Marsden, T. & Mooney, P., eds. *Handbook of Rural Studies* (pp. 18–28). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- [30] Cobano-Delgado, V. & Llorent-Bedmar, V. (2020). Women's well-being and rural development in depopulated Spain. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(6), 1966. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph17061966.
- [31] Cruz-Villalón, J., Baylina, M., Solsona, M., Salamaña, I., Villarino, M., Tulla, A., Valdvinos, N., García Ramón, M. D. & Cànoves, G. (1994). *Mujer y agricultura en España. Género, trabajo y contexto regional*. Barcelona: Oikos-Tau.
- [32] Dabkienė, V. (2025). Gender, Women's Barriers and Innovation in Agriculture: A Systemic Literature Review. *European Countryside*, 17(1), 1–26. DOI: 10.2478/euco-2025-0001.
- [33] Delgado, C. (2019). Depopulation processes in European rural areas: a case study of Cantabria (Spain). *European Countryside*, 11(3), 341–369. DOI: 10.2478/euco-2019-0021.
- [34] De Pablo Valenciano, J., Milán-García, J., Uribe-Toril, J. & Guerrero-Villalba, M. A. (2021). Rural development from a gender perspective: The case of women farmers in southern Spain. *Land*, 10(1), 75. DOI: 10.3390/land10010075.
- [35] Del Romero, L. & Fernández, N. (2024). Looking for Thoreau's Cabin. Post-pandemic Lifestyle Migrations and Rural Idyll in Alt Millars (Castellón, Spain). *AGER: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, (39), 261–286. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2024.08.
- [36] Delicado-Moratalla, L. (2023). Genealogía de la geografía feminista en España. *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 62(2). DOI: 10.30827/cuadgeo.v62i2.28300.
- [37] Díaz, C. (2011). Perfiles de mujeres jóvenes rurales de baja cualificación. Un estudio de caso para la comprensión de sus estrategias de inserción sociolaboral en Asturias (España). *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 69(3), 725–744. DOI: 10.3989/ris.2009.07.16.
- [38] Driga, O., Lafuente, E. & Vaillant, Y. (2009). Reasons for the relatively lower entrepreneurial activity levels of rural women in Spain. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 49(1), 70–96. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9523.2008.00475.x.
- [39] Egea-Hernández, M., Maroto-Martos, J. C., Pinos-Navarrete, A. & Cejudo-García, E. (2026). From the domestic to the public sphere: collective leisure as a catalyst for feminist agency and women's well-being in rural Spain. *Leisure Studies*, 1–18. DOI: 10.1080/02614367.2026.2640580.
- [40] Engelman, A. (2022). El papel de la mujer rural extremeña en la oferta turística: una visión desde la perspectiva de género de la iniciativa Leader y el programa Proder. *Cuadernos de Turismo*, 50, 45–69. DOI: 10.6018/turismo.541861.
- [41] Eскурriol, V., Binimelis, R. & Rivera, M. G. (2014). The situation of rural women in Spain: the case of small-scale artisan food producers. *ATHENEA DIGITAL*, 14(3), 3–22. DOI: 10.5565/rev/athenead/v14n3.1186.
- [42] Esteban, M. L., Gargallo, A. F. & Pérez, F. J. (2016). ¿Presentan las cooperativas contextos favorables para la igualdad de género? Especial referencia a la provincia de Teruel. *CIRIEC- España, revista de economía pública, social y cooperativa*, (88), 61–92.

- [43] Esteban, M. L., Pérez, F. J. & Gallardo, A. (2018). Áreas rurales y cooperativas: iniciativas de mujeres para el desarrollo. *Revesco: revista de estudios cooperativos* (127), 116–138. DOI: 10.5209/REVE.58397.
- [44] Fernández, O. (2022). Reprogramar el campo: Migraciones de las mujeres al medio rural en España. *Ager: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, 34, 19–45. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2022.03.
- [45] Fernández-Giménez, M., Oteros-Rozas, E. & Ravera, F. (2021). Spanish women pastoralists' pathways into livestock management: Motivations, challenges and learning. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 87, 1–11. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.06.001.
- [46] Fernández-Giménez, M., Ravera, F. & Oteros-Rozas, E. (2022). The invisible thread: Women as tradition keepers and change agents in Spanish pastoral social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, 27(2), 4. DOI: 10.5751/ES-13227-270204.
- [47] Fernández-Rouco, N., Oswald, R. F., Cantero, P. & Carcedo, R. J. (2019). Interpersonal needs and satisfaction with life among rural lesbians: A Spanish sample study. *Sexualities*, 22(3), 343–358. DOI: 10.1177/1363460717713380.
- [48] Ferrás, C., Ginzo-Villamayor, M. J. & González-Rodríguez, M. (2023). Analysis of location and spatial distribution of elderly women victims of gender violence. *Social Sciences*, 12(2), 72. DOI: 10.3390/socsci12020072.
- [49] Flores, D. & de la O Barroso, M. (2011). La mujer en el turismo rural: un análisis comparativo de género en el Parque Natural Sierra de Aracena y Picos de Aroche (comarca Noroccidental andaluza). *Ager. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, (10), 39–69.
- [50] Foronda, C. (2013). La investigación rural del siglo XXI en España. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 61, 457–465. DOI: 10.21138/bage.1550.
- [51] Forsberg, G. & Stenbacka, S. (2013). Mapping Gendered Ruralities. *European Countryside*, 5(1), 1–20. DOI: 10.2478/euco-2013-0001.
- [52] Gago-García, C., González-Relaño, R., Serrano, M. & Babinger, F. (2021). Impacto de la crisis de la COVID-19 en el empleo del sector turístico en España: Perspectivas territorial y de género. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* (91). DOI: 10.21138/bage.3162.
- [53] García, F. J., Leiva, J. J., Espíndola, E. & Piccoli, F. A. (2020). Inclusión social de mujeres rurales a través de programas de alfabetización digital para el empleo. *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 32(1), 15–25. DOI: 10.5209/rced.67590.
- [54] García, R. (2008). La mujer en el sector agrario de la región de Murcia (España). *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 12(270).
- [55] García-Ramón, M. D. (2005). Respondiendo a un desafío pendiente en Geografía. El enfoque de género visto desde España. *Geographica*, 48, 55–75. DOI: 10.26754/ojs_geoph/geoph.2005481324.
- [56] García-Ramón, M. D. & Baylina, M. (2000). *El nuevo papel de las mujeres en el desarrollo rural*. Barcelona: Oikos-tau.
- [57] García, M. G. (2019). Interseccionalitat i estudis de gènere en geografia rural: un estat de la qüestió (2008–2015). *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 65(3), 603–627. DOI: 10.5565/rev/dag.575.
- [58] Gómez, M. B. (2023). Mujer y turismo en la investigación geográfica española. *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 62(2), 65–91. DOI: 10.30827/cuadgeo.v62i2.29108.
- [59] Gómez-Pellón, E. (2024). Family farming and gender in a valley in northern Spain. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 110, 103340. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103340.

- [60] Guadalajara-Olmeda, N., De la Poza-Plaza, E. & Caballer-Tarazona, M. (2009). Diferencias de género en la dirección de las explotaciones agrícolas del sur de Europa. *Agricultura, Sociedad y Desarrollo*, 6(2), 183–195.
- [61] Güell, B. (2022). La interseccionalidad en el trabajo agrícola estacional: el caso de Huelva en tiempos de COVID-19. *Estudios Geográficos*, 83(293), 113. DOI: 10.3989/estgeogr.2022119.119.
- [62] Hernández, M. L., Serrano, A. & Méndez, J. 2020. Propuesta metodológica para valorar la integración de las mujeres en el medio rural: Ensayo en Aragón (España). *Ager: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo*, (29), 131–175. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2020.06.
- [63] Hernández, M. J., Ruiz, C., García, E. & Pedrosa, C. (2018). Situación actual de la igualdad de género en los órganos de gobierno de las sociedades cooperativas agroalimentarias. *REVESCO: Revista de estudios cooperativos*, (129), 66–83. DOI: 10.5209/REVE.61933.
- [64] Jiménez-Esquinas, G. (2017). “This is not only about culture”: on tourism, gender stereotypes and other affective fluxes. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 25(3), 311–326. DOI: 10.1080/09669582.2016.1206109.
- [65] Kalantaryan, S., Scipioni, M., Natale, F. & Alessandrini, A. (2021). Immigration and integration in rural areas and the agricultural sector: An EU perspective. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 88, 462–472. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.04.017.
- [66] Lavizzari, A. & Portos, M. (2023). Urban rebels? A gendered approach to domicile and protest participation in nine European countries. *Sociology*, 57(5), 1078–1100. DOI: 10.1177/00380385221129945.
- [67] Leles, A., Zaina, L. & Cardoso, J. R. (2024). Challenge-based learning for competency development in engineering education, a prisma-based systematic literature review. *IEEE Transactions on Education*, 67, 5. DOI: 10.1109/TE.2024.3417908.
- [68] Little, J. & Panelli, R. (2003). Gender research in rural geography. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 10(3), 281–289. DOI: 10.1080/0966369032000114046.
- [69] Little, J. (2017a). *Gender and rural geography*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315838717.
- [70] Little, J. (2017b). Understanding domestic violence in rural spaces: A research agenda. *Progress in Human Geography*, 41(4), 472–488. DOI: 10.1177/030913251664596.
- [71] Llorent-Bedmar, V., Cobano-Delgado, V. & Navarro-Granados, M. (2021). The rural exodus of young people from empty Spain. Socio-educational aspects. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 82, 303–314. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.01.014.
- [72] López, L. (2020). Filmic gendered discourses in rural contexts: The case of the Camino de Santiago (Spain). *Sustainability*, 12(12), 5080. DOI: 10.3390/su12125080.
- [73] Lozano, C. (2012). El fomento de la integración laboral femenina en el medio rural. Evaluación del impacto de los talleres de empleo en la Sierra de Segura (Jaén). *Ager. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, (12), 117–147. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2011.04.
- [74] Martínez, M. Á. & Camarero, L. A. (2015). La reproducción de la violencia de género: una lectura desde las áreas rurales. *Ager. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, (19), 1–30. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2015.12.
- [75] Meloni, C., Rocchi, B. & Severini, S. (2023). A systematic literature review on the rural-urban economic well-being gap in Europe. *Bio-based and Applied Economics*, 12(4), 305–321. DOI: 10.36253/bae-13178.
- [76] Meseguer-Sánchez, V., López-Martínez, G., Molina-Moreno, V. & Belmonte-Ureña, L. J. (2020). The role of women in a family economy. A bibliometric analysis in contexts of poverty. *Sustainability*, 12(24), 10328. DOI: 10.3390/su122410328.

- [77] Millán-Vázquez, M. G., Velasco-Portero, M. T. & Ramírez-Sobrino, J. N. (2017). El emprendimiento de la mujer rural española: análisis de la brecha salarial. Una realidad difícil de solucionar. *Papeles de Población*, 23(92), 151–183. DOI: 10.22185/24487147.2017.92.016.
- [78] Miralles-Guasch, C., Martínez, M. & Marquet, O. (2015). A gender analysis of everyday mobility in urban and rural territories: from challenges to sustainability. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 23(3), 398–417. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2015.1013448.
- [79] Morales, A. M. H. & Fernández, C. H. (2019). Acceso a la autonomía económica de las mujeres a través del turismo rural en la isla de La Palma. *Revista de Investigaciones Turísticas*, (18), 22–41. DOI: 10.14198/INTURI2019.18.02.
- [80] Morales-Valero, M., Amber-Montes, D. & Annes, A. (2024). Dimensiones profesionales, personales y sociales de la competencia emprendedora de la mujer en el ámbito agrario rural andaluz. *REOP – Revista Española De Orientación y Psicopedagogía*, 35(2), 100–119. DOI: 10.5944/reop.vol.35.num.2.2024.41952.
- [81] Nicolás, C., García, C., Manzanares, Á. & Riquelme, P. J. (2021). LEADER una política para la dinamización del emprendimiento rural femenino en Murcia. *Convergencia*, 28(1). DOI: 10.29101/crcs.v28i0.16533.
- [82] Nieto, C. (2006). Las mujeres y el cooperativismo en los procesos de desarrollo local. Algunos ejemplos de la provincia de Málaga. *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica* (47), 31–52. DOI: 10.5565/rev/dag.1450.
- [83] Novo-Corti, I., Varela-Candamio, L. & García-Álvarez, M. T. (2014). Breaking the walls of social exclusion of women rural by means of ICTs: The case of 'digital divides' in Galician. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 30, 497–507. DOI: 10.1016/j.chb.2013.06.017.
- [84] Ortiz, A. & Baylina, M. (2021). Tesis de geografía y género en España: 30 años de investigación feminista. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* (90). DOI: 10.21138/bage.3144.
- [85] Ortiz, A. & García-Ramón, M. D. (2016). Nuevas tendencias en la geografía del género en España: una revisión actualizada de investigaciones en el último decenio. In Ibarra, M. V., ed., *Geografía feministas de diversas latitudes: Orígenes, desarrollo y temática contemporáneas* (pp. 95–122). Ciudad de México: UNAM.
- [86] Page, M. J., McKenzie, P. M., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T. C., Mulrow, C. D., Shamseer, L., Tetzlaff, J. M., Akl, E. A., Brennan, S. E., Chou, R., Glanville, J., Grimshaw, J. M., Hróbjartsson, A., Lalu, M. M., Li, T., Loder, E. W., Mayo-Wilson, E., McDonald, S., McGuinness, L. A. & Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: An updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *International Journal of Surgery*, 88, 105906. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijsu.2021.105906.
- [87] Palenzuela, P. & Cruces, C. (2011). Mujeres políticas y desarrollo rural en Andalucía. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 69(2), 487–515. DOI: 10.3989/ris.2009.03.05.
- [88] Pallares-Barbera, M. & Casellas, A. (2019). Social networks as the backbone of women's work in the Catalan Pyrenees. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 26(1), 65–79. DOI: 10.1177/0969776417730864.
- [89] Pallarès-Blanch, M., Vera, A. & Tulla, A. F. (2018). Emprendimiento e innovación de las mujeres: hacia una mayor sostenibilidad en las áreas rurales de montaña. *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 57(3). DOI: 10.30827/cuadgeo.v57i3.5770.
- [90] Patino-Alonso, M. C., Vicente-Galindo, M. P., Galindo-Villardón, M. P. & Vicente-Villardón, J. L. (2016). Multivariate profile of women who work in rural settings in Salamanca, Spain. *Journal of Sociology*, 52(4), 806–823. DOI: 10.1177/1440783315594485.
- [91] Pérez, J. (2013). “¿Por qué se van? Mujeres de pueblo y desarraigo en la ruralidad valenciana. *Encrucijadas: Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales*, 6, 101–116.

- [92] Pérez-Morote, R., Núñez-Chicharro, M., Pontones-Rosa, C. & Alonso-Carrillo, I. (2023). Public policies and social responsibility regarding gender policies in rural areas of Spain: Do men and women agree on its necessity and relevance? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 99, 102760. DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2023.102760.
- [93] Pérez-Morote, R., Pontones-Rosa, C., Alonso-Carrillo, I. & García Pérez de Lema, D. (2024). Men's and women's visions of employment policies to combat depopulation in rural Spain. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 11, 1417. DOI: 10.1057/s41599-024-03918-1.
- [94] Pini, B. & Mayes, R. (2019). Rural masculinities. In Gottzén, L., Mellström, U. & Shefer, T., eds., *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies* (pp. 302–310). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315165165.
- [95] Porto, A. M., Mosteiro, M. J., Baylina, M. & Villarino, M. (2022). Género y emprendimiento rural. Claves para la orientación profesional. *REOP – Revista Española de Orientación y Psicopedagogía*, 33(3), 7–21. DOI: 10.5944/reop.vol.33.num.3.2022.36458.
- [96] Porto, A. M., Villarino, M., Baylina, M., García, M. D. & Salamaña, I. (2015). Formación de las mujeres, empoderamiento e innovación rural. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* (68), 385–406. DOI: 10.21138/bage.1867.
- [97] Rico, M. & Gómez, J. M. (2011). Economía social e igualdad de oportunidades en el ámbito rural. Un análisis aplicado a la comunidad autónoma de Castilla y León. *REVESCO. Revista de Estudios Cooperativos*, 105, 85–114. DOI: 10.5209/revREVE.2011.v105.4.
- [98] Rico, M. & Gómez, J. M. (2009). La contribución de la mujer en la economía rural de Castilla y León. *Economía Agraria y Recursos Naturales – Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 9(2), 51–77. DOI: 10.22004/ag.econ.57286.
- [99] Rico, M. & Gómez-Limón, J. A. (2011). Propuesta metodológica para la construcción de indicadores sintéticos de igualdad de género. El caso del medio rural de Castilla y León. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 69(1), 253–286. DOI: 10.3989/ris.2009.04.27.
- [100] Rivera, M. (2018). Turismo, brecha salarial y desigualdades laborales de género en espacios rurales de Andalucía (España). *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 57(3), 291–312. DOI: 10.30827/cuadgeo.v57i3.6459.
- [101] Rodero, E. (2022). Igualdad o vacío: Mujeres, cultura y nueva ruralidad en España hoy. *Periférica Internacional: Revista para el análisis de la cultura y el territorio*, 23, 64–73. DOI: 10.25267/Periferica.2022.i23.10.
- [102] Rodó-de-Zárate, M. & Baylina, M. (2018). Intersectionality in feminist geographies. *Gender, Place & Culture* 25(4), 547–553. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2018.1453489.
- [103] Rodó-de-Zárate, M. (2014). Developing geographies of intersectionality with Relief Maps: reflections from youth research in Manresa, Catalonia. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 21(8), 925–944. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.817974.
- [104] Sabaté-Martínez, A. (1989). *Las mujeres en el medio rural*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- [105] Sánchez-Flores, S., Royo, I., Lacomba, J., Marí, E. & Benlloch, C. (2014). Mujeres inmigrantes emprendedoras en el medio rural. Factor para la sostenibilidad económica y social de las áreas rurales de la Comunidad Valenciana. *Ager. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, 16, 69–109. DOI:10.4422/ager.2013.05.
- [106] Sánchez-Muros, S. P. & Jiménez, M. L. (2013). Mujeres rurales y participación social: análisis del asociacionismo femenino en la provincia de Granada (España). *Cuadernos de Desarrollo Rural*, 10(72), 223–242.
- [107] Sánchez-Oro, M. & Fernández, M. R. (2017). Digital technologies and rural women's entrepreneurship. *Prisma Social*, 18, 259–277.

- [108] Santos, X. M. (2014). Estudios de gènere i sexualitat a Espanya a través de les revistes de geografia (1990–2014). *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 62(2), 427–448. DOI: 10.5565/rev/dag.292.
- [109] Sayadi, S. & Calatrava-Requena, J. (2008). Gender needs awareness and gender asymmetry: an analysis of a rural women survey in mountainous areas of south-eastern Spain. *Spanish Journal of Agricultural Research*, 6(3), 453–468. DOI: 10.5424/sjar/2008063-338.
- [110] Segovia-Pérez, M., Pérez-Ledo, P. & Yagüe-Perales, R. (2022). A gender perspective on agricultural innovators. *Ager: Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, 36, 103–129. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2022.19.
- [111] Segovia-Pérez, M., Santero, R., Figueroa-Domecq, C. & Castro, B. (2019). Caracterización de la brecha salarial en el turismo rural español: una comparativa con el entorno laboral turístico urbano. *Ager. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, (26), 7–34. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2018.18.
- [112] Shortall, S. & Bock, B. (2014). Introduction: rural women in Europe: the impact of place and culture on gender mainstreaming the European Rural Development Programme. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22(5), 662–669. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2014.917819.
- [113] Sierra-Daza, M. C. & Fernández-Sánchez, M. R. (2021). Las tecnologías como elemento mediador de procesos de autoinclusión digital de mujeres rurales. *Píxel-Bit: Revista de Medios y Educación*, 64, 123–137. DOI: 10.12795/pixelbit.2021.i64.07.
- [114] Silva-Pérez, R. & González-Romero, G. (2023). Aportaciones españolas a la agroalimentación territorializada en perspectiva geográfica y de género. *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 62(2), 72–91. DOI: 10.30827/cuadgeo.v62i2.28728.
- [115] Soronellas, M., Bodoque, Y. & Torrens, R. (2013). Las mujeres extranjeras en las nuevas ruralidades. *Gazeta de Antropologia*, 29(2), 07.
- [116] Soronellas, M., Bodoque, Y. & Torrens, R. (2014a). The migration of foreign women to rural Catalonia (Spain) in the context of economic and social transformation in local communities. *AUC Geographica*, 49(2), 39–48. DOI: 10.14712/23361980.2014.13.
- [117] Soronellas, M., Bodoque, Y., Blay, J., Roquer, S. & Torrens, R. (2014b). Inmigrar a la Cataluña rural. Contextos de ruralidad y migraciones de mujeres extranjeras hacia pequeños municipios. *Ager: Revista de estudios sobre despoblación y desarrollo rural*, 16, 111–148. DOI: 10.4422/ager.2014.01.
- [118] Stenbacka, S. (2011). Othering the rural: About the construction of rural masculinities and the unspoken urban hegemonic ideal in Swedish media. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 27(3), 235–244. DOI: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.05.006.
- [119] Vera-Toscano, E. & Moyano, E. (2010). Empleo femenino y su efecto sobre la distribución de la renta familiar en el medio rural. *Economía Agraria y Recursos Naturales-Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 10(1), 5–16.
- [120] Vercher, N., Escribano, J. & Valero, D. E. (2019). Models de vida femenins en el medi rural. Un cas d'estudi a la Sierra del Segura (Albacete). *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 65(1), 123–147. DOI: 10.5565/rev/dag.449.
- [121] Vercher, N., Escribano, J. & Valero, D. E. (2020). Redes de apoyo al emprendimiento femenino en territorios rurales. *OBETS. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 15(1), 317–356. DOI: 10.14198/OBETS2020.15.1.11.
- [122] Vico-Bosch, A. & Rebollo-Catalán, Á. (2018). Incidencia de las políticas de inclusión digital en el uso de las redes sociales de mujeres de entorno rural. *Prisma Social*, 21, 263–281.
- [123] Wiest, K. (2016). *Women and migration in rural Europe. Labour markets, representations and policies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-48304-1.

- [124] Woods, M. (2010). Performing rurality and practising rural geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(6), 835–846. DOI:10.1177/0309132509357356.