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HOMICIDE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. ARE THERE DIFFERENT PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILES MEDIATED BY PREVIOUS VIOLENCE EXERTED ON THE VICTIM?

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Abstract
A sample of 46 men was evaluated with the DAPP (Questionnaire of Domestic Aggressor Psychological Profile). All were inmates convicted for various degrees of violence against their wives in different prisons. The sample was divided into three groups: homicides without previous violence against their wives (H) (n=11), homicides with previous violence (VH) (n=9) and domestic batterers without previous homicide attempts against their partners (B) (n=26). The aim of the study was to analyze the possible existence of three different kinds of profiles and more specifically if it’s possible to obtain an independent profile for domestic homicides with previous episodes of violence against their wives. The results neither confirm the hypothesis as whole nor for the violent homicides. However, differences between groups were obtained in the admission and description of the facts, in the risk of future violence, in some sociodemographical characteristics (i.e., level of education, social status), in the couple relationship, in the dissatisfaction concerning the unachieved ideal woman, in the use of extreme physical force during the aggression, the time of the first aggression, the use of verbal threats during the aggression, explanation of the events to the family and the period of time between the beginning of the romantic relationship and the manifestation of violence. The implications of the results for the theoretical frameworks proposed and future research are discussed.

Key words: domestic homicide, psychological profile, domestic violence, crime, prediction violence.

Resumen
Una muestra de 46 hombres fueron evaluados mediante el PPAD (Cuestionario del Perfil Psicológico del Agresor Doméstico). Todos eran presos de diferentes centros penitenciarios por delitos de violencia contra sus mujeres en grado diverso. La muestra fue dividida en tres grupos, homicidas sin violencia previa hacia su mujer (11 Ss), homicidas con violencia previa (9 Ss) y agresores domésticos sin intentos previos de homicidio hacia su pareja (26 Ss). El objeto del estudio era analizar la posible existencia de perfiles diferentes para cada tipo de crimen, y especialmente si era posible obtener un perfil independiente para los homicidas con episodios previos de violencia hacia sus mujeres. Los resultados no confirmaron la hipótesis general ni la referida a los homicidas violentos. Sin embargo, hallamos diferencias entre los grupos de agresores en la admisión y descripción de los hechos, en el riesgo de futura violencia, en algunas variables sociodemográficas (v.gr., nivel escolar, estatus social), en la relación de pareja, en la insatisfacción con el ideal de mujer, en el uso extremo de violencia física, en el tiempo transcurrido desde la primera agresión, en el uso de amenazas verbales, en la explicación de los hechos a la familia, y en el periodo de tiempo entre el inicio de la relación y la manifestación de violencia. Se discuten las implicaciones de los resultados en relación con los modelos teóricos explicativos propuestos y la investigación futura.

Palabras clave: homicidio domestico, perfil psicológico, violencia doméstica, crimen, predicción violencia.
Introduction

Many authors confirm the existence of a link between aggression and homicide, especially during the period of preparation or actual breaking up of the relationship with the batterer (American Psychological Association, 1996; Browne, 1987; Brody & Tarling, 1980; Ewing, 1987; Walker, 1989; Walker & Meloy, 1998). Dobash, Dobash and Noaks, (1995) also remark how domestic violence strengthens the risk of homicide due to the emotional link between victim and aggressor. Nevertheless, as Walker and Meloy precisely point out (1998) the number of victims of domestic homicide is quite low if compared to the number of battered women; even though, Meloy (1992, 1996) remarks the fact that the risk of death increases when there is a conduct of harassment and moreover it is of an obsessive type.

But certain studies point out how erroneous it is to try to predict the death of the victim taking into account only the previous existence of domestic violence (Walker & Meloy, 1998) -there is statistical evidence pointing out that approximately half the dead women had not suffered violence at the hand of their couples previously (National Crime Victim Survey, 2004; Soria, 2003).

Sociological and psychosocial research on domestic violence proves the relevance –although not all authors agree on this point- of sociodemographical factors (employment, income, individual and familiar stress, etc) in the origin of aggressiveness, as they are elements that interact with the relationship of the couple (Lystad, 1986; Murray, Straus, & Hotaling, 1980; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). They may not be direct causes, but due to the stress induced, they facilitate the burst of violent acts in the core of the couple as they reinforce the deficits in the psychological behaviour of aggressors regarding the way they manage the relationship with their wives, specially when they have a traditional point of view on sexual roles and take upon themselves the position of keeper of the stability of the family.

Research on childhood and youth relationships kept by the aggressor during the process of socialization shows how most of domestic homicides came from families torn apart when they were very young or marked by the absence of a father figure (McCord & McCord, 1958), as well as a negative identification towards the parent of
the same gender in domestic batterers (Cerezo, 1998). It also specifies that when the
type of parent education tends to be authoritarian and physical punishment turns
commonplace it is more likely for violent conducts to arise in the adult partner
(Berkowitz, 1993; American Psychological Association, 1996).

The relevance of the age variable has been stressed in different studies
concerning domestic violence—a bigger age difference between aggressor and victim is
related with a higher probability of generational conflict turning up due to discrepancies
in the activities and interests of each of the members of the couple or by the fact that the
older partner might attribute him or herself with a higher power or authority over the
other partner (Murray et al., 1980).

Another group of factors that are relevant in order to create a profile come from
the analysis of relationships between the members of the couple and their internal and
external characteristics. Various studies show how between 44 and 67% of batterers
have had previous violent relationships. This is usually connected with individuals that
tend to use violence to solve their interpersonal conflicts and so its appearance is not
strictly linked to a specific victim (Carlson, 1977; Coleman, Weinman, & His, 1980;
Gayford, 1975; Sonkin, Martin, & Walker, 1985). Other pieces of research stress the
type of link set between the members of the couple. Battered women tend to show a
high level of dependence due to the subordinate status of women in society and, in a
later moment, to a harassment syndrome. The same type of connection turns up in
relation to the batterer due to her low self-esteem and insecurities (Corsi, Domen, &

As regards the characteristics of the external social relationships kept by the
couple it is necessary to stress the strong tendency of batterers to hide violent events in
the privacy of their home. This would be due to a dual conduct—on one hand he follows
the normative criteria of society, but once inside the home, he breaks those rules and
cannot avoid anger bursts turning into violence (Dutton, 1995; Sonkin & Durphi, 1982).
Social isolation is also positively connected to sexual abuse of women (Rusell, 1982)
and child abuse (Finkelhor, 1979, 1984).

Different authors, such as Dutton (1995) analyzed the personality of the
batterer describing the existence of three basic types: the psychopathic, the hyper
controlled and the cyclic. The two first display controlled violence characterized by the
control and planning of the aggression, and will attack their victims in hidden places, while the third manifests a growing violence that will burst uncontrolled due to the fact that violence cycles start unforeseen –one of its most representative characteristics is the fact of attacking the victim in visible places.

This conception is backed up by various pieces of research on the low self-esteem of the aggressor in which it is stated that the lack of acceptance of the violent acts committed becomes a mechanism of psychological protection (Goldstein & Rosenbaum, 1985; Steele & Pollack, 1974). Due to the same reason, Dutton (1995) points out that commonly the aggressor uses defence mechanisms in the argumentation of the events such as rationalization, denial, projection, repression and minimization. But recent research goes beyond, indicating that it is related to a repetition of the violent conduct in the future (Hening & Oxford, 2006).

In connection with what triggers the aggression we can highlight various studies on the lack of control of impulses in the aggressor (Bowlby, 1984; Coleman, 1980; Currie, 1983), but there are also other pieces of research that state the contrary – they remark that aggressors aim most of their attacks towards their partners instead of towards other individuals from outside the couple (Bograd, 1988).

According to the literature on the subject, there are different psychological disorders that can bring about domestic violence: psychosis and behaviour disorders, also combined with excessive use of alcohol (Echeburúa, 1994), paranoia, described as jealousy delirium (Coleman et al., 1980; Dutton, 1995; Roy, 1982; Walker, 1979) as well as personality disorder, antisocial, paranoid and narcissistic conditions (Echeburúa, 1994) and borderline disorder (Dutton, 1995).

Different criminal psychology studies have been remarking for some time now the relevance of the role of the victim in the criminal act (Wolfang, 1958; Wolfang & Feracuti, 1967). The research of Berkowitz (1993), for instance, points out how in domestic homicides aggressiveness is essentially of the emotional type due to the kind of links between the people involved. Furthermore, the knowledge concerning the aggressor held by the victim forces the latter to remain inside the violent relationship because of the risk of death should she break the couple (Stronshine & Robinson, 2003).

Finally, in the analysis of the post-aggressive context we must take into account the apparition of different factors, particularly suicidal reactions after domestic
homicide. Just as important is to know the generic behaviour of the aggressor, specifically if he exerts some sort of action on the evidences, the type of behaviour towards his wife and the degree of acceptance of the facts with the police (Ressler, Douglas, Burgess, & Burgess, 1992).

Scientific research has not established a clear relationship between harassment, domestic violence and homicide. However, some data show that harassment can contribute and be a significant factor in the identification of domestic batterers (Meloy, 1996; Tjaden & Thoennens, 2000; Walker & Meloy, 1998), as well as in domestic homicides without a previous record of aggressive behaviour (Soria, 2005).

Thus, considering the criminal act to be a consequence of the interaction between the different areas of personality and the social context where the aggressor develops his criminal conduct, it is relevant to clarify which thematic areas coincide or diverge in the groups under study (Canter et al., 1990).

Based on the information of previous research on domestic violence, criminal profiles and the prediction of violent behaviour, this paper will try to distinguish the possible existence of a different profile for domestic homicides with a previous history of aggression towards their wives (VH), domestic homicides without previous violence (H) and batterers that had not previously attempted to murder their wives (B). We have subsequently obtained the information from convicted aggressors in order to infer the characteristics of a specific group of criminal actions, following the techniques frequently proposed to define a criminal psychological profile (Geberth, 1981; Holmes & De Burger, 1988).

In our field study, the areas of analysis developed in the search of a psychological profile are based on the background of the conduct and its planning, the crime scene, post-criminal conducts, victimology and forensic findings, as well as the psychosocial past of the aggressor (Geberth, 1981; Towl & Crighton, 1996).
Method

Participants

The sample was formed by 46 individuals convicted in prisons of Spain for crimes related to aggressions to their partners, homicides and/or domestic batterers. All of them were men with an average of 40 years of age (SD=5.2). For granting privacy and anonymity, more specific information about the characteristics of the sample is omitted.

Procedure and design

The individuals which could be part of the sample were identified from the whole of the inmate population using prison reports and/or court decisions. Once the records of the individuals that met the requirements to take part in the research were reviewed, they were located inside the prison. According to the type of crime committed, they were provisionally included in one of the three research groups, although their ultimate placing had to be confirmed later on during the interviews.

After they were informed of the aims of the research, the terms and conditions of confidentiality and the anonymity of the interview, they were asked to voluntarily accept to cooperate with the research. In a later moment they were given the DAPP (hetero-applied) by way of a personal semi-structured interview in the prison with an approximate length of 3 hours.

The sample was divided into three experimental conditions: 11 homicides without previous violence (H), 9 violent homicides (VH) and 26 batterers without previous homicide attempts (B). The inclusion criteria followed were the following: in the group of “homicides without violence” (H): being imprisoned for homicide with a romantic relationship between aggressor and victim and without episodes of physical, psychological or sexual violence prior to the criminal event or in situations in which the homicide was not perpetrated due to any accidental circumstance; in the group of violent homicides (VH): being imprisoned for homicide or homicide attempt failed due to accidental circumstances and having previously exerted violence of any type on their partner; “non homicidal batterers” (B): the existence of a romantic relationship between
aggressor and victim, at least two episodes of physical, psychological and/or sexual domestic violence and absence of any homicide attempt.

**Measurement instrument**

In order to reach the goals settled for the research an *ad hoc* questionnaire called DAPP (Domestic Aggressor Psychological Profile) was created. This comprised the following dimensions:

0. Identity information: this section comprises two parts related to *identification-assignment criteria and sincerity in the answers* (related with the admission and description of the facts given as proven in sentence).

1. Sociodemographical information: comprises age of both victim and aggressor, age difference between the two of them, level of education, social status, intellectual level, type of employment basis, and employment situation.

2. Sociofamiliar characteristics of the aggressor: comprises questions related to *structural characteristics of the family, internal characteristics of the family and personal experiences of the aggressor lived during childhood or teenage years*.

3. Couple relationship: comprises items *characteristics of previous relationships, internal characteristics of the current relationship and external characteristics of the current relationship*.

4. Domestic violence: comprises *general characteristics and profile of the aggressor* (related with the risk of violence).

5. Motivation of the aggressor: comprises questions about the *personality of the aggressor and the elements that triggered the aggression*.

6. Aggressive behaviour: comprises items about *generic criminal behaviour of the aggressor, harassment conduct and post-aggressive context*. 
Results

All three groups were different in the sincerity variable (see Table 1). Post-hoc Scheffe test showed, in comparison with the VH ($p<.001$) and B ($p<.001$) groups, higher sincerity in the H group as regards the admission and description of the facts. Furthermore, the H group, exhibited a lower the risk of future violence than the VH ($p<.001$) and B ($p<.001$) groups.

Table 1. Sincerity and risk of future violence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>M_H</th>
<th>M_VH</th>
<th>M_B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sincerity</td>
<td>47.00</td>
<td>15.20</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>7.45</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk of future violence</td>
<td>60.88</td>
<td>15.08</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>6.77</td>
<td>6.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: $df$(2.43).

As far as sociodemographical characteristics are concerned, in the B group the levels of education, $\chi^2(1)=5.11; p<.05$, and social status, $\chi^2(1)=17.43; p<.001$, were found to be lower as compared to the VH group, and in the B group intellectual capacity, $\chi^2(1)=9.01; p<.01$, and level of education, $\chi^2(1)=5.80; p<.05$, were also found to be lower as compared to the H group.

The analysis of the characteristics of development during childhood and youth didn’t show any significant difference between groups. In other words, no differences were observed in the position in the order of brothers, in the presence of domestic violence in the family of reference; in aggressions to parents, in cruelty against animals and in property damage.

When analysing the couple relationship, it was observed how aggressors from the H group were more worried about offering the social image of a «good family», $\chi^2(1)=4.95; p<.05$, than those in the B group.

Results concerning motivation displayed remarkable differences, $\chi^2(1)=11.93; p<.001$, in the comparison of the H group with the B group: the former showed a stronger dissatisfaction concerning the unachieved ideal woman. Nevertheless, no
differences were observed mediated by personality. In the rest of motivation variables the three groups were analogous.

In relation to violent behaviour, differences appeared between the B and the VH, $\chi^2(1)=12.681; p<.001$, and H, $\chi^2(1)=11.93; p<.001$, groups in the use of extreme physical force during the aggression: The batterers use less physical force in their aggressions. Moreover, the H group, as compared to the B, carried out the first aggression later in time, $\chi^2(1)=5.8; p<.05$, used less verbal threats during the assault, $\chi^2(1)=11.2; p<.001$, didn’t explain the inner conflicts of the couple to the extended family and tended to muffle domestic problems, $\chi^2(1)=7.34; p<.01$, and the period of time between the beginning of the romantic relationship and the manifestation of violence was lesser in the H group than in the violent groups, VH, $\chi^2(1)=9.71; p<.001$, and B, $\chi^2(1)=4.58; p<.05$. However, no groups’ differences were registered in self-control during the events; the use of weapons; the perception of risk from the victim; the organization of the crime scene; the harassment; the place of the aggression; the level of dependency of the victim or the aggressor from their partner and the existence of sexual problems; suicidal reactions; and the acceptance of the events in front of the court.

**Discussion**

Prior to drawing conclusions and assumptions from the results, two limitations of this study should be addressed. First, previous results are biased to error type I by the small size of the subsamples. Second, as a transversal study, this should be complemented with a longitudinal one to generalize data from domestic violence to homicide, as the study seems to hint. Bearing in mind the previously mentioned limitations, the following implications may be drawn.

In conclusion, the results obtained in this research don’t support firmly the independence of the three different psychological profiles defined. Moreover, the profiles designed by Dutton (1995; Dutton & Starzomski, 1994) based on the personality of the aggressor are not confirmed by the evidence. However, according to the proposal of Canter et al (1990), data draw an interaction between personality traits and criminal behaviour. Thus, the violent groups, B and VH, share more common
characteristics than homicidal, VH and H. This holds the existence of a continued pattern of aggressiveness that stands as a main axis in personality and the way of relating to the victim, acting as medium to grab and hold power in the couple (Berkowitz, 1993; Carlston, 1977; Cerezo, 1998).

The risk of future violence, that identifies the violent groups (VH and B), is in line with previous research on the prediction of domestic violence with batterers (Campbell, 1995; Echeburúa, 1994; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). In consequence, specific programs for relapse prevention in cases of violent offenders must be designed and implemented.

The differences found between groups VH and B in the level of education and social status, as well as those between groups H and B in the level of education and the intellectual capacity may be interpreted as a confirmation of the weight of these elements in stress mitigation, reducing the chances of aggressive conducts turning up on a regular basis depending on the psychological resources available to the person (Berkowitz, 1993).

The low need to display socially the appearance of a good family and not explaining the violent facts to the extended family in B group should be understood as an attempt to silent the inner conflicts in the couple (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967), boosting the self-confidence of the offender due to the lack of an answer from society (Dutton, 1995; Goldstein & Rosenbaum, 1985), and eventually falling scarcely into his own perception of the violence exerted (Frieze, 1983). However, this assumption change to deny his responsibility in the events once has been detected as the literature has remarked (e.g., Henning & Holdford, 2006).

The smaller period of time between the beginning of the romantic relationship and the manifestation of violence in the VH as confronted to the H group contradicts previous research on domestic violence that supports the need by the aggressor of a variable period of time in order to position the victim inside a relationship of power (Coleman et al., 1980; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hasting & Hamberger, 1988; Straus, 1977-78, Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980) starting at the same time a escalation process of violence (Erchak, 1984; Steinmetz, 1977a, 1977b) and linking it much more to cognitive-affective rumination processes (Cobo, 2007).
The temporary interruption of violence after the report to the police is a restraint that does not solve the aggression on the woman (Brody & Tarling, 1980; Sonkin et al., 1985) if no action is taken on its causes in situations where violent individuals are involved (Sonkin & Durphy, 1982). Accordingly, whenever the individual has no previous record of battering but desires his wife’s death (H) the report to the police has little effect because the death is related to other issues that are not directly linked to domestic violence. On the contrary, when the individual is a batterer, it proceeds as a temporary restraint, but does not prevent the later return to violent actions, be them homicidal (VH) or not (B). This may be attributed to a temporary need to restructure, from a cognitive point of view, the new situations created after the report that do not affect the background of motivations that generate violence.

The higher use of verbal threats during the aggression in group H as compared to group B ratifies previous studies on domestic violence and serves as a way of submitting the victim to the will of the aggressor and advertising her of the negative consequences should she deny his requirements (Echeburúa, 1994; Gelles, 1974; Roy, 1982), acting as an element that boosts of the circle of violence (Steinmetz, 1977a, 1977b).

The high weight of the unachieved ideal of woman in group H as compared to group B, in concordance with previous studies, points out to a poor consideration of women in the latter (Roy, 1982; Sonkin et al., 1985), and especially a low perception of the risk of losing the partner as an object, consequence of a higher self-confidence (Goldstein & Rosenbaum, 1985; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988).

Finally, the sincerity variable points out the existence of different concerns in the acceptance of the facts and provide a chance to reach a deeper level of knowledge of the criminal psychological motivation.

In short, based on the results of the study two general conclusions may be drawn. First, the existence of two basic psychological profiles in domestic violence, one that is based on a recurring pattern of aggressiveness and may or may not end up in homicide, and another one, in line with recent Spanish research (Cobo, 2007), that leads to homicide without previous episodes of violence. Second, data do not support the pertinence of psychosocial and evolitional factors showed in previous studies.
References


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Full paper text (double spaced with numbered pages and anonymised).

References (APA style).

Tables and figures placed at the end of the paper or attached separately.
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