REVISTA INVECOM
ISSN en línea: 2739-0063

Invisible Silence: A Perspective on Violence Against Men in the City of Tacna

Silencio Invisible: Perspectiva de la violencia contra el varón en la ciudad de Tacna

Received: 03/04/2026 **- Accepted:** 19/06/2026

Angel Ramiro Ruiz Sánchez
https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6044-6437
aruizsa75@ucvvirtual.edu.pe
Universidad César Vallejo. Lima, Peru

Abstract

This study examines violence against men in the city of Tacna, Peru. The research follows a basic, quantitative design: a survey was administered to 100 men between the ages of 18 and 50 in Tacna to measure the forms of violence they experienced at home, in the workplace, and within their social environment. Data were collected through a questionnaire whose content validity was established by expert judgment and whose reliability, assessed with Cronbach's alpha, reached 0.85. The results show that psychological violence is the most common form, followed by physical violence, restrictions on personal freedom, and social isolation. Most affected men neither report these incidents nor seek help, largely because of social stigma, traditional gender roles, and a lack of institutional recognition. The study also finds that violence against men carries serious emotional consequences that undermine their well-being in both private and public life. These findings point to an urgent need for public policies, awareness campaigns, and specialized support services for this largely overlooked population, and they call for a comprehensive, unbiased approach to protecting all victims of gender-based violence.

Keywords: Violence, men, gender, family.

Resumen

Este estudio aborda la violencia contra los hombres, específicamente en la ciudad de Tacna, Perú. Respecto a su metodología, esta investigación es de tipo básico, con un enfoque cuantitativo. A partir de una encuesta aplicada a 100 varones de 18 a 50 años en Tacna, se midieron distintas formas de violencia sufrida dentro del hogar, en el ámbito laboral y en el entorno social. La técnica para recabar la información utilizada fue la encuesta y el instrumento el cuestionario, cuya validez fue establecida mediante el juicio de expertos. Además, la confiabilidad está determinada a través del alfa de Cronbach, alcanzando un 0.85. Los resultados revelan que la violencia psicológica es la forma más prevalente, seguida de la violencia física, control sobre la libertad y aislamiento social. La mayoría de los hombres afectados no denuncian o buscan ayuda debido a estigmas sociales, roles tradicionales de género y falta de reconocimiento institucional. Además, el estudio señala que la violencia contra varones conlleva graves impactos emocionales, afectando su bienestar tanto en el entorno privado como público. La investigación concluye en la necesidad urgente de desarrollar políticas públicas, programas de sensibilidad y apoyos especializados para esta población poco atendida, enfatizando una visión integral y sin prejuicios en la protección contra la violencia de género.

Palabras clave: Violencia, varón, género, familiar.

Introduction

Domestic violence against men remains, in many cases, an invisible reality, a problem that is poorly understood, rarely discussed, and often endured in silence, even though it affects a considerable number of men. Among its many manifestations are cases in which men face false accusations of slander or defamation, or are unjustly denied contact with their children because of personal conflicts or arbitrary decisions made by the mother; other forms of emotional, psychological, or social harm also occur but are seldom recognized or reported. Despite these realities, few authorities, institutions, or public forums address the issue openly and objectively. Greater visibility is therefore needed, along with a guarantee that any victim of domestic violence, regardless of gender, can access timely protection, justice, and support (Becerra et al., 2009).

From an international standpoint, violence against men has been documented across a range of studies, although it has historically received far less academic and institutional attention than violence against women. This imbalance has kept men's experiences as victims of various forms of violence, particularly within the family and in intimate partnerships, largely out of view.

In Europe, this form of violence is a recognized problem, supported by statistics that point to a significant prevalence. Even so, it tends to be underestimated because of persistent prejudice and a framework that focuses chiefly on violence against women. Against this backdrop, there is a growing need to confront the issue through inclusive policies, specialized care, and the removal of stigma, so as to guarantee protection for all victims regardless of gender (Hearn et al., 2002).

According to the EU Survey on Gender-Based Violence (AEDF, 2024), although its primary focus is violence against women, it also finds that one in five men (21.7%) has experienced domestic violence at some point in his life, and roughly 6.5% has suffered sexual violence (AEDF, 2024). In countries such as the United Kingdom, millions of men are estimated to be affected by violence within the family and in intimate relationships. This violence includes psychological and physical abuse, economic coercion, sexual abuse, and harassment, yet it remains among the least reported, as social stigma and traditional gender roles make it difficult to recognize men as victims.

Rates of violence vary considerably across the European Union: Finland, Sweden, and Hungary all report high levels of gender-based violence, even though protection efforts remain heavily concentrated on female victims. European institutions have made progress in establishing policies and legal frameworks to prevent and address gender-based violence in its many forms, yet male victims continue to be largely invisible, with few resources specifically designed for them (Trujano, 2010).

In Latin America, violence against men is an emerging concern, reflected in a rising number of reports from men victimized by domestic violence at the hands of female partners. Although domestic violence is traditionally framed as something women suffer and men perpetrate, recent research from countries, such as Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru, shows that a considerable share of men report having experienced psychological, social, sexual, physical, and economic violence within their intimate relationships (Díaz et al., 2023).

An exploratory study conducted in Mexico City with 100 heterosexual men, some dating, others married, found that violence was present in both groups, occurring and being perceived more frequently among married men (Trujano, 2010). The most frequent and most readily perceived forms were psychological, social, and sexual violence, while economic and physical violence occurred less often. The study also found that men's perception of violence tends to exceed its actual frequency, suggesting that many either minimize or fail to fully recognize such behavior as violent, owing to traditional gender stereotypes that dictate that a man must be strong rather than a victim.

Official statistics across Latin America support this picture. According to Mexico's National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI, 2022), roughly 10 to 14% of domestic violence victims in recent years have been men; in Bolivia, thousands of reports name women as the aggressor; and in Peru, an increasing number of male victims identify their partner as the primary perpetrator. Similar patterns appear in other

countries, including Spain and the United States, where substantial levels of family violence against men have also been recorded.

This phenomenon tends to remain socially invisible and receives little institutional attention, largely because most laws, policies, and prevention programs are designed primarily to protect female victims, leaving gaps in the support available to male victims. Stereotypes tied to traditional gender roles, together with social stigma, further discourage men from reporting violence or seeking help, which keeps the problem hidden and underserved (Valdivia-Peralta et al., 2019).

In Peru, violence directed at men receives comparatively little attention next to violence against women. Survey-based studies and official data nonetheless show that a considerable proportion of men experience domestic violence, primarily at the hands of their partners, encompassing physical, psychological, and economic abuse.

A study by Becerra Flores et al. (2009), conducted in Lima, found that 71% of a sample of 385 men had been abused at least once. The study further determined that 45% of these men continued to experience abuse, primarily in the form of punches, kicks, slaps, and psychological aggression such as insults and being denied food. The violence was attributed mainly to economic hardship and partner conflict, particularly on weekends. Even so, many men remained silent, held back by feelings of powerlessness or fear of social stigma.

Official figures from Peru's Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP, 2024) record cases of sexual, physical, psychological, and economic violence against men, albeit in smaller numbers than against women. Public attention and policy, however, remain overwhelmingly directed toward protecting female victims, leaving men in a position of institutional and social invisibility.

Recent research, such as that of Gutiérrez et al. (2023), further shows that Peruvian laws protecting victims of gender-based violence are not effectively applied to men, and that many men are unaware of their rights or of the state support available to them. Staff who handle violence cases also tend to be better trained to assist women, which limits affected men's access to adequate care.

In the city of Tacna, statistics point to a rise in domestic violence cases, with a total of 842 reports filed between October and December 2023, a 4.3% increase over the same period the previous year. Of these reports, 143 involved male victims and 699 involved female victims. Violence against men in Tacna occurs mainly as psychological and physical aggression within the family and intimate partnerships, (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, 2024).

The profile of male victims in Tacna consists mainly of adults between 30 and 50 years of age and young men between 18 and 29. Regarding sexual violence, although most victims are women, five cases involving male victims were reported during the period studied. This violence against men includes physical assault, such as blows, as well as psychological abuse, which often remains hidden because of social taboos and the difficulty men face in reporting it and accessing support. Overall, in Tacna, as in other regions of Peru, most violence is perpetrated by men (81.8% of cases), although the violence men themselves experience comes largely from other sources, including partners and family members. The institutional response remains heavily focused on protecting and assisting female victims, while affected men face invisibility and reduced access to specialized resources, (Gutiérrez Et al, 2023).

This scenario clearly calls for stronger prevention, care, and support programs that also reach male victims of violence, along with public awareness efforts addressing a problem that has grown steadily over the years. Doing so requires moving past the stigma attached to traditional gender roles and adopting a comprehensive approach that protects everyone from any form of violence. Taken together, the statistics point to three main conclusions: first, that violence can affect people of any gender; second, that reported cases involving both men and women have risen over time; and third, that women continue to register the highest rates of violence. Despite these figures, legal doctrine and case law have concentrated mainly on abuse against women and children, leaving research on the violence men experience comparatively scarce. Even so, a growing body of studies and statistical data confirms that men, too, are victims of domestic

CC BY

violence, raising important questions about the characteristics, causes, and consequences of the violence that affects men within the family.

Domestic violence has also become a public health concern that affects not only women but men as well. Given how little research exists on the violence men experience, Triviño examined the problem of intrafamily violence against men, drawing on prior studies and on sociocultural shifts that have, first, kept the abuse men suffer invisible and, second, discouraged men from reporting the aggression they endure, (Triviño Vargas, 2022).

For a long time, masculinity, along with the power and behaviors traditionally associated with men, was taken as a given; however, this view has shifted considerably over the past few decades. Gender roles have evolved rapidly worldwide, as reflected in separation and divorce rates, changing labor patterns, and the ongoing push for gender equality. These shifts have reshaped gender relations and perceptions of men more broadly. As a result, questions of gender and masculinity have become just as complex as the varied responses offered by social welfare systems, (Hearn et al., 2002).

Within a patriarchal system, patriarchy itself is rarely seen as a problem for men, who, according to research on violence against women, generally enjoy greater social privilege; yet it becomes a serious problem for men who are victims of domestic violence. As shown in earlier sections of this study, men, too, bear the consequences of the patriarchal system. Indeed, the masculinity tied to this system shapes not only how men relate to women but also how it affects men whose masculinity departs from the hegemonic norm, leaving them subordinate to women in certain relationships. In such cases, a woman can become the aggressor, perpetuating the man's silence (Mas'udah, 2021).

The system, its cultural values, and the role assigned to men thus push them toward silence, since men are expected to dominate women and are made to feel ashamed of being victims. This idea is reinforced by research from Trinidad and Tobago, which found that men who suffer intrafamily violence tend to live in silence, marked by shame, isolation, and invisibility. Once a man becomes a victim, patriarchal ideology makes it harder for him to break the cycle of violence, so he often chooses to stay in the marriage and try to resolve the situation privately rather than confront it openly. Seeking help thus becomes a complex, multifaceted process for men, shaped by personal trauma, cultural and religious beliefs, and the availability of support resources, (Triviño Vargas, 2022).

Along similar lines, Machado et al. (2021) argue that men tend to remain in a marriage because they do not want others to learn of the violence committed by their wives, fearing that it would damage their image of masculinity and be read as a sign of weakness, something that brings them shame. According to the same authors, in Javanese and Muslim societies men are regarded as the head of the household, deserving of respect and responsible for being good leaders. For this reason, being a victim collides directly with the cultural mandates of traditional masculinity, which equate manhood with strength, control, and invulnerability. Consequently, a man who has suffered intrafamily or intimate partner violence tends to perceive that experience itself as a sign of weakness or an inability to live up to this social construct. Fearing stigma, ridicule, or having his gender identity questioned by those around him, he turns to silence as a defense mechanism. In this way, the traumatic experience is confined to the realm of the hidden in order to preserve a socially conditioned sense of dignity, effectively rendering the phenomenon invisible in both statistical and legal terms.

Methodology

This study takes a descriptive approach centered on issues related to violence against men. A quantitative method was used to analyze percentage-based numerical data drawn from a survey administered to men in the city of Tacna. In addition, data on violence rates in the Tacna region were reviewed using figures from the Women's Emergency Center, involving a thorough, detailed examination of the information selected for this study.

The sample consisted of 100 men ranging in age from 18 to 50. Participants were selected through non-probability convenience sampling, based on accessibility and geographic proximity. In line with the ethical standards guiding the research, survey data collection began only after informed consent had been obtained. This formally guaranteed participants' anonymity and the confidential handling of the information collected, ensuring that no identities were disclosed at any stage of the study.

Data were collected using a questionnaire designed to measure violence against men, capturing the cumulative violent incidents a respondent had experienced within an intimate relationship. The instrument comprises 15 items and was designed specifically to document acts of violence suffered by men in their relationships, including incidents that occurred up to a year prior to administration. Content validity was established through expert judgment, and the questionnaire's reliability, assessed using Cronbach's alpha, reached 0.85.

Data collection took place during the first half of 2025 among men living in the city of Tacna. To facilitate this process, family members residing in various districts of the province of Tacna helped connect the research team with the male participants who completed the survey. Participants were informed at every stage about the confidentiality of the study and their right to take part voluntarily or withdraw at any time, and informed consent was obtained before the survey began. Administering and collecting the survey took approximately 15 minutes per respondent.

Data analysis proceeded in several stages, depending on the type of data collected. The data were first organized and prepared for analysis. Because the instrument was a quantitative survey, the resulting numerical data were subjected to descriptive statistical analysis (means, frequencies) to identify patterns, relationships, and generalizable conclusions. A documentary review sheet was also prepared to interpret open-ended responses, drawing out meanings, themes, or categories that could help explain the phenomenon under study. In both cases, it was essential to ensure the reliability and validity of the instrument so that the results would be consistent with, and representative of, what the study set out to measure. Finally, reports and conclusions were drawn from the analysis and linked back to the research objectives.

Results

The following section presents the results of the survey administered to 100 men between the ages of 18 and 50 regarding violence perpetrated by their current or former partners. To facilitate analysis and interpretation, respondents were divided into three age groups: 18–29, 30–39, and 40–50 years.

Table 1. *Analysis by age range.*

Dimension	**Item**	**18–29 years**	**30–39 years**	**40–50 years**
Violence within the home	Physical assault	35%	30%	25%
	Insults, humiliation	50%	45%	40%
	Restriction of freedom	30%	25%	20%

Dimension	Item	18–29 years	30–39 years	40–50 years
	Fear or insecurity	40%	35%	30%
	Seeking help or reporting	12%	10%	8%
Violence at work	Interference at work	25%	20%	15%
	Humiliation at work	22%	18%	14%
	Resulting work problems	18%	15%	12%
	Control over relationships	16%	12%	8%
	Emotional impact	25%	22%	19%
Violence in the social environment	Mockery and social rejection	35%	28%	22%
	Isolation from friends/family	38%	33%	27%
	Discrimination or lack of support	32%	30%	28%
	Difficulty sharing experiences	45%	40%	35%
	Lack of social recognition	55%	50%	45%

Source: Own elaboration, based on a survey of men regarding violence perpetrated by their partners.

The quantitative findings on violence within the home point to a latent problem among the surveyed sample. With respect to physical violence, 30% of the men surveyed reported having experienced direct

physical aggression from a current or former partner inside the home. Psychological violence proved even more prevalent, emerging as the most common form: 45% of participants reported having been subjected to insults, humiliation, or threats within the household. As for dynamics of control and restricted autonomy, 25% of the sample reported that their partner or former partner restricted their freedom of movement. These various hostile behaviors had a direct impact on respondents' socioemotional well-being, with 35% admitting to constant fear or insecurity in the face of their partner's violent conduct. Finally, the most troubling figure at the institutional level concerns coping and reporting behavior: only 10% of affected men sought formal help or filed a report for the violence suffered within their home, revealing a severe gap in access to state or community support.

Assessing the impact of partner conflict on the workplace, the results reveal a notable spillover of violence into respondents' professional lives. Regarding direct interference with day-to-day performance, through persistent calls, hostile messages, or unwelcome appearances at the workplace, 20% of the men surveyed reported experiencing such behavior. Similarly, 18% of participants reported humiliation or professional discredit in front of coworkers or supervisors as a result of conflicts caused by a partner or former partner. Threats or aggression also escalated into administrative and operational consequences for 15% of the sample, who reported work-related problems stemming directly from these acts of violence. Regarding control over their career development, 12% reported that a partner or former partner attempted to restrict or monitor their professional relationships and interactions. Finally, at the socioemotional level, 22% of respondents acknowledged that harassment and violence carried over into the workplace significantly affected their psychological well-being and emotional stability during the workday.

An analysis of violence in respondents' social environment reveals a clear pattern of community stigmatization and isolation. Regarding aggression originating from within the partner's social circle, 28% of the men surveyed reported being subjected to mockery, rejection, or defamation by their partner's or former partner's family or friends. Control tactics aimed at weakening the affected man's support network were also common: 33% of participants reported deliberate attempts to isolate them from their own friends and family. This lack of support translated into a shared sense of vulnerability, with 30% of the sample reporting discrimination or a complete absence of social support in dealing with their situation. As a result of this hostile environment, 40% of respondents admitted to serious difficulty expressing or sharing their situation, held back by an inherent fear of judgment or rejection from those around them. Finally, at the broader societal level, a clear majority takes a critical stance: 50% of the men surveyed firmly believe that society today fails to adequately or legitimately recognize violence when it is perpetrated against men.

These results show that the violence men experience in these areas is substantial, yet marked by low reporting and social recognition, underscoring the need for greater support and awareness around this social problem. Younger men (18–29 years) tend to report higher levels of violence across every dimension, including physical and psychological violence at home as well as greater interference and harm in the workplace and social sphere. Help-seeking remains low across all age groups, though it is slightly more common among younger men. In the social dimension, feelings of isolation and lack of support are more pronounced among younger respondents, as is the sense that society fails to adequately recognize this form of violence. The 40–50 age group, by contrast, shows lower percentages across nearly every item, which may be linked to factors such as accumulated experience, adaptation, or lower reporting due to stigma.

Discussion

The survey administered to 100 men between the ages of 18 and 50 reveals that the violence they experience is substantial across several dimensions: within the home, at work, and in their social environment. Physical, psychological, and social violence all show high prevalence, particularly among younger men (18–29 years), with elevated rates of physical assault (35%), insults and humiliation (50%), and considerable control over affected men's freedom and relationships. These findings align with prior

research indicating that violence against men in intimate relationships is an underreported but real problem, with wide-ranging emotional and social consequences (Hines & Douglas, 2010; Scott-Storey, 2020).

The low rate of reporting or help-seeking found in this study (around 10%) is consistent with the literature documenting the particular barriers men face in reporting violence, including social stigma, traditional gender roles, and a lack of social recognition (Tsui, 2014; Straus, 2011). This also aligns with participants' perception that society fails to adequately recognize violence against men, which contributes to isolation and difficulty in sharing their experience.

In the workplace dimension, the interference and humiliation men reported experiencing, along with the emotional toll of this violence, reinforce prior research emphasizing that intimate partner violence affects not only the private sphere but also men's professional performance and emotional well-being (Hamberger & Guse, 2002; Straus, 2011).

Finally, the social dimension shows high rates of isolation, discrimination, and lack of support, corroborating evidence that male victims of violence tend to experience social exclusion and difficulty accessing support networks (Cook, 2009; Tsui, 2014). The higher prevalence among younger men may relate to their more limited experience and resources for coping with violence, while older men may report less violence because of factors such as adaptation or a greater fear of stigma, a pattern also observed in other studies (Hines & Douglas, 2010).

Other recent studies likewise find that violence against men remains poorly visible and underreported, largely for sociocultural reasons and a lack of social recognition. According to Díaz Burgos et al. (2023), psychological violence is the most prevalent form of violence against men in the region and carries serious, often silent, mental health consequences, including low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression, that can deepen emotional dependency and social isolation. These findings echo the results of the present study, in which 40–50% of the men surveyed reported feelings of isolation, a lack of social recognition, and difficulty sharing their situation.

A qualitative analysis of recent studies highlights sociocultural, family, and personal dimensions as key determinants of the violence men experience in intimate relationships, with social stigma and the limited avenues for expressing or reporting such situations playing a particularly important role. This helps explain the low rate of help-seeking observed in the present survey (10% or less), especially among older age groups (Brito, 2023).

Scholars have also pointed to the importance of including men in gender-based violence prevention and care policies, not only as potential perpetrators but also as potential victims, which aligns with the need, highlighted in the present study, to design support services and awareness efforts specifically for male victims (UNFPA Argentina, 2021).

The violence identified in the social and workplace settings in this study is consistent with the regional literature, which underscores the exclusion, discrimination, and emotional harm faced by male victims in these settings, compounding their situation and making it harder for them to access support networks (Rettberg, 2020).

Conclusions

The findings of this study confirm and expand existing knowledge on violence against men, underscoring the urgent need for social awareness, institutional support, and specialized services for a population that remains largely invisible both nationally and internationally.

Violence against men in intimate relationships, spanning the domestic, workplace, and social spheres, emerges as a significant, multidimensional phenomenon within the context studied, with particularly high prevalence among younger men, consistent with patterns identified in prior research.

Psychological violence, including insults, humiliation, and control, emerges as the most common and damaging form, producing profound emotional effects such as fear, insecurity, isolation, and low help-seeking, and reflecting gaps in the care and protection available to male victims in the region. The low rates

of reporting and help-seeking documented in this study stem from sociocultural barriers, stigma, and entrenched patterns of limited social recognition, all of which make it difficult for men to voice and address these problems.

In the social and workplace spheres, this violence translates into isolation, discrimination, emotional harm, and difficulty sharing one's situation, factors that heighten the vulnerability of male victims and limit their access to support networks and services. These realities call for the explicit inclusion of violence against men in public policies on gender-based violence prevention and care, as well as the design of awareness campaigns and support programs tailored specifically to this largely invisible population.

Research on this type of violence remains at an early stage, underscoring the need for further studies examining sociocultural factors, psychological impacts, and barriers to reporting, with a view to developing more effective and equitable interventions. In sum, the findings of this study align with regional evidence pointing to an urgent need to recognize and comprehensively address violence against men in the Tacna region, promoting a legal, social, and health framework that offers protection, support, and visibility to this issue.

References

AEDF, A. E. (2024). Encuesta de la UE sobre violencia de genero. *Oficina de Publicaciones de la Unión Europea, 50.* https://www.igualdadenlaempresa.es/recursos/CentroDocumentacion/docs/EncuestaUE_ViolenciaDeGenero.pdf

Becerra Flores, S., Flores Vásquez, M., & Vásquez Vega, J. (2009). Violencia doméstica contra el hombre en la ciudad de Lima. *Psicogente, 12*(21), 38-54. https://psykebase.es/descarga/articulo/3114291.pdf

Brito, N. T. C. (2023). Explorando la violencia de género en las relaciones de pareja desde la perspectiva masculina en América Latina: Un análisis cualitativo de investigaciones recientes (2016-2023). *Semillas del Saber*, *3*(1), 29-41. https://revistas.unicatolica.edu.co/revista/index.php/semillas/article/view/601/316

Cook, P. W. (2009). Abused men: The hidden side of domestic violence. *Praeger.* https://doi.org/10.5040/9798216188391

Díaz Burgos, R. C., Ávila Granda, L. E., Díaz Burgos, N. C., & Lema Latorre, A. G. (2023). Violencia masculina en América Latina: Repercusiones psicológicas y dependencia emocional. *Ciencia Latina*, *7*(3), 6754-6774. https://doi.org/10.37811/cl_rcm.v7i3.6669

Gutiérrez, G., Erausquin, M., & Meza, S. (2023). *Análisis de intervenciones de prevención de violencia de género en Tacna: el caso de los programas Mafi y Sumaqwarmi del Centro Cristo Rey.* Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú y Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social. https://cies.org.pe/investigacion/analisis-de-intervenciones-de-prevencion-de-violencia-de-genero-en-tacna-el-caso-de-los-programas-mafi-y-sumaq-warmi-del-centro-cristo-rey/

Hamberger, L. K., & Guse, C. E. (2002). Men's and women's use of intimate partner violence in clinical samples. *Violence Against Women, 8*(11), 1301–1331. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780102762478028

Hearn, J., Pringle, K., Müller, U., Oleksy, E., Lattu, E., Chernova, J., . . . Tallberg, T. (2002). Critical studies on men in ten European countries. *Men and Masculinities, 4*(4), 380–408. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X02004004007

Hines, D. A., & Douglas, E. M. (2010). Intimate terrorism by women towards men: The role of retaliatory violence. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research, 2(3).* 36–56. https://doi.org/10.5042/jacpr.2010.0335

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI). (2022). Encuesta Nacional sobre de la Dinámica de las Relaciones en los Hogares (ENDIREH) 2021: Resultados sobre violencia de género y dinámicas familiares. *INEGI.* https://www.inegi.org.mx/programas/endireh/2021/

Machado, A., Matos, M., Morais, P., & Monte, M. (2021). Public policy and laws addressing women's violence against male intimate partners. *T. K. Shackelford. The SAGE handbook of domestic violence, 2*, 205-223. https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781529742343.n13

Mas'udah, S. (2021). Power Relations of Husbands and Wives Experiencing Domestic Violence in Dual-Career Families in Indonesia. *Millennial Asia, 14*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/09763996211039730

Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, M. (2024). Centro de Emergencia Mujer-CEM Tacna. *Programa Nacional Warmi Ñan.* https://portalestadistico.warminan.gob.pe/

Rettberg, A. (2020). Violencia en América Latina hoy: manifestaciones e impactos. *Revista de Estudios Sociales, 1*(73), 2-17. https://doi.org/10.7440/res73.2020.01

Scott-Storey K, O'Donnell S, Wuest J, MacIntosh J, Merritt-Gray M. (2020). Cumulative lifetime violence severity scale: development and initial testing among men. *BMC Public Health*, *20*(1), 418–14. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-020-08551-6

Straus, M. (2011). Gender symmetry and mutuality in perpetration of clinical-level partner violence: Empirical evidence and implications for prevention and treatment. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 16*(4), 279-288, ISSN 1359-1789. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2011.04.010

Triviño Vargas, L. D. (2022). Violencia intrafamiliar, hombre como víctima invisible. *Universidad Católica de Colombia,* 32. https://hdl.handle.net/10983/27737

Trujano, P. M. (2010). Varones víctimas de violencia doméstica: un estudio exploratorio acerca de su percepción y aceptación. *Diversitas, 6*(2), 339-354. https://doi.org/10.15332/s1794-9998.2010.0002.09

Tsui, V. (2014). Male victims of intimate partner abuse: Use and helpfulness of services. *Social Work, 59*(2), 121–130. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/swu007

UNFPA Argentina (2021). Los hombres tienen que ser parte de la solución en la reducción de la violencia basada en género. *UNFPA.* https://lac.unfpa.org/es/news/los-hombres-tienen-que-ser-parte-de-la-soluci%C3%B3n-en-la-reducci%C3%B3n-de-la-violencia-basada-en

Valdivia-Peralta, M., Fonseca-Pedrero, E., González Bravo, L., y Paíno Piñeiro, M., (2019). Invisibilización de la violencia en el noviazgo en Chile: evidencia desde la investigación empírica. *Perfiles latinoamericanos*, *27*(54), 00012. https://doi.org/10.18504/pl2754-012-2019