



Invisible violence – when a woman is an executioner: review of the studies

Urszula Kempieńska

CONTACT: Urszula Kempieńska, PhD, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Educational Sciences, Kujavian College KSW
in Włocławek, Włocławek, Poland, E-mail: ulakem@interia.pl

Keywords:

violence against men,
conditions, effects, types of
IPV, support opportunities

Abstract:

Domestic violence is a global issue that crosses national borders, as well as socio-economic, cultural, racial and class differences. This problem is widely dispersed geographically, which made it typical and tolerated in many social environments. The violence used by an intimate partner Intimate Partner Violence is a currently accepted term used to describe “violence in family” or “domestic violence”. IPV is traditionally understood as a crime committed by strong, dominant

men against vulnerable women. This issue appears regularly in public debates, the media and scientific studies. However, the violence used by women against men is still a taboo subject. Research on this phenomenon is still rare. However, domestic violence exerted by women is a reality, it occurs virtually in every society, although to a different degree. The aim of the article is to show the violence against men exerted by women, as well as the causes and effects of the phenomenon. Institutional forms of support for men – victims of violence – in selected French-speaking countries were also presented. The article is based on the monographic method – the analysis of available scientific sources (published in English, French and Polish) describing the phenomenon being diagnosed.

1. Introduction

Domestic violence is a global issue that crosses national borders, as well as socio-economic, cultural, racial and class differences. This problem is widely dispersed geographically, which made it typical and tolerated in many social environments. The violence used by an intimate partner Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is a currently accepted term used to describe “violence in family” or “domestic violence” (as cited in Bailey, 2010). The term “brutal violence against the partner” is used as a synonym for “beating a wife, husband, or violence causing the death of another person” (Campbell, 2002). Domestic violence is not just an argument. This is a model of forced control. People who use violence use their strength and/or psychological pressure to dominate the victim and achieve their goal (Kaur & Garg, 2008). IPV is traditionally understood as a crime committed by strong, dominant men against vulnerable women (Graham-Kevan, 2011). This issue appears regularly in public debates, the media and scientific studies. However, the violence used by women against men is still a taboo subject. Research on this phenomenon is still rare (Romain-Glassey, De Puy, & Abt, 2016; Abramsky et al., 2014). However, domestic violence exerted by women is a reality, it occurs virtually in every society, although to a different degree. *Every three days a woman dies under her spouse’s blows, but every 14.5 days a man dies under the strokes of his wife* (Marchand, 2015). The organization of many societies is based on the stereotype of a strong man – man-ruler, not a victim. Such an organization was transmitted and consolidated by education, as well as by the patriarchal system. The feminism perceived domestic violence as a natural extension of men’s patriarchal attitudes towards women, leading them to the feeling that they have the right to control their partners even with the help of force. However, the relation gender-to-IPV is not as unambiguous and unilateral



as previously was thought. A 40-year research by Archer (2000) from the University of Central Lancashire showed that women as often as men use domestic (mainly mental) violence, although they are more afraid of their partners (see also Douglas & Hines, 2011). Only anti-historical and anti-social thinking allows us to believe that women are unable to use violence.

The scale of violence against men is not fully known. Regardless of culture or religion, the conspiracy of silence, fear and, above all, shame, it results in a fact that this problem is not reported to a large extent (Adebayo, 2014; Chan, 2011). For example, in France, 10 out of 100 women make a complaint about the violence and only 3 out of 100 men decide to do it (Marchand, 2015).

Statistical reports indicate that:

- in the US 1 out of 4 men falls victim to one of the forms of violence used by an intimate life partner during their common living; 1 out of 7 experiences severe physical violence (“NCADV. National Coalition Against Domestic Violence,” 2010);
- in the UK, five percent of men experience domestic violence every year (Britton, 2012, p. 83);
- in France in 2012-2013, 27 percent of IPV victims were men, 17 percent of whom were fatalities (Marchand, 2015; see also Ministère des Droits des Femmes, 2014);
- in Poland in 2017, the police initiated 11030 procedures – the “Blue Card” – where the victim was a man, which consists 11.9 percent of the registered victims of violence (“Przemoc w rodzinie (Domestic violence),” 2017);
- in Kenya (only in the central region) in February 2012 there were 460,000 cases of domestic violence, 300,000 of which were men beaten by their wives; it made the region the worst place in the country for husbands. Beating men is more popular among Christians than Muslims (Gathogo, 2015).

The statistics is limited to showing the top of the iceberg. A large amount of money was allocated to education campaigns for women to encourage them to seek help. Unless there are similar campaigns for men, it will be unlikely that the true number of male victims will be known (Graham-Kevan, 2011).

The aim of the article is to show the violence against men exerted by women, as well as the causes and effects of the phenomenon. Institutional forms of support for men – victims of violence – in selected French-speaking countries were also presented. The article is based on the monographic method – the analysis of available scientific sources (published in English, French and Polish) describing the phenomenon being diagnosed.

2. Determinants of domestic violence against men

According to the theory of the micro-civil conflict (Sprey, 1999) the escalation of violence against men can be perceived in terms of conflict resulting from the change of gender roles. Younger men report experiencing a higher percentage, particularly emotional abuse, because gender roles and resource distribution are changing. Women renegotiate expectations and have more and more access to goods once reserved for men. Emotional violence against men can be a way to “equal opportunities” in a competitive struggle to take control of scarce resources (see also Jakobsen, 2014; Courtenay, 2000). What’s more, women use emotional forms of violence, because traditionally, relational aggression is more indirect and socially accepted for women than physical violence (Archer, 2004). Domestic violence is also explained by the criminological theory of routine activity (Routine Activity Theory) by Felson (1987). In order to commit a crime, three elements are necessary: motivation of the perpetrator, available target, and absence of guards (as cited in Makara-Studzińska, Grzywa, & Turek, 2005, p. 201). According to this theory, perpetrators of various types of crime choose a place that is the safest for them and which is associated with their least effort during the act.

The psychological and biological factors and socio-cultural conditions determine whether, to what extent and what kind of violence acts are to be taken. Psychological and biological factors include: depression, anxiety, bipolar disorder, substance abuse (especially alcohol), post-traumatic stress disorder (Schneider, 2016; Carmo, Grams, & Magalhães, 2011; Dowd, Leising, & Rosenbaum, 2005), inability to cope with aggression. Many women have a court order to take active part in anger management programs. For example, the American army provides services for women who have been found to be violent against their partner. One study including 2.999 Air Force personnel members who committed violence against their spouse found that 23 percent of the perpetrators were women (Brewster, Milner, Mollerstrom, Saha, & Harris, 2002; see also McCarroll et al., 1999). Women who used violence also demonstrate:



- premenstrual syndrome. According to the researchers, about 3-4 percent of women exhibit cyclical attacks of aggression taking the form of violence (Makara-Studzińska & Madej, 2015, pp. 583–584);
- sexual problems: lack of satisfaction, disappointment with intercourse, partner's impotence (Starowicz-Lew, 1992);
- violence in childhood. According to Swiss research, a woman with aggressive behavior often has a brutal mother who had a brutal mother (Kopp, Lachavanne, Reka, & Tido, 2008, p. 14; Makara-Studzińska et al., 2005, pp. 201–204);
- childhood trauma. Data from many studies indicate that the proportion of cases of trauma and abuse in childhood is very high among women using violence. Among women who used IPV, 60 percent experienced emotional abuse and neglect, 58 percent were sexually abused, and physical violence was used against 52 percent (Dowd et al., 2005; see also Swan, Gambone, & Fields, 2005; Siegel, 2000);
- willingness to regain or maintain control in a relationship. Women use violence to regain or maintain control over a partner who questions their authority (Swan & Snow, 2003). The G.L. Stuart's researchers' team reports that 22 percent of women have used violence to force the partner to "do something according to their wishes" and 17 percent – to "agree with her opinion" (Stuart et al., 2006, p. 615; as cited in Swan, Gambone, Caldwell, Sullivan, & Snow, 2008);

The socio-cultural and family conditions include, among others:

- revenge for partner violence (Hamberger & Larsen, 2015; Gathogo, 2015; Kowalczyk, 2012; Stuart et al., 2006; Chybicka, Kaźmierczak, & Kosakowska, 2006). In research by Temple et al. (Temple, Weston, & Marshall, 2005; as cited in Swan et al., 2008), 86 percent of women who used violence were also victims; in the research by Swan et al. (2005) this figure was equal to 92 percent. Similar results were obtained in the studies of Cercone et al. (2005).
- self-defense (Perryman & Appleton, 2016; Bair-Merritt et al., 2010; Babcock, Miller, & Siard, 2003). Wishing to regain or maintain control in a relationship, women use violence over a partner who questions their authority (Swan & Snow, 2003). G.L. Stuart's research suggests that 22 percent of women have used violence to force the partner "do something according to her wish" and 17 percent – to make the partner "agree with her opinion" (2006; as cited in Swan et al., 2008);
- children's defense. Some women act violently with their partners to protect their children just as strong as themselves (Morash, Bui, & Santiago, 2000; as cited in Swan et al., 2008);
- revenge (Kopp et al., 2008; Kernsmith, 2005). Several studies suggest that revenge for real or implied "crime" (e.g., betrayal, flirt) is a frequent motivator of violence. In the Swan and Snow's study (2003), 45 percent of women said they used violence to "even the score" with partners.
- the inability to attract the partner's attention in another way than through aggression (Bair-Merritt et al., 2010). Many women use aggression so that the partner finally notices them (Welzer-Lang, 2009);
- partner's unemployment. Living with an unemployed spouse increases the risk of aggression by 1.7 times (Schneider, 2016);

In Africa, however, the main reasons for the use of physical violence against husbands are, first of all, reckless alcohol consumption, non-resourcefulness of life, betrayal, lack of sexual contact and infecting a faithful wife with sexually transmitted diseases (Gathogo, 2015).

According to international data, men who are victims of IVP are often young (between 25 and 44 years of age), live in cohabitation relationships, have modest income. It is the profile similar to the situation of female victims with the exception of one criterion: level of education. While most battered women are poorly educated, abused males are often graduates of higher education institutions (Marchand, 2015; see also Choi et al., 2015; Laroche, 2007).

3. Types of violence

Moffitt et al. (2001, p. 60; as cited in Laroche, 2007, p. 42), in order to present different physical and psychological consequences of violence, designated the term "clinically abuse I" (the victim suffered injuries, received hospital care and / or support from a men's assistance center, the situation was reported to the police) and "clinical intimate abuse II" (includes a wider definition of the repercussions caused by domestic violence). The victims employed a consultant, a psychologist, or a lawyer who contacted the respective centers on their



behalf). However, according to Johnson (1995, p. 287), there are two main types of marital abuse: “situational violence” and “marital terrorism”, which differ in the presence or absence of a pattern of control behaviors. Situational violence occurs in ad hoc disputes and is unlikely to lead to physical injury (e.g., Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Marital terrorism, on the other hand, indicates the aggressor’s desire or coercion to exercise overall control over a partner (e.g., Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Leone, 2005; Johnson, 1995). In this case, violence tends to be converted, accompanied by escalation in time and the strictness of adopted forms. The personal injury and reporting the situation to the police (Johnson, 2005) are more likely to occur. According to Johnson, marital terrorism is characteristic only for men (Johnson, 2006, p. 563). Many authors, however, do not confirm this thesis. According to papers by Laroche (2007, p. 19), in Canada in the year leading up to the survey, 29 per cent of men – victims of violence – experienced serious marital terror and 38 per cent reported minor situational violence. Among victims of serious marital terrorism, 86 percent received hospital care, 72 percent reported the problem to the police and 66 percent got assistance in finding accommodation.

In the literature on the subject (e.g., Makara-Studzińska & Madej, 2015, p. 581; Nowakowska, Kępką, & Chańska, 2005, pp. 6–7; Welzer-Lang & Gourgues, 1992, pp. 28–31), four forms of partner violence are most often distinguished:

- physical violence, understood as behavior, “which aims to cause pain, injury, deterioration of health or death” (Nowakowska et al., 2005, p. 6). Among the acts of this type of violence the following actions are noted: beating, biting, grabbing, kicking, scratching, hitting with objects, using cold steel weapons, pulling hair, pouring faces with various liquids, pinching, spitting, electric shock, causing a fire and closing the victim inside a burning rooms, the use of a firearm (Welzer-Lang & Gourgues, 1992, pp. 28–29). In the majority of cases of men – victims of physical violence, the so-called a mild form of violence is found: scratching, biting, pushing, punching (Choi et al., 2015; Drijber, Reijnders, & Ceelen, 2013; Carmo et al., 2011). Brutal partner violence, which may result, for example, in fractures and long-term hospital stay, occurs at about 5 percent of abused men (Thureau, Le Blanc-Louvry, Thureau, Gricourt, & Proust, 2015). In Poland, according to CBOS research, every tenth man living in permanent relationships has ever experienced physical violence from his partner (Kowalczyk, 2012);
- psychological violence (emotional, verbal). This term is understood as “any action that violates or attempts to undermine the mental balance of another person (self-esteem, self-confidence, personal identity, ...)” (Welzer-Lang & Gourgues, 1992, p. 30). Mental violence is every verbal or non-verbal communication, aimed at causing mental pain and fear at another person (Straus & Sweet, 1992, p. 347), it is perceived as degrading or undermining self-esteem (as cited in Swan et al., 2008, p. 304). Emotional violence can include verbal attack, domination, control, isolation, ridicule or use of intimate knowledge for degradation, stalking (Follingstad, Coyne, & Gambone, 2005; Davis, Coker, & Sanderson, 2002). It is focused on the psychological well-being of the victim and is often a precursor of physical violence. There is a strong correlation between physical and emotional abuse in the relationship (Gondolf, Heckert, & Kimmel, 2002) and verbal insults in the early period of the relationship predicts later physical marital abuse (Schumacher & Leonard, 2005). Women use emotional aggression at the same level as men (Cercone et al., 2005; Straus & Sweet, 1992), equally often using coercive control defined as a “coercive pattern characterized by the use of threats, intimidation, isolation and emotional abuse, as well as pattern control over sexuality and social life, including relationships with family and friends; material resources and various aspects of everyday life (such as the hours of going out and returning home, taking care of hygiene) (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996, pp. 166–167; see also Swan et al., 2005). In Poland, according to CBOS surveys, every fifth man was psychologically bothered by his partner. Men more often than women complained having experienced insults and limitations of contacts with family and friends (Kowalczyk, 2012). Over 10 percent of French male adults have experienced verbal aggression from their spouse or former spouse (most often disgusting, contemptuous or offensive remarks, jealousy, threats, willingness to control, attempts to isolate themselves from family or friends) (Romain-Glassey et al., 2016; Schneider, 2016);
- sexual violence, defined as “any situation in which one person uses verbal or physical means to get sexual activity against consent (including drug or alcohol, with or without the consent of another person)” (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004, p. 91). This violence includes such behaviors as: rape, touching the genitals, forcing others to reproduce pornographic scenes, prostitution or group sex, sexually transmitted diseases (Welzer-Lang & Gourgues, 1992, pp. 30–31). The research shows that men twice more often sexually



molest and force their partners three times more often to submit to sexual obedience. The most common behaviors are accompanied by alcohol (Ménard, Hall, Phung, Ghebrial, & Martin, 2003, p. 1222; see also Karakurt & Silver, 2013; Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, & Anderson, 2003; Katz, Carino, & Hilton, 2002; Harned, 2001). In the US, 29 percent of victims were raped by a close partner (“NCADV. National Coalition Against Domestic Violence,” 2010). French research on victimization shows that one in 20 men has experienced at least one rape or attempted rape in life (Salmona, 2017, p. 5);

- economic violence, understood as “behavior aimed at making the victim dependent on the perpetrator at the financial level” (Nowakowska et al., 2005, p. 7). These are most often situations in which the partner refuses to participate in his resources, he or she appropriates the other party’s money without his consent (“La violence est inacceptable. Violence conjugale que faire? (Violence is unacceptable. Domestic violence what to do?)” 2008, p. 5).

Domestic violence against men manifests itself in many different ways, but most often the man experiences a woman’s emotional and economic violence. He is usually ready to deal with physical or sexual violence (e.g., Choi et al., 2015; Drijber et al., 2013; Carmo et al., 2011; Gromulska, 2006; Phelan et al., 2005). Men tend to use tactics that threaten life and inhibit the autonomy of the partner (Hamberger, 2005; Whitaker, Hail-eyesus, Swahn, & Saltzman, 2007), women use tactics that consist of shouting and screaming (Hamberger & Larsen, 2015). Although, as Marchand (2015) claims, while most men eventually take firearms, women use knives more often.

4. The effects of violence against men

The effects of prolonged or intense violence usually take the form of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The effect of experiencing violence is also a decrease in self-esteem, loneliness in the relationship leading to depression, anxiety disorders, substance abuse and suicidal thoughts (Singh, 2016, p. 26; see also Barber, 2008). Battered men, regardless of the type of violence, experienced, among others, long-term health problems, i.e. musculoskeletal, dermatological, gastrointestinal, cardiovascular, neurological, anxiety, psychosis and personality disorders. Men also reported many short-term injuries, including lacerations, cuts, bruises and broken bones (Gerlock, 1999).

Men, victims of physical violence feel emptiness, wanting to get away from the problems they are experiencing, they “eat” stress or overuse alcohol. Men experiencing psychological violence usually have low self-esteem, increased feelings of loneliness, pessimism, lack of willingness to live, dissatisfaction with their own body. They show increased tendencies to self-injury and abuse of psychoactive substances (Rzeszutko, Pawłowska, Potembska, Morawska-Pyter, & Kowal, 2011). However, the result of sexual violence may be premature death, suicide, depression, addictions, a sense of uncertainty and marginality, and many somatic pathologies (Salmona, 2017, pp. 5–6). For a man, admitting his own weakness, ineffectiveness, is a kind of threat, that is why it is easy to attack this area of the male world of experiences. Violence strikes at the sense of security and predictability of events, the stereotypical masculine belief in the “power of reason”, the hitherto known world order (Gromulska, 2006; as cited in Bodzon, 2013, p. 159). A man experiencing a cycle of violence loses his self-esteem, faith in the possibility of making a change; he feels helpless and entangled in a difficult to understand system of relationships. This behavior is referred to as “the beaten-up syndrome” (see Cabalski, 2017). Many researchers argue that psychological and sexual violence involves more serious consequences and requires longer and multi-faceted treatment than simple physical violence. Men undergo a long period of depression. They may also feel anxiety, panic attacks and sleep disturbances. Violence, shame and taboo lead to withdrawal and loss of social ties. There may also be difficulties in working due to absenteeism or reduced ability to concentrate during times of intense violence attacks. All this can lead to unemployment or instability, thereby further weakening the health and value of the man (Kopp et al., 2008, p. 19). It is estimated that it takes an average of 13 years for men to achieve a full mental balance (Salmona, 2017). Father-victim of violence often loses authority in the eyes of his children, who often (especially when they are incited by mothers) may even participate in physical attacks on him (Gathogo, 2015). Domestic violence is also a burden for many sectors of the economy and secretly affects the development of societies. The governments spend fortunes to help victims of violence and fight against it (law enforcement, health care, job loss, social assistance) (as cited in Kaur & Garg, 2008). The effects of violence affect not only the current generation.



It should be remembered that behaviors taken from the family home are often inherited by the next generations. A man often has the impression that he has become victim “for something”. Personal intimate emotions complicate the situation. He faces a conflict of loyalty: breaking the silence is perceived as betrayal. When a man is a father, the desire to maintain contact with children is another issue that prompts him to continue his marriage and keeping silence (Kopp et al., 2008, p. 15; see also Britton, 2012, p. 83). While violence against women is rightly the subject of widely publicized plans and campaigns, there are few structures that help battered men. Studies also show that not many of them want to use this form of help (Thureau et al., 2015). Making a decision about reporting violence is a long-term process (recognizing yourself as a victim, partner as perpetrator and acknowledging the status of a victim of marital violence by the society). The victims need about 6 years for this (Kopp et al., 2008, p. 14). Victims most often apply for help to informal sources (family, friends, neighbors) (Ansara & Hindin, 2010)¹.

They rarely use the help of social institutions, lawyers, but even less often report this fact to the police. But can one expect that the victim – a man interrogated at the police station by male policemen eagerly tells them that he is taking a smack from his wife? His life is a story of pride and shame (for Kopp et al., 2008, p. 5). A small percentage of abused men, regardless of their place of residence, are inclined to speak about family problems, for fear of mockery, social isolation and humiliation (Barber, 2008). They are also often afraid that their rights will not be recognized (Salmona, 2017). The fear of rejection and the lack of understanding and acceptance in the family, work and social environment also is one of the consequences of the notification (Gotfryd, 2010). First of all, the burden of shame causes reluctance to confide. Male shame results from the contradiction between what has to be socially recognized and the identity that is assigned to it (Torrent, 2001, p. 115). The feeling of shame is further intensified by the cultural and religious context. In Kenya 70 percent of abused men do not inform anyone about their situation. Religious leaders advise spouses to “look for the face of God” instead of the public “laundering of dirty underwear.” These men are also silent because of fear of taboo and / or anatomy related to the cultural dictates of African societies. The fear of reporting to the appropriate authorities is additionally heightened by the fact that in most African communities it is “disgusting” to see a man crying after beating by a woman. In such situations a “crying man” would be stigmatized. His views would not only annoy the living, but also the ancestors as well as the unborn (Gathogo, 2015). The tragedy of many men who suffer from domestic violence lies in the fact that they have no authority. Nobody believes them, even if they have bruises. Three-quarters of Nigerian men who contact the hostel or telephone the so-called “Hot line”, learn that the agency provides services only to women, and almost two-thirds of seeking help are treated as perpetrators. The researcher from the University of New Hampshire, Murray Straus, calls this phenomenon “selective inattention” due to cultural conditions. In the case of domestic violence, a man is always considered an aggressor (as cited in Adebayo, 2014, p. 16). A battered man struggles with skepticism from the police and other serious legal obstacles, especially when it comes to getting childcare. Various jurisprudence is more or less beneficial to female victims, which makes the victims – men suffer in silence. Male victims are in the same situation as women 30 years ago. Their problem is perceived as insignificant (Adebayo, 2014; Adebayo & Kolawole, 2013; Watts & Zimmerman, 2002).

5. Selected institutional assistance for victims of violence in some French-speaking countries

There are few organizations in these countries that help men who are victims of violence.

Since January 1993, LAVI consultative centers have been established in almost all cantons in Switzerland (Loi fédérale sur Aide aux Victimes d’Infractions). Their mission is to provide services to victims of violence (providing telephone conversations or face-to-face meetings, psychological support, legal and social advice). After assessing the victim’s personal situation, the victim may be referred to network partners with whom the

¹ An interesting solution to the issue of violence used by women was taken by men in Kenya. In 2012, the “Progress for Men” group announced a protest initiative, which involved a nationwide boycott of meals prepared by their wives and partners. This protest was to encourage men to share food outside their homes and share their experiences as for the domestic violence, both physical and emotional (in social culture in Kenya eating a meal with his wife is a very important part of expressing appreciation for women) (Adebayo, 2014, p. 15).



center actively cooperates. The problem of a man who is a victim of domestic violence is still in its infancy. The management of the Center has only been training its team for several years to help victims of female violence. As long as marital violence against men remains unthinkable for the LAVI employee, he cannot help patients. There is still a lot to do in terms of information and awareness of health professionals to be able to recognize and listen to men who are victims of domestic violence.

Men are still very few to report to LAVI; every year, only 5 percent use consultations. They have difficulties to get qualified to the center from the beginning, from the first days of domestic violence, because they most often do not experience attacks of brutal physical violence and their lives are not endangered. Some men are reluctant to consult institutions that they consider primarily intended for women. Therefore, the priority recommendations in the field of prophylaxis within the LAVI Center are as follow:

1. Recognize the suffering of men who are victims of IPV;
2. Inform that support for IPV victims is also available to men;
3. Offer training for men who are victims of violence in order to promote the exchange of experiences and good practices in the face of complex situations (<http://www.centrelavi-ge.ch/>).

The Center of LAVI cooperates, among others with La Consultation Interdisciplinaire de Médecine et de Prévention de la Violence (CIMPV). It is a medical institution operating at the Université Hospitals in Geneva (HUG). Created in 1998; it offers a multidisciplinary approach to anyone who is struggling with violence, regardless of their status (victim, aggressor or witness). Male victims of abuse in marriage can be referred to CIMPV in emergencies, on the advice of associations or institutions and by all other primary care services. It is estimated that only 3 percent of consultations regarding domestic violence are male (Kopp et al., 2008, pp. 18, 21–22).

Association Père Pour Toujours Genève (PPTG) is a self-help association for fathers. It offers them listening, support, meetings and advice. He fights for legislation on parental rights, including parenting. It also aims to better recognize the place and value of the father in the family (“Père Pour Toujours Genève (Father Forever Geneva),” 2018).

In France, the first association against violence against men SOS Men Battus was founded in 2009. Each year, he receives about 2,500 telephone calls and e-mails asking for help and advice (Marchand, 2015). In 1977, the Center for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence was established in Brussels (Le Center de prévention des violences conjugales et familiales). It offers support to victims of domestic violence regardless of their religion or ethnicity. However, as you can read on the website that most services, for example, help in finding accommodation for women (see “CPVCF | Centre de Prévention des Violences Conjugales et Familiales,” 2018).

In Canada, there are few services specifically aimed at men who are victims of violence, but they can find help eg in mental health centers, in the YMCA, some of which offer programs to prevent domestic violence, in community organizations (Canada, 2008).

Few centers also work with aggressive women. In Switzerland, only Face à Face founded in 2001 in Geneva offers individual or group therapy for these women. It is a non-profit organization whose aim is to prevent violence on the part of women, mothers and teenagers (Kopp et al., 2008, p. 16).

IPV victims suffer significant negative health consequences due to physical, sexual and emotional abuse. Primary, basic care and family doctors are ideally placed to diagnose IPV victims and provide them and their families with adequate care. However, to achieve this goal, there is an urgent need to integrate information on IPV with healthcare programs and to train future doctors and other health care providers on the ubiquity of partner violence and far-reaching consequences for patient health (Black, 2011, p. 428). The effects of emotional violence are just as harmful as the effects of physical violence. However, the law of many states considers violence only physical and / or sexual assault. Therefore, it is important to deepen the knowledge of emotional violence and its effects on human psyche and health (Karakurt & Silver, 2013) and gender impact on IPV (Swan et al., 2008).



6. Final remarks

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Pacte International Relatif aux Droits Civils et Politiques), adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1966 (entered into force in March 1976), established a legal basis forbidding violence in all its forms:

“The right to life is inseparable from the human person. This right must be protected by law. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of his life” (Article 6);

“No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment” (Article 7),

“Everyone has the right to freedom and security” (Article 9).

It is a binding law, which means that the states that have ratified it, undertake to respect and guarantee the provisions set out in this pact (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1966). However, the research results show that after more than 40 years since the entry into force of the Pact, these laws have still been broken. According to the stereotype, a man is an “executioner” and a woman is an “innocent victim”; few people realize the possibility of reversing roles. 82 percent of Swiss respondents to the question say like that: if you see a man with a black eye and scratches, what do you think may have happened to him? and they point to a fight or assault (where the perpetrator was another man), 4 percent point to attack by an animal. Only 14 percent predict the possibility of violence on the part of his wife. These people, however, often excused women for the use of force: certainly the husband had “bizarre ideas” and that’s why he had to be punished (Kopp et al., 2008, p. 18). Many Poles also make the justification of violence against their partner dependent on who is the victim in the relationship. 84 percent of respondents totally condemn violence against women, but only 56 percent against men. Four out of a hundred respondents would always justify a wife or female partner who will strike at the anger of her husband or partner (Kowalczyk, 2012, p. 8). Battered men represent all age groups, level of education and socio-economic strata. Male victims of domestic violence deserve the same recognition, support and services as a female victim. Women’s brutality should never be seen as a trivial home affair. The processes of women who abuse or kill their husbands must be widely publicized to serve as a deterrent to those who may have such inclinations. There should be more cooperation between government agencies, religious groups and non-profit organizations helping men fight for their dignity (see Adebayo, 2014). The analysis of global research indicates that no other serious public health problem is so widely ignored and as poorly understood as violence against men. In order to change the situation that has existed for years, one must start to enforce legislation effectively. Law enforcement agencies should also accept the fact that violence against husbands is a reality that a small woman, a wonderful employee, can be an executioner in the comfort of your home. She may be an evil person, who does not necessarily beat, but who humiliates, ridicules, undermines authority, tells lies. It is worth bearing in mind the words of the song by Czesław Niemen – the great Polish artist (see Niemen, 1967). It is often the case that someone kills someone with a bad word like with a knife. From an early age, we should learn that conflicts can and must be resolved without resorting to violence. In addition, we should constantly strive to better inform society about the existence of violence used by women, to eliminate the phenomenon of “selective distraction” and to create support facilities for men as well. But first, you have to convince them that it is not a shame to publicly admit to be abused and physically and mentally humiliated by your wife; shame is retaliation on her and ... surrender, stagnation, no fight for your own safety. Everyone has the right to dignity and violence, in whatever form and by whom it is used, takes away this dignity and respect from us.

REFERENCES

- Abramsky, T., Francisco, L., Devries, K., Michau, L., Nakuti, J., Kyegombe, N., ... Musuya, T. (2014). Findings from the SASA! Study: a cluster randomized controlled trial to assess the impact of a community mobilization intervention to prevent violence against women and reduce HIV risk in Kampala, Uganda. *BMC Medicine*, 12(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12916-014-0122-5>
- Adams-Curtis, L. E., & Forbes, G. B. (2004). College Women’s Experiences of Sexual Coercion: A Review of Cultural, Perpetrator, Victim, and Situational Variables. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 5(2), 91–122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838003262331>



- Adebayo, A. A. (2014). Domestic Violence against Men: Balancing the Gender Issues in Nigeria. *American Journal of Sociological Research*, 4(1), 14–19. <https://doi.org/10.5923/j.sociology.20140401.03>
- Adebayo, A. A., & Kolawole, O. T. (2013). Domestic Violence and Death: Women as Endangered Gender in Nigeria. *American Journal of Sociological Research*, 3(3), 53–60. <https://doi.org/10.5923/j.sociology.20130303.01>
- Ansara, D. L., & Hindin, M. J. (2010). Formal and informal help-seeking associated with women's and men's experiences of intimate partner violence in Canada. *Social Science & Medicine* (1982), 70(7), 1011–1018. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.12.009>
- Archer, J. (2000). Sex differences in aggression between heterosexual partners: a meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126(5), 651–680.
- Archer, J. (2004). Sex Differences in Aggression in Real-World Settings: A Meta-Analytic Review. *Review of General Psychology*, 8(4), 291–322. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.8.4.291>
- Babcock, J. C., Miller, S. A., & Siard, C. (2003). Toward a Typology of Abusive Women: Differences Between Partner-Only and Generally Violent Women in the Use of Violence. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 27(2), 153–161. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.00095>
- Bailey, B. A. (2010). Partner violence during pregnancy: Prevalence, effects, screening, and management. *International Journal of Women's Health*, 2(1), 183–197. <https://doi.org/10.2147/IJWH.S8632>
- Bair-Merritt, M. H., Crowne, S. S., Thompson, D. A., Sibinga, E., Trent, M., & Campbell, J. (2010). Why Do Women Use Intimate Partner Violence? A Systematic Review of Women's Motivations. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 11(4), 178–189. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838010379003>
- Barber, C. F. (2008). Domestic violence against men. *Nursing Standard*, 22(51), 35–39. <https://doi.org/10.7748/ns2008.08.22.51.35.c6644>
- Black, M. C. (2011). Intimate Partner Violence and Adverse Health Consequences: Implications for Clinicians. *American Journal of Lifestyle Medicine*, 5(5), 428–439. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1559827611410265>
- Bodzon, P. (2013). Mężczyzna – ofiara kobiecej przemocy. *Fides et Ratio*, 2(14), 153–160. Retrieved from <http://www.stowarzyszeniefidesetratio.pl/Presentations0/12Bodzon2013.pdf>
- Brewster, A. L., Milner, J. S., Mollerstrom, W. W., Saha, B. T., & Harris, N. (2002). Evaluation of spouse abuse treatment: Description and evaluation of the Air Force Family Advocacy Programs for spouse physical abuse. *Military Medicine*, 167(6), 464–469. <https://doi.org/10.1093/milmed/167.6.464>
- Britton, A. (2012). Intimate violence: 2010/11 BCS. In K. Smith, S. Osborne, I. Lau, & A. Britton (Eds.), *Homicides, Firearm Offences and Intimate Violence 2010/11: Supplementary Volume 2 to Crime in England and Wales 2010/11* (pp. 83–115). London: Home Office Statistical Bulletin. Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116483/hosb0212.pdf
- Cabalski, M. (2017). *Przemoc stosowana przez kobiety. Studium kryminologiczne (Violence used by women. Criminological study)*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls."
- Campbell, J. C. (2002). Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *The Lancet*, 359(9314), 1331–1336.
- Canada, P. H. A. of. (2008, October 30). Intimate Partner Abuse Against Men [research;education and awareness]. Retrieved November 14, 2018, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/health-promotion/stop-family-violence/publications/intimate-partner-abuse-against-men.html>
- Carmo, R., Grams, A., & Magalhães, T. (2011). Men as victims of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine*, 18(8), 355–359. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jflm.2011.07.006>
- Cercone, J. J., Beach, S. R. H., & Arias, I. (2005). Gender symmetry in dating intimate partner violence: does similar behavior imply similar constructs? *Violence and Victims*, 20(2), 207–218. <https://doi.org/10.1891/vivi.2005.20.2.207>
- Chan, K. L. (2011). Gender differences in self-reports of intimate partner violence: A review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 16(2), 167–175. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2011.02.008>
- Choi, A. W.-M., Wong, J. Y.-H., Kam, C.-W., Lau, C.-L., Wong, J. K.-S., & Lo, R. T.-F. (2015). Injury Patterns and Help-seeking Behavior in Hong Kong Male Intimate Partner Violence Victims. *The Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 49(2), 217–226. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jemermed.2015.03.007>
- Chybicka, A., Kaźmierczak, M., & Kosakowska, N. (2006). Postawy kobiet polskich wobec mężczyzn i kobiet w obliczu zmieniających się ról społecznych kobiet i mężczyzn (Attitudes of Polish women towards men and women in the face of changing social roles of women and men). In E. Martynowicz (Ed.), *Od poczucia podmiotowości do bycia ofiarą: problemy współczesności – co psychologia może o nich powiedzieć?* (From



- the sense of subjectivity to being a victim: problems of modern times – what can psychology say about them?*) (pp. 111–123). Kraków: Impuls.
- Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: A theory of gender and health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 50(10), 1385–1401.
- CPVCF | Centre de Prévention des Violences Conjugales et Familiales. (2018). Retrieved November 9, 2018, from <http://www.cpvcf.org/>
- Davis, K. E., Coker, A. L., & Sanderson, M. (2002). Physical and mental health effects of being stalked for men and women. *Violence and Victims*, 17(4), 429–443. <https://doi.org/10.1891/vivi.17.4.429.33682>
- Dowd, L. S., Leisring, P. A., & Rosenbaum, A. (2005). Partner Aggressive Women: Characteristics and Treatment Attrition. *Violence and Victims*, 20(2), 219–233. <https://doi.org/10.1891/088667005780905597>
- Drijber, B. C., Reijnders, U. J. L., & Ceelen, M. (2013). Male victims of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 28(2), 173–178. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-012-9482-9>
- Felson, M. (1987). Routine Activities and Crime Prevention in the Developing Metropolis. *Criminology*, 25(4), 911–932. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1987.tb00825.x>
- Follingstad, D. R., Coyne, S., & Gambone, L. (2005). A representative measure of psychological aggression and its severity. *Violence and Victims*, 20(1), 25–38. <https://doi.org/10.1891/088667005780927674>
- Gathogo, J. (2015). Men battering as the new form of domestic violence? A pastoral care perspective from the Kenyan context. *HTS Theological Studies*, 71(3), 1–9. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2795>
- Gerlock, A. A. (1999). Health Impact of Domestic Violence. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 20(4), 373–385. <https://doi.org/10.1080/016128499248547>
- Gondolf, E. W., Heckert, D. A., & Kimmel, C. M. (2002). Nonphysical abuse among batterer program participants. *Journal of Family Violence*, 17(4), 293–314. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020304715511>
- Gotfryd, P. (2010). Kiedy bije kobieta. Doświadczenia brytyjskie (When the woman beats. British experience). *Niebieska Linia*, 4(69), 8–10. Retrieved from <http://www.niebieskalinia.pl/pismo/wydania/dostepne-artykuly/4962-kiedy-bije-kobieta>
- Graham-Kevan, N. (2011, July 11). The invisible domestic violence – against men. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/jun/07/feminism-domestic-violence-men>
- Gromulska, L. (2006). Mężczyzna – ofiara przemocy. Obserwacje z kontaktu (A man – a victim of violence. Observations from contact). *Świat Problemów: Miesięcznik Poświęcony Profilaktyce i Rozwiązywaniu Problemów Alkoholowych (The World of Problems: A Monthly Dedicated to Prevention and Solving Alcohol-Related Problems)*, 9(164). Retrieved from <http://www.psychologia.edu.pl/czytelnia/62-wiat-problemow/189-mezczyzna-ofiara-przemocy-obszerwacje-z-kontaktu.html>
- Hamberger, L. K. (2005). Men's and women's use of intimate partner violence in clinical samples: Toward a gender-sensitive analysis. *Violence and Victims*, 20(2), 131–151. <https://doi.org/10.1891/088667005780905632>
- Hamberger, L. K., & Larsen, S. E. (2015). Men's and women's experience of intimate partner violence: A review of ten years of comparative studies in clinical samples; Part I. *Journal of Family Violence*, 30(6), 699–717. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-015-9732-8>
- Harned, M. S. (2001). Abused women or abused men? An examination of the context and outcomes of dating violence. *Violence and Victims*, 16(3), 269–285.
- Jakobsen, H. (2014). What's gendered about gender-based violence?: An empirically grounded theoretical exploration from Tanzania. *Gender and Society*, 28(4), 537–561. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243214532311>
- Johnson, M. P. (1995). Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57(2), 283–294. <https://doi.org/10.2307/353683>
- Johnson, M. P. (2005). Domestic Violence: It's Not About Gender—Or Is It? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(5), 1126–1130. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00204.x>
- Johnson, M. P. (2006). Violence and abuse in personal relationships. conflict, terror and resistance in intimate relationships. In A. L. Vangelisti & D. Perlman (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Personal Relationships* (pp. 557–576). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511606632.031>
- Johnson, M. P., & Ferraro, K. J. (2000). Research on Domestic Violence in the 1990s: Making Distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(4), 948–963. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00948.x>



- Johnson, M. P., & Leone, J. M. (2005). The differential effects of Intimate Terrorism and situational couple violence. Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26(3), 322–349. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X04270345>
- Karakurt, G., & Silver, K. E. (2013). Emotional abuse in intimate relationships: The role of gender and age. *Violence and Victims*, 28(5), 804–821. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.VV-D-12-00041>
- Katz, J., Carino, A., & Hilton, A. (2002). Perceived verbal conflict behaviors associated with physical aggression and sexual coercion in dating relationships: A gender-sensitive analysis. *Violence and Victims*, 17(1), 93–109. <https://doi.org/10.1891/vivi.17.1.93.33641>
- Kaur, R., & Garg, S. (2008). Addressing domestic violence against women: An unfinished agenda. *Indian Journal of Community Medicine*, 33(2), 73–76. <https://doi.org/10.4103/0970-0218.40871>
- Kernsmith, P. (2005). Exerting Power or Striking Back: A Gendered Comparison of Motivations for Domestic Violence Perpetration. *Violence and Victims*, 20(2), 173–185. <https://doi.org/10.1891/088667005780905605>
- Kopp, G., Lachavanne, E., Reka, A., & Tido, K. L. (2008). *La violence conjugale envers les hommes*. Genève: HES-SO.
- Kowalczyk, K. (2012). *Przemoc i konflikty w domu. Komunikat z badań (Violence and conflicts at home. The Communication Research)* (No. BS/82/2012). Warszawa: CBOS. Retrieved from https://www.cbos.pl/spiskom.pol/2012/K_082_12.pdf
- La violence est inacceptable. Violence conjugale que faire? (Violence is unacceptable. Domestic violence what to do?). (2008). Secrétariat à l'égalité et à la famille, Sion. Retrieved from <http://www.egalite-famille.ch/data/documents/Documentation/Violence/Laviolenceestinacceptable.pdf>
- Laroche, D. (2007). *Contexte et conséquences de la violence conjugale envers les hommes et les femmes au Canada en 2004*. Québec: Institut de la statistique du Québec. Retrieved from http://www.bdso.gouv.qc.ca/docs-ken/multimedia/PB1614FR_ViolenceH_F2004H00F00.pdf
- Makara-Studzińska, M., Grzywa, A., & Turek, R. (2005). Kobięce oblicza stosowania przemocy (Feminine faces of the use of violence). *Postępy Psychiatrii i Neurologii*, 14(3), 201–204.
- Makara-Studzińska, M., & Madej, A. (2015). Przemoc wobec mężczyzn (Violence against men). *Hygeia*, 50(4), 581–588.
- Marchand, L. (2015, April 10). Hommes battus : des chiffres pour comprendre une réalité méconnue (Beaten men: figures to understand a little-known reality). *Le Monde*. Retrieved from https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2015/04/10/hommes-battus-des-chiffres-pour-comprendre-une-realite-meconnue_4613224_4355770.html
- McCarroll, J. E., Newby, J. H., Thayer, L. E., Norwood, A. E., Fullerton, C. S., & Ursano, R. J. (1999). Reports of spouse abuse in the U.S. Army Central Registry (1989-1997). *Military Medicine*, 164(2), 77–84.
- Ménard, K. S., Hall, G. C. N., Phung, A. H., Ghebrial, M. F. E., & Martin, L. (2003). Gender Differences in Sexual Harassment and Coercion in College Students: Developmental, Individual, and Situational Determinants. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18(10), 1222–1239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260503256654>
- Ministère des Droits des Femmes. (2014). *Vers l'égalité réelle entre les femmes et les hommes – Chiffres-clés – Edition 2014 (Violences faites aux femmes)*. Paris. Retrieved from https://www.egalite-femmes-hommes.gouv.fr/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Egalite_Femmes_Hommes_T6_bd.pdf
- Moffitt, T. E., & Caspi, A. (2001). Childhood predictors differentiate life-course persistent and adolescence-limited antisocial pathways among males and females. *Development and Psychopathology*, 13(2), 355–375. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579401002097>
- Morash, M., Bui, H. N., & Santiago, A. M. (2000). Cultural-Specific Gender Ideology and Wife Abuse in Mexican-Descent Families. *International Review of Victimology*, 7(1–3), 67–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026975800000700305>
- NCADV. National Coalition Against Domestic Violence. (2010). Retrieved November 10, 2018, from <https://ncadv.org/statistics>
- Niemen, C. (1967). Dziwny jest ten świat (The world is strange). Retrieved November 15, 2018, from https://www.tekstowo.pl/piosenka,czeslaw_niemen,dziwny_jest_ten_swiat.html
- Nowakowska, U., Kępa, A., & Chańska, W. (2005). *Przemoc w rodzinie a wymiar sprawiedliwości (Violence in the family and the justice system)*. Warszawa: Fundacja Centrum Praw Kobiet.

- Père Pour Toujours Genève (Father Forever Geneva). (2018). Retrieved November 9, 2018, from <http://www.pptg.ch/pptg-accueil.html>
- Perryman, S. M., & Appleton, J. (2016). Male victims of domestic abuse: Implications for health visiting practice. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 21(5–6), 386–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1744987116653785>
- Phelan, M. B., Hamberger, L. K., Guse, C. E., Edwards, S., Walczak, S., & Zosel, A. (2005). Domestic Violence Among Male and Female Patients Seeking Emergency Medical Services. *Violence and Victims*, 20(2), 187–206. <https://doi.org/10.1891/vivi.2005.20.2.187>
- Przemoc w rodzinie (Domestic violence). (2017). Retrieved November 10, 2018, from <http://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przemoc-w-rodzinie/50863,Przemoc-w-rodzinie.html>
- Romain-Glassey, N., DePuy, J., & Abt, M. (2016). Les hommes victimes de violence de couple. Retrieved November 10, 2018, from <https://www.reiso.org/articles/themes/genre/439-les-hommes-victimes-de-violence-de-couple>
- Rzeszutko, E., Pawłowska, B., Potembska, E., Morawska-Pyter, A., & Kowal, A. (2011). Objawy psychopatologiczne u studentów doświadczających przemocy psychicznej i fizycznej w dzieciństwie (Psychopathological symptoms among men with problem of psychical and physical violence in childhood). *Current Problems of Psychiatry*, 12(1), 93–99.
- Salmona, M. (2017). Manifeste Contre l'impunité des Crimes Sexuels (Manifesto Against Impunity for Sexual Crime). L'association Mémoire Traumatique et Victimologie. Retrieved from https://www.memoiretraumatique.org/assets/files/v1/Articles-Dr-MSalmona/2017_manifeste_contre_l_impunite_des_crimes_sexuels.pdf
- Schneider, F. (2016, July 4). Les hommes aussi sont victimes de violences psychologiques conjugales (Men too are victims of conjugal psychological violence). *La Croix*. Retrieved from <https://www.la-croix.com/France/Les-hommes-aussi-sont-victimes-violences-psychologiques-conjugales-2016-07-04-1200773489>
- Schumacher, J. A., & Leonard, K. E. (2005). Husbands' and wives' marital adjustment, verbal aggression, and physical aggression as longitudinal predictors of physical aggression in early marriage. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 73(1), 28–37. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.1.28>
- Siegel, J. A. (2000). Aggressive behavior among women sexually abused as children. *Violence and Victims*, 15(3), 235–255.
- Singh, V. (2016). Male victims of physical partner violence have poorer physical and mental health than men of the general population. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 19(1), 26–26. <https://doi.org/10.1136/eb-2015-102091>
- Sprey, J. (1999). Family dynamics: An essay on conflict and power. In M. B. Sussman, S. K. Steinmetz, & G. W. Peterson (Eds.), *Handbook of Marriage and the Family* (pp. 667–685). Boston, MA: Springer US. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4757-5367-7_25
- Stark, E., & Flitcraft, A. (1996). *Women at Risk: Domestic Violence and Women's Health*. Thousand Oaks, California. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483345376>
- Starowicz-Lew, Z. (1992). Zespół maltretowanej żony (The battered wife's team). *Problemy Rodziny*, 31(4), 45–48.
- Straus, M. A., & Sweet, S. (1992). Verbal/symbolic aggression in couples: Incidence rates and relationships to personal characteristics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 54(2), 346–357. <https://doi.org/10.2307/353066>
- Struckman-Johnson, C., Struckman-Johnson, D., & Anderson, P. B. (2003). Tactics of sexual coercion: When men and women won't take no for an answer. *Journal of Sex Research*, 40(1), 76–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490309552168>
- Stuart, G. L., Moore, T. M., Gordon, K. C., Hellmuth, J. C., Ramsey, S. E., & Kahler, C. W. (2006). Reasons for intimate partner violence perpetration among arrested women. *Violence Against Women*, 12(7), 609–621. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801206290173>
- Swan, S. C., Gambone, L., & Fields, A. (2005). *Technical report for "An empirical examination of a theory of women's use of violence in intimate relationships"* (No. 2001- WT- BX- 0502). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/208611.pdf>
- Swan, S. C., & Snow, D. L. (2003). Behavioral and psychological differences among abused women who use violence in intimate relationships. *Violence Against Women*, 9(1), 75–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801202238431>



- Swan, S. C., Gambone, L. J., Caldwell, J. E., Sullivan, T. P., & Snow, D. L. (2008). A review of research on women's use of violence with male intimate partners. *Violence and Victims*, 23(3), 301–314. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2968709/>
- Temple, J. R., Weston, R., & Marshall, L. L. (2005). Physical and mental health outcomes of women in non-violent, unilaterally violent, and mutually violent relationships. *Violence and Victims*, 20(3), 335–359. <https://doi.org/10.1891/vivi.20.3.335>
- Thureau, S., Le Blanc-Louvry, I., Thureau, S., Gricourt, C., & Proust, B. (2015). Conjugal violence: A comparison of violence against men by women and women by men. *Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine*, 31, 42–46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jflm.2014.12.014>
- Torrent, S. (2001). *L'homme battu: un tabou au cœur du tabou (The beaten man: a taboo in the heart of the taboo)*. Québec: Option Santé.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (1966). International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/ccpr.pdf>
- Watts, C., & Zimmerman, C. (2002). Violence against women: global scope and magnitude. *Lancet*, 359(9313), 1232–1237. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)08221-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)08221-1)
- Welzer-Lang, D. (2009). Les hommes battus (The beaten men). *Empan*, 73(1), 81–89. <https://doi.org/10.3917/empa.073.0081>
- Welzer-Lang, D., & Gourgues, J.-H. (1992). *Arrête! Tu me fais mal!: la violence domestique : 60 questions, 59 réponses (Stopped! You hurt me! Domestic violence 60 questions, 59 answers)*. Montréal: VLB.
- Whitaker, D. J., Haileyesus, T., Swahn, M., & Saltzman, L. S. (2007). Differences in frequency of violence and reported injury between relationships with reciprocal and nonreciprocal intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(5), 941–947. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2005.079020>

