



Gender Perspective in Research on Child-to-Parent Violence: A Scoping Review

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Abstract

Propose Child-to-parent violence (CPV) is an increasing issue affecting many families and has been examined from various approaches. However, the explicit incorporation of a gender perspective, which is crucial for understanding power dynamics and social roles within violence, remains limited and fragmented in existing research. This scoping review was conducted to address this gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of how the gender perspective is integrated into CPV studies. In doing so, the aim was to enhance current knowledge and guide more effective, gender-sensitive interventions in this field.

Methods Studies from 2010 to 2025 were reviewed through the following databases: Scopus, Web of Science, Dialnet Plus and PsycInfo.

Results A total of eighty-two studies was included. Most of the sample came from Spanish studies, with community samples, focusing on adolescents as informants. Concerning the approaches to gender integration, results show that most studies have focused on an approach to gender mostly incorporating sex differences in the type of violence, frequency and in psychological characteristics. Followed by the gender-specific modeling approach, in which studies have focused on including separate models for mothers/fathers, or daughters/son, while also including gender as a predictor or having an interaction effect with other predictive factors. Most studies have included either the aggressor's gender or both the category mother/father, son/daughter. The least frequent studies were those approaching norms and gender roles explicitly.

Conclusion The results suggest the need that research on CPV incorporate designs that explicitly allow a gender approach beyond sociodemographic characteristics as to provide rigorous analyses that make structural inequalities visible, recognize differential patterns of aggression and victimization, and design interventions that are better suited to the complexity of the phenomenon.

Keywords Child-to-parent violence · Gender perspective · Scoping review · Social norms · Sex differences

Introduction

Child-to-Parent Violence (CPV) is defined as a set of violent behaviors (physical, psychological, and economic) directed toward parental figures, characterized by their recurrence and intentionality (Pereira et al., 2017). This form of intrafamilial violence is recognized as a complex phenomenon that can have a significant impact on parents (Harries et al., 2023), on siblings (Routt & Anderson, 2011), on the family system as a whole (Brennan et al., 2022; Dahouri et al., 2025; Rosado et al., 2017), as well as on the young perpetrators themselves (Baker & Bonnick, 2021; Junco-Guerrero et al., 2025).

Regarding the prevalence of this phenomenon, reported rates are highly variable, making it difficult to determine the extent of CPV (Loinaz & De Sousa, 2020). A recent study with a large sample ($N=25,000$) reported a CPV

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prevalence of 34.80% behaviors directed toward mothers and fathers (10% physical CPV and 82.60% psychological CPV) (Dahouri et al., 2025). Research conducted in community contexts in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Spain has estimated severe physical violence toward parents at between 3 and 5%, while psychological violence reaches approximately 14.20% of cases, according to studies carried out (Baker & Bonnicks, 2021).

From a human rights perspective, addressing child-to-parent violence (CPV) requires incorporating a gender perspective to highlight the inequalities that shape experiences of family violence. However, the concept of gender is often used inconsistently in the literature, frequently being treated as interchangeable with sex or gender identity without explicit clarification of its meaning or operationalization criteria. Although no systematic reviews have focused exclusively on CPV from a gender-based perspective, several reviews include gender as a relevant analytical variable. Regarding the gender of the aggressor, Contreras et al. (2022) reported that while some studies observe no differences between boys and girls in psychological CPV, others identify higher levels of physical violence among boys. In according to the meta-analysis by Dahouri et al. (2025) and the review by Rogers and Ashworth (2024), both of which describe boys as more likely to perpetrate physical CPV and girls appear to be overrepresented in psychological aggression, particularly toward their mothers.

Regarding the gender of the victim, the findings are more consistent and suggest that women are disproportionately affected by CPV. Arias-Rivera et al. (2022) identified mothers as the most frequently victimized parents, experiencing higher levels of physical and psychological violence than fathers. This pattern is supported by the meta-analytic results of Dahouri et al. (2025), which show higher prevalence rates of violence against mothers than fathers and by the review of Rogers and Ashworth (2024), which highlights mothers as the primary victims who are often subjected to more persistent and severe forms of abuse. These findings align with the broader gender dynamics of caregiving. However, the Prosecutor's Office does not disaggregate the gender of the reporting parent in its official data. This prevents us from determining whether the overrepresentation of mothers as victims is reflected in formal reporting patterns.

Regarding CPV, it is necessary to move beyond linear and reductionist explanations that attribute responsibility exclusively to children or parents. Due to its dynamic and bidirectional nature (Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011), CPV should be examined within the sociocultural context that influences family interactions rather than in isolation (Coogan, 2011; Holt, 2011). From this broader perspective, incorporating a gender perspective must entail more than analyzing the role this variable plays in family profiles. It is

important to understand how structural inequalities permeate family life and influence the manifestation of violence (Baker & Bonnicks, 2021).

Adopting a gender approach allows us to analyze whether the unequal distribution of power and care responsibilities within families partly explains the presence of CPV. According to Lagarde (1996), gender systems hierarchically organize relationships and roles within families. This means that responses to violence may also be unequal. The historical feminization of care, coupled with women's greater emotional involvement and assumption of responsibilities associated with the maternal role, seems to make them more vulnerable to violence. Childrearing remains a predominantly feminine role, with mothers typically taking on more of the daily care and emotional labor. This increased burden can lead to higher levels of stress and conflict in parent-child interactions (Aroca-Montolío, 2017). Furthermore, childhood exposure to intimate partner violence has been linked to patterns of child-parent violence (CPV) that intensify maternal victimization, reinforcing the mother's position as the "weaker" or more accessible target of aggression (Correa-Agudelo et al., 2021). In fact, some authors argue that adolescent-to-parent abuse shares dynamics commonly found in domestic violence, particularly regarding patterns of power and control directed toward mothers (Holt, 2016).

A gender perspective would also broaden our understanding of how models of masculinity and femininity influence our perception and interpretation of family violence. Traditional male socialization tends to reinforce the externalization of aggression and limit emotional development, increasing the likelihood of violent behavior within the family (Connell, 1995). These patterns affect not only how sons and daughters exercise violence and how violence is interpreted, explained and addressed within the family (Bartolomé, 2025). Therefore, to advance toward more complete explanations of the phenomenon, it is essential to understand how gender construction and socialization influence the motivations, perceptions, and strategies of both sons and daughters and parental figures (Fernández Baz, 2018). In this regard, gender motivation theory (Rodríguez et al., 2025) as a key factor in explaining violence, particularly as it applies to the study of child-to-parent violence, where a dynamic of power and control is frequently observed being exerted towards the mother, and which can provide a useful framework for analyzing CPV.

In conclusion, incorporating a gender perspective can significantly improve our understanding of CPV. This approach can help us uncover underlying inequalities, interpret relational dynamics more accurately, and develop interventions attuned to gender-sensitive interventions. This study presents a scoping review that aims to identify, analyze, and synthesize scientific evidence from studies that have incorporated the gender dimension into the study of CPV. The

goal is to examine how the gender is currently conceptualized, operationalized, and analyzed in CPV research. This study is expected to inform future research directions at the intersection of gender perspective and CPV.

Method

To develop the scoping review, we followed the stages proposed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), and the PRISMA criteria for scoping reviews (Tricco et al., 2018).

Search Strategies

In the initial phase, a scoping review of scientific literature was conducted across several specialized and high-impact databases. The selected sources included Dialnet, a multidisciplinary database; PsycInfo, a leading reference in the field of psychology; and the international databases Scopus and Web of Science, both widely used for retrieving peer-reviewed, indexed publications. To identify relevant articles within these sources, a structured search strategy was designed, based on a set of key descriptors in both Spanish and English, organized into two thematic blocks.

The first block, pertaining to the primary topic—child-to-parent violence (CPV)—included the following Spanish terms: “violencia filio-parental”, “violencia filio-parental”, “violencia filio-parental”, “violencia filio-parental”, “violencia filio-parental”, “violencia filio-parental”, “violencia filio-parental”, and “violencia filio-parental”. The corresponding English terms were: “child-to-parent violence”, “adolescent-to-parent violence”, “parental abuse”, and “violence against parents”.

The second block focused on the gender perspective, including the Spanish terms: “género”, “diferencias de género”, “rol de género”, and “violencia de género”, and their English equivalents: “gender”, “gender differences”, “gender role”, and “gender-based violence”.

Each search was carried out using Boolean combinations of descriptors from both blocks. The OR operator was employed to expand the search by including synonyms and related terms, while the AND operator was used to narrow results down to the intersection of the two thematic areas. Examples of Spanish search combinations entered into the databases included: “violencia filio-parental” AND “género”, “violencia filio-parental” AND “diferencias de género”, and “violencia de hijos a padres” AND “rol de género”. Similarly, English combinations included: “child-to-parent violence” AND “gender differences” and “adolescent-to-parent violence” AND “gender role”.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

- The inclusion criteria were:
- Types of studies: Empirical research with quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods designs.
- Interventions/exposures: Studies explicitly addressing a gender perspective in analysis, methodology or discussion.
- Outcomes: Articles reporting outcomes related to the understanding, manifestation, or intervention of child-to-parent violence (CPV) and abuse from a gender-sensitive approach.
- Languages: Publications in Spanish or English.
- Publication period: Studies published between 2010 and 2025.

The exclusion criteria were: Non-peer-reviewed publications, including grey literature or non-academic reports.

- Systematic reviews or scoping reviews, to avoid duplication of data.
- Studies reporting insufficient information for mapping purposes.
- Studies replicating data from previously published research.

Study Selection

Following the scoping review methodology, titles and abstracts were initially screened independently by two reviewers to identify potentially relevant studies. Full texts of eligible studies were then assessed against the inclusion criteria, with any discrepancies being resolved by a third reviewer. Reasons for exclusion at the full-text stage were systematically documented to ensure transparency. Rayyan was used to enter the studies, save them, eliminate duplicates and facilitate both screening processes.

This integrated approach allowed for a comprehensive mapping of the literature, highlighting both the extent of gender-sensitive analyses and existing knowledge gaps, while maintaining the systematic, reproducible, and transparent standards expected of scoping reviews. Consolidated findings are presented in Table 1 within the Results section. Separate analyses were done of the studies' characteristics (author, year, design, sample, country, objectives) and the gender approaches used, organized in five categories, further explained in the results section.

Table 1 Descriptive characteristics of the CPV studies included in the analysis

Authors (Year)	Design	Sample /Setting	Country	Objectives of the study
1.Andersson et al. (2025)	QnC	<i>N</i> =5310 adolescents (13–20 years, 53.20% girls) / Community	Sweden	(1) Validate the CPV tool; (2) Explore the prevalence of CPV
2.Ávila-Navarrete and Correa-López (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =160 parents with children in SRPA / 75.20% women) / Judicial	Colombia	Determine the relationship between parenting practices and the risk of adolescents perpetrating aggression toward one or both parents
3.Ávila-Navarrete et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =461 adolescents (14–20 years, 88.50% boys) / Judicial	Colombia	Study the association between incidents of domestic violence, psychoactive substance use, criminal behavior, and manifestations of CPV in young people
4.Bailín-Perarnau et al. (2016)	QnC	<i>N</i> =44 families with CPV. Multiple informants per family. Total of 34 mothers, 27 children, 26 psychologists, 34 educators. / Judicial and Clinical	Spain	Describe the psychological, social, and educational characteristics of aggressors and their parents
5.Baker et al. (2025)	QL	<i>N</i> =13 adolescents (14–18 años) / Judicial & Community	UK	Explore young people's perspectives on the use of violence toward their parents
6.Beckmann (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =2490 adolescents (13–18 years, 52.50% girls) / Community	Germany	(1) Is exposure to physical violence by parents during childhood related to CPV in adolescence?; (2) Examine whether gender influenced the strength of the effects of the moderating variables of family conflict, interparental violence, and family cohesion
7.Beckmann et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =6444 adolescents (13–19 years, 50.70% boys) / Community	Germany	(1) Identify family and child risk factors for CPV; (2) Explore gender differences in the relationship between family characteristics and CPV
8. Burgos-Benavides et al. (2025)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1395 emerging adulthood (18–26 years, 66.20% girls) / Community	Ecuador	(1) Validate CPV tool; (2) Analyze prevalence according to gender of aggressor/victim; (3) Analyze reasons for CPV exercise based on gender of both children and parents
9.Calvete et al. (2011)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1427 adolescents (12–17 years old, 51% girls) / Community	Spain	Explore the prevalence of physical and verbal violence toward parents during adolescence and identify some of its characteristics in the family, educational and community contexts, and personal characteristics
10.Calvete et al. (2013)	QnC	<i>N</i> =2719 adolescents (13–18 years, 51.40% girls) / Comunitaria	Spain	(1) Develop CPV tool; (2) Document CPV scope
11.Calvete et al. (2015a, b)	QnL	<i>N</i> =1100 adolescents: <i>N</i> =509 adolescents, his parental figures did not respond; <i>N</i> =591 adolescents (50.42% girls), at least 1 parental figure responded (80% mothers) / Community	Spain	Exposure to violence, Parental affection, Cognitive schemas, VFP, and Externalizing problems
12.Calvete et al. (2014a, b)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1698 adolescents (12–17 years). 870 boys (51.24%), 828 girls (48.76%) / Community	Spain	Examine whether adolescents who repeatedly engaged in physical and psychological forms of CPV were characterized by direct or indirect victimization in the family, lack of positive affection from parents, parental neglect, and permissive parenting style
13.Calvete et al. (2012)	QnL	T1 <i>N</i> =1371 adolescents (13–17 years old); T2 <i>N</i> =1072 adolescents (601 girls and 471 boys) / Community	Spain	(1) Assess adolescent behavior and emotional characteristics that predict CPV; (2) Determine whether CPV is associated with proactive or reactive aggression, symptoms of depression and substance abuse
14.Calvete et al. (2017)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1760 adolescents and their parents: <i>n</i> =880 adolescents (51.70% girls); <i>n</i> =880 parents of adolescents (76.82% mothers) / Community	Spain	(1) Examine the consistency between parents' and children's reports when reporting psychological and physical CPV in a community sample; (2) explore the psychometric properties of the parent version of the Child-Parent Violence Questionnaire
15.Calvete et al. (2015a, b)	QnL	<i>N</i> =981 adolescents (13–17 years, 59.10% girls) / Community	Spain	Examine the reciprocal temporal relationships between substance use and CPV and the moderating role of gender

Table 1 (continued)

Authors (Year)	Design	Sample /Setting	Country	Objectives of the study
16.Calvete et al. (2014)	QL	<i>N</i> =11 parents of adolescents who perpetrate CPV (7 mothers, 4 fathers); <i>N</i> =5 adolescents perpetrators of CPV (2 girls, 1 boy); <i>N</i> =5 clinical professionals (4 men y 1 woman) / Clinical	Spain	Assess the: (1) characteristics of families associated with CPV, including exposure to family violence and parenting; (2) the psychological characteristics of adolescents who perpetrate CPV; (3) the influence of peers and the media; (d) the nature of CPV acts and their context; (e) gender differences in CPV
17.Calvete et al. (2020)	QnL	<i>N</i> =1415 adolescents (13–17 years, 50.30% boys) / Community	Spain	(1) Examine the intercept and shape of CPV trajectories toward the mother and toward the father throughout adolescence; (2) Explore the extent to which exposure to family violence and substance use predicted components of the CPV trajectory over time
18.Calvete and Veytia (2018)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1417 adolescents (14–19 years, 57% girls) / Community	Mexico	(1) Explore the prevalence of CPV in Mexican adolescents; (2) Evaluate the psychometric properties of the Filio-Parental Violence Questionnaire in this population
19.Camargo (2023)	QnC	<i>N</i> =469 freshmen college students (58% girls) / Community	Colombia & USA	To analyze the potential patterns of the use of violence within the family and the effects of the exposure to violence during childhood as an explanation of the child's violence toward the mother within a cross-cultural sample of adult college freshman students
20.Cano-Lozano et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1543 emerging adulthood (18–25 years, 50.20% boys) / Community	Spain	(1) Analyze the instrument for measuring CPV; (2) Analyze the frequency of different types of CPV, examining their relationship with the gender of the aggressor and the victim
21.Cano-Lozano et al. (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1543 emerging adulthood (18–25 years, 50.20% boys) / Community	Spain	(1) Analyze the relationship between parental discipline and CPV toward the father and mother; (2) Examine the moderating role of the parental context and the mode of implementation of parental discipline, as well as the gender of the aggressor, in the relationship between parental discipline and CPV toward the father
22.Cano-Lozano et al. (2023)	QnC	<i>N</i> =208 adolescents (14–20 years, 78.30% boys) / Judicial	Spain	Analyze the differences between young offenders with CPV-related crimes (specialists) and young offenders with other types of crimes (generalists) in terms of multiple risk factors
23.Carrasco (2014)	QR	<i>N</i> =72 cases. (14–21 years, 65.30% boys) / Clinical	Spain	(1) examine the type of family in which CPV occurs, the victim's kinship, and the type of violence perpetrated; (2) study the sociodemographic and psychosocial characteristics of young people who perpetrate CPV; (3) verify the extent to which young people and minors who perpetrate CPV have been exposed to violence in the home as direct or indirect victims or suffer from mental illness
24.Carrasco et al. (2018)	QR	<i>N</i> =72 adolescents (14–21 years, 65.30% boys) / Clinical	Spain	Compare risk factors (family separation, exposure to violence, school failure, drug use, mental illness) between families who are regular users of social services (CPV “Traditional” / at risk) and families who are not users (CPV “New” / normalized)
25.Condry and Miles (2014)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1892 adolescents (13–19 years, 87.3% boys) / Judicial	UK	Analyze recorded police cases to describe the offenders, victims, and characteristics of the incident
26. Contreras and Cano (2014a)	QnC	<i>N</i> =90 adolescents: <i>n</i> =30 adolescents justice system for CPV (20 boys, 10 girls); <i>n</i> =30 adolescents justice system for other offenses (29 boys, 1 girl); <i>n</i> =30 adolescents no offenses (20 boys, 10 girls) / Judicial & Community	Spain	(1) Explore the family profile of domestic violence cases; (2) Explore whether there are differences between domestic violence offenders, general offenders, and non-offenders
27. Contreras and Cano (2014b)	QR	<i>N</i> =654 young offenders' cases (86.8% boys); <i>n</i> =48 CPV offenders; <i>n</i> =606 other offenses / Judicial	Spain	Explore if there was a differential family profile for those adolescents who commit a parent abuse offense compared to those adolescents who commit other types of offenses
28.Cortina and Martín (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =225 adolescents (14–20 years, 54.70% girls) / Community	Spain	Analyze different forms of CPV and their relationship to gender, age, family structure, academic performance, drug use and frequency, diagnosis of psychopathology, exposure to violence, parental warmth, self-concept, and sexism

Table 1 (continued)

Authors (Year)	Design	Sample /Setting	Country	Objectives of the study
29.Cortina et al. (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 127 teachers of pre-school, primary and secondary education (77.80% women) / Community	Spain	Analyze the explanations that teachers offer about CPV and the relationship between those explanations and hostile sexism and benevolent sexism
30.Cortina and Martín (2023)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 329 parents (19–81 years, 76.90% women) / Community	Spain	Explore normative beliefs about CPV related to the gender of the perpetrator in parents
31.Cuervo et al. (2017)	QR	<i>N</i> = 57 adolescents (14–17 years, 59.65% boys) with a CPV file in the justice system / Judicial	Spain	(1) Analyze the criminal trajectory and risk factors of minors who have committed CPV based on gender; (2) Determine the areas of risk for these minors using the YLS/CMI and their differences based on gender
32.Cuervo and Palenques (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 341 adolescents (14–17 years, 72.70% boys): CPV group (<i>n</i> = 153) vs comparison group (<i>n</i> = 188) / Judicial	Spain	(1) Evaluate sociodemographic and criminogenic differences in a group of young people who committed CPV, compared to a group that committed other types of crimes; (2) Analyze risk factors predictive of CPV
33.Del Hoyo-Bilbao et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 298 adolescents (12–18 years, 53.70% boys) / Judicial & Community	Spain	Assess how multiple risk factors combine to explain child-to-mother violence and child-to-father violence
34.Del Hoyo-Bilbao et al. (2018)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 169 adolescents (12–24 years, 71% boys) / Clinical	Spain	(1) Validate the CPAQ scale in a clinical population; (2) Analyze differences in age, gender, and frequency of CPV toward the mother and father
35.Gallego-Abián (2024)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 190 participants: <i>n</i> = 75 students (51.30% girls); <i>n</i> = 42 families with CPV (61.90% women); <i>n</i> = 73 professionals (71.23% women) / Clinical & Community	Spain	To understand the level of ambivalent sexism in different groups, analyzing the differences and similarities between them
36.Gámez-Guadix and Calvete (2012)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 1681 university students (76.90% girls) / Community	Spain	(1) Analyze the relationship between exposure to different types of domestic violence (physical and psychological violence between parents, physical and psychological aggression from parents to children) and the perpetration of physical and psychological CPV, in order to explore whether there is consistency between the forms of violence; (2) assess whether the relationships between the various types of family violence
37.Gámez-Guadix et al. (2012)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 1427 adolescents (12–17 years, 50.01% girls) / Community	Spain	Analyze the prevalence of physical and verbal abuse of parents by children in a Spanish sample of university students and the possible differences that exist based on the gender of both
38.Harries et al. (2025)	QR	<i>N</i> = 1202 adults (18–87 years, 59.60% women) / Community	Australia	Explore the association between CPV in adolescence and the experience of violence in adulthood, taking gender into account
39.Hernández et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> = 148 boys (14–21 years): <i>n</i> = 38 CPV offenders; <i>n</i> = 52 other offenses; <i>n</i> = 58 no offenses / Judicial and Community	Spain	Analyze the differences between a group of youths with CPV judicial measures with a group of youths with judicial measures for other offenses
40.Holt and Lewis (2021)	QL	<i>N</i> = 216 professionals / Clinical	England and Wales	Identify the diversity and divergence of discourses on CPV in central and local government policies and practices
41.Ibabe and Jaurguizar (2010)	QR	<i>N</i> = 413 files from the office of the public prosecutor for juveniles corresponding to 103 offenders (14–18). 85% boys, 15% girls Divided into three groups: <i>N</i> = 35 CPV offenders; <i>N</i> = 35 other type of crimes offenders; <i>N</i> = 33 of CPV+other offences group / Judicial	Spain	(1) identify the main risk factors (personal and family characteristics) of juveniles who physically and/or verbally abuse their parents compared to other young offenders; (2) verify whether the hypothesis of the bidirectionality of violence is fulfilled; (3) explore gender differences in the parent as regards the victim of the aggression; (4) analyze to what extent parent abuse is a type of gender violence

Table 1 (continued)

Authors (Year)	Design	Sample /Setting	Country	Objectives of the study
42.Ibabe and Jau-reguizar (2011)	QnC	<i>N</i> =485 adolescents (12–18 years, 55% boys) / Community	Spain	(1) check whether there are any gender differences with regard to perpetrators and victims of CPV among adolescents in the general population; (2) study the extent to which domestic violence predicts abuse of adolescent children toward their parents
43.Ibabe et al. (2013)	QnC	<i>N</i> =485 adolescents (12–18 years, 55% boys) / Community	Spain	(1) analyze gender differences between perpetrators (son vs. daughter) and victims (father vs. mother) in three types of CPV (physical, psychological and emotional); (2) study the relationship between CPV and other types of intra-family violence such as inter-parental violence and parent-to-child violence, in order to verify which of these two types of domestic violence is a more relevant risk factor for CPV and to analyze the presence of gender differences in the bi-directionality of violence; (3) identify the psychological profile of perpetrators and the parenting style of their families
44.Ibabe et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =847 emerging adulthood (18–25 years, 67% girls) / Community	Spain	Analyze predictors of dating violence based on an integrated model of intergenerational transmission of violence, assessing the possible indirect effects of exposure to violence between parents on dating violence through children's violence toward parents and sexism
45.Ibabe and Maranon (2025)	QnC	<i>N</i> =280 parents from a family therapy center (<i>n</i> =143; 63% mothers) vs similar group from a community sample (<i>n</i> =137; 54.70% mothers) / Clinical & Community	Spain	(1) Analyze psychological and clinical profiles of parents who are victims of CPV, as well as their perception of family functioning and predictors related to CPV; (2) Study the psychological functioning of parents and family functioning to identify CPV, taking gender into account
46.Illaca and Gaete (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1861 adolescents (13–19 years, 51.70% girls) / Community	Chile	(1) Analyze the prevalence of CPV, analyze gender differences between victims and perpetrators (2) analyze CPV and family structure, understand the directionality of domestic violence
47.Jiménez-García et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =823 emerging adulthood (18–25 years, 60.80% girls) / Community	Chile	Adapt and analyze the psychometric properties of the Child-to-Parent Violence Questionnaire, youth version
48.Jiménez-Granado et al. (2023)	QnL	<i>N</i> =671 adolescents (12–17 years, 50.80% girls) / Community	Spain	Assess the moderating effects of borderline and psychopathic traits in adolescents on the predictive relationship between inappropriate parenting strategies (psychological aggression, physical punishment, and ignoring misbehavior) and CPV
49.Junco-Guerrero et al. (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> =904 adolescents (13–20 years, 47.90% girls) / Community	Spain	Analyze the relationship between exposure to domestic violence, as a victim and as a witness, with emotional insecurity in the family system, the justification of violence and CPV. Analyze the relationship between emotional insecurity and the justification of violence and CPV. Analyze the relationship between the justification of violence and CPV
50.Loinaz and De-Sousa (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =91 adolescents (13–28 years, 61.50% boys) / Clinical & Judicial	Spain	Compare the risk and protection profiles of young offenders in clinical settings versus judicial settings for CPV. Examine which factors can predict which cases end up in the judicial system and which in the clinical system
51.Loinaz et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =91 adolescents (13–28 años, 61.50% boys) / Clinical & Judicial	Spain	Analyze the existence of differences in risk factors between boys and girls involved in CPV, assessed using the Child-to-Parent Violence Risk assessment tool (CPVR)
52.López-Martínez et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1304 adolescents (53.14% girls, 46.86% boys) / Community	Spain	Analyze the relationship between CPV, peer victimization, and cyber victimization, taking gender into account
53.Lozano et al. (2013)	QnC	<i>N</i> =255 adolescents (12–18 years). 125 boys, 130 girls. / Community	Spain	To examine the relationship between CPV and depressive symptoms, psychological distress, feelings of loneliness, life satisfaction, self-concept, alexithymia, empathy, and drug use, family communication, cohesion family, expressivity and family conflict
54.Lyons et al. (2015)	QnCR	<i>N</i> =365 emerging adulthood (18–24 years, 75.80% girls) / Community	Canada	(1) Expand knowledge about physical and verbal CPV in pre-adolescents; (2) The role of different disciplinary strategies in CPV (specifically spanking, psychological aggression, and positive discipline); (3) The role of exposure to violence in the family and violence in the community

Table 1 (continued)

Authors (Year)	Design	Sample /Setting	Country	Objectives of the study
55. Martínez-Ferrer et al. (2018)	QnC	<i>N</i> =2399 adolescents (12–18 years, 50.20% boys) / Comunitaria	Spain	Analyze the relationship between CPV, parental socialization styles, problematic use of virtual social networks, alexithymia, and attitudes toward institutional authority in adolescents
56. Martínez-Ferrer et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =8115 adolescents (11–16 years, 51.5% boys) / Community	Mexico	Analyze the relationships between CPV and psychological distress, suicidal ideation, and self-concept in adolescents, taking into account the gender perspective
57. Martín and Cortina (2023)	QnC	<i>N</i> =341 adolescents (14–20 years) /Community	Spain	Gender-based analysis of psychosocial characteristics in a community sample of adolescents who report having committed CPV (exposure to violence, parent–child relationships, self-concept, psychopathic traits, narcissism, sexism, drug use, academic performance, family structure, mental health)
58. Mieles and Aveiga (2024)	QnC	<i>N</i> =240 adolescents (12–17 years, 52.90% girls) / Community	Ecuador	Analyze the relationship between child-to-parent violence and parenting styles exhibited by students toward their parents
59. Nam et al. (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> =709 adolescents (14–18 years, 55.8% girls) / Community	South Korea	Examine the relationship between exposure to adult-initiated violence and child abuse, and CPV, and explore the protective effect of peer attachment
60. Navas-Martínez and Cano-Lozano (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1559 adolescents (12–18 years, 54.70% girls) / Community	Spain	Explore the profile of the “victimized aggressor” in CPV (with family victimization, school victimization, polyvictimization, and no victimization experiences) and determine gender differences in the profile of the victimized aggressor according to the type of victimization
61. Navas-Martínez et al. (2025)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1055 emerging adulthood (18–25 years, 58.70% girls) / Community	Italy	(1) Validation of the CPV tool, examining the invariance of CPV and its reasons based on the gender of the participant; (2) Analyzing the frequency of CPV toward fathers and mothers and the differences according to the gender of children and parents; (3) Examining the reasons for reproductive sexual violence toward fathers and mothers and the differences according to the gender of children and parents
62. Noh-Moo et al. (2024)	QnC	<i>N</i> =318 adolescents (14–19 years, 60.10% boys) / Community	Mexico	Analyze the relationship and effect of alcohol consumption on CPV
63. Nowakowski-Sims and Rowe (2017)	QnC	<i>N</i> =80 adolescents (12–17 years, 52% boys) / Clinical	USA	Explore the relationships between childhood adversity, attachment, depression, and anxiety in a sample of perpetrators of CPV
64. Orue et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1256 adolescents (13–18 years): <i>n</i> =903 adolescents (50.90% girls) completed T3/ Community	Spain	(1) Evaluate the relationship between early maladaptive schemas and CPV; (2) Test whether social information processing mediates this association
65. Papamichail and Bates (2022)	QL	<i>N</i> =8 adolescents (14–16 years, 87.5% boys) / Clinical	UK	Explore the experiences of adolescents (who participate in programs addressing CPV) by developing an understanding of their family relationships and context, and their perceptions of their emotional states and how these interact with their behavior
66. Peck et al. (2022)	QR	<i>N</i> =775 adolescents (11–18 years, 69% boys) / Judicial	Australia	(1) Investigate predictors of the lifetime course of violence recidivism among adolescents and parents. (2) Examine whether these predictors varied according to gender and level of exposure to parental intimate partner violence
67. Rico et al. (2017)	QnC	<i>N</i> =934 adolescents (13–21 years, 53.1% girls) / Community	Spain	(1) verify whether attentional, motor or lack of planning impulsiveness predicts psychological, physical, economic and total violence, both towards the father and the mother; (2) examine whether an interaction between impulsiveness and sex of adolescents exists, in order to check whether this impulsiveness has a greater predictive power over the total CPV in boys than girls, or vice versa
68. Ronzón-Tirado et al. (2025)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1034 adolescents (12–17 years, 50% boys) / Community	Spain	Examine the relationship between addictive online behaviors and CPV. Explore how reactive and instrumental reasons for CPV act as mediating mechanisms in this relationship

Table 1 (continued)

Authors (Year)	Design	Sample /Setting	Country	Objectives of the study
69.Rosado et al. (2017)	QnC	<i>N</i> =855 adolescents (13–21 years, 53.34% girls) / Community	Spain	Analyze the role of psychopathological symptoms in those who engage in CPV (physical, psychological, economic, and total) and the moderating role of gender on these symptoms
70.Royo Isach et al. (2021)	QR	<i>N</i> =1927 adolescents (14–18 years, 52.20% girls) / Community	Spain	Assess the prevalence of CPV in the pre-lockdown, lockdown, and post-lockdown periods
71.Ruiz-Fernández et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =916 adolescents (13–19 years, 52.70% boys) / Community	Spain	(1) Analyze the mediating role of psychological commitment in the relationship between violent video game consumption and VFP, (2) Analyze the relationship between exposure to violence in video games and CPV against mothers and fathers, (3) Study the relationship between exposure to violence in video games and commitment, and (4) Analyze the relationship between commitment and CPV
72.Rutter (2021)	QL	<i>N</i> =5 mothers of preadolescents perpetrating CPV / Clinical	UK	Explore how mothers experience and understand CPV perpetrated by their pre-teen children
73.Sancho Acero et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =5033 adolescents (12–14 years, 69.1% boys) / Clinical (via phone)	Spain	Analyze who perpetrates and who suffers CPV, what types of families are most at risk, parental variables associated with CPV (parenting styles, vulnerability, mental health, substance use), and variables in adolescents: school performance, mental health, victimization, disruptive behaviors, substance use, information and communication technologies, witnessing gender-based violence
74.Santos-Villalba et al. (2021)	QnC	<i>N</i> =478 adolescents (11–17 years, 52.70% boys) / Community	Spain	Identify the profiles that, in relation to CPV, can be found in young people, taking into account cognitive, social, and emotional aspects, as well as the violent behavior of the son and daughter themselves
75.Seijo et al. (2020)	QnC	<i>N</i> =210 adolescents (12–17 years, 51.40% girls) / Community	Spain	(1) Assess the personal and individual adjustment of adolescents who engage in CPV; (2) Assess parental socialization styles in adolescents who engage in CPV and those who do not engage in CPV; (3) Compare the psychosocial adjustment in adolescents who have been victimized and victimized adolescents who also engaged in CPV
76.Simmons et al. (2019)	QnC	<i>N</i> =787 participants: <i>n</i> =201 parents (86.10% mothers); <i>n</i> =586 adolescents (14–25 years, 77.60% girls) / Community	Australia	(1) Examine social norms related to young people's behavior toward their parents; (2) Determine whether young people and parents differ in their definition of normative and abusive behaviors; (3) Determine whether there were gender differences in the perception of abuse
77.Simmons et al. (2022)	QnC	<i>N</i> =435 adolescents (18–25 years, 75.60% girls) / Community	Australia	Explore the socio-cognitive mechanisms through which exposure to family violence is related to CPV, taking into account gender and experiences of family violence
78.Suárez-Relinque et al. (2023)	QnC	<i>N</i> =1928 adolescents (12–18 years, 50.50% boys) / Comunitaria	Spain	Explore the relationship between involvement in CPV and the development of emotional loneliness, suicidal ideation, and alexithymia based on gender
79.Suárez-Relinque et al. (2019)	QnC	<i>N</i> =2112 adolescents (12–18 years, 50.20% boys) / Community	Spain	Analyze the relationship between parenting styles and CPV by gender and age
80. Tambasco (2024)	QL	<i>N</i> =32 participants (<i>n</i> =20 professionals; <i>n</i> =5 mothers; <i>n</i> =2 fathers; <i>n</i> =1 sibling; <i>n</i> =4 young people)+ analysis of 144 posts on forums /Clinical & Community	Australia	Examine how those with intimate experiences of CPA attribute its manifestation to fathers' violence towards children and mothers
81.Vinagre-González et al. (2023)	QnC	<i>N</i> =180 mothers: <i>n</i> =54 CPV victims; <i>n</i> =126 no CPV / Clinical	Spain	Identify the presence of gender stereotypes, affection, and communication, having been a victim of violence in a relationship among mothers who are victims of CPV, and compare victim mothers with non-victim mothers to verify whether these risk factors are more prevalent in the victim group
82.Williams et al. (2017)	QL	<i>N</i> =8 mothers and grandmothers (<i>n</i> =2) / Clinical	New Zealand	Explore CPV experiences in mothers and grandmothers

QnC Quantitative Cross-sectional; QR Quantitative Retrospective; QL Quantitative Longitudinal; QL Qualitative

Results

Once the effective searches were completed across the four databases used, a total of 833 articles were identified, as shown in Fig. 1, of which 85 were removed due to duplication. Subsequently, 643 articles were excluded based on title or abstract for not meeting the previously established eligibility criteria. Thus, 105 articles were accessed for full-text review, of which 82 were included for meeting all the required criteria (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1 Flowchart of the study screening and selection process

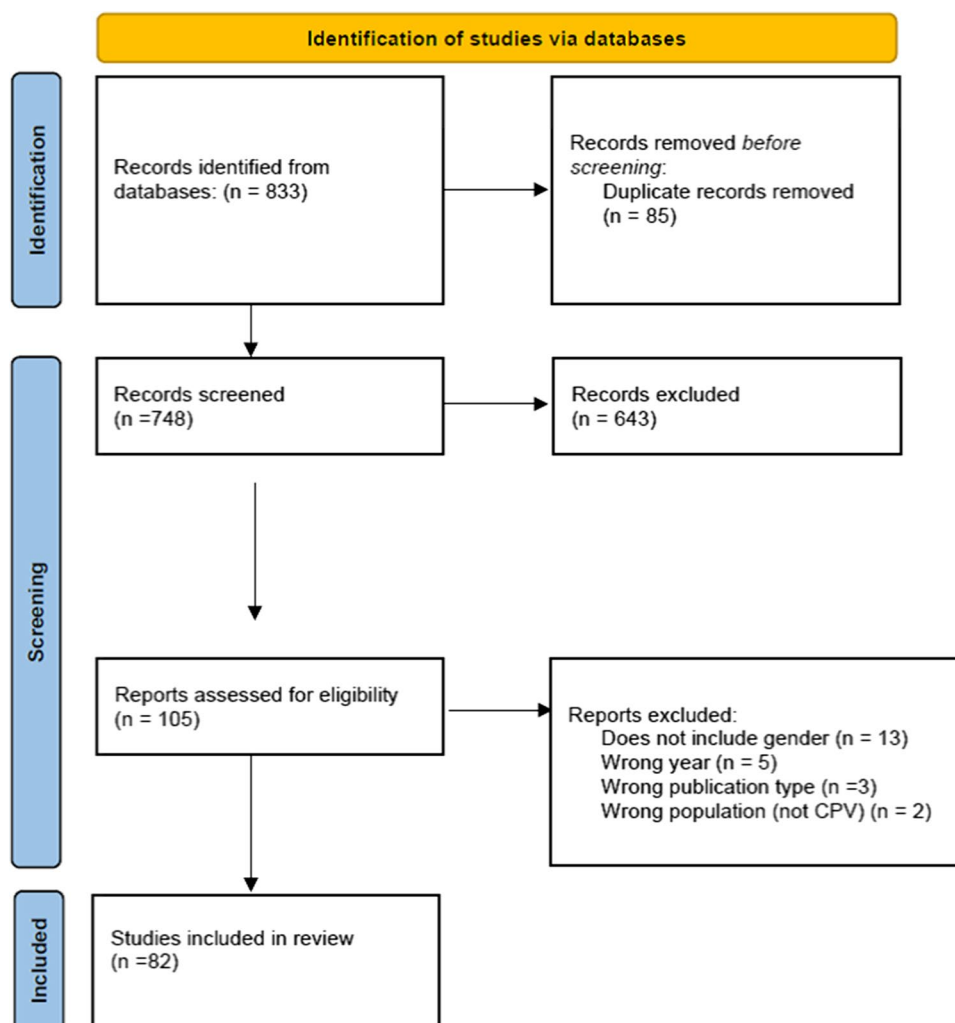
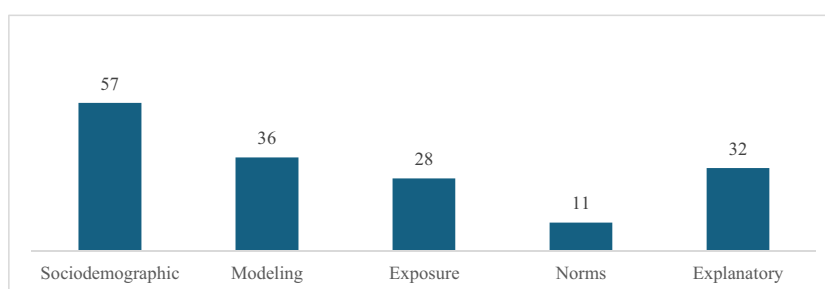


Fig. 2 Number of studies



Descriptive Characteristics of Studies

The characteristics of the analyzed studies in terms of country, study design, sample, and objectives are presented below (Table 1). The total sample size across the studies was 84898 participants, with 75.61% of studies including adolescents, 7.32% including parents, 7.32% including both and/or professionals, and 8.54% including other samples such as professionals or documents. Adolescents and young adults represented 94.35% of the sample, parents 2.52%,

professionals 3.36% and documents (e.g. judicial reports or cases) 1.38%. Some studies included parents ($n=4$; Bailín-Perarnau et al., 2016; Rutter, 2021; Vinagre-González et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2017) included only mothers or female parental figures in their studies. Likewise, in most of the studies, the population was drawn from community samples, representing 86.11% of the total sample (64.63% of the studies). However, several studies focused on judicial samples (10.98% of studies), clinical populations (12.19% of studies), or a combination of two settings (e.g., community and judicial; 12.19% of studies).

Considering the country in which the studies were conducted, the majority of samples were Spanish ($n=54$), Australian ($n=5$), and UK ($n=5$), although, this issue has also been examined in countries such as Mexico ($n=3$), Chile ($n=2$), Ecuador ($n=2$), Colombia ($n=2$), Germany ($n=2$), Italy ($n=1$), Sweden ($n=1$), Canada ($n=1$), USA ($n=1$), and South Korea ($n=1$). Thus, 76.83% of the studies were from Europe, followed by 13.41% in America (including North and South America), and 7.32% in Oceania. There was only one study from Asia (Nam et al., 2022), and none from Africa. Also, only one study (Camargo, 2023) included samples from two different countries, Colombia and USA.

Furthermore, regarding the objectives of the different studies, particular attention can be drawn to those focused on examining the prevalence of CPV, its causes, and typologies, as a function of the sex of the aggressor/victim, as well as those including different models depending on the sex of the aggressor/victim.

Approaches to Gender Perspective in CPV Studies

In this scoping review, we organized the included 82 studies according to five analytic approaches to gender, reflecting different approaches to gender analysis or ways of incorporating a gender perspective into the studies, also examining whether each study used a gender perspective on aggressors, victims or both (Table 2). This framework provided a structured basis for assessing how gender was operationalized and integrated across the different studies. The first category “Gender as a sociodemographic differentiating” included research that which compared males and females from a descriptive or comparative perspective. For example, the study conducted by Calvete et al. (2013) found that physical and psychological aggression against the mother was more frequent than against the father. The second category “Gender-specific modeling approach”, included studies that used gender as an analytical variable. This could be done by using it as a predictor, as an interaction term, or by estimating separate models for men and women, whether they were perpetrators, victims, or both. That is, separate models for parental figures, adolescents, and/or the

interaction of gender with other variables to predict VFP, with some studies finding a direct correlation between gender and VFP; an example of this is the study by Loinaz et al. (2020), who found that boys had a significantly higher history of substance abuse issues and greater rate of escalation of violence. The third category “Gender-related exposure approach” included studies that incorporated gender-related exposures (e.g., intimate partner violence, domestic violence, gender-based violence, or indirect exposure to violence between parents). In this category, gender was no longer considered an individual characteristic (being male or female) but rather becomes part of a variable whose very nature incorporates a gender component. Recent studies by Harries et al. (2025) and Tambasco (2024) are examples of this. The fourth category “Gender norms, socialization and stereotypes approach” included research integrating variables related to beliefs about gender social norms and roles, stereotypes, or sexist attitudes. In other words, the concept of gender is broadened and is not limited to individual aspects but rather takes into account macrosystemic elements related to gender (Noh-Moo et al., 2024). For example, some studies analyze the psychosocial characteristics of adolescents who have committed CPV, including sexism as a variable (Martin & Cortina, 2023) or how normative beliefs about CPV are influenced by gender (Cortina & Martin, 2023). Finally, the fifth category “Gender-based explanatory approach” encompassed studies that used gender as a theoretical explanatory construct, drawing either on established or presumed gender differences in psychological or behavioral processes or on broader gendered socialization patterns, including culturally sanctioned expectations for men and women. This last category also draws on arguments related to social changes in gender roles, such as the inclusion of women in the workforce or the fact that differences in gender roles may have become less pronounced in recent times, influencing the behavior of adolescents. Various authors (Seijo et al., 2020; Simmons et al., 2019) mention arguments that define this category in their discussion.

Results showed that most studies have focused on an approach to gender consistent with the first category, mostly incorporating sex differences in the type of violence, frequency/prevalence, understanding frequency as the number of times that CPV behaviors occurred, and in psychological characteristics ($n=57$) being the largest group of studies. This is followed by the gender-specific modeling approach, where studies have focused on including separate models for mothers/fathers, or daughters/son, while also including gender as a predictor or having an interaction effect with other predictive factors ($n=36$). Most studies using gender as a differentiating sociodemographic variable have included either the aggressor’s gender ($n=22$) (e.g. Cortina & Martin, 2023; Ronzón-Tirado et al., 2025) or both the category

Table 2 Classification of the analyzed studies according to the five analytic approaches to gender and whether the focus is on the aggressor, the victim or both

Approaches	Aggressor	Victim	Both
Gender as a sociodemographic differentiating variable	Bailín-Perarnau et al., 2016; Beckmann, 2020; Beckmann et al., 2021; Calvete et al., 2012; Calvete, et al., 2015a, b; Calvete et al., 2014; Carrasco, 2014; Cortina & Martin, 2020; Cortina & Martin, 2023; Cuervo & Palenques, 2022; Cuervo et al., 2017; Gámez-Guadix & Calvete, 2012; Holt & Lewis, 2021; Martínez-Ferrer et al., 2018; Martínez-Ferrer et al., 2020; Nowakowski-Sims et al., 2017; Orue et al., 2021; Ronzón-Tirado et al., 2025; Royo Isach et al., 2021; Simmons et al., 2019; Suárez-Relinque et al., 2023; Vinagre-González et al., 2023	Ávila-Navarrete et al., 2021; Carmargo, 2023; Ibabe & Maranon, 2025; Rosado et al., 2017	Andersson et al., 2025; Burgos-Benavides et al., 2025; Calvete et al., 2011; Calvete et al., 2013; Calvete et al., 2015a, b; Calvete et al., 2012; Calvete & Veytia, 2018; Cano-Lozano et al., 2021; Cano-Lozano et al., 2023; Condry & Miles, 2014; Carrasco et al., 2018; Contreras & Cano, 2014a; Del Hoyo et al., 2018; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2012; Harries et al., 2025; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011; Ibabe et al., 2013; Illaca & Gaete, 2021; Jiménez-García et al., 2020; Loinaz et al., 2020; Lozano et al., 2013; Lyons et al., 2015; Miele & Aveiga, 2024; Navas-Martínez et al., 2025; Navas-Martínez & Cano-Lozano, 2022; Rico et al., 2017; Sancho-Acero et al., 2020; Seijo et al., 2020; Simmons et al., 2022; Suárez-Relinque et al., 2019
Gender-specific modeling approach	Beckmann et al., 2021; Calvete et al., 2012; Calvete, et al., 2015a, b; Del Hoyo-Bilbao et al., 2020; Gámez-Guadix & Calvete, 2012; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; López-Martínez et al., 2021; Martín & Cortina, 2023; Martínez-Ferrer et al., 2020; Navas-Martínez & Cano-Lozano, 2022; Noh-Moo et al., 2024; Ronzón-Tirado et al., 2025; Ruiz-Fernández et al., 2021; Suárez-Relinque et al., 2023	Ávila-Navarrete & Correa-López, 2021; Beckmann, 2020; Calvete et al., 2020; Calvete et al., 2012; Cano-Lozano et al., 2023; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2012; Ibabe & Maranon, 2025; Loinaz & de Sousa, 2020; Lozano et al., 2013; Miele & Aveiga, 2024; Suárez-Relinque et al., 2019	Cano-Lozano et al., 2022; Del Hoyo-Bilbao et al., 2020; Harries et al., 2025; Ibabe et al., 2013; Ibabe et al., 2020; Jiménez-Granado et al., 2023; Loinaz et al., 2020; Lyons et al., 2015; Rico et al., 2017; Rosado et al., 2017; Simmons et al., 2022
Gender-related exposure approach	Baker et al., 2025; Beckmann et al., 2021; Camargo, 2023; Carrasco, 2014; Contreras & Cano, 2014b; Cortina & Martin, 2020; Ibabe et al., 2020; Gámez-Guadix & Calvete, 2012; Hernández et al., 2020; Holt & Lewis, 2021; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011; Loinaz et al., 2020; Orue et al., 2021; Peck et al., 2022; Ruiz-Fernández et al., 2021; Sancho-Acero et al., 2020; Simmons et al., 2022	Bailín-Perarnau et al., 2016; Gallego-Abián, 2024; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2012; Ibabe et al., 2013; Nowakowski-Sims et al., 2017; Vinagre-González et al., 2023	Calvete et al., 2015a, b; Harries et al., 2025; Noh-Moo et al., 2024; Ruiz-Fernández et al., 2021; Tambasco, 2024
Gender norms, socialization and stereotypes approach	Cortina & Martin, 2020; Martín & Cortina, 2023; Holt & Lewis, 2021; Ibabe et al., 2020; Illaca & Gaete, 2021; Papamichail & Bates, 2022	Baker et al., 2025; Cano-Lozano et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2017	Navas-Martínez et al., 2025; Noh-Moo et al., 2024
Gender-based explanatory approach	Calvete et al., 2015a, b; Calvete & Veytia, 2018; Carrasco, 2014; Del Hoyo-Bilbao et al., 2020; Holt & Lewis, 2021; Illaca & Gaete, 2021; Jiménez-Granado et al., 2023; López-Martínez et al., 2021; Martínez-Ferrer et al., 2018; Papamichail & Bates, 2022; Royo Isach et al., 2021; Suárez-Relinque et al., 2023	Baker et al., 2025; Calvete et al., 2011; Calvete et al., 2020; Calvete et al., 2012; Camargo, 2023; Condry & Miles, 2014; Contreras & Cano, 2014a; Cortina et al., 2022; Cortina & Martin, 2023; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2012; Martín & Cortina, 2023; Vinagre-González et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2017	Cano-Lozano et al., 2023; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011; Ibabe et al., 2013; Lyons et al., 2015; Seijo et al., 2020; Simmons et al., 2019

mother/father, son/daughter ($n=31$) (e.g. Andersson et al., 2025; Burgos-Benavides et al., 2025). A wide body of literature has also included gender as a predictor or interaction variable and has used different models for mothers/fathers or male/female aggressors (e.g., Calvete et al., 2015a, b; Ibabe et al., 2013; Simmons et al., 2022). In this category, there is a more even distribution of studies in the aggressor, victim, and both categories (14, 10, 12, respectively).

The least frequent approach to gender is the one incorporating social or societal factors, such as gender roles and norms or sexism ($n=11$). Although they are becoming more frequent since 2020, particularly with the inclusion of specific variables such as sexism in a quantitative manner (e.g. Cortina & Martín, 2020; Gallego-Abián, 2024; Ibabe et al., 2020; Martín & Cortina, 2023) and some qualitative studies, that have focused more on social norms and stereotypes (e.g. Holt & Lewis, 2021; Papamichail & Bates, 2022; Williams et al., 2017).

Finally, some studies have included gendered explanations for their results, with some studies using arguments such as evidenced differences in emotional regulation or how boys and girls interpret different situations (e.g. Papamichail & Bates, 2022). Other arguments are related to differences in socialization practices between mothers and fathers, such as differences in parenting practices), such as the study by Cortina and Martín (2023), which explores parents' normative beliefs about domestic violence in relation to the perpetrator's gender. Finally, studies also include explanations concerning social norms, expected gender roles, and social changes. For example, some studies indicate that fathers might be underrepresented as they might feel more shame and guilt to report, hindering their masculinity (e.g. Condry & Miles, 2014; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011; Ibabe et al., 2013), but also due to differences in the perception of the masculine role, where aggression toward fathers are perceived as more risky due to the physical differences (e.g. Harries et al., 2025; Lyons et al., 2015). Concerning social changes, studies argue that the lack of gender differences in the frequency of aggression between boys and girls could be due to societal changes, where gender roles are becoming more diluted (e.g. Navas-Martinez et al., 2025; Seijo et al., 2020). While other studies find gender differences explaining it due to differences in the socialization of boys and girls, where aggression and violence from males is more socially accepted (e.g. Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011), and has a lower threshold for reporting (e.g. Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2011). Related to these socialization practices, adolescents could perceive mothers as weaker (e.g. Cano-Lozano et al., 2021; Lyons et al., 2015), particularly when being witnesses of domestic violence, where they could internalize these beliefs (e.g. Carrasco, 2014; Harries et al., 2025; Holt & Lewis, 2021) and learn these type of behaviors

(e.g. Calvete et al., 2020). Another societal change that could explain some lack of gender differences could be the increase in mothers who work, making changes in social roles. Only 1 study (Cortina et al., 2022) has included societal beliefs in their study by exploring sexism and how that impacts their views on CPV, among professionals.

Discussion

The aims of this scoping review were to explore, analyze and synthesize the scientific evidence available on the incorporation of the gender perspective in studies on CPV, identifying the variables being analyzed and limitations in this field.

Similar to other recent scoping reviews on CPV (Arias-Rivera et al., 2022; Junco-Guerrero et al., 2025), the majority of the studies had a Spanish sample, from community settings, and mainly focused on adolescents' perspectives. There is an important gap in the literature concerning the inclusion of parents' views, which is relevant to better understanding CPV processes (Calvete & Orue, 2016), particularly when studying gender-based norms and experiences, and their influence on CPV perpetration and victimization (Cortina & Martín, 2020, 2023). Considering the most studies use a quantitative cross-sectional design, it is essential to expand and diversify the type of studies. Qualitative studies are essential to have a more in-depth comprehension of a phenomenon, from the voices of the main characters and, also, to explore the experiences and social norms and roles on CPV that influence both adolescents and their parents. Also, concerning sample characteristics, these typically involve adolescents and/or young adults as the sole informants, with minimal inclusion of parental perspectives—particularly those of fathers—or other relevant viewpoints, such as those offered by educators and professionals working with families. Incorporating studies that draw on multiple informants across different contexts would provide a more comprehensive and detailed understanding of CPV. Specifically, few studies include practitioners as informants and only one study (Cortina et al., 2022) focuses on school teachers. In addition, although the perspective of adolescents has been widely included, their voices are not necessarily heard, as the use of narrative and qualitative approaches was limited. The influence of gender factors is also reflected in professional intervention. There is a trend toward prioritizing attention to cases in which the aggressors are boys rather than girls. This disparity suggests that professionals perceive and evaluate the problem differently depending on the gender of the aggressor (Fernández Baz, 2018). In this sense, stereotypes associated with the male role may lead to a perception of greater risk or severity in violence committed by boys, whereas aggression perpetrated by girls may be

viewed as less threatening or of lower impact. Such biased interpretations shape both institutional responses and professional intervention. Therefore, it is important to further research gender-based attributes and beliefs in practitioners working on CPV.

As mentioned previously, most studies were from Western cultures, particularly from Spain. It is important to consider cultural differences in perceptions of CPV with regard to the gender of the abuser. Cortina and Martín (2023) highlight the importance of considering parental normative beliefs about CPV behaviors as related to the child's gender. These authors compared the beliefs of Australian and Spanish parents, finding that sons were judged more harshly than daughters. Additionally, Spanish parents applied stricter thresholds for classifying verbal, psychological, and economic behaviors as abusive compared to Australian parents. However, both parental groups consistently recognized the abusive nature of physically violent behaviors.

Few studies have explicitly incorporated a gender perspective into their work on CPV. However, many of them have done so in their analysis of predictive and/or moderating gender variables, as well as highlighting gender variables linked to socialization, sexism, and/or cultural norms. The findings suggest that the social construction of gender shapes several characteristics of CPV. Authors such as Loínaz et al. (2020) show that patterns of aggression and criminogenic factors associated with CPV differ between boys and girls, which calls into question gender-neutral explanatory models. In this sense, incorporating a gender perspective into studies on CPV is essential for a more complete understanding of the dynamics involved in this type of violence. Although CPV is characterized by aggression perpetrated by children toward their parents, this phenomenon cannot be separated from cultural constructions of gender, which determine different expectations, roles, and forms of socialization.

Indeed, the differences observed between boys and girls may be understood considering emotional and gender socialization processes (Romero et al., 2024). Social norms, expectations, and the differential reinforcement of emotional expression and behavioral control contribute to variations in how each gender manifests CPV. These socialization patterns influence not only the likelihood, forms, and severity of CPV behaviors, but also the way in which children and adolescents interact with authority figures and manage family power dynamics. In this regard, girls tend to attribute their violent behaviors to more emotional and reactive motivations, whereas boys tend to associate them with more proactive or strategic reasons (Calvete et al., 2013; Navas-Martínez et al., 2025). This difference may be explained by gender-differentiated socialization: girls are socialized to recognize and express their emotions more readily, especially those linked to affective states such as

anger, sadness, or feelings of misunderstanding (Chaplin, 2014). Whereas boys receive cultural messages that restrict emotional expression and promote action-oriented or control-based behaviors (Chaplin & Aldao, 2013), leading their aggression to be less interpreted or justified as deriving from affective causes.

Differences have also been observed in reporting patterns of CPV. More than 70% of parents wait for a prolonged period (more than a year) before resorting to official reporting, and this delay tends to be even greater when the aggressor is the daughter (Jiménez Arroyo, 2025). This pattern is also reflected in subsequent interventions, in which the involvement of mothers is predominant. This may be explained by the cognitive and emotional load associated with caregiving, which includes planning, organization, and emotional containment, responsibilities that socially are expected primarily from mothers. Del Hoyo-Bilbao et al. (2018) point out that mothers continue to be the main victims in contexts of CPV, a fact related to the feminization of caregiving, emotional and physical availability, and the persistence of family structures where women continue to disproportionately assume responsibility for child-rearing and emotional management. Additionally, the higher prevalence of CPV in single-parent households, where the parental figure is typically female, increases the exposure of mothers to aggression from their sons/daughters due to greater time spent with them (Fernández Baz, 2018; Simmons et al., 2019), thereby contributing to their overrepresentation in reporting and support processes.

Moreover, the gendered attribution of parental responsibility often places mothers as accountable for their children's violent behavior, even when it is directed against them. This perpetuates a cycle of guilt and stigmatization, particularly affecting single mothers who often lack support networks, increasing their sense of helplessness and hindering the search for external assistance (Tew & Nixon, 2010). This is compounded by the difficulty of reconciling multiple roles (including employment, domestic and educational responsibilities, and childcare), which may result in parenting being perceived as ineffective and constitute a risk factor for the emergence of CPV (Correa-Agudelo et al., 2021).

Although it is not one of the most frequent categories, the inclusion of gendered variables, such as intimate partner violence or exposure to gender violence is essential to the understanding of CPV as a gendered phenomenon. Regarding the intergenerational transmission of violence, it is also important to consider the transmission of power inequalities and beliefs about familial roles and relational dynamics (Chen et al., 2024; Ibabe et al., 2020), as well as adolescents' cognitive and emotional characteristics as mediating variables (Calvete, 2023). This approach is complex, since adolescent aggressors also may have experienced personal

victimization, positioning them simultaneously in the intertwined role of “victim and perpetrator.” This role confusion is evident in situations where mothers and children have been witnesses or direct victims of prior violence, resulting in the continuation of a cycle of abuse. One example is the case of a mother who, recognizing the effects of violence that her daughter had suffered at the hands of her former partner, observed how the girl oscillated between behaviors of aggression and of seeking affection (Gabriel et al., 2018).

The gender perspective would contribute to improving the design of public policies, intervention protocols, and socio-educational programs by allowing responses to go beyond a behavioral or criminal approach integrating analyses of socialization, family models, gender expectations, and specific vulnerabilities (Hearn & Pringle, 2006). In this way, research would become more rigorous, contextualized, and sensitive to the complexities of contemporary family dynamics.

Recent studies confirm that the gender perspective is not an optional addition, but rather an essential interpretive framework for the rigorous analysis of CPV. Therefore, incorporating this perspective into research makes it possible to highlight structural inequalities, recognize differential patterns of aggression and victimization, highlight family gender dynamics, and design interventions that are more tailored to the complexity of the phenomenon. Turning our backs on the gender perspective means maintaining incomplete approaches that can reinforce inequalities and limit the effectiveness of policies and professional responses.

Limitations

During the development of this scoping review, we identified several limitations that warrant consideration. Given the important role of cultural factors in shaping gender norms and roles, it is notable that most of the studies reviewed come from Western countries—such as Spain—and are published in Spanish or English. This may restrict the generalizability of the findings due to cross-cultural differences. Conducting research across a broader range of cultural contexts, particularly to non-Western countries, would strengthen the understanding of CPV and shed further light on how cultural factors and gender dynamics interact with the phenomenon. This involves including more languages in future studies, as to be able to reach other countries and cultures more easily.

Other limitations were related to specific authors' bias because, although there is a variety of studies, a large amount of them come from few research groups, such as research groups from the Basque Country and Jaen. Also, as the present study used the definition of CPV proposed by Pereira et al. (2017), which excluded non-intentional aggression, there were some studies focusing on children

and adolescents with disabilities or mental health disorders that were not analyzed in the review.

Conclusions and Implications

This review highlights that the incorporation of a gender perspective in studies on child-to-parent violence (CPV) remains limited and insufficiently developed. In most studies, gender is addressed in an indirect rather than structural manner. Many works focus on identifying differences between boys and girls in patterns of aggression, motivations and associated factors, using sex or gender interchangeably as a variable to establish differences between groups, rather than employing them within an explanatory framework. However, the evidence analysed suggests that CPV is profoundly shaped by processes of differentiated socialisation, cultural norms of masculinity and femininity, and inequalities in the distribution of care, which calls into question gender-neutral theoretical models.

The incorporation of a gender perspective in research and intervention on child-to-parent violence can significantly improve its understanding and profoundly transform how it is interpreted, investigated and addressed through professional responses. Ignoring this dimension entails maintaining partial approaches that may reproduce biases, reinforce underlying inequalities and limit the impact of prevention and intervention policies and programmes. Most studies show that mothers experience higher levels of CPV, partly due to their role as primary caregivers and the mental load associated with this responsibility. This becomes particularly evident when the phenomenon is examined from a gender perspective. Furthermore, in many cases CPV is linked to prior intimate partner violence within the household, dynamics of control, or learned models of masculinity. Finally, adopting this perspective also allows stereotypes regarding who perpetrates violence to be questioned. For example, daughters may also engage in CPV, yet their forms of aggression may be more easily overlooked due to norms traditionally associated with gender.

Integrating a gender perspective into the study of CPV has significant implications at the research, professional and policy levels. First, it requires improving methodological designs and incorporating relevant variables such as differential socialization, gender expectations, previous violence against the mother, and inequalities in the distribution of care. At the professional level, a gender-sensitive approach enables the development of tailored support, including specialized attention for mothers, as well as prevention programmes and training for practitioners. Finally, recognizing structural inequalities facilitates the design of public policies that are better aligned with this reality and helps to prevent the reproduction of bias.

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Data Availability All data supporting the findings of this publication are available in this article.

Declarations

Ethical Approval Not applicable.

Conflict of interest The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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