

JUSTYNA TOMCZYK



EXPERT ANALYSIS

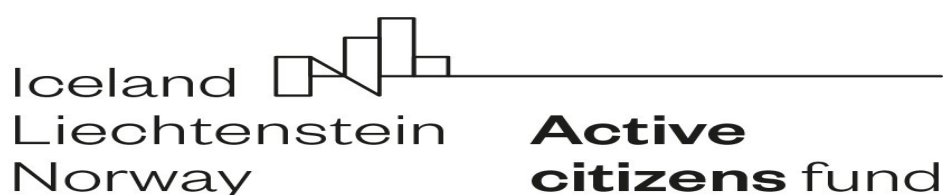
POST-SEPARATION VIOLENCE –
IDENTIFICATION, CHARACTERISTICS,
AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

WROCLAW 2024

CONTENTS:

1. INTRODUCTION	3
2. POST-SEPARATION VIOLENCE AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM – DEFINITIONAL FINDINGS	5
3. STRUCTURAL AND BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENTS OF POST-SEPARATION VIOLENCE – A THEORETICAL APPROACH IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE DULUTH MODEL	11
4. POLAND AND NORWAY: APPROACHES, INSTRUMENTS, AND ANTI-VIOLENCE POLICIES – A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE	15
5. NORWAY – SYSTEMIC, INSTITUTIONAL, AND SOCIAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	18
5.1. Inter-institutional strategies for violence prevention	20
5.2. The action plan as a public policy tool	21
5.3. The Welfare State as the Foundation of the Domestic Violence Prevention System	22
5.4. Crisis Centres and the Role of the Police in the Support System	23
5.5. Support Infrastructure for Responding to Violence	25
5.6. Law and Institutions in Protecting Children from Post-Separation Violence	27
6. POLAND – SYSTEMIC, INSTITUTIONAL, AND SOCIAL APPROACH TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	30
6.1. Legal Regulations on Counteracting Domestic Violence in Poland	31
6.2. Children after Parental Separation and Divorce: Alimony and Custody Issues	34

7. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN LIGHT OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH RESULTS	36
8. Bibliography	41



Projekt finansowany przez Islandię, Liechtenstein i Norwegię z Funduszy EOG i Funduszy Norweskich
w ramach Programu Aktywni Obywatele - Fundusz Regionalny.

INTRODUCTION

Post-separation violence is a serious social, legal, and public health issue. Although this phenomenon has gained increasing attention in international discourse, it remains insufficiently recognised and documented in Poland. This gap is evident in the limited scientific knowledge, the quality and scope of empirical data, the existing legal frameworks, and the general public's understanding of violence that begins, continues, or intensifies after the end of a relationship. Addressing these gaps requires systematic and in-depth empirical research aimed at exploring and modeling the dynamics, determinants, and underlying causes of the problem. Such research provides the evidence base needed to design and implement preventive, intervention, and remedial measures, as well as supportive initiatives – including public awareness campaigns and advocacy projects – intended to reduce the risks directly or indirectly associated with this type of violence.

A key component in countering post-separation violence is the generation of expert

knowledge grounded in theoretical insights, applied research findings, and the practical experience of professionals working in the field of violence prevention. The value of this knowledge lies in its operational utility – the ability to transform data and conceptual frameworks into new services, tools, procedures, and strategic documents, as well as into public programmes and policies aimed at preventing violence. Developing integrated, multidimensional strategies requires a precise understanding of the structural components of post-separation violence, including its cultural, legal, political, and economic determinants, which establish the institutional and symbolic frameworks for anti-violence practices. Effective implementation of these strategies also requires the active involvement of those directly affected by violence, ensuring that interventions are designed in a participatory manner that respects victims' needs, resources, and life trajectories.

This expert report focuses on the identification, analysis, and assessment of post-separation violence, as well as on the development of tools, methods, and solutions effective in its prevention, mitigation, and remediation. Its conclusions are based on empirical research using qualitative methods, including focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, desk research, and insights gained from Norwegian partners during bilateral knowledge-exchange meetings on strategies for reducing violence. The purpose of the expert report is to provide specialised, reliable, and actionable knowledge regarding the origins, forms, mechanisms, and consequences of post-separation violence. Building on this foundation, the report also formulates recommendations for procedures for supporting victims and identifies good practices in this field. The collected data allowed for the identification of the key components of post-separation violence and the development of practical guidelines for diagnosing and defining this phenomenon in both institutional and non-institutional contexts. These recommendations can provide a basis for the work of organisations responsible for providing support services and implementing anti-violence policies, as well as community-based and self-help initiatives. The findings have practical applicability for law enforcement agencies, governmental and local authorities, healthcare professionals, and specialists working within the violence prevention system.

The expert report was prepared as part of the project *“Untangled from Violence – Safe”*, implemented from October 2022 to March 2024 by the Intro Association, in collaboration with the Polish informal group *“Untangled from Violence”* and two Norwegian partners: the

University of Stavanger and the NGO Beatus Cras from Bergen. The project focused on domestic violence, violence against women, and intimate partner violence, with particular emphasis on forms of abuse that occur after the end of a relationship. The primary goal was to diagnose post-separation violence against women, raise public awareness of its nature, and provide victims with appropriate support and professional assistance. To achieve this, the project implemented a range of coordinated scientific, research, intervention, and therapeutic activities targeting individuals affected by post-separation violence. The report addresses: (1) the current situation of women experiencing post-separation violence; (2) factors influencing the occurrence of this form of abuse; (3) the needs, expectations, and interests of victims; (4) directions for necessary social and legal reforms; and (5) a catalogue of good practices, including proposals developed by Norwegian partners.

Implemented under the “*Active Citizens*” grant programme, the project aligned with the programme’s overarching goals of strengthening civil society, increasing civic engagement, and empowering groups vulnerable to exclusion (aktywniobywatele.org.pl). These objectives were advanced by identifying key problem areas related to violence, social inequality, discrimination, marginalisation, and other forms of exclusion. The project established a foundation for both immediate, targeted interventions and long-term programmes designed to address identified issues and integrate disadvantaged groups into mainstream social life. Such interventions are inherently long-term and multidimensional, aiming to foster lasting changes in social norms and attitudes while developing theoretical knowledge and practical competencies essential for effective violence prevention. The project was funded by Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway through the EEA and Norway Grants under the *Active Citizens – Regional Fund* programmes.

POST-SEPARATION VIOLENCE AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM – DEFINITIONAL FINDINGS

Post-separation violence constitutes a complex and extensive social problem which, despite its scale and consequences, remains largely unmeasured and insufficiently documented. This is primarily due to the lack of in-depth empirical research, the limited availability of comparable data, and the existence of a certain “conspiracy of silence” surrounding the issue. Moreover, the phenomenon is often treated as a cultural taboo, which

complicates its recognition and comprehensive discussion in public and academic discourse. Consequently, post-separation violence remains a “hidden” problem – that is, a phenomenon undesirable and contrary to the declared values or interests of certain social groups, yet not recognised as such in collective awareness (Merton 1976, cited in Miś 2007: 56). In public debate, the issue is frequently trivialised or dismissed, reflecting deeply rooted stereotypes, myths, prejudices, and other forms of “false consciousness” (Nowak 2011: 452). A narrative persists that privatises violence, portraying the suffering and abuse experienced as solely individual and intimate matters, while blaming the victim for their situation and placing full responsibility for their experiences on them. In reality, post-separation violence has a structural character – it stems from specific social, cultural, and institutional configurations rather than solely from individual predispositions. Therefore, preventive and anti-violence efforts should not focus only on individual interventions but also on reconstructing social structures (with particular attention to gendered statuses, roles, and positions) and transforming the processes operating within them.

Post-separation violence should be classified as a subcategory of domestic violence or intimate partner violence. It occurs when a close person (as defined in Article 115 §11 of the Penal Code), cohabiting within the household, employs violent behaviours to inflict suffering, pain, and harm on the victim. The phenomenon emerges in the context of a dysfunctional and ineffective family system, characterised by disrupted bonds and failure to fulfill fundamental functions such as meeting family members’ needs, protecting their rights, maintaining personal boundaries, and sustaining relationships based on mutual respect, support, and care. This violence typically arises following separation, a critical event that radically alters existing intra-family relationships and interactions. Decisions to separate, legal proceedings, or formal decrees of separation can trigger escalation of aggressive and violent behaviour by the perpetrator, including physical attacks, harassment, controlling and coercive behaviours, manipulation, extortion, and other forms of abuse. Contrary to popular belief, separation rarely ends violence; on the contrary, it often intensifies and escalates it. Data from the General Social Survey indicate that in 24% of cases violence escalates, and 40% of women in abusive and dangerous relationships report that the violence only became apparent after separation (Hotton 2009). Research also confirms that women post-separation are particularly vulnerable to various forms of sexual violence, including sexual assault and

coercion – up to 20% of women attacked by a former partner were raped (Fleury, Sullivan, Bybee 2000). Empirical studies demonstrate that the act of separation can release extreme aggression and hostility, sometimes resulting in the murder of the woman or her children (Jaffe, Campbell, Reif, Fairbairn, David 2017). Analyses of post-separation violence must therefore consider its lethal potential, meaning that its occurrence anticipates direct threats to life or lasting physical and/or psychological harm to victims and witnesses. Lethality stems from both active physical violence (e.g., beating, strangulation, drowning, throwing against walls), the use of weapons and tools (e.g., knives, axes, bats), and passive acts, including indirect forms of violence enacted through passive-aggressive behaviours and deliberate neglect (e.g., long-term deprivation of basic needs, psychological abuse), which can result in incurable disease, permanent psychosomatic damage, natural death, or suicide. Evidence from the Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey indicates that mental disorders as consequences of interpersonal violence are factors increasing the risk of suicidal death: 50% of those attempting suicide had experienced partner violence, and at least one in four women who died by suicide had received psychiatric care and experienced domestic violence (Turnbull, Hunt et al., 2025).

Separation, as a factor that triggers and intensifies violence, significantly increases the risk of attempted and completed murders by intimate partners. Post-separation violence includes the most dangerous forms of aggression, including behaviours that can lead to death (Johnson, Dawson 2011). Data indicate that the likelihood of a woman being killed rises ninefold when a cohabiting couple decides to separate and the perpetrator exhibits possessive and highly controlling behaviours (Campbell et al., 2003: 1090). Similarly, Tina Hotton shows that post-separation violence often takes an extremely brutal form: 39 women per million are killed by a former partner, compared with 5 women per million killed by a current husband. Perpetrators are almost exclusively male (husbands, partners, biological fathers), most often using firearms (Sillito, Salari 2011), though high lethality is also associated with strangulation or choking (Glass et al., 2008). The dominant motive for killings is jealousy – cited by 44% of perpetrators – which explains why the new partner of the woman often becomes the next victim (Hotton 2009). The proportion of women killed as a result of post-separation violence has risen to 72%, even though women report violence to the police more frequently – maintaining the ratio: 55% of women versus 30% of men (Hotton 2001). Longitudinal studies

among women hospitalised or receiving healthcare due to violence show that attempts to end a relationship and leave a partner significantly increase the risk of extreme aggression (Block 2000). The period around separation often becomes the immediate precursor to the murder of a woman. The lethality of this violence is particularly apparent when the woman independently and effectively takes steps to leave (without waiting for institutional response) or when third parties are involved in the separation process (Ellis, Stuckless, Smith 2015: 82). External interventions can trigger excessive aggression by the perpetrator, reacting to the woman's increased autonomy, regained agency, restored self-esteem, and strengthened psychological resources. This heightened-risk state requires not only an immediate response from institutions and agencies responsible for such interventions (particularly law enforcement, social services, healthcare systems, rapid-response teams) but also the development of anticipatory intervention models capable of preempting the sequence of events leading to murder. Women post-separation are at particular risk of repeated or intensified physical, psychological, sexual, and other destructive behaviours from former partners (Rezey 2020). The risk of violent attacks, including lethal ones, is highest in the first two months after separation and during periods when legal measures are used to formally terminate the relationship. Many women report that they "had never been more afraid than in the days, weeks, and months after moving out" (DeKeseredy, Dragiewicz, Schwartz 2017: 7). This is also when the probability of physical violence is highest (DeKeseredy, Schwartz 2009). Definitive termination of the relationship is particularly dangerous and complex when the perpetrator displays persistent antisocial tendencies or engages third parties instrumentally to attempt to maintain the relationship. Exposure to acts of violence during separation is far higher than after divorce, suggesting that only a legally finalised separation reduces the sense of threat (Rezey 2020). Women's testimonies indicate paralysing fear during the peri-separation period (Stark 2007: 116), often delaying the moment of leaving. Other factors maintaining a toxic relationship include economic dependence, responsibilities for child-rearing, and promises of improvement. Additional factors include emotional entanglement, positive perceptions of the partner, pessimism about new relationships, normalisation of conflict, social pressure, duration of the relationship, religiosity, and age (Swasti, Swandi, Wulanyani 2023).

Post-separation violence encompasses harmful, dangerous, persecutory, and hostile

actions undertaken deliberately – with clear intent to inflict suffering, harm, and pain on the victim. Its consequences are multifaceted and long-lasting, manifesting as chronic physical pain, moral and material losses, psychological devastation, feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, reduced psychophysical well-being, fatigue, sleep disorders, chronic stress, emotional and sensory deprivation, as well as additional impairments in affective, cognitive, and behavioural functioning. These effects often co-occur and interact synergistically, hindering proper psychosocial development, impeding life satisfaction, and disrupting the maintenance of quality of life. Post-separation violence constitutes a threat not only at the individual level but also socially, generating new forms of hate crimes with global and transcultural reach. It is a flagrant violation of human rights, which are inherent, universal, inalienable, and inviolable – particularly the rights to life, protection, safety, happiness, and freedom from inhuman or degrading treatment, torture, and corporal punishment. It is also a significant public health concern, causing injuries and harm that may result in permanent disability or death. Victims often require immediate hospitalisation, surgical interventions, therapy, and additional medical and rescue procedures, generating high economic and social costs. Indirect costs, including reduced functional capacity, inability to work, long-term incapacity at work or home, also accrue. Psychologically, post-separation violence may lead to personality disorders, anxiety, neuroses, obsessive-compulsive disorders, eating disorders, and substance abuse. The dynamics of post-separation violence are variable, shaped by social, emotional, cognitive, and behavioural factors (e.g., emotions, attitudes, actions, communication forms, interactions), reflecting male drives for control, power, possession, and domination over women. Analyses must consider the phenomenon's roots in patriarchal social systems and collective beliefs regarding the supposed ownership of wives, marital indissolubility, colonisation of women's bodies, control of sexuality and fertility, and women's subordination in intimate relationships. These beliefs are based on male dominance, hierarchical structures in institutional fields, competition for recognition and influence, and masculinised power structures manifested in social norms and behaviours (Bourdieu 2004). Collective life frameworks and dominant social systems exert decisive influence on the emergence and escalation of violence, via institutions, policies, and practices characteristic of social reproduction systems (families, kinship networks, intimate relationships, households) that lead to exploitation, subjugation, and appropriation of women. As a result, women's submission is imposed and enforced, often reinforced by cultural tropes portraying women as

passive or inclined to obey men. Violence thus becomes an instrument of male dominance, often invisible and unrecognised as oppressive. Key social institutions, particularly marriage and family, are structured to allow the use of violence to control, monitor, discipline, and punish women, both during and after the relationship. Power dynamics within the family primarily serve men's interests, and violence may respond to real or perceived loss of power. Masculinity is similarly organised around power and supremacy, with culturally sanctioned traits emphasising aggression, toughness, combativeness, vigour, and dominance.

Kathryn Spearman, Jennifer Hardesty, and Jacquelyn Campbell note that post-separation violence is based on intentional patterns of behaviour, including threats, harassment, stalking, discrediting, manipulation, economic and legal abuse, and endangering loved ones. Its source is the need for power and control, while contributing factors include prior violence, pre-separation conditions, having children, individual characteristics of the perpetrator, prevailing patriarchal norms, and discriminatory cultural practices (2023). Patrizia Romito identifies typical behaviours in post-separation violence as physical and sexual abuse, psychological maltreatment, threats, control, extreme jealousy, isolation of the wife, and use of children as instruments of abuse – for example, coercing children to spy on their mother or threatening to take or kill them in the event of separation (2011: 98). The perpetrator acts consciously and deliberately, executing plans to harm the victim with precision, often deriving satisfaction from the process. His behaviour is intentional, long-term, meticulously planned, and organized (arranging situations, securing alibis, coordinating with others acting for the perpetrator, gathering necessary information or resources). The explicit, premeditated intent to harm, exploit, humiliate, or torment constitutes a prepared, directed criminal act with a distinct subjective dimension. Premeditation and intentionality inform its legal classification and criminal adjudication.

Post-separation violence constitutes a pattern of intimate terrorism (Johnson, Leone, Xu 2014), with control and domination of the partner as the central component (Eckstein 2017). Control is primarily psychological but may involve physical and sexual violence (Johnson 1995). While affecting all genders, women are 10 times more likely than men to experience it (Hardesty 2002; Hotton 2009; Tjaden, Thoennes 2000). It is therefore a gendered issue, characteristic of androcentric and patriarchal cultures. Comprehensive studies in Canada illustrate the scale and intensity: 172,000 women experienced violence

annually, with 37% reporting onset post-separation, 22% reporting significant escalation after separation, and 40% noting violence at levels comparable to pre-separation (numerique.banq.qc.ca). Follow-up random surveys showed minor differences: 24% observed increased post-separation violence, 37% reported similar levels, and 39% experienced it for the first time. Sixty percent of women required medical attention, compared with 25% of men (Statistics Canada, 2001). Other findings indicate that women in the peri-divorce period are up to nine times more likely to experience physical violence from former partners than married women, and women in legal separation but not yet divorced are 30 times more at risk (Brownridge 2006). U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey data show that post-separation violence rates are three times higher than for divorced women and 25 times higher than married women (Bachman & Saltzman, 1995). A separate random sample of 16,000 U.S. men and women found that 4% of women and 0.5% of men were harassed by a current or former partner (Tjaden, Thoennes, 2001). In the National Violence Against Women Survey, 18.3% of women reported stalking, harassment, or tracking, mostly initiated post-separation; law enforcement often did not prosecute beyond harassment or restraining orders (Tjaden, Thoennes, 2000). Qualitative studies confirm that threats and actual post-separation violence are more frequently directed at women who are mothers, due to pervasive patriarchal discourses, misogynistic attitudes, rigid gender roles, economic disparities, and undervaluation of domestic labour. The socially constructed role of motherhood carries cultural expectations that influence power dynamics in custody disputes, often labelling women negatively as “relentlessly hostile mothers” in need of psychiatric care, isolation, or severe punishment. This label, contrasted with the stereotype of the “good, devoted mother,” serves as a manipulative strategy to marginalise women and allow men to maintain authority over both children and former partners through court-regulated visitation (Elizabeth, Gavey, Tolmie, 2012).

STRUCTURAL AND BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENTS OF POST-SEPARATION VIOLENCE – A THEORETICAL APPROACH IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE DULUTH MODEL

Post-separation violence can be analysed using the Duluth Model, which was developed in the 1980s in Duluth, Minnesota, USA, as part of the Domestic Abuse Intervention

Project. The model represents an optimised theoretical-practical paradigm suitable for describing individual components of domestic violence, and the conclusions drawn from it have high practical applicability in the field of violence prevention¹. However, for the sake of thoroughness, it should be noted that the model has been criticised, primarily for its selective focus (neglecting bidirectional violence), lack of sufficient empirical documentation and verification in scientific analyses, and pronounced polarising tendencies (Rizza, 2009; Bates, 2016). These criticisms do not entirely negate its validity but emphasise the need for refinement through inclusion of additional dimensions and directions of violence, as well as replication in further empirical studies to verify the reliability of its conclusions.

The Duluth Model is based on feminist theory and assumes that intimate partner violence is a phenomenon structurally rooted in patriarchal power systems, through which men exercise systemic dominance over women. The organisational core of the model is the so-called Power and Control Wheel, which illustrates the mechanisms through which perpetrators exert control over their partners, employing physical, psychological, sexual, and economic violence, as well as multiple strategies of manipulation, harassment, isolation, and intimidation. The model has practical significance because it does not merely describe patterns and schemes of violence; it also serves as a reference for designing intervention and prevention procedures, as well as corrective-educational measures developed within a country's social policies. It enables the integration of theoretical knowledge with practice aimed at social change, highlighting the necessity to transform power relations and promote gender equality – a milestone in eliminating violence.

Based on the Duluth Model, the first component of post-separation violence can be considered co-parenting opposition, which refers to obstructing parental cooperation with the clear intention of worsening its quality. These are actions that sabotage a healthy model of parenting, oppose it, or are entirely inconsistent with it. Specifically, this includes: a) imposing a worldview, rules, or principles on the child that contradict the values previously mutually shared with the other parent; b) refusing consent for the child's medical or therapeutic interventions (including diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation), potentially endangering their health and life; c) questioning the knowledge, competence, significance, and rationality of

¹ The forms of violence discussed in this subsection are directly linked to the Duluth Model, which is considered a conceptual framework for preventing and addressing domestic violence. This model was developed in 1981 in Duluth, Minnesota, USA. Its creation was prompted by a high-profile case involving a 19-year-old woman who killed her husband, a perpetrator of prolonged and severe violence against her.

decisions made by the so-called safe parent (i.e., the parent with lawful parental authority who exercises it according to accepted social norms – who cares for, nurtures, protects, and supports the child). Co-parenting opposition is driven by competition for involvement in childcare but, above all, by anger, resentment, and hatred toward the ex-partner. The desire for revenge is so strong that the perpetrator harms their own child to wound or discredit the other parent, provoke anger, or trigger impulsive reactions that could damage their social image and reputation.

The second component of post-separation violence concerns allegations of parental alienation and deliberate restriction of contact. These allegations are typically made by the abusive parent when the child refuses to spend time with them. This is accompanied by distorted arguments, misrepresentation of facts, and false or unfounded information about the other parent, forming a manipulative strategy to portray them negatively, undermine their authority, and discredit their credibility. Accusations of alienation are often used in legal proceedings to defame, accuse, or even deprive someone of parental rights. The greatest victim in this scenario is the child, as parents prioritise their own agendas over the child's emotions and experiences. Manipulating the child, drawing them to one's side, or indoctrination can lead to destructive outcomes: guilt, internal conflict, low self-esteem, emptiness, and loneliness. Adolescents involved in such parental "games" often struggle with forming healthy bonds, attachment, trust, and mature relationships. They may experience depression, suicidal thoughts, and strong somatic symptoms such as stomach, back, and muscle pain, chronic fatigue, vomiting, migraines, chest tightness, and palpitations. Although the concept of parental alienation remains scientifically, therapeutically, and diagnostically questionable (not recognised as a diagnostic entity by major health organisations such as WHO, AMA, APA), the behaviours described under this concept often occur in post-separation conflict and should be unequivocally condemned. Misusing parental roles to isolate a child, restrict contact, prevent visits, or deliberately disrupt relationships through eliciting negative emotions, hostile attitudes, bribery, coercion of loyalty, or slander is unacceptable and constitutes psychological abuse. Of course, if the parent poses actual danger to the child, separation from the abusive parent is imperative.

The third component relates to psychopathological actions that directly threaten the child's mental health, well-being, and emotional stability. This component, collectively

referred to as “abusive parenting,” involves deliberately exposing children to trauma or danger from hazardous events, contact with deviant groups, or harmful content/products (e.g., video games, TV shows, films intended for adults) inappropriate for their developmental stage. As a result, the child experiences fear, panic, and emotional destabilisation. The safe parent also experiences anxiety and concern for the child. The abuser thus achieves a “double victory.” This is accompanied by toxic communication, emotional blackmail, threats, intimidation, and blame, causing children often not to report the abuse. The child’s welfare is irrelevant to the attacking parent, who is willing to sacrifice the child for selfish goals aimed at harming the ex-partner.

The fourth component is coercive control, which creates an atmosphere of fear and contempt toward the ex-partner through systematic and overt criticism and disapproval of various aspects of her life – appearance, behaviour, thinking, speech, education, profession, religion, ethnicity, or origin. The perpetrator humiliates, shames, and mocks the victim through words or gestures, often spreading false narratives to confuse or destabilise her perception of reality and judgment. Consequently, the victim loses trust in herself, her knowledge, and cognitive abilities. The perpetrator, independently or via proxies (“flying monkeys”), spreads rumours, defames, fabricates stories, and lies about her private and professional life. Coercive control targets the ex-partner, children, and other family members who oppose the abuse. The abuser deliberately provokes conflicts, humiliates, and undermines the safe parent to manipulate reactions for personal advantage. Gaslighting is often employed to make the victim lose touch with reality, impair memory, and distort perceptions.

The fifth component is stalking, involving persistent harassment and pursuit of the victim – sending excessive messages, letters, notes, calls, or showing up unexpectedly at home or public locations, often under pretexts such as checking on the child. The abuser employs terror tactics, threats, intimidation, and sometimes manipulates through false displays of vulnerability. Stalking usually occurs at the edges of legal boundaries, limiting effective law enforcement responses. The victim experiences fear, insecurity, and entrapment.

The sixth component includes financial abuse and fraud, an element of structural economic violence. The perpetrator deliberately worsens the family’s material situation by delaying alimony or other obligations, restricting access to resources (savings, bank accounts,

payment cards), or preventing employment, promotion, or career growth. This undermines the victim's economic autonomy and long-term financial prospects. Financial resources are manipulated to maintain dominance, with spending or transfers contingent on the abuser's will, often using material incentives for the child to reinforce control.

The seventh component involves legal abuses and procedural exploitation within the justice system, often in court settings. The abuser deliberately initiates repeated legal proceedings to harass, exhaust, and control the ex-partner, depleting her financial resources, time, and energy. False reports, procedural delays, and legal threats (e.g., child removal, property claims, incapacitation) are used strategically. Satisfaction is derived from prolonging the "court game," particularly when economic advantage allows hiring skilled lawyers, reinforcing procedural asymmetry. The abuser's goal is self-serving rulings, even at the expense of the children's health and well-being.

POLAND AND NORWAY: APPROACHES, INSTRUMENTS, AND ANTI-VIOLENCE POLICIES – A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The subject of this expertise is a comparative analysis of approaches to post-separation violence with reference to patterns characteristic of Poland and Norway. The selection of these two countries is deliberate and serves to highlight different instruments and models of anti-violence policy in terms of reducing harm, abuse, and acts of harassment that constitute this type of violence. Poland and Norway differ fundamentally in terms of shaping public policies, including: administrative procedures, institutional solutions, control and oversight mechanisms, and formal-legal safeguards for protection, support, and assistance for victims. The divergence between these countries stems from typologically distinct conditions:

- a) Social conditions – determined by the structure of society, existing inequalities, class divisions, and the functioning of institutions, organisations, and research-analytical centres (e.g., think tanks);
- b) Cultural conditions – derived from traditions, customs, habits, and broadly understood cultural norms, including gender statuses and roles;
- c) Economic conditions – illustrated by macroeconomic indicators (e.g., GDP, GDP per capita, CPI, unemployment rate, economic stability), generally accepted measures of development,

quality of life, and welfare (e.g., GINI – income inequality coefficient, HDI – Human Development Index, as well as indicators related to poverty risk and material deprivation);

d) Religious conditions – concerning dominant spiritual and material values, religion practiced, and degree of religiosity, shaping morality, ethos, worldview, and attitudes toward many institutions, especially the family;

e) Political conditions – resulting from domestic policy orientation along a continuum from liberalism to conservatism, including social policy, the extent of state intervention in individual life, protection of civil and family rights, and the government's ideological goals and priorities;

f) Legal conditions – concerning the punitive or permissive nature of the criminal justice system and the character of applicable law in terms of statutory norms and enforcement mechanisms, which affects legislative regulations, prosecution procedures, victim protection, prevention, and criminal policy in general.

Despite the fact that the two countries differ in these determinants, their comparison is both interesting and justified for at least three reasons. First, Norway's strategic approach to violence prevention can serve as a valuable reference point for Poland in designing systemic solutions or other instruments to eliminate violence, particularly as Poland continues to face challenges in harmonising legislation with international documents aimed at protection from violence. Second, Poles constitute the largest national minority in Norway (in 2024 – 111,074 people), which necessitates considering their needs within multicultural programmes for preventing and reducing violence, as well as developing universal positions on issues affecting this group. Third, both countries have similar obligations regarding anti-violence policies, arising from signing transnational documents and the processes of harmonising legal frameworks. Therefore, it is justified to question the extent of implementation and respect for legal acts, as well as the proper transposition of directives and regulations into national legislation.

The international perspective also demonstrates that social norms and practices extend beyond national borders and are adapted locally within specific communities. Human rights in the context of gender-based violence, as expressed in UN standards, undergo “translation” in the process of negotiating meaning. This requires converting and interpreting

them (linguistically, politically, and culturally) into local discourses, codes, cultural practices, national law, and organisational functioning (Merry, 2006). It can be argued that in Norway, this “translation” is consolidated, fully aligning with adopted equality policies and institutional efforts to achieve equal rights in public and private spheres. In Poland, by contrast, the “translation” appears partial and fragmented across certain areas, ineffective, generating political disputes over international norms and destabilising national anti-violence policies (Korolczuk, 2020).

In Poland and Norway, there exist, at the juridical and doctrinal level, comprehensive legal norms and standards, as well as doctrinal case law concerning domestic violence, which may be contextually applied to other forms of abuse and cases of violence. Moreover, both countries are signatories to important international legal instruments (agreements, treaties, conventions), such as the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) and its optional protocols, which influence the shaping of national legal orders. Poland and Norway have also incorporated UN frameworks (including DEVAW, DEDAW, CEDAW, VDPA) into their regulations and have engaged in cooperation to eliminate gender-based violence through participation in the SYNERGY Network coordinated by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security. Additionally, Norway, as a donor state, provides grants (EEA, Norway Grants) to beneficiary countries, enabling the creation of professional support systems, information campaigns, hotlines, counseling, training, courses, and shelters. All this may give the impression of aligned actions and harmonised formal-legal methods. In practice, however, the two countries remain divergent in terms of interpretation, implementation, and enforcement of the guidelines derived from these documents and initiatives. Consequently, there are different models of identification, prevention, and intervention regarding domestic violence, intimate partner violence, and post-separation violence. Furthermore, significant discrepancies in family system structure and organisation mean that marriage, partnerships, parenthood, and associated social issues are not understood uniformly or stably in the two countries. This leads to varied interpretations of rights and obligations related to family formation, as well as differences in state capacity to intervene in the internal functioning of family environments.

Post-separation violence in both Poland and Norway remains insufficiently diagnosed, described, and conceptualised in academic literature and public policy documents. Its

partially hidden nature results in limited visibility in public debate, which hinders the formulation of adequate strategies for combating and preventing it. The Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO) – an independent monitoring body for Istanbul Convention implementation – emphasises that neither Poland nor Norway addresses post-separation violence in their reporting. This points to a significant gap in national systems for data collection and violence assessment. Both countries show a deficit of empirical research and interdisciplinary analyses that could describe the scale, dynamics, and determinants of post-separation violence in quantitative and qualitative terms. Only a few studies exist (Sosnowska-Buxton, 2023; Tomczyk, 2024; Bjørnholt, 2024), suggesting that the problem occurs at a significant level in both countries, generating severe social, psychological, and economic costs. Indirect (lost) costs, not recorded in financial statistics, also impact national budgets and, indirectly, the financial stability of the international community. Post-separation violence constitutes a punishable offense and should be classified as a crime under applicable criminal law. Simultaneously, it represents a serious social problem and a public health issue, as it generates consequences that directly threaten the health and lives of victims, their families, and witnesses. Its occurrence therefore requires urgent, multidimensional preventive, intervention, and protective measures implemented by specialised public institutions or social organisations. Prevention and reduction of post-separation violence should be recognised as a top-priority task, particularly due to its potentially lethal nature and far-reaching consequences for individuals, families, and entire societies.

NORWAY – SYSTEMIC, INSTITUTIONAL, AND SOCIAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In Norway, the phenomenon of domestic violence – defined as “violence in close relationships” (*vold i nære relasjoner*) – is approached broadly, encompassing physical, psychological, and sexual violations of personal integrity, as well as threats of violence. The legislature applies this to individuals in current or former marital or partnership relationships, as well as members of biological or reconstructed families, including parents, parents-in-law, siblings, grandparents, foster and adoptive caregivers. This reflects the

Norwegian tendency toward an expanded understanding of family and emotional bonds, which translates into multiple protective measures that may vary depending on the individuals involved.

Statistics published by the Norwegian police clearly indicate that women constitute the largest group of victims of violence by former partners (www.politi.no). Such violence carries a high risk of escalation, potentially resulting in severe consequences, including death. Norwegian legislation treats violence in close relationships as particularly dangerous, as expressed in Article 282 of the Penal Code (www.lovdata.no). This article criminalises serious, prolonged, intentional, and repeated acts of abuse involving coercion, threats, deprivation of liberty, physical violence, or other violations, with a penalty of up to six years' imprisonment. The catalogue of persons who may be subjected to such acts includes current and former partners, relatives, cohabitants, and individuals under family or foster care. A key element of the legal system is the court's duty, when finding a perpetrator guilty under Article 282, to simultaneously consider issuing a restraining order prohibiting contact, visitation, or residence in the home under Article 57 of the Penal Code (the perpetrator may also be subject to electronic monitoring, enabling authorities to track their location). This principle emphasises the preventive and protective nature of the legislation – the goal is not only to impose a penalty but also to protect the victim from further harassment, intimidation, or any other threatening behaviour. In Norwegian legal culture, founded on a strong welfare state, protecting the individual is considered a core system value and guiding principle of proper governance. This approach stems from a deeply internalised belief that the state has a duty to reduce risks and intervene to ensure national stability and well-being. Norwegian government reports (NOU – *Norges offentlige utredninger*) state:

"Men's violence against women and children in close relationships is a public responsibility. Violence cannot be treated as a private matter. There must be a readiness to recognise that such violence exists in all societies and cultures, and that any form of it is unacceptable" (<https://tiny.pl/w9f-p8fw>).

This statement emphasises that violence is not merely a private, individual problem, but a societal issue requiring professional responses and intervention by state authorities.

Inter-institutional strategies for violence prevention

Anti-violence action plans developed by the Norwegian government (*Handlingsplan mot vold i nære relasjoner*) envision the development of multi-layered, coordinated strategies for preventing and combating violence. These strategies involve not only law enforcement and public administration, but also medical institutions, academia, NGOs, and the private sector (through public-private partnerships or corporate social responsibility initiatives). Collaboration relies on disseminating research results and transferring best practices by coordinating the above actors through the sharing of resources, competencies, expertise, information, and allocation of funds. Aligning team efforts with strategic goals and procedural consistency contributes to increased system effectiveness, based on the following pillars:

1. Enhanced cross-sector cooperation and specialised first-contact competencies – particularly medical personnel, who often encounter victims first and perform life- and health-saving interventions. Continuous training is essential for recognising symptoms of abuse, conducting screening procedures, prioritising assistance, and fulfilling the duty to report identified threats.
2. Public awareness of the problem – integrating domestic violence into social-political discourse, promoting educational campaigns, public debates, media programmes, and initiatives to break the taboo surrounding violence, expose it, and raise awareness of its causes and consequences.
3. Comprehensive victim support – including psychological, legal-administrative, informational, social, material, and organisational assistance, alongside ongoing accompaniment during the recovery process and trauma work. Victims should receive appropriate support at different stages, ensuring safety and reassurance that they are not alone. The nature and scope of support should be tailored to individual needs, considering mental state and the specifics of experienced abuse.
4. Expanded programmes for perpetrators – Norway emphasises breaking the cycle of violence, which requires not only victim protection and support but also specialised therapy and supervised intervention for perpetrators. Corrective work with perpetrators is a key element of secondary and tertiary prevention aimed at reducing the risk of reoffending. Rehabilitative interventions help perpetrators understand the

mechanisms of their actions (often intergenerational), control and transform emotions, and develop empathy, sensitivity, attentiveness to others' needs, and responsibility for their actions.

The action plan as a public policy tool

The Norwegian government continuously develops and updates detailed national action plans aimed at early threat detection, monitoring trends, designing effective response mechanisms, and implementing procedures promptly. The current plan for 2021–2024 (*Frihet fra vold 2021–2024*) continues previous initiatives, such as *Et liv uten vold* ("A Life without Violence") and *Retten til et liv uten vold. Menns vold mot kvinner i nære relasjoner* ("The Right to a Life without Violence: Men's Violence against Women in Close Relationships"). The *Frihet fra vold 2021–2024* plan is based on the following recommendations:

- a) Educational and informational measures aimed at preventing violence;
- b) Protection of victims and provision of professional assistance;
- c) Coordinated collaboration among institutions such as social services, police, schools, NGOs, and health institutions;
- d) Strategy selection depending on the specifics of target groups (e.g., migrant communities);
- e) Monitoring and evaluation of implemented measures (www.regjeringen.no).

Additionally, Norway has developed a Strategy for Gender Equality 2025–2030 (*Strategi for likestilling mellom kvinner og menn 2025–2030*, Ministry of Culture and Equality, available online: <https://tiny.pl/t8zhhjyy>). This historically significant document, fully devoted to equality issues, sets the direction of public policy and the government's priorities in equality and equal opportunity. Its objectives include reducing gender segregation, freedom from violence, sexual harassment, and online abuse, improving men's and women's health, and ensuring autonomy and the right to pursue personal choices. The Norwegian government aims to achieve full egalitarianism as a condition for a just, open, and inclusive society.

The strategy aligns implicitly with the Istanbul Convention, emphasising the importance of equality policies and institutional mechanisms in eliminating violence. It also

references the UN 2030 Agenda and its Sustainable Development Goals, particularly Goal 5 on gender equality. Key targets include combating discrimination against women and girls, eliminating all forms of violence against them in public and private spheres, preventing human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and other forms of abuse, and ending harmful practices such as child marriage and female genital mutilation (www.un.org.pl/cel5). Norway treats commitments arising from these documents not as mere declarations or promises, but as binding obligations reflected in public policy frameworks and operational actions, including the institutional implementation of concrete legislative and administrative solutions.

The Welfare State as the Foundation of the Domestic Violence Prevention System

Norway is a welfare state (also referred to as a social or welfare-oriented state), which indicates a system organisation in which the state protects and cares for its citizens primarily by providing broad access to social services and benefits in the form of compensatory projects, allowances, grants, and support. From this perspective, social assistance is both a citizen's right and a state obligation. As Wojciech Nowiak notes, the welfare state is a project of wealthy countries, where the largest portion of public spending goes to defense, education, social welfare, and healthcare, which together constitute at least two-thirds of all government expenditures. In the area of social welfare and healthcare, priorities include: first, pensions, funeral benefits, disability insurance, sick leave, and maternity benefits; second, public health insurance and national healthcare services; and third, family allowances and child benefits (1996: 58). State care forms the foundation of the political community – it is a deeply rooted national idea, shared across political divides, firmly embedded in the collective imagination and consciousness. Social policy and state action are aimed at guaranteeing citizens monetary, material, and service-based benefits, as well as funding for healthcare and rehabilitation. As Johans T. Sandvin, Halvard Vike, and Cecile H. Anvik point out, this approach has historical justification: in the Nordic region, “services were more comprehensive, widespread, and more easily accessible than in other welfare states. A good example is care for the elderly – perhaps the most service-intensive and universal good established by any welfare state. A typical feature of this care – and many other services – was that they were distributed in a systematically ‘skewed’ way: they were relatively accessible to everyone at a given level of need, but those with the greatest needs received the most” (2020: 4). Focusing on the most

vulnerable, providing them attention and care, and offering optimal support reflects a nationwide respect for principles of equitable distribution, social solidarity, redistribution, and resource transfer (including scarce resources); it also demonstrates the promoted policy of empowerment, which strengthens gender equality and prevents all forms of discrimination.

The Norwegian welfare state model provides a broad range of care, health, social, and educational services, which are crucial for effectively assisting victims of violence. The universality of support and general access to services ensures that all individuals experiencing violence have the right to:

- Free medical and psychological care,
- Therapy and rehabilitation,
- Police protection and crisis intervention,
- Legal advice and assistance,
- Material and social benefits,
- Employment support and professional reintegration.

A policy oriented around a holistic model of assistance aligns with the Norwegian concept of social cohesion and stability, in which personal safety and individual well-being are conditions for community welfare and social development.

Crisis Centres and the Role of the Police in the Support System

The primary institutions responsible for providing immediate assistance are crisis centres, which constitute a fundamental component of Norway's support networks. The first centre, opened in Oslo in 1978, operated according to the British model and was intended for women experiencing sexual and physical violence. Over time, thanks to the feminist movement, the scope of the centres' activities was expanded to include other groups, including individuals experiencing violence from family members, caregivers, or close relations. Since feminism is an important reference point in Norwegian public debate and accompanies political discussion, it can be assumed that it contributes to strengthening the protection of women from violence (Jonassen, 2005). Norwegian crisis centres are evaluated

as effective and exemplary because they are characterised by:

- universal accessibility (no referral, certificate, registration, or waiting list required),
- inclusivity and absence of selection criteria,
- a 24-hour reception system and continuous readiness for intervention,
- anonymity of reports and full protection of personal data,
- multilingual services, ensured through cooperation with translators,
- stationary and mobile support (phone, SMS, chat, video calls),
- a wide range of support services (psychological, informational, legal, material, educational, parental),
- provision of shelter for victims' pets (which is a significant factor in their decision to leave home and the perpetrator).

The mission of crisis centres is not limited to intervention and specialised support but also includes providing comprehensive and long-term assistance that facilitates the social reintegration of the victim and stabilizes their life situation. This is achieved through institutional support encompassing: full access to medical and therapeutic services, separation from the perpetrator and provision of safe shelter, skills and competency training, access to information, counselling, strengthening social networks and contacts, and restoring independence in daily functioning.

In the context of enhancing the effectiveness of the support system, the role of the police and other on-call services should also be emphasised as formations responsible for maintaining safety, public order, and preventing criminal activity. The Norwegian police – reachable via emergency number 112, general number 02800, or an online form (for non-urgent matters) – actively engage in combating violence using their granted powers of authority, control, and supervision. They possess specialised procedures for identifying, documenting, and archiving cases of violence. Officers are regularly trained in threat identification, crime recording, conducting evidentiary proceedings, and protecting victims in crisis situations. Nevertheless, despite the high level of professionalisation, parliamentary reports indicate certain shortcomings and systemic difficulties (www.stortinget.no). These most often relate to:

- insufficient cooperation between municipalities and the police,
- uneven levels of engagement by individual municipalities in combating domestic violence,
- the absence of a uniform standard for monitoring the scale of violence and enforcing legal norms,
- difficulties in aggregating data from various institutions and time frames.

These barriers are systemic and interconnected. They are subjects of public debate, educational processes, social consultations, and primarily attract the attention of government administration.

Support Infrastructure for Responding to Violence

Institutional support for countering violence can also be obtained through specialised services, public institutions, centres, NGOs, and volunteer organisations operating within individual municipalities. These include:

- **VO Helpline (116006)**: a nationwide, 24-hour, free, and anonymous contact centre for individuals experiencing domestic violence or sexual harassment. It provides psychological support and information on available forms of assistance. The chat service operates Monday through Friday from 9:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.
- **Dinutvei.no**: an informational portal covering intimate partner violence, sexual and psychological abuse, coercive control, and cyber violence. The platform allows access to legal support and comprehensive assistance for women and children. Materials are provided in 13 languages, significantly increasing accessibility, especially considering the national and ethnic diversity of residents.
- **Helpline for Preventing Violence Against the Elderly (800 30 196)**: targeted at individuals over 62 who experience physical, sexual, psychological, or economic violence, or neglect. It offers emotional support, counselling, and access to care and educational services.

- **Victim Support Centre (800 40 008):** provides assistance at all stages of procedures related to experienced violence – from filing a report with the police, participating in court proceedings, to compensation claims. Support is also available to witnesses participating in criminal cases.
- **TryggEst Program:** focuses on early identification and prevention of violence against individuals unable to defend themselves due to health or functional limitations. Operating under local authorities, it relies on interdisciplinary specialist teams.
- **Alternatives to Violence (ATV) Program:** offers therapeutic interventions for domestic violence perpetrators and adults, youth, and children struggling with emotional regulation and aggression. ATV operates 15 centres across Norway, providing diverse forms of therapy.
- **Aggression Management Programme based on the Brøset Model:** provides therapeutic intervention for domestic violence perpetrators and young people struggling with uncontrolled anger and frustration. The model uses a standardised treatment protocol available in multiple regions.

Local authorities are legally obligated to provide comprehensive support to adults and children experiencing violence, including access to shelter, day services, counselling, transitional protection, assistive devices, coaching (including parenting guidance), and schooling for children. Centres provide free assistance to anyone seeking help or experiencing life difficulties, without exceptions, restrictions, or additional conditions (www.krisesenter.com). Each municipality must conduct internal supervision of local support centers according to applicable regulations, though the law does not specify the method or frequency of inspections. Support should be coordinated with the actions of other institutions, agencies, and social services and take into account prior assistance provided to the victim.

Norway has 45 shelters for victims of violence, distributed nationwide. Most operate at undisclosed locations to ensure the safety of victims and protection from further control or influence by perpetrators. Funding comes from the state budget, municipal funds, and voluntary donations (www.bufdir.no). The year 2023 was a record year for individuals seeking assistance, with reports indicating that “cases of violence are more severe and complex, yet fewer people choose to report it” (www.vg.no). It was also the year with the

highest number of women murdered – most were killed in their homes by current or former partners; in nine out of ten cases, perpetrators were male, and 82% had Norwegian citizenship (<https://www.nrk.no/norge/kripos-markant-okning-av-drap-og-drapssaker-de-siste-to-arene-1.16730492>).

Law and Institutions in Protecting Children from Post-Separation Violence

Analyses of post-separation violence must consider family and custody law aspects, as violence is not limited to adult interactions but affects the entire family system, with particular emphasis on children. According to current legal regulations, children must be protected in cases of domestic violence, knowledge of its occurrence, or suspected violence reported by third parties. The child's welfare and interests are fundamental and unquestionable values, which the state is obliged to protect using all instruments and methods, including constant monitoring of the child's situation in cases of suspected domestic violence.

The 2022 report by the Norwegian Human Rights Institution (NIM), *Children's Right to Protection Against Violence, Abuse, and Neglect*, clearly indicates that violence against children has severe consequences for their psycho-physical development and constitutes a gross human rights violation. Consequently, the state is committed to protecting individuals under 18 from all forms of violence, referencing constitutional and international legal instruments, including the Norwegian Constitution, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child with its optional protocols, the European Convention on Human Rights, the Istanbul Convention, and the Lanzarote Convention. Anti-violence actions must be consistent with these documents and adhere to the following principles:

1. Non-discrimination,
2. The child's welfare as a primary value,
3. The child's right to life, respect, and development,
4. The child's right to express opinions and be heard (<https://www.nhri.no/rapport/vold-og-overgrep/sammendrag/>).

A key institution in child protection is the Children's Ombudsman, established in Norway in

1981 as the first such office in the world, later becoming an international model. Its creation was motivated by the recognition that children are a particularly vulnerable group, with limited influence over decisions affecting them and without voting rights. The Ombudsman is appointed by the Royal Council for a six-year term, focusing on ensuring that public decisions regarding children are based on the principle of the child's best interest and genuinely consider the child's voice. This is especially crucial in crisis situations, utilising existing youth participation structures and integrating expertise in child development and welfare to provide adequate response and intervention. The Ombudsman advocates for strengthened interdepartmental coordination for children in difficult situations and systematic collection and dissemination of knowledge on child participation, supported by the national participation centre. Active participation of children (considering their decisions and choices) should form the basis of actions and crisis planning (<https://tiny.pl/5c-68pfyx>).

Additionally, Barnevernet (Child Welfare Services) plays a major role. Its origins date back to the 19th century when shelters were established for poor children needing refuge. Barnevernet supervises socialisation, upbringing, and parental care, ensuring compliance with national legal standards. In justified cases, it may intervene administratively, including removing a child from the family if their safety is at risk and placing them in secure care, with a preference for the least invasive measures. Empirical evidence indicates that most reports to Barnevernet do not involve serious harm – only 0.5% required compulsory removal. Investigations must therefore avoid overburdening or stigmatising families under supervision. About 30% of reports resulting in voluntary Barnevernet intervention involved serious harm that could not be confirmed, as well as unfounded or family-consented reports. Some interventions were helpful but did not meet legal criteria for mandatory reporting (Rogeberg et al., 2025: 22–24). Barnevernet operates locally under the 2021 Children's Social Care Act, which guarantees children and youth proper upbringing and care:

“The law should ensure that children and youth living in conditions that may harm their health and development receive necessary assistance, care, and protection in a timely manner. It should contribute to their safety, love, and understanding, and provide all children and youth with good and safe conditions for growing up” (<https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLO/lov/1992-07-17-100>).

The Children's Social Care Act, together with the Public Administration Act, functions as the main legal framework guiding child welfare services, outlining responsibilities, organisational structures, procedural standards, and protocols for investigations, special measures, confidentiality, and information disclosure to media and other public institutions. The law applies to children permanently or temporarily residing in Norway, including refugees or displaced persons.

The Ministry of Children, Equality, and Social Inclusion and its subordinate Directorate for Children, Youth, and Family Affairs (Bufdir) coordinate family policy at local and national levels, supervise child protection bodies, establish standards, and develop programmes supporting families, foster care, and adoption. Bufdir also provides family counselling, high-quality support nationwide, and manages care centres for unaccompanied minors, refugees, and asylum seekers (www.bufdir.no).

The Norwegian state, through legislation and implementation, ensures children's protection against all forms of violence. Key responsibilities include:

1. Criminalising all forms of violence against children, ensuring authorities respond to suspected and actual violence with legal sanctions.
2. Implementing preventive measures, including training, awareness campaigns, social education, and evidence-based therapeutic programmes for perpetrators.
3. Conducting effective interventions, documenting aggression, and initiating inquiries to determine facts and legal proportionality.
4. Ensuring victims' rights to a fair trial and the ability to claim compensation or redress (<https://www.nhri.no/rapport/vold-og-overgrep/sammendrag/>).

Norwegian law emphasises empowering children in legal proceedings. Children have the right to express opinions freely, be heard, and be represented by an independent lawyer, separate from parental representatives. This ensures the child's interests are prioritised at every stage of legal procedures and state interventions.

POLAND – SYSTEMIC, INSTITUTIONAL, AND SOCIAL APPROACH TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Post-separation violence in Poland is a multidimensional problem requiring a combination of sociological, legal, institutional, cultural, and psychological perspectives. It cannot be addressed solely at the individual level but must consider structures of authority, recognised norms, values, and social practices. Combating violence therefore requires inter-institutional cooperation, involving public services, NGOs, the business sector, and local communities.

Poland has a relatively extensive support system for individuals experiencing violence, varied in both forms of assistance and the catalog of services tailored to victims' needs. However, the scope and intensity of support depend on local resources and the specialisation of service providers. Consequently, service availability is higher in large urban centres with specialised agencies offering comprehensive social, psychological, legal, and financial assistance. In smaller urban or rural areas, there is a deficit of comprehensive support, primarily due to institutional, infrastructural, and staffing limitations. These include: 1) a lack or small number of specialised facilities (crisis intervention centres, psychotherapy clinics, psychological counselling centres), increasing costs for accessing support elsewhere (transport, limited public transport); 2) shortage of professional staff with appropriate education, qualifications, and competencies; 3) low anonymity, raising concerns about identification, personal data disclosure, retaliation from perpetrators, stigmatisation, or social exclusion.

Reporting domestic violence in Poland can be done orally or in writing, in person (at a police station) or by phone (emergency numbers 112 or 997; the Blue Line – National Helpline for Domestic Violence Victims: 800 120 002; local institutions providing support, e.g., social welfare centres, crisis intervention centres, or other specialised centres). Upon suspicion or confirmation of violence, the “Blue Card” procedure is initiated, serving as a diagnostic, intervention, protective, and monitoring instrument aimed at maximising the protection of the victim. The procedure coordinates assistance and fosters multi-agency cooperation among public institutions (e.g., police, doctors, psychologists, social workers) to provide interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral support to domestic violence victims.

Legal Regulations on Counteracting Domestic Violence in Poland

The legal basis defining the procedures in cases of domestic violence is provided by the following legal acts: the Act of July 29, 2005, on Counteracting Domestic Violence (as of June 22, 2023 – the Act on Counteracting Domestic Violence); the Act of June 6, 1997 – the Penal Code; the Act of June 6, 1997 – the Code of Criminal Procedure; the Act of November 17, 1964 – the Code of Civil Procedure; the Act of February 25, 1964 – the Family and Guardianship Code; the Act of March 12, 2004 – on Social Assistance.

Among the above-mentioned normative acts, the key law initiating the socio-legal discourse on violence against close persons is the Act on Counteracting Domestic Violence of July 29, 2005. The aim of the Act, expressed in its first article, is: to counteract domestic violence, to conduct educational and corrective activities regarding the causes and effects of this violence, and to indicate rules of conduct both for those affected by the violence and those committing it (www.isap.sejm.gov.pl). The Act defines domestic violence as:

"a single or repeated intentional act or omission violating the rights or personal goods of the persons mentioned in point 1 [i.e., a close person within the meaning of Article 115 § 11 of the Act of June 6, 1997 – Penal Code, as well as another person living together or managing a household], in particular exposing these persons to the risk of loss of life or health, violating their dignity, bodily integrity, freedom, including sexual freedom, causing harm to their physical or mental health, and also causing suffering and moral harm to the persons affected by the violence" (www.isap.sejm.gov.pl).

In light of the act, domestic violence can take various forms: first, active behaviours – intentional and targeted actions; second, omissions – failure to undertake necessary actions. Regardless of the form, all these behaviours cause harm, moral injury, or physical suffering to the close person, especially when the perpetrator's advantage over the victim is clear and uncontested, and the victim is unable to repel the attack or effectively defend themselves. In such cases, this form of violence can be classified as the crime of family abuse, regulated in Article 207 of the Penal Code (Dz.U. 1997). The article reads as follows:

Article 207

§1. Whoever physically or psychologically abuses a close person or another person in a permanent or temporary dependent relationship with the perpetrator, or a minor or helpless

person due to their mental or physical condition, is subject to imprisonment from 3 months to 5 years.

§2. If the act specified in §1 is accompanied by particular cruelty, the perpetrator is subject to imprisonment from 1 to 10 years.

§3. If the consequence of the act specified in §1 or §2 is that the victim attempts suicide, the perpetrator is subject to imprisonment from 2 to 12 years.

Under Article 207 of the Penal Code, the crime of violence is a prohibited act punishable by imprisonment – the severity of the sentence depends on the fulfillment of the statutory criteria. The level of punishment (including laws regulating the penalty, its execution, and similar judicial rulings) corresponds to the type and extent of the violation. The penalty is higher if additional circumstances can be proven (e.g., extreme cruelty in causing suffering) or if the consequences include successful suicide or a suicide attempt by the victim due to abuse. Moreover, Article 207 takes into account other factors: the intentionality of the act (i.e., premeditated intent to cause physical, psychological, or material harm to the victim); repetition of acts considered abuse; and social standards, which provide an external and objective framework for classifying an act as criminal and punishable. The crime is prosecuted *ex officio*, meaning proceedings are initiated without the need for a private complaint. The fact that prosecution does not require a complaint from the victim does not exclude situations where the victim submits and later withdraws a complaint, for reasons such as the welfare of children, emotional attachment, belief in the perpetrator's improvement, economic or religious reasons, or threats and intimidation (www.web.archive.org). After the withdrawal of a complaint, the prosecutor usually discontinues the proceedings.

The Act on Counteracting Domestic Violence has been amended several times – a significant amendment in 2010 strengthened protection measures for victims by introducing prohibitions on contact and approaching the victim, orders for the perpetrator to leave the shared residence, and mandatory therapy for perpetrators. Free medical examinations and safe shelter in support centres also became available (www.isap.sejm.gov.pl). This amendment generated controversy, with critics arguing it represented excessive state interference in family life, including child-rearing according to parental beliefs, as corporal punishment was strictly prohibited. Despite objections, the amendment was adopted

unchanged.

Another important amendment was implemented recently – on June 22, 2023, the latest change came into force, renaming the act as the Act on Counteracting Domestic Violence. This terminological change (replacing “domestic violence in the family” with “domestic violence”) significantly broadens the scope – violence no longer applies only to legally recognised families but to the entire domestic environment, including non-related individuals, non-marital partners, or cohabiting persons managing a household together. It covers spouses, partners, children, and seniors, including relationships arising from cohabitation, shared domestic routines, and other interpersonal ties. This amendment is practical and relevant to the evolving dynamics of family and intimate life, addressing current social, political, and cultural conditions, while emphasising the needs of victims and how to protect their interests.

The act defines domestic violence as:

"a single or repeated intentional act or omission, exploiting physical, psychological, or economic advantage, violating the rights or personal goods of the person experiencing domestic violence, in particular: a) exposing the person to danger of loss of life, health, or property, b) violating their dignity, bodily integrity, or freedom, including sexual freedom, c) causing physical or mental harm, suffering, or moral injury, d) limiting or depriving access to financial resources or ability to work or achieve financial independence, e) significantly violating privacy or causing a sense of threat, humiliation, or torment, including via electronic communication" (www.isap.sejm.gov.pl).

The act also specifies which individuals may be subjected to domestic violence, expanding the scope to former spouses, cohabitants, partners – regardless of whether they currently live together. This is particularly relevant in post-separation violence cases, allowing legal action. The act includes:

a) spouse, even if the marriage has ended or been annulled, and their ascendants, descendants, siblings, and spouses, b) ascendants and descendants and their spouses, c) siblings and their ascendants, descendants, and spouses, d) adopted person and their spouse and ascendants, descendants, siblings, and spouses, e) person currently or previously cohabiting and their ascendants, descendants, siblings, and spouses, f) person sharing a household and their

ascendants, descendants, siblings, and spouses, g) person currently or previously in a permanent emotional or physical relationship, regardless of cohabitation, h) minor (isap.sejm.gov.pl). This includes both victims and witnesses of domestic violence.

The legislation also emphasises the need for assistance and protection from further harm, including various forms of support appropriate to the victim's needs: material, psychological, informational, provided by specialists (psychologists, therapists, lawyers, social workers, coaches). The act, along with implementing regulations, governs isolating the victim from the perpetrator when their presence threatens domestic peace. Victims are guaranteed safe shelter with at least basic therapeutic, supportive, and intervention services. Similarly, the act mandates educational and corrective interventions for perpetrators to stop the violence – raising awareness of violence, its consequences, anger management, and fostering healthy relationships. It also addresses economic violence and cyberviolence. The act aligns with the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence.

The act, together with implementing regulations, creates a system of generally applicable law (especially administrative law), based on the Polish Constitution, ratified international treaties, derivative laws, and regulations. Article 9(1) emphasises cooperation between public administration entities and other institutions (churches, religious organisations) to eliminate domestic violence and assist victims. Anti-violence actions are necessary because domestic violence severely violates human rights, and state authorities have a *de jure* duty to ensure peace and security for all citizens and protect their personal rights and freedoms, especially when victims cannot defend themselves due to lack of legal, economic, or social means.

Children after Parental Separation and Divorce: Alimony and Custody Issues

Special attention should be given to children of separated or divorced parents, as these situations carry significant emotional, material, and social consequences, including conflicts regarding alimony and visitation arrangements. A particularly concerning phenomenon is failure to meet alimony obligations – when a parent obligated to provide support does not fully or timely transfer the payments (usually monthly, to the creditor's account). In Poland,

alimony debt owed to the Alimony Fund, financed by the State Treasury, is steadily increasing (in 2023, this debt amounted to PLN 14.7 million). The 2023 report *Financial Morality of Poles* shows that 27.8% of respondents justify non-payment of alimony, and 41% believe alimony is not fairly adjudicated.

The issue of shared custody is also problematic, as it is not clearly defined in the law. Shared custody involves dividing parental care between both parents based on agreements or court decisions to ensure the child maintains regular contact with both mother and father, supporting healthy emotional development. The Polish Family and Guardianship Code does not provide a legal definition or conditions for shared custody, making it semantically empty and practically unclear for citizens, courts, and administration. The only legal references to “shared custody” are in the Act on State Support in Child-Rearing and indirectly in the Act on Family Benefits, but neither provides definitional criteria or a legal framework for rights and obligations. Nevertheless, courts regularly grant shared custody based on Articles 58 and 107 of the Family and Guardianship Code, which read:

Art. 58

§1. In a divorce ruling, the court decides on parental authority over the minor child of both spouses and parental contact, and orders each spouse’s contribution to the child’s maintenance and upbringing. The court considers written agreements of the spouses regarding parental authority and contact if consistent with the child’s welfare. Siblings should be raised together unless the child’s welfare requires otherwise.

Art. 107

§1. If both parents have parental authority while living apart, the guardianship court may determine how it is exercised and how contact with the child is maintained, considering the child’s welfare. The court leaves parental authority with both parents if they present a written agreement consistent with the child’s welfare. (isap.sejm.gov.pl)

These articles uphold the principle of joint parental authority for mother and father, while judicial intervention occurs only if the child’s welfare is at risk or parental agreement seems impossible. The child’s welfare is the overriding criterion guiding parental authority and contact arrangements – separation or divorce does not automatically deprive parents of their rights and responsibilities toward their children.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN LIGHT OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH RESULTS

Developing recommendations is necessary because, for many years, family policy in the area of countering post-separation violence has remained insufficiently developed, and the issue itself is often marginalised or downplayed in public debate and institutional practice. Assistance measures that are implemented are frequently reactive, delayed, and their form and scope are not fully adapted to the actual needs of people experiencing violence or at risk of it. A significant shortcoming of the current system is the lack of specialised support programs targeted at victims of violence and individuals potentially exposed to its escalation in the domestic environment, particularly during the dissolution of a partnership. At the same time, efforts to forecast the risk of family violence are insufficient, even though such measures could significantly improve early identification of threats and enable preventive interventions. Consequently, people experiencing violence are often left on their own without targeted, systemic support, and available forms of help are dispersed, uncoordinated, or limited solely to crisis intervention. There is also a lack of alternative, complementary support systems, such as integrated interdisciplinary support models, early intervention programmes, specialised post-separation counselling, or long-term psychological and legal assistance.

Therefore, developing a coherent set of recommendations should be considered a priority. These recommendations should serve as a basis for designing a more effective family policy focused on early risk recognition, adequate responses to post-separation violence, and building a support system that not only reacts to the consequences of violence but also genuinely prevents its occurrence.

1. Recommendations in the area of knowledge, social awareness, and attitude change

- Systematically build knowledge systems based on empirical research on violence, with particular emphasis on domestic violence, intimate partner violence, and post-separation violence. It is necessary to develop a corpus of terms describing the phenomenon (e.g., harassment, coercive control, gaslighting). Subsequently, theories and methodologies should be established through which post-separation violence can be interpreted, allowing for the identification of its pathogenesis and consequences.

- Disseminate knowledge regarding empirical and theoretical findings, especially among groups potentially most at risk of violence (e.g., poor women, socially excluded women, single mothers, those with a history of domestic violence in their family of origin, residents of peripheral areas, unemployed individuals, those experiencing homelessness crises, migrants and refugees, ethnic or sexual minorities, people with disabilities and health problems).
- Facilitate smooth knowledge transfer between research institutions and the social environment, allowing research results to be applied to practical anti-violence activities and supporting the adaptation of assistance models to the needs of victims (particularly when these needs arise from specific personal characteristics).
- Create channels for open and accessible communication that enable victims to disclose violence and share experiences without fear of judgment, stigmatisation, or unfair treatment. This also allows for an empathetic response from the community and quick support, reducing isolation and loneliness for the victim.
- Expand social awareness across different societal groups to help change dominant beliefs and attitudes, ultimately leading to more frequent reporting of violent crimes, initiating procedures, and more effective prosecution.
- Emphasise the scale and seriousness of post-separation violence, including its potentially lethal nature. Reports or suspicions of this form of violence should be treated with utmost care, avoiding the oversimplified and false belief that leaving an abusive partner automatically ends the violent relationship and frees the victim.
- A critical aspect of public discourse change is giving a voice to victims of violence, who possess unique knowledge about its mechanisms, causes, and consequences. Insufficient representation of victims in public debate and the lack of a strong advocacy group result in their needs, goals, and interests being marginalised in mainstream politics.
- Consistently and correctly distinguish between conflict and domestic violence while recognising that conflict can escalate to violence at any stage. This requires expanding the terminology and using more precise language to describe the phenomenon of violence.

2. Recommendations regarding the protection of children and families

- Children should be empowered in court proceedings, particularly in cases of parental separation or divorce, where adults make mutual accusations or disclose private information to discredit or humiliate the other parent. The child should have access to representation by a court-appointed attorney to support them in parental conflicts.
- Ensure specialised mental health support for children, aimed at reducing feelings of guilt, shame, and stigmatisation (especially peer-related). Support should be multi-stage: starting with an assessment of the child's emotional state, creating safe spaces for expressing feelings (where therapists normalise experiences), and long-term protection from instrumentalisation of the child's emotions in parental disputes.
- To secure children's material needs, the determination and enforcement of child support should be entrusted to specialised formal institutions or local agencies operating under clearly defined regulations (considering parents' income, the child's maintenance costs, special needs, and standard of living).

3. Legislative and systemic recommendations

- Clarify legal provisions, emphasising the explicit regulation of post-separation violence in normative acts. Current solutions derived from the Act on Counteracting Domestic Violence require further amendments to precisely define this form of violence, enabling identification, effective evidence collection, initiation of formal procedures, and prosecution.
- Strongly consider codifying post-separation violence as a criminal offense by extending the scope of "abuse of a close person" to include coercive control, persistent harassment, intimidation, criminal threats (especially revenge threats), and legal harassment.
- Clearly define criminal liability, prosecution procedures, and penalties, accounting for aggravating circumstances such as extreme cruelty, morally reprehensible motives, intentionality, and consequences like bodily harm or death.
- Introduce additional criteria limiting the dismissal of post-separation violence cases, as the general tendency to close these cases (especially early on) reinforces perpetrators'

sense of impunity and undermines victims' traumatic experiences. Complaints of post-separation violence should be preceded by thorough evidence analysis and risk assessment for further escalation and potential lethality.

- Courts and prosecutors should recognise the high risk of fatal outcomes in post-separation violence; dismissals or inadequate institutional responses significantly increase the risk of killing a former partner. Legal decisions should prioritise victim safety, considering violence dynamics.
- It must be acknowledged that forcibly enforcing child visitation with a violent parent (or suspected violent parent), including removing the child from the custodial parent, constitutes serious violations of the child's well-being. Consequences include secondary victimisation, stress and anxiety, intensified trauma, destabilised sense of safety, and loyalty conflicts, leading to chronic emotional tension and psychosocial disintegration.

4. Recommendations regarding assistance and intervention procedures

- Simplify procedures for victims seeking help to eliminate access barriers and procedural complexity, including minimising documentation and assigning an assistant (process guardian) to coordinate the case from start to finish.
- Prioritise victims' needs and goals, distinguishing urgent needs from less immediate ones. Priority should be given to immediate separation from the perpetrator, ensuring safe living conditions, and securing basic material needs.
- Ensure an empathetic and supportive atmosphere, safe facilities, and protection of personal data and location confidentiality, including shelters.
- Develop and implement community-wide standards for responding to violence (harassment, stalking, and other neglected abuses) and early-warning systems for post-separation violence adapted to the needs of at-risk individuals (e.g., alert signals, safety codes, alternative reporting channels).

5. Recommendations for research, monitoring, and evaluation of diagnostic tools

- Adapt and develop measurement tools for diagnosing violence (e.g., violence scales, assessment sheets) to design effective prevention, intervention, and support models.

- Develop sets of indicators and indices for institutions monitoring violence to obtain reliable and comparable data.
- Provide open-access, user-friendly manuals presenting signs of violence (especially subtle ones) and its dynamics, explaining available institutional support and intervention procedures.
- Systematically monitor and evaluate anti-violence activities for effectiveness and impact, suggesting improvements in public policies, social services, crisis interventions, and therapeutic, legal, corrective, and material support.

6. Educational and training recommendations

- Promote equality education at all school levels, focusing on gender equality, equal treatment, and combating discrimination.
- Challenge stereotypes and myths about women, family, and partnerships that perpetuate culturally rooted violence, patriarchy, and androcentrism.
- Develop educational materials appropriate for students' age and cognitive abilities, covering violence forms, mechanisms, consequences, and prevention/response strategies. Materials should align with school curricula and teaching strategies, fostering social-emotional skills, assertiveness, and awareness of rights to safety and support.
- Expand training for social services, medical staff, public administration, and justice system representatives on recognizing hidden forms of violence and understanding post-separation violence. Strengthen local facilitators, educators, and trainers, especially in rural, peripheral, socially degraded, or educationally disadvantaged areas.

7. Recommendations for institutional support and public policies

- Design comprehensive correctional, educational, and therapeutic programmes for perpetrators (e.g., aggression replacement training) to achieve long-term behavioural change.
- Develop a coordinated support system not only for victims but also for their families and witnesses, covering social, legal, psychological, and therapeutic assistance to

enable exit from violent relationships and independence.

- Ensure anti-violence policies address prevention, intervention, effective data collection, simplified procedures, and expedited court processes, while strengthening civil society and NGOs, which play a key role in support systems, trust-building, social capital accumulation, and fostering supportive networks.

Bibliography:

Bates, E. (2016). Aktualne kontrowersje wokół przemocy w związku partnerskim: Pomijanie przemocy dwukierunkowej. *Journal of Family Violence*, 31(8), 937–940. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-016-9862-7>

Bjørnholt, M. (2024). Fortsettelsesvold etter samlivsbrudd: Konsekvenser for mødres helse og livskvalitet. *Tidsskrift for velferdsforskning*, 27(1), 1–15.

Bourdieu, P. (2004). *Męska dominacja*. Oficyna Naukowa.

Brownridge, D. A. (2006). Violence against women post-separation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 11(5), 514–530.

Campbell, J. C., Webster, D., Koziol-McLain, J., Block, C., Campbell, D., Curry, M. A., Gary, F., Glass, N., McFarlane, J., Sachs, C., Sharps, P., Ulrich, Y., Wilt, S. A., Manganello, J., Xu, X., Schollenberger, J., Frye, V., & Laughon, K. (2003). Risk factors for femicide in abusive relationships: Results from a multisite case control study. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(7), 1089–1097.

DeKeseredy, W. S., & Schwartz, M. D. (2009). *Dangerous exits: Escaping abusive relationships in rural America*. Rutgers University Press.

DeKeseredy, W. S., Dragiewicz, M., & Schwartz, M. D. (2017). *Abusive endings: Separation and divorce violence against women*. University of California Press.

Elizabeth, V., Gavey, N., & Tolmie, J. (2012). The gendered dynamics of power in disputes over the postseparation care of children. *Violence Against Women*, 18(4), 459–481.

Hardesty, J. L. (2002). Separation assault in the context of postdivorce parenting: An integrative review of the literature. *Violence Against Women*, 8(5), 597–625.

Hotton, T. (2001). *Spousal violence after separation*. Juristat, 21(7), 1–19.

Jaffe, P., Campbell, M., Reif, K., Fairbairn, J., & David, R. (2017). Children killed in the context of domestic violence: International perspectives from death review committees. W M. Dawson

- (Red.), *Domestic homicides and death reviews* (ss. 317–343). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johnson, M. P. (2008). *A typology of domestic violence: Intimate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple violence*. Northeastern University Press.
- Jonassen, W. (2005). Marching on the spot? Dealing with violence against women in Norway. W *Tackling men's violence in families*. Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.51952/9781847421296.ch006>
- Lewicka-Strzańska, A. (2023). *Moralność finansowa Polaków 2023*. Związek Przedsiębiorstw Finansowych w Polsce. https://zpf.pl/pliki/raporty/moralnosc_finansowa_polakow_2023.pdf
- Miś, L. (2007). *Problemy społeczne. Teoria, metodologia, badania*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Nowak, S. (2011). *Metodologia nauk społecznych*. Wydawnictwo PWN.
- Nowiak, W. (1996). The Norwegian national insurance scheme as the main element of the Norwegian “welfare state”. *Folia Scandinavica*, 3.
- Rezay, M. L. (2020). Separated women's risk for intimate partner violence: A multiyear analysis using the National Crime Victimization Survey. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 35(5–6), 1055–1080.
- Rizza, J. (2009). Beyond Duluth: A broad spectrum treatment for a broad spectrum domestic violence. *Montana Law Review*, 70(1).
- Rogeberg, O., Hernæs, Ø., Sønderskov, M., & Ødegaard, T. (2025). Variation in outcomes of mandated child welfare referrals in Norway. *Child & Family Social Work*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.13308>
- Sandvin, J. T., Vike, H., & Anvik, C. H. (2020). Den norske og nordiske velferdsmodellen – kjennetegn og utfordringer. <https://www.scup.com/doi/10.18261/9788215034713-2020-3>
- Sillito, C. L., & Salari, S. (2011). Child outcomes and risk factors in U.S. homicide-suicide cases 1999–2004. *Journal of Family Violence*, 26(4), 285–297.
- Sosnowska-Buxton, P. (2023). *When women rebuild their lives after intimate domestic violence: Post-separation mothering and co-parenting in two different contexts* [Wykład zaproszony]. VID Specialized University, Stavanger, Norwegia.
- Stark, E. (2007). *Coercive control: How men entrap women in personal life*. Oxford University Press.
- Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000). Prevalence and consequences of male-to-female and female-to-male intimate partner violence as measured by the National Violence Against Women Survey. *Violence Against Women*, 6(2), 142–161.
- Tomczyk, J. (2024). *Nie myśl, że odejdziesz... Wprowadzenie do problematyki przemocy postseparacyjnej*. Wydawnictwo Libron.