

**“THERE WERE FEWER CALLS,
EVEN THOUGH THERE
WAS MORE VIOLENCE”:
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
IN POLAND DURING
THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC****Joanna Klimczak**

Instytut Wymiaru Sprawiedliwości

ORCID: 0000-0002-1534-6317

e-mail: joanna.klimczak@iws.gov.pl

Paweł Ostaszewski

Instytut Profilaktyki Społecznej i Resocjalizacji

Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego,

Instytut Wymiaru Sprawiedliwości

ORCID: 0000-0001-8067-8978

e-mail: pawel.ostaszewski@uw.edu.pl

Justyna Włodarczyk-Madejska

Zakład Kryminologii Instytut Nauk Prawnych PAN

ORCID: 0000-0003-0734-6293

e-mail: wlodarczyk_justyna@wp.pl

Summary:

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, both NGOs and media around the world had reported an increase in domestic violence rates. Moreover, the nature of this violence has changed during the pandemic; monitoring organizations' reports highlight both a rise in aggression and the emergence of violence in those families that were free from it before the pandemic. However, official statistics from Poland do not confirm these observations.

The paper analyzes the relationship between the COVID-19 pandemic and domestic violence in Poland. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were carried out based on Google Community Mobility Reports, Blue Card statistics, reported crime statistics, the Police Command Support System, NGO statistics, and 27 in-depth interviews conducted in 2020 with experts affiliated to law enforcement agencies and non-governmental organizations. A full picture of domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic cannot be made other than through analysis of a comprehensive body data, with cross-checks of various data sources.

Keywords:

COVID-19, domestic violence, in-depth semi-structured interviews, official statistics, Polish legal system

„Było mniej telefonów, mimo że przemoc było więcej”. Przemoc domowa w Polsce w czasie pandemii COVID-19

Streszczenie:

Od marca 2020 r. zarówno organizacje pozarządowe, media, jak i rządy na całym świecie wskazywały na zwiększenie się liczby przestępstw przemocy domowej. Co więcej okazało się, że przemoc w trakcie pandemii zmieniła swój charakter – obserwowaliśmy więcej agresji oraz pojawienie się przemocy w rodzinach, w których przed pandemią nie miała ona miejsca. Dane statystyczne w Polsce nie potwierdzają tego trendu.

W artykule przeanalizowaliśmy związek między pandemią COVID-19 a przemocą domową w Polsce. Zebrałiśmy dane statystyczne policji za lata 2019–2020 i porównaliśmy liczby zgłoszonych przestępstw w tych latach, a także liczby założonych tzw. „niebieskich kart”, czyli nadzorów nad rodzinami w których policja stwierdziła przemoc domową. Porównaliśmy uzyskane dane z raportami przemieszczania się realizowanymi przez Google. Ponadto przeprowadziliśmy 27 wywiadów z ekspertami pracującymi w organizacjach pozarządowych oraz instytucjach wymiaru sprawiedliwości. Pełnego obrazu przemocy domowej podczas pandemii COVID-19 nie da się uzyskać inaczej niż poprzez kompleksową analizę danych pochodzących z różnych źródeł i ich porównanie.

Słowa kluczowe:

COVID-19, przemoc domowa, półustrukturyzowane wywiady pogłębione, dane statystyczne, polski system prawny

1. Introduction

This paper sets out to analyse the impact that the COVID-19 pandemic had on the scale of domestic violence and violence against women in Poland, and on the state's system of response to this violence. Domestic violence, also referred to as family violence, is an offence to which the Polish legal system responds in two ways. Certain forms of the offence are penalised under the Criminal Code and are managed through criminal courts and criminal sanctions, though they can instead be resolved under the Act on Counteracting Family Violence, which uses administrative and civil protection measures. Domestic violence is defined as “acts or omissions within the structure of a family, by one of its members against the others, wilful actions, relying on an actual or apparent advantage of strength or power in the circumstances, violating the personal rights of family members or causing them a general sense of harm”¹.

There are significant differences in the scale of domestic violence, as demonstrated in surveys conducted in Poland; this reflects the differences in their research methodologies. In the latest survey of this type (CAWI, among a sample of 2,000 people), more than half of the respondents indicated that they were aware of psychological, physical, economic or sexual violence among their acquaintances or had heard about such families. A very similar percentage of Poles (57%) admitted that they themselves had experienced at least one of these four forms of domestic abuse in their life.² A study by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) published in 2014 demonstrated that 19% of women in Poland

1 P. Wiktorska, *Dziecko w sytuacji przemocy w rodzinie w ujęciu kryminologicznym*, [in:] M. Łączkowska-Porawska (ed.), *Dziecko – rodzice – państwo w kontekście świadczeń zdrowotnych, edukacyjnych i przemocy domowej*, Instytut Nauk Prawnych PAN, Warszawa 2020, p. 100, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4311581>.

2 *Ogólnopolska diagnoza zjawiska przemocy w rodzinie*, Raport Kantar Polska dla Ministerstwa Rodziny, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej 2019.

had been victims of (physical or sexual) violence.³ These discrepancies in the available survey studies, and other factors, make it impossible to capture any changes in domestic violence in Poland resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. To fill this gap, in this paper, we examine data sourced from official statistics and in-depth semi-structured interviews.

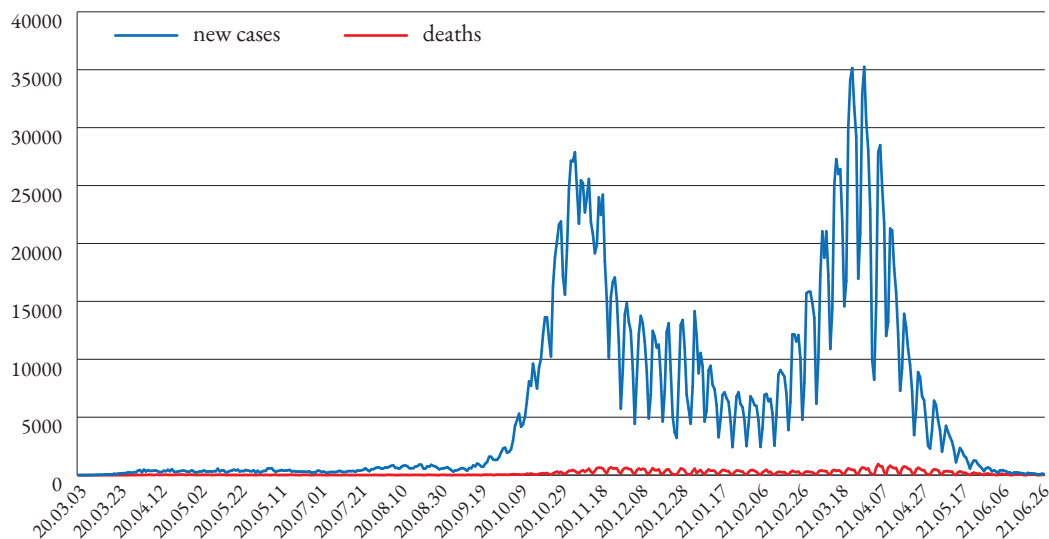
2. Changes in Poland due to the COVID-19 pandemic

In Poland, the first case of COVID-19 was confirmed on 4 March 2020. As in other countries, a decision was taken quite soon afterwards to introduce certain restrictions: on 12 March schools and universities were closed, and the first lockdown in Poland – restrictions on movement and a ban on gatherings of more than two people – was in effect from 25 March to 11 April. From 1 April, children under the age of 18 were forbidden to be in public spaces without adult supervision. Parks, boulevards and beaches were closed, and the cultural, service (hairdressing, beauty treatments, etc.) and food industries were put on hold. From 20 April to 30 May, the restrictions were gradually lifted. They were reinstated on 8 August 2020, though not nationwide, but in individual districts depending on the number of confirmed new cases. Districts (314 in total) were categorised into three zones: green, yellow and red. The most stringent restrictions applied in the red zones. This division was discontinued on 24 October when, due to the sharp increase of COVID-19 cases, the entire country was categorised as a red zone (i.e. underwent the “second wave”). From 28 December 2020 to 17 January 2021, the country was in a nationwide quarantine. In late January 2021, the previous restrictions were relaxed. In the weeks to follow, restrictions were put in place in provinces with the highest growth rates of COVID-19 cases, and from 27 March to 18 April 2021 a partial lockdown was in effect throughout Poland. Starting from 15 May 2021, the restrictions were gradually lifted. From 13 to 26 June 2021, other previous restrictions were also lifted.

The rationale for introducing and then lifting restrictions was driven by the scale of COVID-19 infections and, initially, by the need to prepare the health care system and the state agencies to cope with the epidemic. In the first days of the pandemic, the number of cases was low, remaining under 10 until 10 March. From 11 March, dozens of cases were reported daily. The country went into the first lockdown when daily cases exceeded 100. A significant increase in infection rates was visible after 20 September, reaching approx. 1,000, while that figure had doubled by the beginning of October. In late October, it was 10,000–20,000 cases per day, with the 2020 peak for infections coming in early November, at approx. 30,000 cases daily. That period also saw soaring numbers of deaths from COVID-19. This sad statistic hit the 2020 record on 25 November, at 674 deaths. The third wave of the pandemic, from early March to early April 2021, was even more severe. On 1 April 2021 the number of new infections exceeded 35,000, and on 8 April 2021 the highest number of daily deaths from COVID-19 thus far was recorded, at nearly 1,000; see Figure 1. Following the third wave, both the infection and death rates fell to the levels from the beginning of the pandemic.

3 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Przemoc wobec kobiet. Badanie na poziomie Unii Europejskiej*, Urząd Publikacji Unii Europejskiej, Luxembourg 2014, p. 20, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-at-a-glance-oct14_pl.pdf [accessed: 29.01.2024].

Figure 1. Scale of infections and deaths from COVID-19 in Poland from 3 March 2020 to 30 June 2021



Source: based on M. Rogalski, "COVID-19 in Poland"; <https://koronawirusunas.pl/>

Figure 1 shows only the reported data. Many factors, such as initial scepticism about the pandemic and testing, asymptomatic infections going unreported (e.g. to avoid quarantine) or temporarily limited capacity of the health care system, suggest that much of the data was not officially recorded. Nonetheless, we do not know how large the "dark figure" of infections was.

People's lives during the pandemic, especially during lockdowns, were confined to their homes. Many people switched to work-from-home arrangements (in Poland, approx. one in ten employees).⁴ Social activity, especially during the first lockdown, was virtually frozen. This is well illustrated in Figure 2, based on Google data on changing trends in mobility. These data show how the number and duration of visits to specific places changed compared to the baseline median value for a given day of the week in the 5 weeks before the pandemic (3 January to 6 February 2020). Google's computations use the data from Google Maps to track these changes. The data show the activity of only those people who have location history enabled on their mobile devices. The analysis of mobility data for Poles demonstrates that on the fifth day of the first lockdown, there were 78% fewer people in places related to commerce and entertainment, 59% fewer in pharmacies, grocery stores and parks, 71% fewer at train stations and bus stops and 36% fewer at places of work, compared to the baseline. The share of people staying at home rose by 13%.⁵ The numbers of those staying at home increased the most (by 34%) shortly after the end of the first lockdown (13 April 2020; see Figure 2). Changes in crime correspond to changes in people's mobility, and should thus be taken into account when analysing crime,⁶ especially that committed at home – not only domestic violence, but

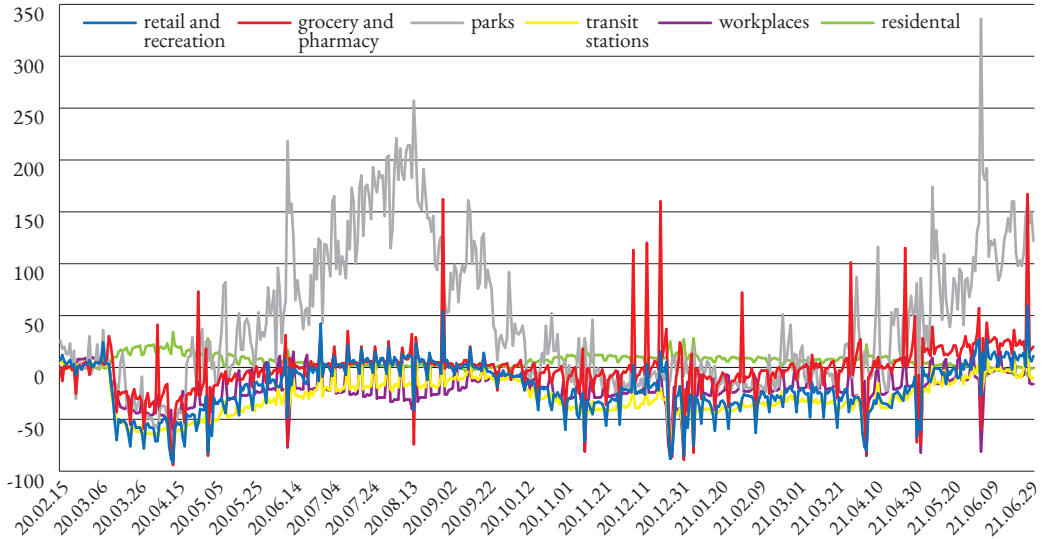
4 *Wpływ epidemii COVID-19 na wybrane elementy rynku pracy w Polsce w II kwartale 2020 r.*, „Główny Urząd Statystyczny. Informacje Sygnalne” 2020, <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/rynek-pracy/popyt-na-prace/wpływ-epidemii-covid-19-na-wybrane-elementy-ryнку-pracy-w-polsce-w-drugim-kwartale-2020-roku,4,2.html> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

5 *COVID-19 a zmiany w trendach dotyczących przemieszczania się*, „Google” 2020, <https://www.google.com/covid19/mobility/?hl=pl> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

6 E. Halford, A. Dixon, G. Farrell, N. Malleson, N. Tilley, *Crime and coronavirus: Social distancing, lockdown, and the mobility elasticity of crime*, „Crime Science” 2020, 9(11), p. 10, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-020-00121-w>.

also cybercrime. As most people stayed at home and worked online, our online activity was one of the circumstances used by cyber-criminals.⁷

Figure 2. Changes in mobility (types of places visited) in Poland from 15 February 2020 to 30 June 2021



Source: based on Google data

3. Methods

Various methodologies have been employed to study domestic violence during the pandemic, including the analysis of police data⁸ and desk research for trend analysis of searches related to domestic violence in Google Trends. The latter demonstrates that in the fifth week after the introduction of restrictions, the intensity of such searches rose by 30% compared to the week preceding the survey.⁹

We also have reported such findings for Poland. On 26 April 2020, exactly in the fifth week after the introduction of the lockdown, the intensity of domestic violence-related searches was the highest (it reached the value of 100, which means the highest popularity of the phrase). However, these searches could have been carried out by welfare institutions or even researchers venturing into studies of crime, including domestic violence, during the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as by those who experienced violence and sought help.

We also used police data, from the Police Command Support System, in which reports on incidents and police interventions are recorded on an ongoing basis.¹⁰ We analysed monthly data from March to December 2019 in comparison with data for the same period in 2020 regarding the number of home in-

7 H.S. Lallie, L.A. Shepherd, J.R.C. Nurse, A. Erola, G. Epiphaniou, C. Maple, X. Bellekense, *Cyber security in the age of COVID-19: A timeline and analysis of cyber-crime and cyber-attacks during the pandemic*, „Computers & Security” 2021, vol. 105, p. 2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cose.2021.102248>.

8 L.R. Bullinger, J.B. Carr, A. Packham, *COVID-19 and Crime: Effects of Stay-at-Home Orders on Domestic Violence*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w27667>; A. Murdoch, C. Byczyński, *The impact of the coronavirus (Sars-Cov-2) lockdown on crime in New York and London, march–june 2020: A comparative study*, „International Journal of Business and Management Research” 2021, 9(2), p. 124–155, <http://dx.doi.org/10.37391/IJBMR.090204>.

9 I. Berniell, G. Facchini, *COVID-19 lockdown and domestic violence: Evidence from internet-search behavior in 11 countries*, „European Economic Review” 2021, vol. 136, p. 2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eurocorev.2021.103775>.

10 Zarządzenie Nr 12 KGP z 19 maja 2020 r. w sprawie Systemu Wspomagania Dowodzenia Policji, Dz. Urz. KGP z 2020 r., poz. 23 z późn. zm.

interventions and new Blue Cards,¹¹ that is, procedures to support families in which domestic violence was suspected (more information below).

We also conducted expert interviews. We used two criteria for selecting respondents: the place where the experts work and the institution they are affiliated with. We selected experts from two large cities in Poland which are similar in terms of population, but different in terms of the scale of the COVID-19 risk at the time our study was planned (April 2020). We also wanted to have representatives of the judiciary and NGOs on the expert panel. In view of this, the respondents included judges, prosecutors, police officers, prison officers, city guards, probation officers, social workers and representatives of NGOs and local government institutions. In total, from June to November 2020, we conducted 27 interviews. Most of them were completed before the second wave of the pandemic, which was much more serious in terms of the number of cases and deaths. However, most solutions e.g. about home intervention during a pandemic were prepared by welfare institutions during the first wave. Only a few of the interviews were conducted in person at the expert's workplace, and most were held online. This choice was due to restrictions on individual institutions' operations, the restrictions on movement and similar circumstances. As apparent from the literature on the subject, this form of qualitative research is more and more commonly used, primarily to study groups that are difficult or impossible to reach in person. This was precisely the situation we faced when conducting our study.¹² We used an interview script for the interviews, all of which were recorded and transcribed before being analysed using the qualitative analysis software programme QDA Miner.

The respondents included 13 women and 14 men at an average age of 43 years; the youngest respondent was 29, while the oldest was 55. The average length of service in the respondents' current institutions was 10 years, ranging from 1 to 30 years. The total duration of employment of the respondents was longer: 16 years on average. We do not provide data on specific workplaces because we guaranteed anonymity to the respondents and specifying their workplaces could enable the identification of at least a few of our experts.

4. Research findings

Poland, as many other countries, uses a multi-agency partnership approach to domestic violence; it dates back to the 1980s in the UK and the USA and is based on the Duluth model,¹³ in which the response is provided in parallel and in cooperation by the police, prosecutor's offices, health care and social welfare centres and municipality committees for solving problems related to alcohol.¹⁴ The basic measure for responding to domestic violence is the Blue Card procedure (Article 9d of the Act on Counteracting Family Violence of 29 July 2005). This procedure was first introduced in 1998 (printed on a blue card). The purpose of this procedure is to regulate police intervention and the response to families experiencing domestic violence. An interdisciplinary council at the municipality level (composed of representatives of social welfare institutions, the municipality committee for solving alcohol problems, the police, education institutions, health care institutions and non-governmental organisations) is responsible for conducting the procedure.¹⁵

11 *Rozporządzenie w sprawie procedury „Niebieskie Karty” – komentarz*, „Niebieska Linia”, <https://www.niebieskalinia.info/index.php/zadania-sluzb/59-rozporzadzenie-w-sprawie-procedury-niebieskie-karty-komentarz> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

12 W. Klaus, J. Włodarczyk-Madejska, D. Wzorek, *Abruptly interrupted lives*, [in:] J.A. Brandariz, W. Klaus, A. Martynowicz (ed.), *Forced Mobility of EU Citizens*, Routledge, London 2023, p. 141–166, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003254585-8>; D. Pszczółkowska, *Facebook recruitment and online interviewing: Suitable for qualitative research in migration?*, „CMR Working Papers” 2020, 119(177), p. 5–6, <https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/18961/WP119177.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed: 27.07.2021].

13 P. Davies, *Tackling domestic abuse locally: Paradigms, ideologies and the political tensions of multi-agency working*, „Journal of Gender-Based Violence” 2018, 2(3), p. 429–446, <https://doi.org/10.1332/239868018X15392672654573>.

14 B. Kociolowicz-Wisniewska, *Przemoc w rodzinie. Polski i amerykański wymiar sprawiedliwości w czasie i po pandemii COVID-19*, Fundacja Courtch Watch Polska, Toruń 2021, p. 13, https://courtwatch.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/FCWP_raport_przemoc_w_rodzynie-1.pdf [accessed: 10.12.2023].

15 M. Grzyb, *„We condemn abusing violence against women”: The criminalization of domestic violence in Poland*, „Archiwum Kryminologii” 2020, 42(1), p. 169, <https://doi.org/10.7420/AK2020I>.

The Blue Card procedure, as the basic measure for recording domestic abuse cases, is performed primarily by the police. In 2019, out of the total of 94,716 new cases, almost 80% (74,313) were recorded by police officers; another 12,083 were initiated by social welfare workers, 4,849 by education staff, 2,813 by members of municipality committees for the prevention of alcohol-related problems and 658 by health care professionals.¹⁶ At the time of drafting this paper, unfortunately, the only data available for 2020 were on Blue Cards initiated by the police: in 2020 they recorded 72,601 cases, corresponding to a slight decrease in new cases (approx. 2%). Other organisations limited their activities in the study period to a much greater extent than the police, so their new Blue Card case numbers should be expected to have dropped even more.

The Blue Card recording system changed significantly in 2012. The first two years of operation of the new system showed a significant increase in the number of recorded cases, followed by a slight decrease after 2014 and then a relative stabilisation of the number. Statistical data compiled by the National Police Headquarters (Komenda Główna Policji) based on the Blue Card forms that had been filled in indicate that in 2020 a total of 85,575 victims of domestic abuse were identified (a 3% decrease v. 2019), of whom 73.4% were women, 12.8% were men and 13.8% were minors (no breakdown by sex was available). Out of the total number of suspected offenders (73,228), men accounted for 77.4%, women for 7.8% and minors for 0.4%.¹⁷

Based on the forms mentioned above, the police also determined the total number of acts of domestic violence detected. In 2020, there were 164,065 such acts (a decrease of only 1% v. 2019), of which 50% were psychological violence, 35% physical violence, less than 1% sexual violence, 1% economic violence and 13% other unclassified forms of violence.¹⁸

The basic form of criminal response to domestic violence in Poland is laid down in Article 207 of the Criminal Code, which penalises physical or psychological abuse of an immediate family member or another person permanently or temporarily in a relation of dependence to the offender. Thus, it criminalises a different catalogue of acts than those specified in the Act on Counteracting Family Violence of 2005.¹⁹ In 2020, the police initiated 28,912 criminal proceedings under Article 207 of the Criminal Code (a 5% decrease v. 2019), as a result of which it detected 16,516 offences (a 2% decrease v. 2019).

The key instruments in the Polish system of counteracting domestic violence are as follows: (1) a barring order issued by the court for the domestic violence offender to leave the home shared with a family member affected by abuse (civil court procedure under Article 11a of the Act on Counteracting Family Violence of 2005), (2) a restraining order to prohibit the offender from approaching the victim (criminal procedure – a conviction by court judgement), (3) an eviction order for the suspect to vacate the premises shared with the victim (criminal procedure – a preventive measure applied by the prosecutor in the preparatory proceedings) and (4) two new measures introduced in late 2020, i.e. an interim barring order for the domestic violence offender to immediately leave the shared home and its immediate surroundings and an interim restraining order prohibiting the offender from approaching the home and its immediate surroundings, both issued for a maximum of 14 days by an intervening police officer.

The data on these last two measures do not allow for an impact analysis during the COVID-19 pandemic; we can only indicate that in the first months of their use, the police issued approx. 250 such orders per month.²⁰ The number of barring orders for the offender to leave the home shared with another family member affected by abuse decreased in 2020 to 1,385 (an 11% drop v. 2019).²¹ The number of

16 *Sprawozdanie z realizacji krajowego programu przeciwdziałania przemocy w rodzinie na lata 2014–2020 za okres od 1 stycznia do 31 grudnia 2019 r.*, Ministerstwo Rodziny Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, Warszawa 2017, p. 44.

17 *Przemoc w rodzinie – dane za lata 2012–2020*, „Portal polskiej Policji”, p. 1, <https://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przemoc-w-rodzinie/201373,Przemoc-w-rodzinie-dane-od-2012-roku.html> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

18 M. Świnecka, *Informacja dotycząca realizacji przez Policję procedury „Niebieskie Karty” w 2020 r.*, Biuro Prewencji KGP, Warszawa 2021.

19 M. Grzyb, „*We condemn abusing*”..., op. cit.

20 *Project Provisions of the Act of 30 April 2020 amending the Act – Code of Civil Procedure and certain other acts (Journal of Laws, item 956)*, „EUCPN”, https://eucpn.org/sites/default/files/document/files/Template%20good%20practices_newsletter.pdf [accessed: 29.07.2021].

21 Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, *Sprawozdanie MS-S1r w sprawach cywilnych za rok 2020*.

restraining orders to prohibit the offender from approaching the victim increased to 1,953 (a 22% rise v. 2019). Similarly, in 2020, there was a slight increase in the number of eviction orders for the suspect to vacate the premises shared with the victim, to 5,122 (a 9% increase v. 2019).²² These data suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic only selectively limited the functioning of the Polish domestic violence response system, and that the criminal response system was not brought to a halt.

One should also take note of the changes in the available data on the number of reports filed by victims of domestic violence to specialised NGOs, as exemplified by the largest such organisation, i.e. the Nationwide Emergency Service for Victims of Domestic Violence "Blue Line", which operates the Nationwide Hotline and E-mail Service for Victims of Domestic Violence. In 2020, the service counsellors conducted a total of 23,857 calls with victims of violence and replied to 3,203 e-mails,²³ while in 2019 these figures stood at 22,347 phone calls (7% increase) and only 1,609 e-mails (99% increase).²⁴

5. Reports of domestic violence in Poland during the COVID-19 pandemic

The difficulties people faced in the COVID-19 pandemic, such as job loss and high levels of stress, were conducive to incidents of domestic violence.²⁵ The "stay at home" restrictions alone can generate a several-fold increase in domestic violence. This is because the victim and the offender remain in constant, direct contact, stressful situations are increasing, the victim cannot escape and their contact with people outside the household are minimal. This was especially true of the lockdown period in Poland from 25 March to 11 April 2020. Such situations facilitate domestic violence because the offender has a sense of impunity and is beyond social and state control. That lack of control could be associated with offenders undergoing treatment for mental disorders stopping their medication, followed by a deterioration of their symptoms, thus leading to dangerous behaviour.²⁶ Stressful situations could, in turn, be related to the fear of losing one's job or of contracting the coronavirus.

The results of a survey from late 2020 among a sample of 1,000 people show that during the pandemic the financial situation of women more often worsened, while that of men more often remained unchanged or even improved.²⁷ Also, women were twice as likely to lose their jobs as men.²⁸ A stable source of income can protect against violence; a financially independent woman is not dependent on the offender and can more easily decide to leave.²⁹ One can assume that the loss of a job during the pandemic – especially among women – with the resulting deterioration of their financial situation, may have impacted the scale

22 *Sprawozdanie PK-P1K z działalności powszechnych jednostek organizacyjnych prokuratury w sprawach karnych za rok 2020, Sprawozdanie statystyczne za 2020 r.*, „Prokuratura Krajowa” 2021, <https://www.gov.pl/web/prokuratura-krajowa/sprawozdania-statystyczne-za-2020-r> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

23 *Raport podsumowujący działalność Ogólnopolskiego Pogotowia dla Ofiar Przemocy w Rodzinie „Niebieska Linia” w roku 2020*, „Niebieska Linia”, https://www.niebieskalinia.info/images/raport_2020.pdf [accessed: 29.01.2024].

24 *Raport podsumowujący działalność Ogólnopolskiego Pogotowia dla Ofiar Przemocy w Rodzinie „Niebieska Linia” w 2019 roku*, „Niebieska Linia”, <https://www.niebieskalinia.info/images/rok2019.pdf> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

25 I. Berniell, G. Facchini, *COVID-19 lockdown and domestic violence...*, p. 10; D. Ertan, W. El-Hagel, S. Thierree, H. Javelot, C. Hingray, *COVID-19: Urgency for distancing from domestic violence*, „European Journal of Psychotraumatology” 2020, 11(1), p. 3, <https://doi.org/10.1080%2F20008198.2020.1800245>; E. Roesch, A. Amin, J. Gupta, C. García-Moreno, *Violence against women during COVID-19 pandemic restrictions*, „BMJ” 2020, p. 1, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.m1712>.

26 M.A. Sacco, F. Caputo, P. Ricci, F. Sicilia, L. De Aloe, C.F. Bonetta, F. Cordasco, C. Scalise, G. Cacciatore, A. Zibetti, S. Gratteri, I. Aquila, *The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on domestic violence: The dark side of home isolation during quarantine*, „Medico-Legal Journal” 2020, 88(2), p. 72, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0025817220930553>.

27 *Raport Federacji Konsumentów, Szkoły Głównej Handlowej w Warszawie, SYNO Poland i ABR SESTA, Nastroje i plany polskich konsumentów w dobie koronawirusa*, „Gazeta SGH” 2020, https://gazeta.sgh.waw.pl/sites/gazeta.sgh.waw.pl/files/Galerie/raport_nastroje_i_plany_w_dobie_koronawirusa_2020-12-15_1_z_poprawkami.pdf [accessed: 29.01.2024].

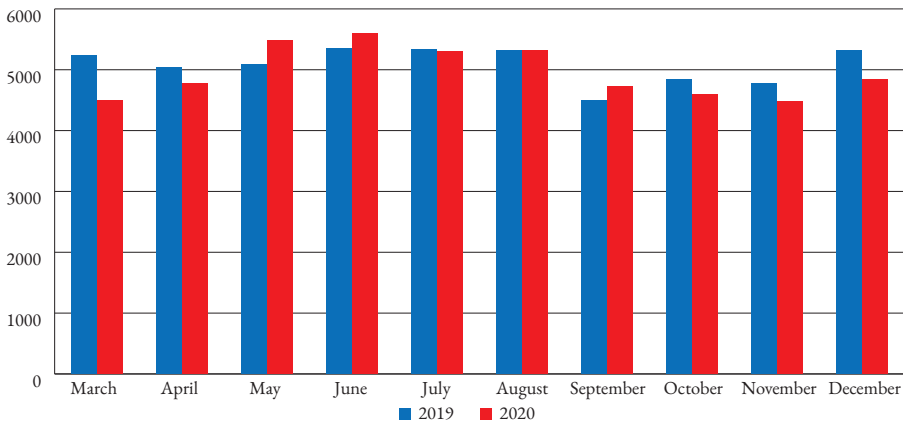
28 M. Grudniewska, *Kobiety kontra koronawirus. Jak pandemia zmieniła ich życie i pracę? Raport z badania*, „Wyborcza” 2021, <https://static.im-g.pl/im/6/26955/m26955216,NIEUSTRASZONA-W-PRACY-V2.pdf> [accessed: 10.12.2023].

29 *Ogólnopolska diagnoza zjawiska...*, p. 57.

of domestic violence.³⁰ Studies demonstrate that over 70% of the respondents who declared being a victim of domestic violence in 2019 were in a poor financial situation.³¹

Based on police statistics, we compared the trends of selected parameters of domestic violence between 2020 and 2019. The number of Blue Cards initiated in the lockdown periods (both March–April and October–December), that is, at the times of the most stringent restrictions on free movement, was lower than in the corresponding months in the previous year (see Figure 3).

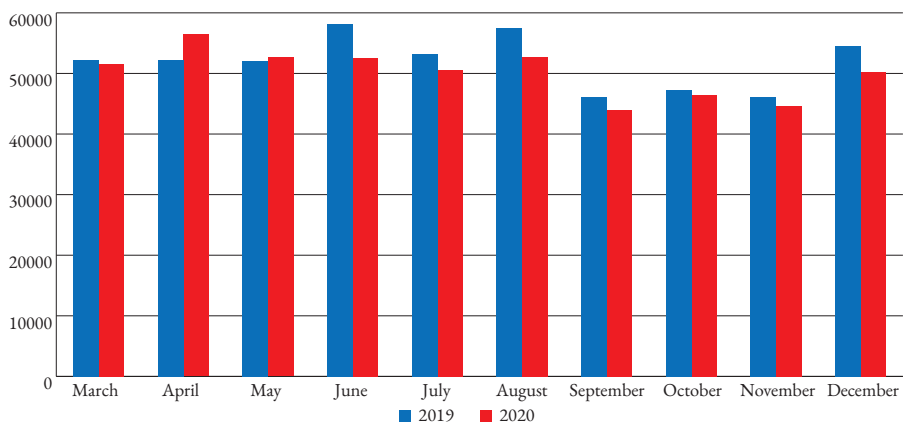
Figure 3. Number of Blue Cards recorded from March to December in both 2019 and 2020



Source: based on data from the Police Command Support System

The number of police interventions due to domestic violence in 2020 was only higher than in the previous year in April and May, that is, directly after the first lockdown in Poland (25 March to 11 April 2020). This is in line with the findings of a study completed in India in July 2020.³²

Figure 4. Number of home intervention reports from March to December in both 2019 and 2020



Source: based on data from the Police Command Support System

30 M. Vora, B.C. Malathesh, S. Das, S.S. Chatterjee, *COVID-19 and domestic violence against women*, „Asian Journal of Psychiatry” 2020, vol. 53, p. 1, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajp.2020.102227>.

31 *Ogólnopolska diagnoza zjawiska...*, p. 55.

32 R. Poblete-Cazenave, *The impact of lockdowns on crime and violence against women: Evidence from India*, „SSRN” 2020, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3623331>.

The changes in the statistics reflect difficulties for victims of domestic violence in successfully filing reports to the relevant authorities during the pandemic, due to both the offender and the victims being isolated together at home and to the changes in the operation of the institutions. Fear of infection and limitation of direct contact were observed on both sides: the institutions were shut as a result, and victims were often afraid to report to them.

Early in the pandemic, the police were the only institution that "penetrated the environment". Police officers were assigned various extra tasks, for example, checking on people under quarantine and supporting other institutions whose personnel were barred from field work due to the pandemic. In view of this, the pandemic heavily strained the police force:

The police also had to follow their restrictions and in fact many tasks were dropped on the police due to COVID. And I think the number of Blue Cards recorded was lower because of that. (Social worker_E7)

Despite changes in the operating procedures, the experts from the police claimed that there were no cases where officers refused to receive a report of an offence or to intervene due to the pandemic. Experts from welfare institutions for victims of domestic violence voiced a different opinion, saying that there were such cases, especially at the beginning of the pandemic:

Women ... often reported that the police, for example, when called to some domestic row, would say it wasn't a good time to report such things. Just let them let off some steam and try to get on, as the police were busy with something else. ... In the first few weeks we received quite a lot of such calls, in which women complained to us that policemen were sending them away empty-handed. It only changed later on. (NGO_E3)

As the experts we interviewed emphasised, victims of domestic violence often believed that no-one would help them during the lockdown. Therefore, at the beginning of the pandemic, even though it could be supposed that incidents of domestic violence increased, many of victims did not seek help, which certainly created a feeling of impunity among offenders. Some experts even said that the domestic violence support system was brought to a halt in March 2020:

It had nothing to do with the epidemic, in my opinion, not directly; it was only due to this indirect communication in the society that now everything was shut down, that there was nowhere to go, that the centres weren't working, that the police wouldn't come because they were busy dealing with quarantines. So, on the one hand, victims of abuse had that feeling that no-one would help them, and on the other hand, those abusers were sure they would get away unpunished, without anything like those Blue Cards, at ease, no-one calls, no-one comes It turned out that the police were going round after all, that they could detain abusers, that the district officer was able to visit homes, but in the first weeks there was that belief that nothing could be done, and it really barred victims from seeking help. When I asked if she had called the police, then she said "Well, no, because they won't come anyway." (NGO_E12)

The close presence of offenders also made it more difficult to report violence. As the experts from NGOs pointed out, the drop in the number of phone calls reporting domestic violence in the first stage of the pandemic was linked to the novel situation, that is, constantly staying in the same place with the offender:

I mean, there were really fewer calls, even though there was more violence, because those women had no way of calling, because all the time ... their partners listened to what they were doing and watched them. (NGO_E14)

The NGO experts emphasised that after the initial shock, they quickly adapted their way of working to the prevailing conditions, and the victims found ways to contact them, which resulted in a much greater number of reports of domestic violence than before the outbreak of the pandemic. This confirms the observation from various countries around the world of higher levels of reported domestic violence during the pandemic.³³

Those calls were many, plenty. I have a feeling that this was the most we could do, that we wouldn't be able to pick up any more. As for e-mails we received, the count quadrupled. And this has continued, there are still three times more e-mails we are getting now than before the epidemic, so I have a feeling that people have somehow got used to this form of contact and are still using it, even if some of the restrictions have been lifted. (NGO_E12)

Victims used various occasions and opportunities to secretly seek help from the offenders, for example, calling when out shopping for groceries. Nevertheless, contact by phone was hindered,³⁴ so contacting the institutions by e-mail became more frequent. "Broken" e-mails were also characteristic, sometimes written one sentence at a time throughout the day, whenever an occasion arose. In such cases, remote assistance often ended in a fiasco, as the victims – even when they made contact – hung up abruptly. The respondents described the use of different means of communication so that contact could be made and assistance could be provided effectively:

We would make various arrangements, as sometimes they would say, "You know what, I'd rather call you back myself when he's in the bathroom or so, somewhere", and sometimes we made the call. It depends on [their] preferences. I understand that there are different situations, and sometimes the client would prefer not to call the police at that point, but to wait a bit longer for a more convenient moment or ask some relatives to help them move to another place. ... We do our best to adapt our solutions to what clients expect, because in such situations we also have to consider what is safer for them. But if they wanted to, we always notified the police, or did whatever we agreed with them. ... So, I also understand that big number of e-mails: people started to write more, because it was easier to e-mail us. Some were jagged messages, first one sentence, then two sentences in another e-mail and it all came together in the end. Or they said, for example, that they wrote that e-mail all day long, in quick sessions, no idea how, when she was in the bathroom or something. ... It was difficult to call and easier to write. The abuser nearby was one thing, and children next to her was another reason. They didn't want the children to listen to it, to listen to the conversation. (NGO_E12)

Reports filed during the pandemic were of a different nature, which was associated with the fear caused by the restrictions and the lockdown:

Those were completely different calls. Those people were in very bad shape mentally, they also often reported very severe beatings and were convinced that they couldn't go out, that when they were beaten with those children they simply had to stay, because if they went out to the staircase, they would be punished. So, we did a lot of education, also explaining that that wasn't how things should be, that their safety was more important. Over March, April, there

33 C. Bradbury-Jones, L. Isham, *The pandemic paradox: The consequences of COVID-19 on domestic violence*, „Journal of Clinical Nursing” 2020, 29(13–14), p. 2047–2049, <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fjocn.15296>.

34 A. Graduszyńska, A. Augustynowicz, J. Borowicz, N. Pihowicz, *How Poland and Europe are fighting domestic violence towards women during the pandemic*, „Medycyna Ogólna i Nauki o Zdrowiu” 2022, 28(1), p. 82–85, <https://doi.org/10.26444/monz/147242>.

was such a lot of fear that you can't leave the home, you can't leave the home at all, no matter what. Especially those in quarantine, they were so convinced they were not allowed to escape, even out to the staircase. (NGO_E12)

In response to the obstacles that victims of domestic violence had in contacting the relevant institutions, numerous community initiatives appeared around the world to assist victims in seeking support. For example, in Spain and France, opportunities were provided in pharmacies to safely report crime. Visiting a pharmacy was allowed, even during the lockdown, and did not raise the suspicions of offenders. A special code could be used for reports: if a customer ordered a mask no. 19 from a pharmacy with home delivery, the pharmacist would send the police to the address provided.³⁵ In Poland, a similar initiative was started by high school student Krystyna Paszko, who set up an online store called "Chamomiles & Pansies" as a disguise for a communication channel to enable victims of domestic violence to contact support centres and seek help.³⁶

6. Experience of domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic

According to published studies, domestic violence escalated due to the domestic isolation forced by the pandemic³⁷ – that isolation triggered and intensified the experience of violence, as opportunities for short breaks from stressful situations at home, such as going to work, were missing:

A situation of domestic violence is such that staying at home with each other 24/7, with those people, I don't know, working, taking care of the children, cleaning, cooking and so on, then even in normal times it would cause conflicts and tensions, and then sadly such situations multiplied, as we got reports from people who said they couldn't stand it anymore. You know, from the point of view of victims, it's especially painful, because when they had the option to go to work, do the shopping, etc., then someone always went to work for 8 hours, spent some time commuting and so on, then there was always a moment of relief. And when they stayed together all the time, their options really dried up. (Social worker_E4)

Even if reports of violence during the pandemic came from families that had not previously reported such incidents, experts claimed that those families must have experienced other signs of violence before physical violence. In principle, violence was not initiated during the pandemic, but primarily escalated in homes where it already existed:

When someone calls and says that "he got violent for the first time" and I start talking to this person, it turns out that the violence has been around for a long time, but it was more subtle, more psychological, somehow unidentified. So, I understand that the phrase "there's never been any violence, and it's only happened now" more as people did not react to the previous, more subtle signs of violence or less severe forms of violence, and during this pandemic, for example, they experienced it more painfully and they started calling us. When we started talking to them, it turned out that there had always been something before, some humiliation, or some kind of repression, or blaming. (NGO_E12)

35 I. Kottasová, V. Di Donato, *Women are using code words at pharmacies to escape domestic violence*, „SSRN” 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/02/europe/domestic-violence-coronavirus-lockdown-intl/index.html> [accessed: 27.07.2021].

36 K. Czarnecka, *18-latka wymyśliła szyfr dla ofiar przemocy domowej*, „Polityka” 2020, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/1953158,1,18-latka-wymyslila-szyfr-dla-ofiar-przemocy-domowej.read> [accessed: 27.07.2021].

37 M.A. Sacco, F. Caputo, P. Ricci, F. Sicilia, L. De Aloe, C.F. Bonetta, F. Cordasco, C. Scalise, G. Cacciatore, A. Zibetti, S. Gratteri, I. Aquila, *The impact of the COVID-19...*, p. 72; A. Sharma, S.B. Borah, *COVID-19 and domestic violence: An indirect path to social and economic crisis*, „Journal of Family Violence” 2020, vol. 37, p. 759–765, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00188-8>.

During the pandemic, there were more reports of impulsive violence (e.g. violent, severe beatings):

During the lockdown, we had a lot of phone calls just after the beating, and in general a lot of calls. I've been working here for many years, and I don't remember a time I had so many reports on a single shift after a beating so severe I considered calling an ambulance for the person, wondering if she needed immediate medical assistance. Or a person who got beaten the day before but reported it only the next day, since it was so severe. (NGO_E12)

As domestic violence intensified (or was fully revealed), some victims took the decision during the pandemic to leave their partner/abuser. Nevertheless, the pandemic made it even more difficult to decide to leave a home with domestic violence – a decision which is not easy in any case. For these reasons, according to the respondents, some victims did not take this step, especially early in the pandemic:

It's not that we had fewer of those reports than usual – there were simply fewer people who were willing to leave their homes and move to the welfare centre. And we were analysing why this was so and thought that if it is complicated to escape an abuser normally, then if you are locked down in a single room 24/7, or simply for a long time each day, with an abuser, your difficulties in organising an escape mount even more. (NGO_E3)

As the pandemic dragged on, the experts first of all pointed to the likely intensification of domestic violence and the issues of the past experiences of the institutions in supporting victims of abuse:

Any restriction of people's mobility so that they cannot go out and they have to spend days and weeks together will certainly lead to increased levels of violence. (NGO_E14)

As regards domestic violence and possible further "stay at home" restrictions, the experts stated that there is a need for closer contact between welfare institutions and families, and in particular with offenders:

Especially then, I think, the contact with those people would have to be more frequent. Also, all the services that can penetrate those circles, as district police officers could, should do it. But I also feel that the phone contact with those who use violence is greatly underestimated, and I believe that, for example, if they had a phone call once or twice a week just to check on their conduct in such times, on how they behave, but also on how they cope, to refer them to therapeutic programmes, which, after all, are run online even at our centre, then that would be some way forward. So, keeping in contact with the family, making them aware that the services have not forgotten them and giving those abusers options to vent, with these programmes for them available at all times. (NGO_E12)

The research has shown how important it is to combine different methods of examining such sensitive phenomena as domestic violence during the pandemic. Statistical data only showed the numerical picture; qualitative research, in turn, made us realise what problem the victims faced, especially during the lockdown: they could not leave home and had to stay at home with their abusers. The interviews with experts show that, despite the difficult situation in the country and the need to change the form of work, aid institutions should not be closed to people who need help – on the contrary, they should become more and more flexible, e.g. in terms of the form of contact.

7. Conclusion

Based on the police data, it can be concluded that the period of the pandemic in Poland, in particular the first and second lockdowns, resulted in underreported incidents of domestic violence. Nonetheless, the interviews with experts indicate that during this time the risk of domestic violence increased.

The reasons for the decline in domestic violence cases in police statistics were the victims' fear of seeking help due to restrictions (fear of leaving the home) and the difficulty in calling for help because of constant contact with the offender.³⁸ The way the institutions themselves operated during this time is also significant; being closed to face-to-face meetings, they could only provide assistance in a limited form, and sometimes, due to the burden of new tasks, they could not respond properly.

Unfortunately, with the available data it was impossible to confirm whether the increase in recorded acts of domestic violence – which was interestingly observed after the first lockdown was lifted (likely the effect of delayed filings) – also took place after the end of the second and third lockdowns. Furthermore, our analysis is somehow limited by the unavailability of data on recorded domestic violence incidents under the Blue Card procedure from institutions other than the police.

At the same time, the experts we interviewed and the statistics on emergency phone calls and e-mails from the largest Polish NGO providing assistance to victims of domestic violence indicate an increase in the scale of domestic violence and the number of requests for support during the pandemic. Thus, our study confirms the international observations of an increase in domestic violence during the pandemic.³⁹

It is difficult to clearly indicate which factor was the key in both reducing the reporting to the police and increasing the actual scale of domestic violence. However, the message is that lessons must be learnt so that the institutions can be improved and adjusted to the new forms of communication (new channels used more often, such as e-mail) in future. Every effort should be made to step up the preparedness, prevention and response capabilities to domestic violence in fast-changing conditions. Further comparative analyses of data on violence itself, the experiences of individual countries and the solutions used there, followed by the implementation of those that have proved effective, such as increasing community vigilance (social control),⁴⁰ will certainly be helpful in this regard.

References

Scientific publications:

- Agüero J.M., *COVID-19 and the rise of intimate partner violence*, „World Development” 2021, vol. 137, p. 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.worlddev.2020.105217>.
- Berniell I., Facchin G., *COVID-19 lockdown and domestic violence: Evidence from internet-search behavior in 11 countries*, „European Economic Review” 2021, vol. 136, p. 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2021.103775>.
- Bradbury-Jones C., Isham L., *The pandemic paradox: The consequences of COVID-19 on domestic violence*, „Journal of Clinical Nursing” 2020, 29(13–14), p. 2047–2049, <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fjocn.15296>.

38 J. Neil, *Domestic violence and COVID-19: Our hidden epidemic*, „Australian Journal of General Practice” 2020, vol. 49, p. 1–2, <https://www1.racgp.org.au/getattachment/6f14564c-e1ef-447d-b920-303ba93d0cac/Domestic-violence-and-COVID-19.aspx> [accessed: 27.07.2021].

39 J.M. Agüero, *COVID-19 and the rise of intimate partner violence*, „World Development” 2021, vol. 137, p. 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.worlddev.2020.105217>; D. Ertan, W. El-Hagel, S. Thierree, H. Javelot, C. Hingray, *COVID-19...*, op. cit.; A.R. Piquero, W.G. Jennings, E. Jemison, C. Kaukinen, F.M. Knaul, *Domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic: Evidence from a systematic review and meta-analysis*, „Journal of Criminal Justice” 2021, vol. 74, p. 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2021.101806>.

40 A. Sharma, S.B. Borah, *COVID-19 and domestic violence...*, op. cit.

- Bullinger L.R., Carr J.B., Packham A., *COVID-19 and Crime: Effects of Stay-at-Home Orders on Domestic Violence*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge 2020, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w27667>.
- Davies P., *Tackling domestic abuse locally: Paradigms, ideologies and the political tensions of multi-agency working*, „Journal of Gender-Based Violence” 2018, 2(3), p. 429–446, <https://doi.org/10.1332/239868018X15392672654573>.
- Ertan D., El-Hagel W., Thierree S., Javelot H., Hingray C., *COVID-19: Urgency for distancing from domestic violence*, „European Journal of Psychotraumatology” 2020, 11(1), p. 1–6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2F20008198.2020.1800245>.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Przemoc wobec kobiet. Badanie na poziomie Unii Europejskiej*, Urząd Publikacji Unii Europejskiej, Luxembourg 2014, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-at-a-glance-oct14_pl.pdf [accessed: 29.01.2024].
- Graduszyńska A., Augustynowicz A., Borowicz J., Pihowicz N., *How Poland and Europe are fighting domestic violence towards women during the pandemic*, „Medycyna Ogólna i Nauki o Zdrowiu” 2022, 28(1), p. 82–85, <https://doi.org/10.26444/monz/147242>.
- Grzyb M., „*We condemn abusing violence against women*”: *The criminalization of domestic violence in Poland*, „Archiwum Kryminologii” 2020, 42(1), p. 163–183, <https://doi.org/10.7420/AK2020I>.
- Halford E., Dixon A., Farrell G., Malleson N., Tilley N., *Crime and coronavirus: Social distancing, lockdown, and the mobility elasticity of crime*, „Crime Science” 2020, 9(11), p. 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-020-00121-w>.
- Klaus W., Włodarczyk-Madejska J., Wzorek D., *Abruptly interrupted lives*, [in:] J.A. Brandariz, W. Klaus, A. Martynowicz (ed.), *Forced Mobility of EU Citizens*, Routledge, London 2023, p. 141–166, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003254585-8>.
- Kociołowicz-Wisniewska B., *Przemoc w rodzinie. Polski i amerykański wymiar sprawiedliwości w czasie i po pandemii COVID-19*, Fundacja Court Watch Polska, Toruń 2021, https://courtwatch.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/FCWP_raport_przemoc_w_rodzinie-1.pdf [accessed: 10.12.2023].
- Lallie H.S., Shepherd L.A., Nurse J.R.C., Erola A., Epiphaniou G., Maple C., Bellekense X., *Cyber security in the age of COVID-19: A timeline and analysis of cyber-crime and cyber-attacks during the pandemic*, „Computers & Security” 2021, vol. 105, p. 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1016/2Fj.cose.2021.102248>.
- Murdoch A., Byczyński C., *The impact of the coronavirus (Sars-Cov-2) lockdown on crime in New York and London, march–june 2020: A comparative study*, „International Journal of Business and Management Research” 2021, 9(2), p. 124–155, <http://dx.doi.org/10.37391/IJBMR.090204>.
- Neil J., *Domestic violence and COVID-19: Our hidden epidemic*, „Australian Journal of General Practice” 2020, vol. 49, p. 1–2, <https://www1.racgp.org.au/getattachment/6f14564c-e1ef-447d-b920-303ba93d0cac/Domestic-violence-and-COVID-19.aspx> [accessed: 27.07.2021].
- Ogólnopolska diagnoza zjawiska przemocy w rodzinie*, Raport Kantar Polska dla Ministerstwa Rodziny, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej 2019.
- Piquero A.R., Jennings W.G., Jemison E., Kaukinen C., Knaul F.M., *Domestic violence during the COVID-19 pandemic: Evidence from a systematic review and meta-analysis*, „Journal of Criminal Justice” 2021, vol. 74, p. 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2021.101806>.
- Pszczołkowska D., *Facebook recruitment and online interviewing: Suitable for qualitative research in migration?*, „CMR Working Papers”, 2020, 119(177), p. 1–117, <https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/18961/WP119177.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed: 27.07.2021].
- Raport Federacji Konsumentów, Szkoły Głównej Handlowej w Warszawie, SYNO Poland i ABR SESTA, *Nastroje i plany polskich konsumentów w dobie koronawirusa*, „Gazeta SGH” 2020, https://gazeta.sgh.waw.pl/sites/gazeta.sgh.waw.pl/files/Galerie/raport_nastroje_i_plany_w_dobie_koronawirusa_2020-12-15_1_z_poprawkami.pdf [accessed: 29.01.2024].
- Roesch E., Amin A., Gupta J., García-Moreno C., *Violence against women during COVID-19 pandemic restrictions*, „BMJ” 2020, p. 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.m1712>.

- Sacco M.A., Caputo F., Ricci P., Sicilia F., De Aloe L., Bonetta C.F., Cordasco F., Scalise C., Cacciatore G., Zibetti A., Gratteri S., Aquila I., *The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on domestic violence: The dark side of home isolation during quarantine*, „Medico-Legal Journal” 2020, 88(2), p. 71–73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0025817220930553>.
- Sharma A., Borah S.B., *COVID-19 and domestic violence: An indirect path to social and economic crisis*, „Journal of Family Violence” 2020, vol. 37, p. 759–765, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00188-8>.
- Sprawozdanie PK-PIK z działalności powszechnych jednostek organizacyjnych prokuratury w sprawach karnych za rok 2020, Sprawozdanie statystyczne za 2020 r.*, „Prokuratura Krajowa” 2021, <https://www.gov.pl/web/prokuratura-krajowa/sprawozdania-statystyczne-za-2020-r> [accessed: 29.01.2024].
- Sprawozdanie z realizacji krajowego programu przeciwdziałania przemocy w rodzinie na lata 2014–2020 za okres od 1 stycznia do 31 grudnia 2019 r.*, Ministerstwo Rodziny Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, Warszawa 2017.
- Świnecka M., *Informacja dotycząca realizacji przez Policję procedury „Niebieskie Karty” w 2020 r.*, Biuro Prewencji KGP, Warszawa 2021.
- Vora M., Malathesh B.C., Das S., Chatterjee S.S., *COVID-19 and domestic violence against women*, „Asian Journal of Psychiatry” 2020, vol. 53, p. 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.51332/bjp.2020.v25.i1.82>.
- Wiktorska P., *Dziecko w sytuacji przemocy w rodzinie w ujęciu kryminologicznym*, [in:] M. Łączkowska-Porawska (ed.), *Dziecko – rodzice – państwo w kontekście świadczeń zdrowotnych, edukacyjnych i przemocy domowej*, Instytut Nauk Prawnych PAN, Warsaw 2020, p. 99–126, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4311581>.

Online sources:

- COVID-19 a zmiany w trendach dotyczących przemieszczania się*, „Google” 2020, <https://www.google.com/covid19/mobility/?hl=pl> [accessed: 29.01.2024].
- Czarnecka K., *18-latka wymyśliła szyfr dla ofiar przemocy domowej*, „Polityka” 2020, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/1953158,1,18-latka-wymyslila-szyfr-dla-ofiar-przemocy-domowej.read> [accessed: 27.07.2021].
- Grudniewska M., *Kobiety kontra koronawirus. Jak pandemia zmieniła ich życie i pracę? Raport z badania*, „Wyborcza” 2021, <https://static.im-g.pl/im/6/26955/m26955216,NIEUSTRASZONA-W-PRACY-V2.pdf> [accessed: 10.12.2023].
- Kottasová I., Di Donato V., *Women are using code words at pharmacies to escape domestic violence*, „SSRN” 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/02/europe/domestic-violence-coronavirus-lockdown-intl/index.html> [accessed: 27.07.2021].
- Sprawozdanie MS-S1r w sprawach cywilnych za rok 2020*, Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, <https://choszczno.sr.gov.pl/container/sprawozdania%202011/MS-S1r%20sprawozdanie%20w%20sprawach%20cywilnych%20za%20rok%202020.pdf> [accessed: 27.07.2021].
- Poblete-Cazenave R., *The Impact of Lockdowns on Crime and Violence Against Women – Evidence From India*, „SSRN” 2020, <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3623331>.
- Project Provisions of the Act of 30 April 2020 amending the Act – Code of Civil Procedure and certain other acts (Journal of Laws, item 956)*, „EUCPN”, https://eucpn.org/sites/default/files/document/files/Template%20good%20practices_newsletter.pdf [accessed: 29.07.2021].
- Przemoc w rodzinie – dane za lata 2012–2020*, „Portal polskiej Policji”, p. 1, <https://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przemoc-w-rodzinie/201373,Przemoc-w-rodzinie-dane-od-2012-roku.html> [accessed: 29.01.2024].
- Raport podsumowujący działalność Ogólnopolskiego Pogotowia dla Ofiar Przemocy w Rodzinie „Niebieska Linia” w 2019 roku*, „Niebieska Linia”, <https://www.niebieskalinia.info/images/rok2019.pdf> [accessed: 29.01.2024].
- Raport podsumowujący działalność Ogólnopolskiego Pogotowia dla Ofiar Przemocy w Rodzinie „Niebieska Linia” w roku 2020*, „Niebieska Linia”, https://www.niebieskalinia.info/images/raport_2020.pdf [accessed: 29.01.2024].

Rozporządzenie w sprawie procedury „Niebieskie Karty” – komentarz, „Niebieska Linia”, <https://www.niebieskalinia.info/index.php/zadania-sluzb/59-rozporzadzenie-w-sprawie-procedury-niebieskie-karty-komentarz> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

Wpływ epidemii COVID-19 na wybrane elementy rynku pracy w Polsce w II kwartale 2020 r., „Główny Urząd Statystyczny. Informacje Sygnalne” 2020, <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/rynek-pracy/popyt-na-prace/wpływ-epidemii-covid-19-na-wybrane-elementy-ryнку-pracy-w-polsce-w-drugim-kwartale-2020-roku,4,2.html> [accessed: 29.01.2024].

Official documents:

Zarządzenie Nr 12 KGP z 19 maja 2020 r. w sprawie Systemu Wspomagania Dowodzenia Policji, Dz. Urz. KGP z 2020 r., poz. 23.