

Main areas and directions of research on relation between disability and child abuse: a study review.

Contemporary researchers indicate that the relationship between disability and child abuse has a multidimensional character. They demonstrate that children with disabilities are at increased risk of abuse in all its forms. At the same time, there are various reasons for which disabled children suffer serious and far-reaching consequences of abuse. What is more, abuse itself can cause disabilities and developmental disturbances¹. As can be seen, the connections between disability and child abuse have indeed a multifaceted character.

The overview of the world literature on child abuse² revealed some perspectives concerning the relationship between child maltreatment and disability, which can be seen in various empirical approaches. These are:



Child abuse examined within the context of child's disability



Child's disability as a consequence of abuse perpetrated by family and friends

¹ e.g. M.I. Benedict M.I., R.B.White M. Louise , L.M. Wolff , B.J. Hall ., *Reported maltreatment in children with multiple disabilities*, „Child Abuse & Neglect”, 1990, Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 207-217; B.Burrell,, B. Thompson, & D. Sexton, *Predicting child abuse potential across family types*, „Child Abuse and Neglect”, 1994, vol.18, no.12, pp.1039-1049; A.Piekarska , *Krzywdzenie dziecka z zaburzeniami rozwojowymi. Przegląd zagadnień teoretyczno-badawczych oraz zastosowanie taksonomii krzywdzenia dziecka*, „Dziecko Krzywdzone” 2007, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 63-71; cf. D. Glaser , A. Bentovim , *Abuse and risk to handicapped and chronically ill children* „Child Abuse & Neglect” 1997, Vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 565-575; M. Kennedy , L. Kelly , *Special issue on child abuse and children with disability* , „Child Abuse Review”1992 vol. 1 (3); F.P. Orellove, D.J. Hollahan, &K.T. Myles, *Maltreatment of children with disabilities: training needs for a collaborative response*. „Child Abuse & Neglect”2000, vol.24, no.2, pp.185-194; K. Kendall-Tackett , T.Lyon G. Talaferro , L. Littre , *Why child maltreatment researchers should include children's disability status in their maltreatment studies*, „Child Abuse and Neglect” 2005, vol. 29, no 2, pp.147-151; L. Kelly, *The connections between disability and child abuse: a review of the research evidence* „Child Abuse Review” 1992, vol. 1, pp. 157-168. I personally attempted at demonstrating harmfulness of various forms of child abuse, and presenting the range of its consequences, including development of children's disabilities, in other publications e.g.: *Aktualne ujęcia problemu krzywdzenia dzieci – perspektywa światowa*, „Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny” 2007, no.2 pp.7-28; *Negatywne doświadczenia dziecięce a zdrowie* „Chowanna” 2007 (in press), and *Zaniedbywanie dzieci w rodzinie- znaczenie zjawiska i zasady interwencji w świetle współczesnej wiedzy* „Wychowanie Na Co Dzień” 2007, nr 9.

² I have studied the contents of two prestigious international journals focusing on the issue of child abuse, i.e. „Child Abuse and Neglect. The International Journal” and „Child Abuse Review”, and some other available sources, e.g. “Journal of Disability Policy Studies”.



Child abuse as a set of parent's behaviours and situations determined by parents' disabilities

Very few studies investigating disability and child abuse within the family have been recorded in Polish literature. The overview of Polish literature, which I conducted, on the basis of a few sources³, revealed that there are rather few publications which tackle the issue.⁴ Taking into account the fact that the above mentioned area is a virgin territory in Polish literature, the main goal of this paper is to underscore the need for expanding research into the mentioned subject, identifying areas and directions of investigation. Another important aim of the paper is to spur interest in the problem on the part of Polish researchers.

Just in order to show Polish researchers some opportunities in developing studies of the subject, the more thorough overview of world literature has been done, which has helped to specify the core *directions* of the research on the connection between child abuse and disability:

Incidence of the phenomenon among the population of children with disabilities.

This direction dominates the empirical studies which are being conducted. The main subject of these, although not all, examinations is establishing to what extent disability determines the increased risk of child abuse. This area of research has been particularly popular in the United States, where 22 extensive research projects, focusing on the range of abuse of children with disabilities, have been undertaken since 1992⁵. At the same time it should be noticed that due

³ The sources on which I based my studies include: the bibliographic references in an internet portal developed by (Nobody's Children Foundation, the contents of „Dziecko Krzywdzone”/Child Abuse/ and „Niebieska Linia”, /Blue Line/ the most representative of the journal dealing with the problem of child abuse; and other educational periodicals, monographic and collective publications.

⁴ The mentioned publications include e.g. : D. Majnartowicz, *Problemy wykorzystywania seksualnego dzieci i młodzieży z upośledzeniem umysłowym*, "Problemy Rodzinne" 1995, no. 6; D. Mejnartowicz, *O tym się mówi - problem wykorzystywania seksualnego osób z upośledzeniem umysłowym*, "Bardziej Kochani" 1999 no. 3; J. Maćkiewicz, *Przemoc wobec dziecka w rodzinie*, "Problemy Opiekuńczo-Wychowawcze" 2004, no. 5, J. Maćkiewicz, *Nauczyciele wobec problemu dziecka krzywdzonego w rodzinie: komunikat z badań*, "Nowa Szkoła" 2005, no. 8, E. Pisula., *Rodzice a niepełnosprawne dziecko*, „Niebieska Linia” 2003, no. 4 (27), K. Kubiak, *Niepełnosprawność to źródło przemocy czy siły?*, „Niebieska Linia” 2003, no. 4 (27), *Ochrona dzieci niepełnosprawnych w Wielkiej Brytanii*, „Niebieska Linia” 2003, no. 4 (27), A. Staręga, *Przemoc wobec osób niepełnosprawnych*, „Niebieska Linia” 2003, no. 4 (27). I can also point out a few other publications dealing with the issue, such as *Problemy zaniedbywania, maltretowania i wykorzystywania seksualnego dzieci niepełnosprawnych* by Lew-Starowicz D, Lew Starowicz Z., (in:) *Profilaktyka zespołu maltretowanego dziecka*, ed. J. Kordackiego, Łódź 1994. Certain references to Polish research and publications related to sexuality issues for youth with disabilities are presented by Danuta and Zbigniew Lew-Starowicz (...op.cit.). There is also a recent, completely new- "still warm"- topical article by Anna Piekarska, entitled *Krzywdzenie dziecka z zaburzeniami rozwojowymi. Przegląd zagadnień teoretyczno-badawczych oraz zastosowanie taksonomii krzywdzenia dziecka*, published in the periodical „Dziecko Krzywdzone” 2007, no.2 (19).

⁵ The examples are the projects in the USA, undertaken by Sullivan and Knutson. Cf. P.M. Sullivan, J.F. Knutson J.F. (1998), *The association between child maltreatment and disabilities in a hospital-based epidemiological study*, „Child Abuse and Neglect”, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 271-288; P.M. Sullivan & J.F. Knutson,

to encountered methodological difficulties, and the character of the statistics and collected data, on which research has been grounded, it is difficult to measure the real incidence of child abuse⁶. Hence some researchers opt for a retrospective study, the strategy which involves examining adults with disabilities, and looking back into their childhood, analyzing their child maltreatment experiences and thus attempting to measure the real incidence of the phenomenon⁷.

Characteristics of disabled children as victims of abuse.

The examples of research investigation in the area include a study into gender differences in abused children with disabilities, conducted by Sullivan and Knutson (1998); a study exploring the gender influence on forms and incidence of maltreatment among children with disabilities, by comparison with children without disabilities, carried out by Sobsey, Randall and Parrill (1997); or examinations aimed at estimating the child's peak age of vulnerability to abuse, and describing the influence of race on the phenomenon of abuse among children with disabilities⁸. Many researchers maintain that another factor which places children with disabilities at risk for abuse is the fact that they very often lack knowledge and understanding

Maltreatment and disabilities: a population-based epidemiological study, „Child Abuse & Neglect”2000, Vol. 24, no. 10, pp. 1257-1273 (1998 and 2000). These epidemiological (comparative) studies were carried out in Nebraska, and they revealed the fact that children with disabilities are maltreated by their parents 3.4 times more often than children without disabilities. The case study of child abuse reported to CPS (Child Protective Services), conducted by Westat Inc determined that, overall, the estimated incidence of maltreatment among children with disabilities was 1.7 times greater than the estimated incidence in children without disabilities. Cf. Westat, Inc. (1993). *A report on the maltreatment of children with disabilities*. Washington, DC: National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, www.nccan.calib.com. There is also other nationwide comparative study, conducted in the USA in 1993, which reveals the fact that the rate of abuse among children with disabilities is 1.7 times higher than among children without disabilities (Crosse, S.B., Kaye, E. & Ratnofsky, A.C. (n.d.). *A report on the maltreatment of children with disabilities*. Washington, D.C.: National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, DHHS; S.L.Elvik, C.D.Berkowitz., E.Nicholas J. Lindley Lipman, S.H. Inkelis, *Sexual abuse in the developmentally disabled: Dilemmas of diagnosis*, „Child Abuse & Neglect” 1990, Vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 497-502. The studies conducted by Crosse and other researchers indicated that 21.3 out of 1000 children without disabilities were maltreated by their parents every year, whereas in the group of children with disabilities, 35.5 out of 1000 children suffered from maltreatment.

⁶ L.M. Mitchell, A. Buchele-Ash, *Abuse and neglect of individuals with disability: Building protective supports through public policy*, „Journal of Disability Policy Studies”2000, vol. 10, no 2, pp. 225-243

⁷ R.L. Wald, J.F.Knutson, *Childhood disciplinary experiences reported by adults with craniofacial anomalies*, „Child Abuse & Neglect” 2000, Vol. 24, no.12, pp. 1623-1627; M.H. Kvam *Is sexual abuse of children with disabilities disclosed? A retrospective analysis of child disability and the likelihood of sexual abuse among those attending Norwegian hospitals*, „Child Abuse & Neglect”2000, Vol. 24, no. 8, pp. 1073-1084; W.R. Lindsay, J. Law, K. Quinn, N. Smart and A.H.W. Smith, *A comparison of physical and sexual abuse: histories of sexual and non-sexual offenders with intellectual disability*, „Child Abuse & Neglect”2001, Vol. 25, no. 7, pp. 989-995.

⁸ Crosse et al....op.cit., Sullivan and Knutson (1998)...op.cit., Sullivan and Knutson (2000)...op.cit.; D. Sobsey, W. Randall, R.K.Parrilla, *Gender differences in abused children with and without disabilities* „Child Abuse & Neglect”1997, Vol. 21, no. 8, pp. 707-720; Wolcott 1997 quoted after: The risk and prevention of maltreatment of children with disabilities, www.childwelfare.gov/pubs/prevenres/focus (23.08.07).

concerning discerning improper and indecent behaviour towards them as abuse. It happens that even if they recognize their parents' wrong behavior, they might not try to defend themselves against them, for the fear of losing their parents' favour and affection. The self-defense is very often impossible due to degree and kind of child's disability⁹. Other researchers, such as Hobbs et al. (1993), Schor (1987, or Sinanson (1993), emphasize that certain characteristics which children with disabilities display, can contribute to increased risk factors related to their abuse. They include the child's communication problems; motor impairment; partial or complete social isolation; increased psychological and physical dependence on parents; specially developed need for affection and acceptance; intensification of behavioural disorders, difficult to accept in the social environment, and coming as a consequence of suffering from disability; hindered perception and evaluation of various situations they face and behaviours they encounter¹⁰.

Abuse risk factors for children with disabilities.

As a result of examination, many factors related to family, welfare system and societal variables have been found responsible for the increased abuse risk among children with disabilities¹¹. In general, the usual abuse risk factors are not in any way different from the ones related to a general population of children. However, some of the factors apply particularly to children with disabilities; in this case they operate more intensively¹². For instance according to Burrell et al.(1994), such factors as stress, family financial resources and societal support, are particularly significant determinants of abuse risk among children with disabilities. Benedict et al. (1992) observed the phenomenon of negative perception of stress situations in the families with disabled children which have been reported to the services because of abuse. A considerable number of researchers cling to the view that disability itself causes increased stress in a family¹³. There is though a group of people who

⁹ Wolcott (1997) following: The risk.and...op.cit; S. Bennett., N.J.Baladerian, *Children with disabilities and child maltreatment*, „The Link” 2005, vol.14, no. 2

¹⁰ Quoted after A. Piekarska...op.cit

¹¹ Cf. Burrell et al. 1994; Mitchell and Buchelle-Ash ...op.cit.; Sobsey ...op.cit.; M.A. Steiberg, J.R.Hylton, *Responding to maltreatment of children with disabilities: A trainer's guide*. Wheeler Ed. Portland 1998, Oregon Institute on Disability and Development.

¹² Bennett and Baladerian...op.cit.

¹³ e.g. Outstread 1974 quoting after Lew-Starowicz D., Lew-Starowicz Z., (1994), *Problemy zaniebywania maltretowania i wykorzystywania seksualnego dzieci niepełnosprawnych*, (in:) *Profilaktyka zespołu maltretowanego*, ed. J.Kordackiego, Łódź 1994; S.Rogow, J. Hass, *The person within; Preventing abuse of children and young people with disabilities*. Vancouver 1999, BC; British Columbia Institute Against Family Violence; D. Jones., D.M.Peterson, P.F.Goldberg., M.Goldberg and J.Smith., *Risky situations: vulnerable children*. Minneapolis 1995, MN, PACER Center, Inc; A.M.Tomison, *Child maltreatment and disability*. „Issues in Child Abuse Prevention”1996,no. 7, pp.1-11; C.M.Connell, N.Bergeron, K.H.Katz , L. Saunders., J. Kraemer

claim that it is not so much the stress caused by the child's disability as lack of societal support and appropriate financial means, necessary to meet the disabled children's specific needs, that is of importance here¹⁴. The studies conducted by Sobsey (1994) and Wolcott (1997) demonstrate that there are also other risk factors, such as negative social attitudes and beliefs towards disability.

Characteristics of parents and families abusing children with disabilities

The research in the given area concentrated mainly on identifying which family members abuse their disabled children most often. The example can be the examinations carried out by Sobsey (1994), Crosse et al. (n.d.), or Sullivan and Knutson (2000), which explicitly prove that mothers are the most frequent abusers. An exception is sexual abuse of disabled children within the family. In this case the most common type of perpetrator was a man. As far as other features of parents and families are concerned, Sobsey (1994) and Wolcott (1997) in their studies point to parents' addiction problems. The examinations conducted by Sobsey (1994), Sullivan and Cork (1996), Jones et al. (1995), and those carried out by Bennet and Baladerin 2005, reveal that there are also other features of parents perpetrating abuse, which are significant factors in the abuse of children with disabilities. They include parents' childhood abuse experiences, low impulse control, poor ability to cope with problems, low level of psychological competence, low self-esteem and their own disabilities. The research projects undertaken by Rycuss and Hughes (1998), and by Burelli et al.(1994) show that the risk of maltreatment in children with disabilities may be higher if parents view their child as "different", unlike, or worse than any other child, and if they "mourn" the loss of a "normal" child, or if they see the disability as an embarrassment or perceived punishment¹⁵.

Types of disability and forms of child abuse and neglect.

Among examples of studies aimed at exploring the relationship between the type of child abuse and type of disability, one can point to the research conducted by Knutson et al. (2004), into the differences between disciplinary choices of mothers of profoundly deaf children and mothers of normally hearing children. One should also mention the studies undertaken by Sullivan and Knutson (2000), or those conducted by Crosse et al. (n.d.), in which their

Tebes , *Re-referral to child protective services: The influence of child, family, and case characteristics on risk status*, „Child Abuse and Neglect” 2007, vol 31, no 5, pp. 573-588.

¹⁴ Sobseyop.cit.; M.A. Steiberg and Hylton.....op.cit.; Tomisonop.cit

¹⁵ .S. Rycus, and R.C.Hughes, *Field guide to child welfare*, Volume III: *Child development and child welfare*. Washington, D.C 1998.: Child Welfare League of America; Burell et al....op.cit

authors, on the one hand side, made an attempt to identify the type of abuse most frequently experienced by children with disabilities, not taking into account the type of disability (the fact worth notifying is that the findings from the two studies were not consistent with one another)¹⁶. However, when examining the impact of disability type on child abuse, the findings of the investigations quoted above were the same results. They indicated that of all types of disabilities, emotional and behavioural disorders showed the highest prevalence rate of abuse¹⁷. Both of these studies found that the disabilities which place children at greater risk of abuse include speech/language impairments, mental retardation, physical health impairments, and learning disabilities¹⁸. They even estimated the risk of the particular form of maltreatment in relation to the type of disability¹⁹. Furthermore, some studies suggest that the risk of maltreatment for children with disabilities can be determined by severity of disability. For instance, it has been revealed in the studies conducted by Benedict et al. (1990) that children with mild disability may be at greater risk for maltreatment than those with more severe disability, since parents, as the researchers explain it, have some expectations of their children, who are not able to meet them²⁰.

Specific character of aid provided for families maltreating children with disabilities, or approaching the cases involving disabled parents who abuse their children

Domestic violence against children with disabilities poses a problem which is particularly difficult to deal with and prevent²¹. In this area numerous barriers have been pointed out,

¹⁶ Crosse et al. (op.cit.), for example, found that the most common form of maltreatment which children with disabilities experience is emotional abuse, followed by physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. Sullivan and Knutson (2000 op. cit.), however, estimated different likelihood of maltreatment of children with disabilities, regarding emotional abuse as the most likely form, followed by neglect, physical abuse, and considering sexual abuse to be the least likely form of maltreatment. Their previous study of child abuse recorded by hospitals in Nebraska revealed that the most common form of abuse for children with disabilities was neglect. However, it was found that more than half of those children experienced various forms of maltreatment. (Sullivan and Knutson 1998...op.cit.).

¹⁷ The studies quoted above examined the following types of disability: mental retardation, speech/language impairments, emotional disturbance, learning disabilities, physical Health impairments, and hearing and visual impairments

¹⁸ cf. Bennett and Baladerianop.cit.

¹⁹ The researchers found that children with behavioural disorders are 7 times more likely to be neglected and physically abused, and 5.5 times more likely to be sexually abused than are children with other disabilities. Whereas mentally retarded children are 4 times more likely to experience all forms of maltreatment than are children without disabilities. The risk of all types of maltreatment for children with orthopedic problems and learning disabilities is „only” 2 times higher when compared with children without disabilities. cf. Sullivan and Knutson (2000)...op.cit..

²⁰ Benedict et al. (1990)...op.cit.

²¹ G.Olivan-Gonzalvo, *Childhood, disability and violence. Empowering disability organisations to develop prevention strategies*, 2004. Book review, „Child Abuse and Neglect” 2005, vol. 29, no. 3 pp. 294;

which hinder approaching the cases, and decrease the effectiveness of provided aid²². The main obstacle is the restricted possibility to recognize the features of maltreatment in children with disabilities. It results from such factors as: limited possibility to identify and assess the symptoms of maltreatment, which very often resemble behavioural patterns and the characteristics related to disability; communication problems of disabled children, which require using specific communication methods, and for example “interrogating” the child; or disability in general, which makes communication itself impossible. The list mentioned above should also include two other determinants such as dominance of medical approach with regard to both the society’s and professionals’ interest in disabled children, and to the character of provided help; and generally limited access to the population of children with disabilities²³.

The barriers encountered in the process of providing special aid, in the cases under examination, arise also as a consequence of low competence in the specific character of the particular disability type, which is displayed by the services protecting children from maltreatment. Bennet and Baladerin (2005), and Kendall-Tackett et al. (2005) demonstrate in their studies that difficulties in finding a backup caregiver for a disabled child might considerably restrict the professional’s possibility to recognize the problem of child maltreatment within the family. There is also research evidence which proves that children with developmental difficulties and physical health disabilities are placed at higher risk for maltreatment recurrences²⁴.

Parents with disabilities and child maltreatment.

Studies concerning the issue of disabled parents who abuse children (children in general) are definitely less common than the research examining the risk of abuse for children with disabilities. Empirical studies of the topic focus mainly on estimating the risk of child maltreatment (violence and neglect) perpetrated by parents with disabilities. For instance the studies conducted by Llevellyn et al. (2003) aimed at measuring the incidence of child abuse

E.B.Lightfoot , T.L. LaLiberte, *Approaches to child protection case management for casus involving people with disabilities*, „Child Abuse and Neglect”2006, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 381-391

²² Bennett and Baladrianop.cit.; Kendall-Tackett, et al.,....op.cit

²³ cf. A.H. Parmelee, J. Howard, L.Beckwith , *Infant mental health and biological risk*

„Child Abuse & Neglect”1984, Vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 219-226; Elvik et al...op.cit.; Benedict et al., ...op.cit.;

Kvam...,op.cit. Parmelee A.H., Howard J. and Beckwith L....op.cit.; A.C. Cederborg, M.E.Lamb, *How does the legal system respond when children with learning difficulties are victimized?*”Child Abuse & Neglect”2006, Vol. 30, no. 5, pp. 537-547.

²⁴ cf. Connell et al...op.cit.; D.DePanfilis, S.J.Zuravin , *Predicting child maltreatment recurrences during treatment*, „Child Abuse & Neglect”1999, Vol. 23, nr 8, pp. 729-743.

perpetrated by parents with disabilities, which had been reported to child protective services in Australia. Seagull and Scheurer (1986) investigated in their research the phenomenon of child abuse by parents with intellectual disabilities. Other examples are the studies conducted by Bishop (2003) or Llewellyn et al. (2003). Lindsey et al. (2001) examined the most dominating form of abuse experienced in childhood by intellectually impaired parents, who abuse their children. There is also research exploring the possibilities for providing effective help for disabled parents who abuse their children. The examples are American studies carried out by Nam, Meezan and Danzinger (2006), investigating involvement of parents who abuse their children, with child protective services; and examining the intellectual level and learning abilities of mothers, as a determinant of the involvement²⁵.

Consequences of abuse among children with disabilities.

Researchers tried to find an answer whether children with disabilities suffer more negative consequences of abuse than their non-disabled counterparts. Sullivan and Knutson (2000) conducted research into the effects of maltreatment and neglect on children's school performance and attendance, comparing disabled and non-disabled children. The findings showed that the effects were worse in the group of children with disabilities. Some researchers, e.g. Cruze et al. (1988), proved in their studies that the impact of maltreatment (in this case, it was the impact of sexual abuse which was under the examination), was more devastating on disabled than non-disabled children²⁶.

Development of disabilities as a result of child maltreatment.

The research question framed within this area is: are the children experiencing maltreatment (violence and neglect) placed at increased risk for disability? The studies showed that 58 % of children, who had been victims of abuse in their families, consequently displayed the

²⁵ cf. G.Llewellyn., D.McConnell and L.Ferronato, *Prevalence and outcomes for parents with disabilities and their children in an Australian court sample*, „Child Abuse & Neglect”2003, Vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 235-251; E.A.W.Seagull, S.L. Schreuer, *Neglected and abused children of mentally retarded parents*, „Child Abuse and Neglect”1986, vol. 10, no. 4, pp.493-500; S.J.Bishop, *Parents with disabilities involved in dependency cases* „Child Abuse & Neglect”2003, Vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 233-234; W.R. Lindsay, J.Law., K. Quinn., N. Smart and A.H.W. Smith, *A comparison of physical and sexual abuse: histories of sexual and non-sexual offenders with intellectual disability*, „Child Abuse & Neglect” 2001, Vol. 25, no. 7, pp. 989-995; Y.Nam, W. Meezan, S.K.Danzinger, *Welfare recipients' involvement with child protective services after welfare reform*, „Child Abuse and Neglect”2006, vol 30, no. 11, pp.1181-1200.

²⁶ V.K.Cruz, D.Price-Williams, and L.Andron, *Developmentally disabled women who were molested as children.*, „Social Casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work”1998, 69, pp. 411-419.

symptoms of mental retardation²⁷. Other researchers, such as Sandgrund (1974) or Eppler (1977) also concluded that the effect of abuse and neglect was mental retardation²⁸. Many research studies investigate the contribution of neglect of young children to the development of their intellectual disabilities²⁹.

Conclusion

Summing up, it can be emphasized that the research into the relationship between the phenomenon of child abuse and disability should be expanded and intensified by Polish researchers, especially in with regard to its record in the country's literature. It should be underscored that the studies are of direct importance for the improvement of the range and character of intervention and help provided for disabled children who are victims of abuse in their families.

²⁷ Chotiner and Legh (1976) quoting after Lew-Starowicz ...op.cit.

²⁸ quoting after Lew-Starowicz and Lew Starowiczop.cit.

²⁹ I suggest a paper on this issue cf. E. Jarosz, *Zaniedbywanie dzieci w rodzinie – znaczenie zjawiska i zasady interwencji w świetle współczesnej wiedzy*, „Wychowanie na co dzień” 2007, no. 9.

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