Children’s views on contact with non-resident fathers in the context of domestic abuse

This briefing focuses on the factors that influence children’s views about contact with non-resident fathers in the context of domestic abuse.

**Background**

In recent years the issue of children’s contact with non-resident parents when there are allegations of domestic abuse has been increasingly debated. Some commentators argue that in circumstances of domestic abuse, contact with an abusive father may not be in the best interests of the child. To support these claims they point to evidence that domestic abuse adversely affects children (see Holt et al, 2008 for an overview), and domestic abuse often continues following separation (e.g. Stanley et al, 2011; Brownridge, 2006). There has been some academic work addressing the specific issue of children’s views and experiences of contact when there is domestic abuse. This has found that children often have contradictory feelings about their fathers (Holt, 2013; Thiara and Gill, 2012; Mullender et al, 2002; Peled, 1998) and they may struggle to accommodate the conflicting sides of their father (Peled, 1998). Holt (2013) and Mullender (2002) report that children’s desire to have contact was often linked to their analysis of their fathers’ behaviour – whether they were able to ‘change’ or not.

Another important factor relates to what children perceive to be their fathers’ motivation for contact. Holt (2013) found that children who perceived contact to be a means to exert control, rather than maintain a relationship, were especially frustrated and apathetic about contact. She also found that the quality of the father-child relationship was most influential to children’s experience of contact.

Changes made by the Family (Law) Scotland Act 2006 to the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, raised the profile of domestic abuse in parental disputes about contact. Section 11 (7A-C) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 now requires courts to take into account the need to protect the child from any abuse or risk of abuse, the effects of such abuse, and the ability of the person to care for or meet the needs of the child, when making orders. The type of abuse that courts are required to consider includes domestic abuse. Despite this reform there has been no research in Scotland about children’s views on contact when there is domestic abuse.

**Key points**

- Children held diverse views about contact with their non-resident fathers in the context of domestic abuse.
- Children’s views about contact were affected by their fathers’ previous and continued abuse, and the impact this abuse had on the children themselves and their mothers.
- Exposure to domestic abuse did not neatly predict whether children wanted contact with their fathers. Children developed their own analysis of their fathers’ behaviour which influenced their views about contact.
- For the majority of the children, contact held significance beyond the relationship they had with their fathers; for example it was viewed as an opportunity to reconnect with their old lives, siblings and wider family members following separation. Several children identified their fathers’ consumption of alcohol as having a negative influence on their views about contact.
- For the majority of children whose fathers had re-partnered, these new relationships and related step-children had a negative influence on their views about contact.

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**Policy and practice implications**

- Parental separation should not be considered an end to domestic abuse or its impact.
- Domestic abuse (both historic and on-going) is a core concern for children when considering contact. Support for children should provide opportunities to talk about this and make sense of the contradictory feelings they may have towards their fathers.
- In the context of domestic abuse, children would benefit if any risk posed by fathers and accountability for abuse is addressed before contact takes place and if necessary monitored in an on-going way.
- Support for children should be sensitive and responsive to the impact that contact has for children’s close and wider relationships.
- It is important that children’s views about contact are contextualised. A narrow focus on whether or not children want contact with their father risks overlooking the strategic decisions that children make when considering contact. For instance, what contact may mean for reconnecting with their old home and their parents’ new relationships.

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**References**


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[Image 252x252 to 343x290]
The study
The research was qualitative with separate in-depth interviews carried out with children and their resident mothers. A total of 18 children participated. The age of child participants ranged from 8-14 years: 8 were boys and 10 were girls. The majority of the families identified as White Scottish, one family identified as Asian and one as Chinese. Families were recruited from domestic abuse support services in both the voluntary and statutory sectors: This helped identify children who had experienced domestic abuse, parental separation and contact, while also providing a supportive environment in which to conduct the research. Non-resident fathers of the child participants were not included in this research. Fathers’ perspectives are of course important in any debate on contact and domestic abuse. However, the decision to not include fathers was made so as not to undermine the safety of children and mothers, and in a bid to ensure that the research was not dominated by the parental dispute about contact.

Findings
The children interviewed in this study held diverse views about contact. Views were shaped by children’s own unique circumstances, relationships and personalities. A few children were positive about contact; they looked forward to and enjoyed spending time with their father. Others were more ambivalent or abuse could be contained during contact. The notion of wanting contact if their fathers’ behaviour could be controlled was raised in interviews with a number of children. In a few cases, how children understood domestic abuse and the reasons for the separation appeared influential in their views in favour of contact. In Maria’s case, despite giving evidence to the police about a serious attack on her mother which her father was subsequently convicted of, who Maria believed to be responsible for domestic abuse seemed less obvious:

- Maria: Yeah but em it wasn’t all my dad’s fault do you know what I mean? He reacted and that blew it up.
- Researcher: So who was being violent to who?
- Maria: My dad to my mum, but em, fair enough my dad shouldn’t have done that eh, but em, at the same time my mum used to sort of wind everyone up with the way that she acted. Do you know what I mean?

Maria appears to equalise responsibility for the abuse between both her mother and father. While she identifies her father as being violent towards her mother, she attempts to rationalise her violence by implying that her mother provoked him. This blurs responsibilities for the abuse and perhaps allows Maria to excuse her father for the assaults he carried out. It was not clear what led Maria to this conclusion. However it mirrors how victims rationalise domestic abuse (e.g. Pain, 2012) and resembles reasons used by perpetrators of domestic abuse to legitimise or minimise the abuse they carry out (e.g. Harne, 2004). It also supports Peled’s (1998) interpretation that children struggle to accommodate the contradictory sides of abusive fathers.

Changes in children’s lives
In addition to domestic abuse, children’s views on contact were affected by a range of issues related to the changes in their lives following parental separation. In all cases, parental separation not only signalled changes to the relationships that children had with their fathers but also important changes to other aspects of their lives. In many cases these changes were exacerbated because parental separation had occurred in the context of domestic abuse.

- Becoming homeless

The vast majority of children had left the family home when their contact with their father began. There were only three cases where children had remained in their home following the separation. In all of the other cases children and women had become homeless. Many of these children had moved to a refuge. A few had to move to several different refuges because their father had discovered the refuge location and had made new threats to their mothers. There were other children who had lived with family members until issues concerning accommodation had been resolved. As Stafford et al (2008) report, homelessness as a consequence of domestic abuse means that children often move to an unfamiliar area. They have to change schools, leave friends, pets and possessions behind. For some children in this study this was not the first time that their parents had separated or the first time they had become homeless. While these significant disturbances were features of children’s and women’s lives, the majority of men continued to live in the family home. This meant that contact with a father was also a means for children to re-connect with their lives that had existed pre-separation.

- Siblings living apart

Six of the children had lived apart from a sibling since their parents’ separation. In all of these cases the sibling was the eldest male child in the family. For these children, contact held significance beyond the relationship they had with their father; it was also an opportunity to spend time with a sibling. In four of the stories the family had lived apart, contact between the children interviewed and non-resident fathers had ended as had any contact between their siblings and their mother.

As well as disrupting the parent and child relationships (that in some cases was welcome), an unconvincing consequence of contact was that siblings’ relationships were also disrupted, which was a source of distress and upset for the children concerned.

- Parents re-partnering

Difficulties that can arise for children as a result of parents re-partnering were often interwoven with children’s views about contact. In the majority of cases where fathers had formed a new relationship, children viewed their fathers’ new partners negatively. Children also identified their fathers’ new step-children as negatively influencing their views about contact.

- Wider family

Contact was identified by children as a means to continue relationships with their wider family. For some children, contact meant they were able to spend time with their wider family (including grandparents, aunts and uncles) as well as their father. In other cases children reported that when their children’s relationships with their extended family were jeopardised because of children’s views about contact and contact arrangements.

- Alcohol

Several children identified their fathers’ consumption of alcohol as a particular problem affecting the contact they had with them. They were concerned about their fathers’ drinking and the way that it affected their behaviour during contact. Children described being wary of their fathers, wondering whether they would be drunk during contact and what the repercussions of this might be.

Conclusion
This research confirms existing findings about the complexity of children’s views about contact with fathers in the context of domestic abuse. This research also highlights how contact held significant meaning beyond the relationship children have with their fathers. The findings show the breadth of issues that children considered when discussing contact and the particular attention children paid to the impact that their views might have on others, and on their wider relationships. Parental separation does not only affect the relationship between the child and non-resident parent; it has ripple effects that involve other aspects of children’s lives. The presence of domestic abuse can contribute to difficulties in contact arrangements when viewed through the child, the context and the reasons that underpin these views are important and may offer insight into the child’s circumstances.