

# Understanding **Coercive Control** and its Impacts on Children

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Coercive Control in Children's and Mothers' Lives

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#### **Coercive Control in Children's and Mothers' Lives** Oxford University Press, 2022

The first book ever published on children and coercive control.

Shows how it is the coercive controller's actions that are directly harming the child's world, their experience of life, and what they can and cannot do each day.

Shows positive outcomes for mothers and children during the post-abuse recovery process, where mothers and children who received timely and appropriate supports were able to build new family lives based on reciprocal care and mutual respect.

Calls for children and their survivor parents to be seen as covictims and co-survivors.

# This talk will cover...

- 1. Understanding coercive control
- Impacts of coercive control on children and young people
- Children and young people's experiences after parental separation

# UNDERSTANDING COERCIVE CONTROL

# The lives of survivors are seriously limited

Coercive control involves situations where a person causing harm subjects another person/s to **persistent**, **wide-ranging controlling behaviour** over a long period of time, behaviour that goes beyond the reasonable expectations that people have of each other in families and relationships, and **makes it clear that standing up for themselves will be punished**, i.e. 'do what I say, or else...'.

Punishment may take many forms; it may or may not be violence, but it will definitely be something the survivor dreads, such as cruel verbal putdowns, hurting loved ones, coercing the survivor into unwanted forms of sexual activity, or economically/financially abusing the survivor.

By repeatedly punishing the survivor for non-compliance, the person causing harm intends to **demoralise and terrorise the survivor into a state of permanent obedience** (Stark, 2007).

Not all family violence involves coercive control. Coercive control is particularly severe and serious. It causes high levels of harm and is a key risk factor for intimate partner femicide (Monckton Smith, 2020).

# The lives of survivors are seriously limited

The person causing harm is motivated by their **deeply held and harmful drive to obtain control over the other people in their family** and to maintain that control indefinitely (Monckton Smith, 2020).

For the person causing harm, this drive is so strong that tends to **dominate** their whole life — much of their time is spent pursuing, upholding and enjoying the control they seek, and building up a **positive public reputation** that will reduce the likelihood that anyone will ever believe or rally around the survivor/s, should the survivor/s ask for help (Monk, 2017).

The **impacts** on the family will include fear, confusion, self-doubt/self-blame, low self-esteem, trauma, PTSD, depression, anxiety, illness, deprivation, the feeling of always 'walking on eggshells', trying to please the person causing harm, and not being able to exercise self-determination over key areas of their lives (Sharp-Jeffs et al, 2018; Crossman et al, 2016).

There may also be attempts from survivors to **fight back**, resist, speak the truth about what is happening, and protect themselves and the other survivors in the family from further harm (Dutton and Goodman, 2005).

### Coercive control is mainly perpetrated by men

Research by Michael Johnson and colleagues (2014) in the US found **22% of women** had experienced coercive control from ex-husbands, and **5.4% of men** experienced coercive control from ex-wives.

Analysis of the Crime Survey for England and Wales by Andy Myhill (2015) found that, out of a group of women and men who reported experiencing some kind of domestic abuse, **30% of women** and **6% of men** had experiences severe enough to be called 'coercive control'. (Their partners had repeatedly belittled them to the point of making them feel worthless and made them feel frightened by threatening to hurt them.)

**97%** of persons convicted of the crime of controlling and coercive behaviour in England and Wales in the year ending December 2020 were male (Women's Aid, 2021).

# Coercive control occurs pre- and post separation, and includes:

- > control of time and movement, and the micro-management of the survivor's everyday life & self-expression
- > emotional and psychological abuse against the survivor and their loved ones (including pets)
- > manipulation, including through periods of strategic 'niceness'



- > sexual coerciveness and rape, paranoia about infidelity, intimate image/video abuse, reproductive coercion, and harming the survivor's ability to protect their sexual health
- economic abuse, including interfering with the survivor's employment, preventing them from having money/assets, refusing to contribute to bills, creating debt for which survivors are liable, and taking them to court vexatiously so their money and assets are drained by the legal proceedings
- > isolation from sources of support, including family, friends, communities and professionals
- monitoring, harassment and stalking (including via technology)
- > manipulating others (including children) to upset, marginalise and disempower the survivor
- > using and manipulating legal processes and institutions/systems to threaten, harm, impoverish or discredit the survivor
- > physical violence, physical abuse, intimidation, and threats of violence against the survivor, their loved ones (including pets) and their property

(Dragiewicz et al, 2022; Gutowski et al, 2022; Sharp-Jeffs, 2022; Spearman et al, 2022; Tarzia and Hegarty, 2022; Monk and Bowen, 2021; Tarzia, 2021; Monckton Smith, 2020; Macdonald et al, 2019; Tarzia et al, 2019; Sharp-Jeffs et al, 2018; Pitman, 2017; Matheson et al, 2015; Sanders, 2015; Thomas et al, 2014; Stark, 2012; Lehmann et al, 2012; Miller et al, 2010; Stark, 2009; Stark, 2007.)

# It is continual multi tactical abuse, not isolated incidents of violence

Professor Evan Stark's (2007) book *Coercive Control: The Entrapment of Women in Personal Life* argued that our responses to coercive control-based domestic violence were **failing** survivors because they **wrongly** see domestic violence as discreet incidents or episodes of violence, and 'virtually all domestic violence research and intervention is based on this model' (Stark, 2009, p. 293).

This **overlooks** that coercive controllers are using many other abusive tactics besides physical violence – including emotional abuse, monitoring, isolation, stalking, economic abuse, legal abuse and systems manipulation – and **they are using these tactics continuously**.

Survivors are therefore being constantly abused, even if there has not been an incident of physical violence for months (or ever).

We must avoid shaping our responses around the history of violence, and avoid assuming the abuse is now over because the last incident of violence was not recent. Instead we must look more **comprehensively** at **all** the tactics of coercive control the abuser is using.

## Non-violent coercive control

Some coercive controllers use no violence at all

As Stark and Hester (2019, p. 91) discuss, 'fear, constraints on autonomy, belittlement, and other aspects of abuse can create entrapment without any incidents of violence'.

Nevala's (2017) analysis of the European Union's FRA Violence Against Women Survey found that 45% of women who reported experiencing high levels of control from their current partner were not being subjected to any violence from this partner.

Day and Bowen (2015) suggest that these persons causing harm are actually the most **clever and skilful** abusers, because they have mastered more covert and hard-to-identify ways of abusing.

## Coercive control is caused by the perpetrator

Persons causing harm in these ways tend to be extremely **self-centred** and often have a highly inflated sense of **entitlement**.

They believe their needs come first and that their partner and children should make pleasing them their **overwhelming priority**. They have extremely **little empathy or respect** for their partner or family members, and are willing to harm them in many ways to achieve the **domination** and **control** they seek (Heward-Belle, 2017, Bancroft, 2002).

Coercive control is <u>not</u> caused by a 'toxic relationship': It is caused by the person causing harm's deeply held belief systems, attitudes and expectations, things that they held before the relationship began.

The person causing harm's tendency to **coercively control doesn't disappear when the relationship ends** — it remains within the person.

Put simply — **the problem is in the person causing harm**, not in the relationship or in the survivor/s (see Monckton Smith, 2020).

# DARVO

When a survivor attempts to break free, raises concerns about the abuse and seeks safety for themselves and their family members, the person causing harm typically responds by **justifying**, **minimising**, or outright **denying** their abusive behaviour, and by attempting to turn the blame on the survivor by making **counter accusations** against the survivor (Harsey and Freyd, 2020).

Common counter accusations from person causing harm in these circumstances include that the survivor has caused the children to dislike the person causing harm and has 'alienated' the children from the person causing harm, that the survivor is 'crazy' in some way, or that the survivor is the violent and abusive one (Meier et al, 2019; Monk, 2017).

This tactic is known as **DARVO**: **D**eny the abuse, **A**ttack the credibility and character of the survivor, **R**everse the narrative about who is the **V**ictim and **O**ffender, and about who is the abusive parent and who is the safe parent for the children (Harsey and Freyd, 2020).

# IMPACTS ON CHILDREN & YOUNG PEOPLE

# Coercive controllers harm children

Persons carrying out family violence have substantially elevated risks of physically, psychologically and sexually abusing and neglecting the children in their care (Heward-Belle, 2016; Bancroft et al, 2012; Harne, 2011).

Persons carrying out family violence may also stalk, threaten and terrorise their children as part of their abuse of ex-partners (Nikupeteri et al, 2021; Katz et al, 2020; Thiara and Gill, 2012).

# Family violence and physical child abuse

Straus (1990, cited in Bancroft et al, 2012, p.55) in a large-scale study involving over 6,000 people, found that 49% of domestically violent fathers frequently physically assaulted their children, compared to 7% of fathers who were not domestically violent

20% of domestically violent fathers require the children to watch them as they abuse the child's mother (Mbilinyi et al, 2007, cited in Bancroft et al, 2012, p.58).

# Family violence and child sexual abuse

There is a major overlap between fathers who are domestically violent and fathers who sexually abuse their children.

Bancroft et al (2012, p.109) reviewed a range of different studies. They found

that these studies suggest that between 44–73% of fathers who carry out incest

are also domestically violent towards the child's mother.

# Children experience coercive control too

In some families, the children experience the person causing harm rigidly and malevolently controlling their daily activities, excessively controlling and limiting their contact with friends and family, hurting their beloved pets, and depriving them of access to amounts of money and resources that are normal for their age, leaving them socially isolated, psychologically harmed, and deprived.

In some families, the person causing harm takes a different approach and becomes extremely permissive with the children, for instance telling them they don't have to bathe, clean their teeth or do their homework. This encourages the children to resent the healthy parenting of the survivor parent, and undermines the children's health and education.

(See Callaghan et al, 2018; Fellin et al, 2019; Haselschwerdt et al, 2019; Katz, 2022, 2019, 2016; Øverlien, 2013)

# My research on children and coercive control

Interviewed 15 mothers and 15 of their children (total: 30) who had experienced family violence and abuse.

Children's ages ranged from 10 to 14 (with the exception of one 20 year old).

The children who were interviewed were 9 girls and 6 boys.

Person causing harms were the children's biological father or step-father.

All interviewees were living in the community and had separated from the person causing harm.

# My findings

# Control of time and movement

Fathers demanded high levels of attention from mothers at the expense of children and stopped mothers and children spending time together:

'[My daughter] Leah used to want me to sit and brush her hair – that wasn't allowed because he'd be jealous. He'd say things like: "You've spent enough attention on her, what about my attention?"' (Marie, mother).

'It felt like Mum wasn't there because I didn't spend time with her or anything' (Leah, age 11).

'When Mum was giving me attention he'd tell her to go over to him so she'd have to leave me to play by myself' (Shannon, age 10).

# Control of time and movement

Fathers' coercive control limited the amount of maternal attention children could enjoy, and reduced the opportunities for fun and affection in their homes.

Children described feeling sad, annoyed and angry at these situations.

Some children started to have doubts about whether their mother loved them or not.

# Isolation from the outside world

When fathers controlled mothers' movements outside the home, this severely restricted children's social lives. It prevented children from engaging with wider family, peers and extracurricular activities:

'They [the kids] couldn't have any friends round because he'd kick off or something. Kids' parties were another problem because he'd be accusing me of trying to [have sexual relations] with one of the dads, so parties were out the question. We couldn't do any after school clubs because [he insisted] I had to be back [home] by a certain time [and the clubs finished after that time]. Me and the kids weren't allowed to go round to see their grandparents.' (Isobel, mother).

# Isolation from the outside world

The multiple benefits that positive experiences with grandparents, friends or in after-school clubs can have on children's social skills, confidence and development were denied to these children by fathers.

Because of fathers' behaviour, **many children were living in the same isolated, lonely worlds as their mothers**. This was especially the case for younger children, who were more reliant on mothers to facilitate their access to friends' houses, playgrounds, days out and so forth.

# Constrained behaviour

Many children could not say and do normal, age-appropriate things at home.

Children had to constrain their own natural behaviour to comply with fathers' demands:

'When he came home from work he'd want to spend time with them and they were always *his* girls. He used to say to Zoe: "You're my little angel." But at the same time they couldn't shout, they couldn't make noise, they couldn't be children around him unless it was on his terms. It was alright if he wanted to play with them, but at other times it was like he wanted them to disappear.' (Lauren, mother)

'I would be sort of quiet, I didn't shout-out or run around.' (Bob, age 12)

# Deprivation of resources and imprisonment

Extreme tactics for depriving the family of freedom, independence and resources impacted on children as well as mothers:

Eloise (mother): 'He'd tell us we couldn't touch the food in the fridge, that we weren't allowed to eat, he'd lock us in the house a lot of the time so we couldn't get out, he'd unplug the phone...'

John (Eloise's son, aged 20): '...He'd take out the power because in the hall we've got an old electrical box where you can take things out and that's it – you've got no power...'

Eloise (mother): '...He used to take an element out the central heating so we'd have no heating. He'd lock us in the house and go out. He'd take the [wifi] so John couldn't do his homework and I couldn't do my banking on the computer. So we were prisoners in a way.'

### Deprivation of resources and imprisonment

This highlights how some fathers directly and purposefully

extend their coercive controlling abuse over their children

as well as their wife.

# IMPACTS ON CHILDREN & YOUNG PEOPLE AFTER PARENTAL SEPARATION

# Post separation coercive control

Coercive controllers don't tend to respect their partner's decision to end the relationship.

So while the survivor is seeking freedom from abuse and to regain their basic autonomy, the person causing harm is typically continuing in their efforts to control and dominate their partner's and children's lives and/or punish them for trying to break free. This too has severe impacts on children.

(E.g. Clements et al, 2021; Dragiewicz et al, 2021a, 2021b; Monk and Bowen, 2021; Feresin et al, 2019; Humphreys et al, 2019; Sharp-Jeffs et al, 2018; Campbell, 2017; Elizabeth, 2017; Coy et al, 2015; Thiara and Gill, 2012; Harne, 2011; Beeble et al, 2007.)

# Terrifying the children

Again drawing on my research, this is what children themselves reported:

'He used to bring some other men and try to break into the house, and me and my brothers feared for our lives because he used to smack on the doors, and I used to hide.' (Vince, age 13)

'My dad's injunction ran out, he kept turning up at the house... Then he wrote something on the back door, he wrote "dead bitch", and my mum tried to get it removed before we could see it, but I saw it before it got removed.' (Roxie, age 11)

# Terrifying the children

Fathers' terrifying actions could make children's and mothers' lives frightening and unpredictable.

Fathers' actions drastically limited the safe space available to children and mothers, often leaving them 'under siege'.

It was evident from the interviews that this frightening fathering undermined children's mental health, well-being, physical security, and education.

# Omnipresent fathering

Many children experienced their father as a constant negative presence in their postseparation lives, whether they saw him frequently or not.

Those children who did not see their father frequently were still aware that nothing was stopping him reappearing in their lives at any point and causing further harm.

Their father's ability to reappear and cause harm often left the children in a continual state of anxiety and worry, and this harmed their ability to live normal lives.

# Omnipresent fathering

Children often feared that they might encounter their father and be harmed by him, and this could lead to panic attacks, bedwetting and nightmares. Some children described monitoring their surroundings continuously as a protective strategy:

'I have it so that I check that the doors are locked and windows closed.' (Lotta, age 10)

Children also sought to increase their own and their mother's security by remaining with her:

'Now sometimes I'll sleep in my mum's bed because I feel more comfortable there and I feel more safe sleeping there.' (Bob, age 12)

'Sometimes we weren't able to go to school... I didn't want to leave my mum alone for the day.' (Rosa, age 12)

Fathers also often used 'admirable fathering' as part of their ongoing attempts to control ex-partners and children (Katz et al, 2020).

They often chose to present themselves as 'admirable fathers' to school staff and other parents, wider communities (both online and offline), and professionals and courts.

The persona of the 'admirable' father could include playing the roles of being a caring, committed and/or vulnerable victim father — a father deserving of praise and support.

This appeared to be part of the fathers' strategies to increase their own power, while further marginalising and weakening their ex-partner, who is then thought of negatively in their communities.

Some fathers directed performances of 'admirable' fathering at their children, for example by claiming to be vulnerable victims:

'[During our weekend visits to him] he'd say "oh your mum makes me cry, your mum makes me do this stuff; I can't see you because of your mum", he'd just paint such a bad picture of her... he blamed her and us for everything... He said he was on antidepressants because I wasn't seeing him often enough... I felt very small and bad... [After our weekend visit with our father, my sister Zoe] would be off school most Mondays because she felt so ill, she was on the sofa being held by mum and crying... He would call [my sister Zoe] and say "you're the only one who really loves me"... I was just so drained and I felt like crying all the time.' (Grace, age 14)

Here, this father was producing 'guilt trips' in his daughters and refusing to take responsibility for his own emotional state.

By presenting himself as a 'vulnerable victim', he was coercing his daughters into maintaining relationships with him that were harmful to their well-being.

By making his children feel as though they were responsible for his welfare, he was disguising the emotional power he was actually wielding over them.

Eventually, Grace had received appropriate support to break free of her father's post-separation emotional abuse. She described how this led to her making a decision to cease contact with him, and an accompanying increase in her confidence and ability to express her authentic self:

'I stopped seeing him a couple of years ago... I've spoken to two counsellors. One gave me these exercises to help me see what Dad was doing, and how people around me were trying to help me. That helped my confidence... [After I stopped contact] I could just be, I suppose, *me* again, because before I had really low confidence and stuff. So, I suppose I've come out of my shell a lot more and I can talk to people more. (Grace, age 14)

In general, the more the children in the study were able to break free from fathers' coercive control and establish a sense of physical and psychological safety, the more they appeared to thrive (Katz, 2022).

# Positive impacts of mothers' parenting

It is important to note that most women/mothers being **targeted** by coercively controlling men/fathers pre- and post-separation tend to **do what they can** to keep their **children** as **safe**, **well**, and **happy** as possible (Wendt et al, 2015), though their ability to do this can be limited by the perpetrator's/father's determination to abuse in ways that harm the children (Buchanan, 2018).

Even though mothers cannot stop the father's choices to use harmful behaviour, **positive parenting from mothers** is still a major factor in **helping children to cope** with fathers' domestic abuse (Letourneau et al, 2007).

'Mothers are cited more frequently by children who have lived with domestic abuse as their most important source of help than anyone else in their lives... **Their relationship with their mother is most children's major support in coping.'** (Mullender et al, 2002, pp. 210–11)

# Conclusions

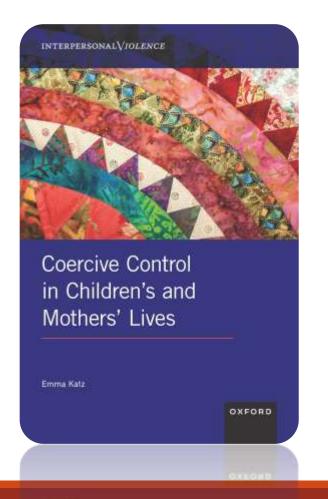
Coercive control is a severe form of abuse which causes high levels of harm

Coercively controlling fathers tend to parent their children in negative ways, and subject their children to coercive control in ways that directly and profoundly harm the children's day-to-day experiences of life.

Mothers separating from fathers is unlikely to be enough to make the children safe, as fathers tend to be determined to continue their coercive control post-separation.

The problem lies within the person causing harm. Tackling the problem means **tackling the person causing harm**, holding them **accountable**, **curbing their ability to continue abusing**, and **helping the adult and child survivors to be safe:** really safe, not just safe 'on paper'.

# My book



Course of the



### Thank you

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