# Working with men as part of the solution -Engaging men in family based services: A Generative Approach

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In writing about professional avoidance of men in child protection by social workers over a decade ago, Kieran O'Hagan (1997: 38) stressed the need for professionals to 'widen their theoretical base' to more fully incorporate feminist perspectives. This is because much of the family based services literature is dominated by child development theories (Bowlby 1958; Cicchetti and Carlson 1989) that focus exclusively on mothers. Such theories have led to fathers and father figures being neglected as resources for families and children (Aldgate 1991; Phares 1996; Daniel and Taylor 1999). Thus, focusing on parenting which in turn means mothering (Daniel and Taylor 2001) there is at risk of avoiding the diversity of mothers and fathers that are often present in child family based services. This ultimately creates a burdening concentration upon mothers and little hope of understanding family dynamics, the character and the qualities of the father over time.

This can result in a skewed or unrealistic view of fatherhood, which can further alienate men from the world of parenting (Scourfield 2002). If we are to widen our theoretical base when working with men as fathers (O'Hagan 1997) we must seek to embrace as many theories, concepts that takes an alternative view of fathers, inclusive of gender, role, systems theory and behaviouralism (Scourfield 2002).

There are many reasons that men are not often seen in health/community welfare centres. Most significantly, appointment times are during the day when it is difficult for men or women to have time off from work. Also many men question and are wary of involvement with external community welfare agencies. King (2005) recognises that many men have a strong suspicion about people who influence their family life. Besides trusting family members, many men have little trust and question the relevance of new ideas about relationships until some change is required.

From boyhood, competitiveness is nurtured as young men are taught not to 'be walked over by other people'. This process continues as the child grows into

manhood with entrenched values of independence and autonomy. For many men, a suggestion that they need to change what they are thinking or doing is met by a high degree of resistance. Especially when a suggestion contains a deficit assumption like 'men should show more of their feelings'. This assumption is that something needs to be fixed; the father has to learn to act differently. Due to this, professionals need to work harder at the pre-engagement stage when working with men, to find an alternative way to deal with any suspicion and defensiveness.

In order to begin to achieve this in practice the generative approach to fathering offers up a very useful way for family based services and practitioners to engage with men as fathers more constructively (Hawkins and Dollahite 1997).

## Introduction to the generative approach

As it has been reviewed, there is an urgent need for child and family welfare practice with families to be re-conceptualised with its implicit focus on mothers, to become more father inclusive (Walmsley *et al* 2006). As a start child and family welfare professionals need to acknowledge that fathers exist in the lives of children and plan to include them at all stages of intervention. The generative approach is one way in which child and family welfare professionals can more explicitly involve fathers in family based services.

Erik Erikson (1975) proposed eight stages of human development using a series of dyads or opposite personality traits that extend from birth to death. People think of themselves as: optimistic or pessimistic, independent or dependent, emotional or unemotional, adventurous or cautious, leader or follower, aggressive or passive.

Based in part on his study of Sioux Indians on a reservation, Erikson (1975) became aware of the massive influence of culture on behaviour and placed more emphasis on the external world, such as depression and wars. He felt the course of development is determined by the interaction of the body (genetic biological programming), mind (psychological), and cultural (ethos) influences (Harder 2008). Generativity involves the capacity to care for the next generation and demands the ability to give something of you to another significant person or a larger community. It includes periods in our life when we commit to community building and is historically reflected in the strong support that people give to Service Clubs, Lifeline telephone counselling, State Emergency Service (SES) and the Rural Fire Services and the like. Generativity can be expressed through people acting as a guide, mentor or coach to younger people or adults but the strongest expressions is found in the relationships we have with our children. Research indicates that between 30 to 45 years, our need for achievement decreases and our need for influence or community increases (Vaillant 2002). Its strongest connection is found in the care of development of the next generation our children.

Generativity is equally relevant for men and women. It has had a significant contribution to understanding aging. The Harvard Study of adult development reviewed societal trends in the last 50 years and concluded that generativity is the best indicator for healthy aging. The study concluded that "the old were put on the earth to nurture the young" (Vaillant 2002: 115). However this learning is not about just giving to others but is found also in the receiving. A key question they used was "what have you learnt from your children?" even though some people found it hard to answer or even ridiculous to consider. Generativity is powered by the motivation to 'invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self' (Vaillant 2002).

However men's difference to women's experience is how they define their life experience primarily by the generative impact they have on their family, workplace or the wider community. It is valuable for understanding male behaviour as men tend to define themselves by a narrower set of roles. The following story outlines how one father put generativity into practice.

David is a father who has not had much meaningful contact with his two sons throughout their 12 years of life. Having experienced a great deal of trauma in his younger years, he has a limited ability to socialise or play with his children.

His great desire is to be a better father than his father was to him. He finds this difficult as he has survived intense violence all his life and has resorted to violence many times to deal with any conflict in his adult years. During his participation in the group, David was enduring an ongoing court drama with the Department of Community Services, in order to have a meaningful role in the life of his children.

The children were being removed from their mother and he was struggling to put a case forward to become their full-time carer. David desperately wanted their life to be better than his own. One of the New Parenting Infant Network (NEWPIN) educational sessions covered a concept outlining the limitations of what we can control, as compared to what we can influence, and letting go of what is outside our control and influence.

David left the group that night enthusiastic about how he could use this idea at his next court date. The following week, he returned to the group a very different man wearing cleaner clothes, holding his body more erect, taking more pride in his appearance and being much happier. He told the group the following story of the situation preceding his attendance at court:

The mother of his children had attempted to engage him in a conflict in the Court grounds by being verbally abusive and aggressive and he had refused to engage with her. He had acknowledged to himself that he could not control her, or what she was saying, so he had walked away. This was an achievement. When court was sitting, the mother again attempted to engage him in conflict by staring and mouthing swear words at him. He continued to ignore her. When the court proceedings were not going his way and inaccurate information about him was being put forward, he did not react as he had in the past, trying to use threats and loud language to control the court. Rather, he decided to let it go (as best he could) as he could not control it and instead attempted to influence the court by his 'good' behaviour. Although quite proud of himself for the change in his behaviour in a very stressful situation, the best for David was yet to come.

The case was adjourned. Before he left the court, David approached the solicitor acting for his children and said, 'I know you do not like me and that is okay'. He then added, 'I've been watching and listening to you and you seem like a good person who has the best interests of my sons at heart. I just want to let you know I appreciate what you are trying to do for my boys'. The solicitor, in a spontaneous gesture, offered David the opportunity to spend a short time with his eldest son.

Not having seen his son in over four weekends, David accepted enthusiastically. He spent 20 minutes with his boy which he otherwise would not have had. David was ecstatic at this good fortune. This generous gesture by the solicitor continues to have a positive impact on David's life as he has experienced the rewards of learning new ways of dealing with conflict.

These roles are often located in external contexts that involve having an impact on the world around them through work, sport, their family or friends. The framework is easily applied to fathering (Fleming 2002; King 2000, 2001, 2005; King, Sweeney and Fletcher 2004).

Erikson (1975) considered parenthood to be the primary developmental task of adulthood that includes both the moral obligation to attend to the needs of the next generation and the recognition that caring for children is central to personal and societal well being (Erikson 1975: 54). The non-deficit perspective, an approach to understanding and working with men (King 2000, 2001, 2005; King et al 2004), suggests that most fathers are interested in family life and that their engagement with support services is influenced by a variety of relationship challenges. These challenges include a phenomenon called 'generative chill' which is discussed later.

The main concepts in the generative framework are based on two core ideas. The first is that the human context creates needs in the next generation that fathers have an ethical responsibility to meet, and the second is that fathers and their children both benefit and develop from this process of interaction' (Hawkins and Dollahite 1997 as cited in Fleming 2007: 16). Generative fathering involves caring for the development of the next generation and also recognises that it is beneficial both to the child and the father. Hawkin's and Dollahite believe that practicing generative fathering is central to men's own sense of self esteem and growth (Fleming 2007).

## Significance of the generative approach

The Men and Family Relationship Initiative is a sub-program of the Australian Commonwealth Government Family Relationship Services Program that funds organisations to provide services that assist men in family relationships. An independent evaluation of Men & Family Relationship (M&FR) programs indicated a high level of acceptance and support by men. Sixty seven organisations are now delivering a suite of early intervention and prevention family relationship services to men in over 121 locations throughout Australia (FaHCSIA, 2009). It is widely recognised that Australia leads the world in the provision of grass-root services to men and families (FaHCSIA, 2009).

Besides the M&FR programs, there are a large number of other programs that are funded through either State Government, or operate as self-funded or volunteer self-help programs. These programs target separated fathers, school or community based mentoring programs and indigenous programs.

Amongst the many and varied descriptions of masculinity, the non-deficit perspective (King, 2000; King, 2001; King *et al* 2004; Hawkins and Dollahite, 1997; Brotherson *et al* 2005) identifies that in many men, their relationship with their children is a very significant connection. This connection with significant family relationships can be viewed as 'the quiet place within' that Australian men talk about least. It is a personal space that men rarely share. Until recently, it was not until men approached the end of their life, that they often expressed regret for spending too such time at work and not enough time with their family. This reflection is still experienced today, as many men only start talking about the importance of their family relationships after the crisis has occurred, such as family separation.

A separated father called MensLine Australia and talked about feeling suicidal due to the loss of his children and family. After 40 minutes discussion the man was more stable and no longer feeling suicidal. The counsellor, in summing up, asked the man: "what was important about this discussion? The man thanked the counsellor and then said: "do you know what was the most helpful thing"? The father continued, while we were

talking I looked down and saw my dog sitting at my feet. I realised that I was still needed to take care of him".

While generative connections are essential in men and women's lives, it is the generative connections that men primarily use to define their self esteem and experience in the world. Some of these connections maybe found in the following relationships:

- Child/children
- partner/ mother of their children
- extended family members
- wider community members
- employment context (if they identify the importance of their job as making a difference)
- mates (other people they identify with in a similar situation)
- other key relationships involvement in religious groups, community services SES. Rural Fire Service etc
- dogs/animals

Australian men are becoming more vocal about this quiet place, i.e. the importance of their connection with their family, particularly their children. What is occurring is a quiet men's revolution. This men's revolution is not as vocal as the women's movement, but it is noticed as men talk about achieving a better balance between work and family demands. The change is seen by how men behave differently as they walk hand-in-hand with their children and proudly push the pram. Some men identify the reason for attend a fathering program, is because they want to father their children differently to how they were fathered. The birth of a child is now a 'wake-up call' for many men and an opportunity for them to review the choices they make in life and provides the motivation to develop stronger relationships. In relation to relation to fathering, generative connections (Hawkins and Dollahite 1997; King 2000) recognize that men have the desire and ability to undertake the following:

Commit in relationships – to provide physical and ongoing support and involvement with the child throughout his/her lifetime

- Choose in relationships to make day-to-day decisions for their children that meet each child's needs
- Care in relationships: to attend to the important transitions in a child's life and to work to provide the optimal conditions that maximise their growth
- change in relationships: to adapt as children grow older and the father matures in his relationship with his children
- Create in relationships: to provide resources for material wellbeing and the resolution of problems that allow opportunities for the development of emotional wellbeing

- Connect in relationships: to form lasting and healthy attachments with their children and other significant people. These attachments will change over time to meet their child's evolving needs
- Communicate in relationships: to relate meaningfully with children
- influence in relationships: to impact and influence others at necessary times in their life
- Create safety in relationships: to respond with care and protection of others in a negotiated and appropriate way.

These generative connections are vital as men are commonly viewed as having an absence of many of the above capabilities. In the tradition of strengths based practice, when practitioners work with generative connections, they adopt a position of until proven otherwise, men have an interest. Valuable discussions can then occur about how men view specific situations, what factors they weigh up making decisions, consequences to those decisions and alternative choices.

## Challenges to generative connections

The generative stage is adversely impacted on by the following four contexts:

- 1. Self-absorption
- 2. Stagnation, depression and other mental health issues
- 3. Generative Chill
- 4. Juggling time demands

#### 1. Self-absorption

When men are too self-focused or self-absorbed, they find it difficult to have empathy for others or respond to other people's needs. Self-absorption may occur due to beliefs about entitlement or due to emotional responses that over focus themselves on their own needs being primarily met.

The following story is about how Tim (not his real name) being a father, used this context to make changes in his life:

Tim is one such father who is 38 years old. He had to battle with a Child Protection Agency to become the primary carer of his child. Over a 12 month period, Tim attended a number of community-based fathering workshops and programs. The Child Protection Agency psychologist completed two psychological reports over a 12-month period, and stated that 'in 20 years of clinical experience he had never seen anyone change as much as Tim'. Tim's determination and dedication in using these ideas and new learning was apparent to many people.

Tim reflected, just prior to becoming the full time carer of his child, 'Taking my daughter home will be the best experience in my whole life. It's like winning the World Cup. Everything else in life has always been taken away from me – that's why I'm paranoid. I have

had to learn patience.' Tim also commented about his involvement in the fathers' group, 'Thanks for your help. I don't think I would have made it without the group. This group has impacted on me; it speaks about life the way it is. It wasn't pen or paper stuff. My dream has come true. It is achievable if you are determined. At lots of times you can't see the end of the road, but you just have to keep going'.

## 2. Stagnation, depression and other mental health issues

Mental health and/or addiction problems have a significant affect on men's motivation to be involved in support services. Some fathers will drop out of a group due to these issues, while others use the experience as part of their change program. In order to meet the challenge of supporting a participant's recovery program, programs need to be flexible enough to allow longer term involvement. Alcohol and drug misuse, a significant problem in Australia (Northern Territory (NT) Government 2004), will create a skewed perception of your own needs and what response is required in a certain situation.

Peter is a young stepfather with a dependence on marijuana. Peter stated one week: I gave up pot for three days, but I have had a challenging week. I'm trying to do the right things but no one gives me any credit.' He talked about the challenge of the family and social context in which he lives: I want to say 'f... it' and leaves. But the love you have stops you. The kids really love me.

It's been my life I smoke a few cones (Marajuana), drink beer and watch TV. I cannot get a job as I need to learn to cope first with hassles at home. Dad overdosed last year — since then things have gone downhill.' He went on to talk about the daily battle he has regarding his choices. 'I don't want to walk out of the front door as the neighbours will say, come and have a smoke.

After four months, Peter still resisted seeing a drug and alcohol counsellor and he recently left his relationship. This is the tragedy that often impacts on families where there are addiction issues. It is important for programs to be able to work simultaneously with recovery issues, relationship and child protection issues.

#### 3. Generative chill

Extreme threats to an adult's parental generativity will result in 'generative chill', a type of anxiety resulting from a perceived or real danger of losing the

child or children one has helped to create (Snarey 1993). 'It seems likely that brief or extended threats to generativity will have a significant impact on a father's selfhood (Snarey 1993: 87). Family breakdown presents separated fathers with a threat that often results in depression.

Generative chill (Hawkins and Dollahite 1997) is a useful concept for understanding how fathers disengage from their children. The challenge is how men can rebuild this generative connection. Professionals and close family members may desire to help men deal with the pain of their family separation, but it is the father's timing alone that will ultimately dictate when he is open to rebuilding connection, engagement or reunion with his child.

Generative chill (Hawkins and Dollahite 1997) is described as the anxious awareness people experience arising from the threatened loss of the relationship with one's child. The reaction men have to family separation will be influenced by how they deal with this experience. When separation is managed well, generative chill is a motivation that creates a stronger father/child relationship. When separation is managed poorly, generative chill becomes depression, despair and disengagement. The generative fathering framework is a model for understanding the non-deficit approach to fathering and supports a process for rebuilding engagement. It is vital that separated fathers value the new roles that they play in the lives of their children. The primary roles that fathers have played in the family before the family separation occurred may need to be re-adjusted e.g. providing financial security or being the protector (while this role may not exist in reality, it still provides a high level of motivation for men). Secondary roles that traditionally may have had less prominence, such as cooking for the children, reading stories and talking about ordinary life experiences, will become more important and rewarding in the new post separation relationship.

While the re-assessment of these roles will be difficult, the new roles used, post-separation, are often more rewarding and relationship enriching. The following case is an example of this re-assessment of a new role:

Mike (not his real name) is a separated father in his early 40's who came very close to throwing himself in front of a train due to his depression. He recognised that the relationship problems in his life and the lack of contact with his children were a continual struggle for him. He battled between giving in to the depression and his inability to change the situation. He ended up attending a father's group and spoke about the group being a vital place where he could be himself regardless of how the week had gone.

He stated: It has been a good 12 months. I have received good support over the past year as it has helped me to keep sane while I battle to see my son. Attending the group has turned around my whole relationship with my older son. I still play the memory game

with my boy, he loves it. I feel a lot closer emotionally to him. I now understand why he reacts that way. He also added: The kids are my main priority. I now accept that Sue and I have finished our relationship. I am sleeping a lot better now. He changed his employment and moved to a new area where he values all the child contact opportunities that are possible.

## 4. Juggling multiple demands

Both men and women, often juggle a variety of roles and pressures in the normal course of the day. Men however may not choose to demonstrate generative responses due to many barriers such as work time constraints and the stress experienced as a result. The best response to review the balance of life's demands is to be transparent about the available choices and possible consequences. Professionals may then discuss with men these alternative choices that they can have and select the best possible outcomes for them as men.

# Applying the generative perspective to different groups of men

Men's health campaigns and relationship programs work more effectively and attract wider interest when they build on generative connections in men's lives. Below is a list of how generative connections can be used with general fathers and separated fathers (King and Fletcher, 2009: 42):

- Find out the man's preferred name and introduce yourself.
- Find out how many children they have, their age and special interests of the children.
- Build a connection around how your work context is relevant to him and the context of their children (remember they are not likely to express a need for support, help etc).
- Assume (and discuss with the men how they show it in their responses) that they have the desire and the ability to:
- Commit The physical and ongoing support that a father provides and his awareness and involvement with the child throughout their lifetime.
- Choose The capacity to make day to day decisions for the children that meet the child's needs.
- Care the ability to attend to the important transitions in a child's life and provide the optimal conditions that maximise their growth.
- Change the ability to adapt as children grow older and the father matures in his relationship with the children.
- Create the creation of resources for material comfort and the resolution of problems that allow opportunities for the development of emotional well being.
- Connect the ability to form lasting and healthy attachments with their children. These attachments will change over time to meet the child's evolving needs.

- Communicate the capacity to relate with children by sharing meaningfully with them, both verbally and non-verbally.
- Discover the person's way of expressing his connection with their children (using the above abilities).
- Explore opposites or tensions what helps/ blocks and what is valuable or a distraction to achieving the above?
- Normalise experiences they have and validate the strengths men bring to parenting.
- Amplify the significance of positive choices they make in their child's life.
- Discuss what the role of fathering means today? What parts of the role are important to them?
- Build the metaphor of walking alongside them in the work you do. Find out how this may be helpful to them rather than telling them what to do.

If appropriate ask some of the following questions, for example: I would like to find out about some of your experiences with Sam and what those experiences mean to you Sam:

- Can you tell me about the most enjoyable experience you ever had with Sam? What meaning does that experience have for you now?
- Can you tell me about an experience when you felt especially close emotionally to Sam? What meaning does that experience have for you now?
- Can you tell me about an experience when you cared for and nurtured Sam? What did you learn about nurturing children from that experience?
- Can you tell me about an experience when you felt especially distant emotionally from Sam when he/she needed you to be there for him/her? What meaning does that experience have for you now?
- What was the most painful experience you ever had with Sam? What meaning does that experience have for you now?
- Are there any particular things that help you to be the kind of father to Sam that he/she needs you to be?
- Are there any particular things that prevent you from being the kind of father to Sam that he/she needs you to be?
- Can you tell me about any important sacrifices you have made in your life that demonstrate how much you care about Sam?

If relevant it may also be useful to ask the following questions:

- Who or how do you protect others in your life?
- Who do you keep safe?
- What happens when the protection of others is misused?
- What is the difference between keeping someone safe and controlling them?

- When does protecting someone become abusive?
- How do you keep yourself safe?

## Separated fathers

- Find out the man's preferred name and introduce yourself.
- Find out how many children they have, their ages, when they were separated, what orders are in place and when they last had contact their children.
- Build a child focused connection as central to your relationship with the men.
- Build on language that values respect, 'being a reasonable man', 'maintaining integrity', providing what your children need (emphasising safety, security and connection). Until proven otherwise, believe that the men have a shared interest in these values.
- Acknowledge and normalise feelings if they see themselves being treated unfairly as a father and reaffirm the importance of how fathers are seen today.
- Build a strong metaphor of walking with them in the work you do. Find out how this may be helpful to them (use perceived equality) for guidance.
- Explore what they can control in their situation, what they can influence and what they cannot control or influence. Relate to specific examples in their life.
- Affirm the importance of showing respect for the mother of the children, regardless of what has happened, because the children love her and will benefit from seeing this from their father. This is central to the father respect they seek to have attributed to them.
- Explore the importance of timing not being too impatient and also appreciating the positive aspects of what may already exist in times spent with their children.
- Support them to tune into the feelings and needs of their children and what is required to help make their life safe, nurturing and valuing.
- Encourage them to keep a diary and live the values that are important to them and his children. If his friends have children, encourage him to maintain some interest and understand how quickly children develop and change.

Fathers who have rebuilt engagement with their children have identified a number of useful steps:

- Maintain a journal over several months to monitor progress
- Obtain current information about the child/ren
- Write a list of positive strengths about themselves that are core to personal values
- Identify a professional support person or mentor

- Access to a mediation service through a Family Relationship Centre
- Write a list of the key lessons they have learnt through their life
- Prepare for reconnecting with their children slowly, without having firm expectations of what will occur. Remembering that they must be openly responsive and supportive to the children no matter what reaction they may have.
- Show positive regard for the child's mother. It's not good enough to not mention her to the children.

## **Discussion**

A challenge confronts the recent launch of the Federal Government's National Men's Health Policy. It is likely the policy will adopt a position of informing men about their poor health and what they should do about it. The policy implementation acts as if this information is new to men and will change their behaviour. This is evidenced in the opening paragraphs of the recently released electronic men's health newsletter, "Men are more likely to be contributing to this statistic, as more men are overweight or obese than women (62% to 45%). The evidence is right there in-front of us, as you generally don't have to look too far to find a bloke's waist line bursting at the seams. Some men's 'she'll be right' or 'that won't happen to me' attitude will see them live with these bulging bellies for the rest of their lives (which unfortunately may not be as long as they anticipate (Goodwin and Harris 2010: 1). These opening sentences view men as having deficits in either lacking the understanding, will or the interest to be healthy. This approach is not likely to have a large impact on most men but will result in a continuing deafness to these important health messages.

The generative approach views men as being influenced by the interest and desire to have a positive impact in significant relationships (as identified by them). The focus thus needs to shift from viewing men's health issues as an absence of information that needs to be provided, to a focus on how health issues impact on the important things in your life that you influence and care about.

For example, a Cardiac Nurse in conversation with the author about a male patient who, after cardiac surgery, did not comply with the necessary health care and dietary measures. It was not until the nurse focused on the man's interests, particularly his role as coach of the local football team that a new change occurred within him. His denial and obstructions diminished and he spoke about wanting to be healthy and well so that he could coach again. The following session, the man returned to see the Nurse, full of energy and had been complying with all the treatment requirements since the last meeting (King 2009).

The generative approach, most importantly, builds on the natural desires in people that impact on those relationships or aspects of life. Men's health then becomes a pathway to achieve that influence, rather than an end in itself. The

messages that men respond to, need to be active, timely, relevant, honest and at times direct, connected to how it impacts on their important relationships.

The experience of these programs indicates that best practice for working with men involves:

- Being external outcome focused instead of internally focused. This is evident in the successful application of child focused practice or in supporting the community or others in need.
- Maintaining an active approach to problem solving rather than being too introspective.
- Local determination regarding the manner in which services are delivered.
- The inclusion of men in all aspects of service delivery (as well as seeking their advice in needs analysis).
- Large business support for men's involvement in family life and support services through the adoption of either family friendly policies in the workplace or allowing for the use of corporate logos to normalise local events and M&FR service provision.
- Flexible, solution focused and information giving services.
- Effective local coordination between programs that allow easy access for men.
- The development of local men's resource centres.
- The encouragement and training of volunteers (particularly men) and the use of mentoring (apprentice) relationships.

#### Conclusion

Men's health needs to be shaped by strengths based approaches that avoid further pathologising men's poor health outcomes. It is only then that men will listen and respond in proactive ways. The generative framework is a powerful perspective that allows practitioners to predict when men will be interested or disconnect from important discussions about their life.

Since men's lives in contemporary society has become increasingly diverse and more complex than it was three decades ago, the Australian family based services, would benefit greatly from the funding practice-based research. This would require focusing on barriers to men's involvement in family based health and welfare services and its causes. In particular, there is a further need for practice-based research into successful interventions with fathers such as the generative approach as described in this paper. In particular men as fathers' who have perpetrated family violence and are still involved with families. Until such time, the men will remain missing from policy and practice in regard to family based services.

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