Beyond proximity: the covert role of mobile phones in maintaining power and coercive control in the domestic abuse of women.

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Abstract

The World Health Organisation estimates that, globally, almost one-third of women who have been in a relationship have experienced physical or sexual violence from a romantic or sexual partner. At the same time, worldwide ownership of mobile phones is expected to reach the five billion mark in 2019. Establishing whether or not there are connections between the two is vital. Political and professional failure to keep abreast of developments in abusive relationship patterns related to new technologies could literally be a matter of life and death. This doctoral research, conducted in England, is particularly timely given that recent legislation in England and Wales now recognises a distinct feature of domestic abuse, namely coercive control, in the form of s76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015. The Domestic Abuse Bill 2019 also intends to strengthen the definition of coercion.

Underpinned by social constructionism and feminist epistemologies, this thesis aims to establish what (if any) role mobile phones play in the coercive control of women within the context of heterosexual intimate partner relationships. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with twelve women survivors of domestic abuse who were resident at refuges at the time of the interviews. Data were analysed using Grounded theory.

Findings indicate that mobile phones are increasingly employed as a tool in the coercive control of women. Some of the ways perpetrators use mobile phone features are consonant with well-established feminist analysis of domestic abuse, such as the Duluth Power and Control Wheel. However, mobile phone

functions such as texting, phone/video calling, and GPS tracking empower perpetrators to go beyond traditional mechanisms of control. Perpetrators are now able to have constant and ongoing contact with their partners irrespective of geographical proximity or distance. This thesis suggests that these opportunities to exert 24/7 surveillance extend and reinforce the power and control traditionally afforded to abusive men. Mobile phones endow perpetrators with a sense of omnipotence that leaves the partner believing that he is watching even when he is not. As a way of surviving within this context, women in abusive relationships become self-regulating, moderating their behaviour to conform to what they think the perpetrator wants, even when he is not there. This self-regulation is contrary to structural explanations of power traditionally used to explain domestic abuse and thus raises questions regarding the power dynamics within intimate abusive relationships.

Whilst accepting the important role patriarchy plays in the domestic abuse of women, this thesis argues that structural accounts of power are insufficient to explain the power dynamics in abusive relationships given the new opportunities that mobile phone technologies afford to perpetrators. It proposes that, within this context, structural explanations of coercive control (Stark, 2007) need to be integrated with Foucault's (1991) post-structuralist account of disciplinary power. The thesis suggests that mobile phones enable perpetrators to erect a framework of coercive control similar to that of Bentham's (1791) Panopticon, where the domestic violence perpetrator is akin to the prison guard and the mobile phone the guard tower. Now, the prison is no longer limited to

confined spaces and power and control can extend beyond physical boundaries.

The thesis concludes by considering the significance of the findings for practice both within the Criminal Justice System and beyond. The material contained within mobile phones, e.g. frequency and nature of texting, Spyware apps etc., could be used to provide a context for the abuse, enabling professionals to identify coercive control sooner. This might then assist with arrest, prosecution and conviction rates as well as risk assessments and safety planning.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

> *"The argument of the broken window pane is the most valuable argument in modern politics".*
>
> (Emmeline Pankhurst, Votes for Women, 23 February 1912, cited in Chapman, 2014, p238)

Many will recognise this quote as a call to arms, after Herbert Asquith, then prime minister, gave a bill demanding votes for women no more than a cursory glance before dismissing it out of hand (Connolly, 2010). Emmeline Pankhurst's political statement - that the government cared more about a pane of glass than a woman's political right - led to a sustained campaign of property destruction, the scale and organisation of which had not been seen before in the UK (Iglikowski *et al.*, 2018).

The broken windowpane was also important to me in my role as a probation officer working with perpetrators of domestic abuse. Early in my career, I was allocated a pre-sentence report relating to an offence of criminal damage of a window. It wasn't until sometime into the interview, and almost as an aside, that I asked how the window had been broken, to which the offender replied that he had thrown his wife through it. What struck me then and stays with me now was how a man could be prosecuted for damage to his property and yet the physical harm he inflicted on another was not worthy of mention. As my career progressed, I became more adept at asking the right questions and soon realised that broken glass, furniture or crockery were worth exploring as they were indicative of and often distractions from the violence that happened within the home.

This coming together of a pane of glass spoken by a prominent feminist from over a century ago and my own practice seemed significant. In both cases, the broken window symbolises the rights of women, but for me, personally, broken possessions came to represent the social construction of domestic abuse. Once seen as something private, the legal system advocated to keep domestic abuse behind closed doors and beyond the public gaze (Kurtz, 1989). This so called 'curtain-rule' was used to justify a lack of intervention by the Criminal Justice System and might explain why there was no mention of the assault in the example provided above (Kurtz, 1989 p149). The social construction of domestic abuse is considered in Section 2.1.

This thesis will look at the role of mobile phones (predominantly smart phones) and how they are used in abusive relationships, specifically the coercive control of heterosexual women by their male partners (the significance of this sample is explained in Section 5.1). This interest was initially prompted by my observations as a court duty probation officer in London Magistrates' Courts. Here, I noticed how courts increasingly needed to explain to defendants that bail conditions involving no contact with the victim included no contact via mobile phone. The need for these specific explanations to be repeatedly asserted led me to contemplate whether mobile phones were being used in abusive relationships. I conducted a preliminary study in the first phase of this doctorate with probation officers who supervised men convicted of domestic abuse offences. They all gave examples where mobile phones had become an integral part of men's abuse against their current or former partners. At the

same time, I became aware that there was only limited research on the role of mobile phones in abusive intimate adult relationships. Politicians, policy makers and practitioners need to consider what, if any, impact the former may have on the latter and, if necessary, adapt their responses to reflect these changes. This is important to enable effective assessments and appropriate interventions to keep both adult survivors and children safe.

This thesis considers the power dynamics in abusive relationships where men have used mobile phones to coercively control their female partners. Whilst it is acknowledged that women also perpetrate violence against men, women were chosen as participants in the research because they are most at risk of coercive and controlling violence (Dardis *et al*., 2014; Gaman *et al*., 2016; Johnson, 2006).

1.1.   Language of abuse

Social problems, including domestic violence, are socially constructed (Muehlanhard & Kimes, 1999; Teater, 2014). The language chosen often reflects this construction as it is influenced by history and mirrors one's political positioning and theoretical understanding (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Hannam, 2012). The term 'domestic violence' reflects the position of second-wave feminists (see Section 3.1) and historically referred specifically to male violence against women in heterosexual relationships (Ali & Naylor, 2013). The term 'violence' is criticised for focusing attention on the physical aspect and risks deflecting attention from arguably more important aspects, such as emotional abuse (Choi, 2009; Follingstad 2007; Marshall, 1996; Seff *et al.*, 2008; Straka &

Montminy, 2008) (see Section 3.1.2). Bettinson & Bishop (2015) agree, explaining that the term domestic violence refers to physical violence whereas the term 'domestic abuse is associated with non-physical abuse. They warn of the predisposition to see domestic abuse as something less serious than domestic violence. Since coercive control is the primary focus of this research the term domestic abuse will be used to assuage any concerns that emotional abuse and coercive control are not viewed as serious offences. It is also important to note that in this thesis reference to coercive control is always within the context of domestic abuse and the term domestic abuse refers to the wider phenomenon as defined by the Home Office (Home Office, 2013) (see Section 2.2).

The terms victim and survivor are used interchangeably to describe those at the receiving end of the abuse (Belknap *et al.*, 2012; Kohn, 2008). This too may be due to the social construction of domestic abuse since the term victim implies that women are passive, naïve and potentially irresponsible (Meyer, 2012). It overlooks the possibility that women might be strong and resourceful, and able to actively respond to men's violence in ways that are designed to minimise the harm to themselves and, where relevant, their children (Cavanagh, 2003; Zosky, 2011). The term survivor adopts a 'depathologizing' (Zosky, 2011, p202) approach and helps reconstruct the image of the victims where women are seen as strong and psychologically stable who are skilled in predicting, and often (though not always) managing, the abuse (Hayes, 2013; Neustifter & Powell, 2015; Papendick & Bohner, 2017). As we will see in

Section 4.2 this empowerment of women sits comfortably with my feminist principles and, thus, I will be adopting this term throughout this thesis.

There has been no confusion in relation to the choice of terminology to describe the person who administers the abuse. The literature refers to this person as either the perpetrator or the abuser and these terms will be used interchangeably to describe men who inflict domestic abuse on their current or former female partners. The term 'modern day' domestic abuse will also be adopted to reflect the abuse perpetrated as a result of the mainstream use of mobile phones. But first let's contextualise these phenomena within a wider statistical framework.

1.2.   Statistics for domestic abuse and mobile phones.

Worldwide, 30% of women who have been in a relationship report experiencing some form of physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner (WHO, 2017). Domestic abuse occurs within a context of fear and intimidation and, as explained in Section 2.2, is not readily recorded on 'incident-based forms' meaning there is no reliable national data in the UK (Kelly & Westmarland, 2016). That said, more than one million incidents linked to domestic abuse were recorded by the police across England and Wales last year (HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2018) and in the year ending March 2017, approximately 1.2 million women over the age of 16 had experienced domestic abuse in the previous twelve months (Office for National Statistics, (ONS), 2018). It remains the case that women are still more likely than men to experience domestic abuse throughout their lifetime (ONS 2018) and there is

concern that violence against women and girls is now endemic (The Fawcett Society, 2018).

In the late 2000s smart phones became more readily available such that, globally, more people have access to mobile phones than toilets (Wang, 2013). In 2017 the number of adults worldwide using smartphones rose to 85%, (a 33% increase in five years), establishing itself as the most popular consumer electronics device with a 7% lead on laptops and 17% on tablets (Deloitte, 2017). Every new model has shown technological developments (Statistica, 2018a) and year-on-year there has been an increase in mobile phone ownership worldwide which is expected to pass the five billion mark in 2019 (Statistica, 2018b). This trend is likely to continue as apps are being built or optimised for smartphones making it harder to live without one (Deloitte, 2017). The next generation of mobile internet connectivity (5G) is also expected in some areas in 2019, enabling far more devices to access the internet at any one time (Wall, 2018).

But what if communication is not welcome? What if mobile phones are used to monitor and control women in abusive relationships? There is a recognition of a 'darker' side of technology (Melander, 2010) and that abuse can occur electronically (Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012, cited in Stonard et al., 2015). However, little is known about the negative impact of the ability to communicate beyond physical boundaries or the impact of knowing where someone is at any one time.

1.3. Research questions

Women's experience of domestic abuse remains at a consistently high level and the dependency on mobile phones in contemporary culture is increasing. Yet little is known about how the former is influenced by the latter in adult relationships. Given that my preliminary research had identified that mobile phones were involved in men's abuse of women my overarching research question asked;

What role do mobile phones play in 'modern day' domestic abuse?

Subthemes included:

- Are mobile phones being used in the coercive control of women and, if so, how?
- How does abuse via mobile phones compare with traditional forms of domestic abuse?
- What is the impact of mobile phone technology on survivors of coercive control?
- How have mobile phones influenced the power dynamics in abusive relationships?

The final research question came out of data analysis, since the significance of the dynamics of power was grounded in data.

All of these issues will be considered alongside the implications for practitioners both within and beyond the Criminal Justice System in Section

11.2. Nevertheless, this research is particularly significant because of the paucity of research in this area and is timely given recent legislation in the form of Section 76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015, and the draft Domestic Abuse Bill 2019 (HM Government, 2019).

This research has focussed on the 'darker' side of technology (Melender 2010 p263), primarily perpetrator behaviour and survivor's responses within the context of mobile phones. Some reference has been made to the way the participants used mobile phones as a way to resist the abuse, but time and word constraints mean that, whilst important, this has not been a focus of this thesis.

1.4.   Structure of the thesis

The remainder of this thesis has been structured into ten chapters.

Chapters Two and Three form the literature review and aim to provide holistic understandings of domestic abuse, coercive control and power. Chapter Two opens with a history of domestic abuse and how public displays of female oppression expose the influence of patriarchy in the social construction of domestic abuse. The chapter moves to consider s76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015 and how it is raising the profile of coercive control in England, Wales and Scotland (Brooks, 2017; Tolmie, 2018).

The draft Domestic Abuse Bill 2019 '*will provide a once-in-a-generation opportunity to transform the response to this terrible crime*' (HM Government,

2019 p1) and brings with it the possibility for further re-constructions of domestic abuse. However, given that a draft of this bill was published as recently as 21st January 2019, there has been insufficient time to consider its significance and it will not be considered in any depth in this thesis. Rather, Chapter Two critiques the Home Office's current definition of domestic violence and considers the importance of s76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015. The chapter then seeks to understand coercive control including its effect on survivors.

Chapter Three provides an overview of explanations of power. It begins by discussing feminisms with a focus on structural feminism including patriarchy and the Power and Control Wheel, a tool widely used by practitioners who work in the field of domestic abuse (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Harne & Radford, 2008; Mullender, 1996; Pence & Paymer, 1993).

Johnson's typology is also considered because it recognises abuse by women against men. This reflects changes in the social construction of domestic abuse and offers different interpretations of the power dynamics in abusive relationships. Chapter three then considers post-structural accounts of power, namely, Foucault's concepts of disciplinary power and Bentham's Panopticon, as outlined in the book '*Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*'. The chapter concludes by evaluating the influences of mobile phones on contemporary society and emphasizes the similarities between the impact of coercive control on survivors and the effect of mobile phones on socialization.

Chapter Four considers research methodology. It explains the journey to social constructionism before explaining the inevitability of feminism to inform this research. The rationale for using grounded theory will also be considered including my choice to follow Charmaz's (2008) interpretation of this. This section also considers any potential contradictions in integrating feminism, Foucault and grounded theory. Charmaz (2008) emphasizes the importance of power and reflexivity in the research process and this chapter shows the efforts made to be reflexive when interviewing women who have survived traumatic experiences. However, reflexivity is not confined to this section, but is an integral part of each chapter. I hope that this is testimony of its assimilation into all areas of my research.

The fifth chapter describes the methods used in the research. It begins by explaining my rationale for purposive sampling and the use of semi-structured interviews. The method of recruitment, including consent and confidentiality, as well as the process of data collection, is explained before considering the ethics of this research alongside its rigor. The chapter concludes with an account of the data analysis process.

Chapter Six provides a synopsis of the stories of all the women who were interviewed for this research and reflects my commitment to standpoint feminism and giving women a voice.

Drawing on data analysis, Chapter Seven orientates the reader by providing a wider context within which to understand coercive control and mobile phones.

It considers the significance of patriarchy within this context and how it influenced perpetrators' behaviours and attitudes. This chapter also identifies women's shared experiences of domestic abuse including the impact of coercive control.

The eighth chapter focuses on how mobile phones were used in the coercive control and domestic abuse of the participants and is presented as an adaptation of the Power and Control Wheel (permission to adapt obtained February 2019, see Appendix 12). This chapter also identifies the 24/7 surveillance afforded by mobile phones and the significance of this in coercive and controlling relationships. The chapter ends by exploring the ways perpetrators circumvented the participants' attempts to prevent contact.

Chapter Nine returns to Foucault's (1991) analysis of disciplinary power and applies it to data. It considers the opportunities Foucault's (1991) work presents to develop understandings of the power dynamics in 'modern day' domestic abuse. The chapter demonstrates how participants became efficient machines, effective in the task of obedience; docile bodies conditioned to signals and adopting the required behaviour. It analyses the transfer of power and women's resistance to the abuse and ends with how mobile phone surveillance creates a Panopticon, bestowing a sense of omnipotence on the perpetrator.

In Chapter Ten, the changing power dynamics are considered within the context of structural and post-structural theorization and uses intersectionality to critique feminist accounts of the Power and Control Wheel. This chapter

compares Stark's (2007) theory of coercive control with that of Foucault's (1991) disciplinary power and argues that these two perspectives are compatible and when used together offer alternative explanations of the power dynamics in 'modern day' abusive relationships

The thesis concludes with Chapter Eleven and highlights the original contributions that this thesis has made to knowledge, e.g. that perpetrators use mobile phones in ways that mirror traditional techniques of abuse, yet mobile phones offer many more opportunities to abuse. The smart phone's ability to provide permanent surveillance extends the power traditionally afforded to abusive men so that it operates far more subtly than patriarchal power. Ultimately, this thesis hopes to demonstrate to the reader that while patriarchy is present within a social and cultural context, mobile phone technology enables and allows the subtler disciplinary power to exist simultaneously.

The chapter concludes by suggesting ways in which mobile phones might change the social construction of domestic abuse and improve practice both within and outside the Criminal Justice System. The thesis closes by recognizing the limitations of the research, retrospective learning and proposing areas for future development.

Chapter 2: Contextualizing domestic abuse and coercive control

This chapter provides a context within which to understand domestic abuse and coercive control. It considers changing attitudes over the last 300 years predominantly in the UK but also in the USA. The bulk of this chapter focuses on coercive control; it reviews the significance of, and challenges faced by recent legislation and concludes by analysing what is meant by coercive control including its impact on survivors.

2.1. The social construction of domestic abuse

In the 18th Century, it was commonplace in England to punish a woman for misdemeanours such as gossiping, name calling or challenging a man's authority, by placing her in a Scold's bridle (Dobash & Dobash, 1981). It consisted of a metal contraption that fitted around her head with a thick metal bar that sat beneath her tongue (see Fig 1). Sometimes this bar contained a barb or spike on the underside, which would pierce the woman's tongue if she made any attempt to speak. Women wearing a Scold's bridle were the object of ridicule and left on display in public spaces as a warning to other women not to 'misbehave'. These common public displays of power demonstrate how violence against women served as a warning should women transgress societal norms (Dobash & Dobash, 1981).

Figure 1 Scold's bridle
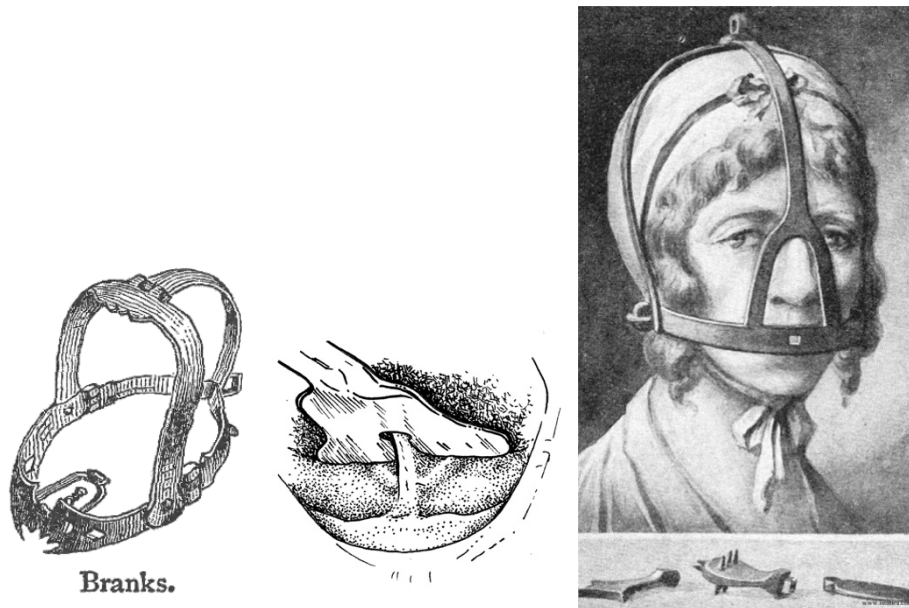
The last recorded wife sale was in 1926 in Blackwood, South Wales (Vickery 2015). These markets, where men took their unwanted wives and sold them, for a small fee, were common in the 19th and early 20th century (see fig 2). These practices objectified women, allowed men to treat women as objects and highlights how male chastisement of women was unimportant and insignificant to social and legal agencies (Dobash & Dobash, 1981;Stark *et al.*, 1979).

At the turn of the 19th Century state regulation was introduced where violence against women was condoned or legalised (Dobash & Dobash, 1981; Richardson & May, 1999). For example, the etymological origin of the term 'rule of thumb' is attributed to a judge in 1860 who reportedly stated that a man was allowed to administer corporal punishment on his wife with a stick no thicker than his thumb (Mullender, 1996). By doing no more than setting limits to the husband's use of physical chastisement, patriarchal authority was

maintained (Dobash & Dobash, 1981). The role of patriarchy in domestic abuse is considered in Section 3.1.1).

Figure 2: Wife Sales

Prior to the Married Woman's Property Act 1870, a wife was deemed to be her husband's property and everything she owned (her children, her estate etc) belonged to him (Goode, 1971). In the event that a woman was raped, it was for the husband to decide whether or not to prosecute for damage to his property (Goode, 1971). The presumption that woman automatically gives her consent to sex when she marries was not overturned until 1991. Only then did it become illegal for a husband to rape his wife (R vs R, 1991).

Because the sanctions outlined above were an accepted part of life, the problem of violence against women didn't exist until it was 'discovered' by

British feminists in the 1970s (Kitzinger, 2007), making domestic abuse socially, historically and politically located (Tang & Cheung, 2002). Through education and the feminist movement, the underlying reality of domestic abuse has been exposed (Choi, 2009; Meyer, 2012). The next section moves to consider domestic abuse within the context of criminal justice agencies.

2.1.1 Domestic abuse and the Criminal Justice System

The severity and impact of domestic abuse continues to be minimized by society including the Criminal Justice System resulting in the disempowerment of women (Bostock, 2009; Childress & Hanusa, 2018 Merrick, 2018; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Women are often blamed for the abuse and seldom seen as victims (Berns & Schweingruber, 2007; Peters, 2008; Tang & Cheung, 2002). Insensitivity like this has resulted in the re-victimisation of women by domestic abuse agencies who have been criticized for their inadequate responses. (Follingstad *et al*., 1990; Kelmendi, 2014; Laxton, 2014; Merrick, 2018; Tang & Cheung, 2002). For example, President Reagan's legal official John Fedders, instigated court action against his wife whose book documented the abuse she suffered from her then husband. He was awarded 25% of the royalties on the basis that the book could not have been written without his abuse (Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

Many believe that the focus is shifting from asking what women did wrong to one where domestic violence is a matter of public concern (Meyer, 2012; Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999) and the ONS shows a three-fold increase in the number of prosecutions of coercive control between 2017 and 2018 (ONS

2018). However, this optimism should be viewed with caution. In the year ending March 2018, whilst 9,053 offences of coercive control were recorded by police only 960 of these resulted in CPS prosecutions (ONS 2018). As recently as December 2018, the Crown Prosecution Service decided to charge John Broadhurst with manslaughter following his assertion that his partner died as a result of 'rough sex'. This is within the context that he inflicted 40 separate injuries including serious internal trauma; a fractured eye socket and then poured bleach over her face. The Crown Prosecution Service's decision to second guess the jury was viewed as a reflection of how the Criminal Justice System and wider society continue to disregard domestic abuse (Merrick, 2018).

The media also influences the public's construction of domestic abuse; it tends to excuse the perpetrator and portray women as somehow responsible for the abuse. The way individuals perceive their situation is influenced by the values and beliefs of others (Furman *et al*., 2003) and since survivors of domestic abuse are exposed to negative and problematic narratives, they are likely to construct their identity within this context (Berns & Schweingruber 2007). This is discussed further in Section 10.2.

Nevertheless, attitudes to domestic abuse have changed. As discussed in section 3.2, it is no longer acceptable to have the public displays of sovereign power outlined above. Indeed, legislation relating specifically to domestic abuse is being introduced which reflects the government's intention to '*support victims, communities and professionals to confront and challenge all types of*

abuse' and to place responsibility on the perpetrator to stop (HM Government, 2019, p2).   Having considered the Criminal Justice System's responses to domestic abuse, the next section analyses relevant legislation.

2.2.   Domestic abuse legislation

This research is particularly relevant given s76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015 (Serious Crimes Act, 2015) which refers specifically to coercive control and the draft Domestic Abuse Bill 2019 (HM Government, 2019) where the government promises to strengthen the definition of coercion (Elgot, 2018). As explained in Section 1.4 the latter will not be considered in any depth in this thesis. However, it is interesting to note that the draft Bill uses the term abuse (not violence) and promises to place responsibility on the perpetrator to stop abusing (HM Government, 2019).   It is possible therefore that the social construction of domestic abuse may continue to change as a result of this.

Thought was given to considering only the definition of coercive and controlling violence in this thesis, but as we shall see, the role of mobile phones in coercive control cannot be easily separated from other forms of abuse such as physical and sexual violence.   This is because coercive control '*underpins the vast majority of domestic abuse'* (Neate, 2017). Rather the Home Office's definition of domestic abuse will be used instead and is defined as;

> *"Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive or threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are or have been intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. This can encompass but is not limited to the following types of abuse: psychological, physical, sexual, financial, emotional" (H*ome Office, 2013*) .*

The word pattern has been applauded by many authors (Tuerkheimer, 2004; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016) as it recognises that domestic abuse is not a one-off event but rather an on-going 'siege' (Tuerkheimer, 2004). However there is a lack of clarity about the terms emotional and psychological abuse that makes the definition somewhat dated, as does the exclusion of any reference to online and mobile technology (Kelly & Westmarland, 2014).

The inclusion of the term 'any incident' means that a push will, in some surveys carry the same significance as more serious and often repeated offences such as strangulation (Kelly & Westmarland, 2014). The tendency of domestic abuse to escalate over time might also be lost as it misses the significance of repetitive behaviour (Day & Bowen, 2015; Feld & Straus, 1989; Sweetnam, 2013) "…*and the web of various forms of power and control used by perpetrators, that entraps women in abusive relationships*" (Kelly & Westmarland, 2016, p114).

The use of the term 'incident' also reflects current policing practices where domestic abuse has always been measured in an 'incident specific', injury based way (Hester, 2013; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Polletta, 2009). This reflects the way perpetrators describe the abuse, rather than the survivor's ongoing experience and 'everyday' reality (Kelly & Westmarland, 2016), including their micromanagement and surveillance as discussed in Sections 2.3.1, 3.2.1 and 8.2. This 'incident specific' recording also risks colluding in the minimization of the impact of abuse and may contribute to the survivor's lack of confidence in the Criminal Justice System (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016). Responding appropriately to domestic abuse and

coercive control requires understanding the dynamics of a relationship and there is concern that the Home Office definition ignores the role of power and control in the abuse of women (Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Walklate *et al*., 2018)).

Some of the disconnect between the Government's definition and criminal law was responded to on December 29th, 2015 when a new offence of controlling and coercive behaviour in intimate or familial relationships was created (Kelly & Westmarland, 2016). Section 76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015 (hereafter referred to as s76) was the first piece of legislation to openly consider coercive control (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015). It describes a person who commits controlling or coercive behaviour in intimate or family relationships as someone who "*repeatedly or continuously engages in behaviour towards another person (B) that is controlling or coercive*" (s 76(1)(a) Serious Crimes Act 2015). The Act continues that this behaviour must have a serious effect on B such that they either believe serious violence will be used against them (see discussion of credible threat in Section 2.3) or that it causes B serious alarm or distress (Serious Crimes Act 2015). By recognizing that this abuse consists of a range of behaviours, the history of the relationship (and the context of the abuse) is necessary to prove the serious effect on B (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018).

S76 recognizes and addresses the issue that both physical and non-physical violence must be criminalized (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015). The intention was to shift the emphasis from physical violence (Tolmie, 2018) and bridge the gap in law between physical and emotional abuse (ONS, 2016). It aims to reflect

the patterns of controlling and coercive behaviour that exists in abusive intimate relationships (Tolmie, 2018). S76 therefore begins to accept that physical and emotional violence are not unconnected events, but behaviour that is interwoven by a thread of control (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Hanna, 2009) . By moving away from the model of stranger violence and applying it to familial life, there is a promise of recognizing that domestic abuse is a course of unwanted conduct between two people who have intimate knowledge of each other, and which can be exploited to bring about control and a change in behaviour (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015).

Crown Prosecution Service guidelines for coercive and controlling violence extend beyond that for domestic abuse since they recognize the isolation felt by many women who are prevented from socializing with family and friends (Crown Prosecution Service, 2016). They also acknowledges the role of technology via social media accounts and surveillance via tracking apps on mobile phones (Crown Prosecution Service, 2016). For a critique of this see Section 11.2.

Home Office guidelines relating to coercive control recognises' that within a persistent pattern of abuse there is a deliberate intention by the perpetrator to exert power over another (Home Office, 2015). However, coercive control involves behaviours that are not always recognised as harmful especially within the '*male centric*' Criminal Justice System (Walklate *et al*., 2018, p116). Understanding the context within which abuse occurs is important as abusive behaviour can be masked by gendered expectations and socialization (Bishop

& Bettinson, 2018). For example, when taken out of context, tactics designed to isolate a woman from her family and friends might be seen as affectionate; a desperate need to spend time with a loved one rather than as indicators of jealousy (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018; Stark, 2007).

Unfortunately, application of s76 has not been as effective as hoped. Between January 2016 and July 2018 only 16% of those arrested were charged (Cowling, 2018) and there were only 309 prosecutions in the first two years (Crown Prosecution Service, 2017). This may be due to the difficulty in obtaining evidence for the offences, for example, it would be difficult, to show a credible threat in the absence of a relevant context (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018). This is further complicated by the survivor's apparent compliance with the demands of the perpetrator, her difficulty in recalling the events as a result of her trauma and her unwillingness to give evidence in court (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018; Dutton & Goodman, 2005). The potential role of mobile phones as a means to overcome these obstacles is considered in Section 11.2.

The Home Office recognizes that coercive control is gender asymmetric, i.e. more likely to be experienced by women and girls (Home Office, 2015) yet increasing numbers of women are being arrested as perpetrators of domestic abuse (Burman & Brooks-Hay, 2018) and women who kill their partners are still treated differently to men (Bindel, 2018). Concern has been expressed that this is because of the misapplication of coercive control legislation, for example, women who engage in violent resistance (see Section 3.1.3) in response to repeated or extreme abuse from their partner (Burman & Brooks-Hay, 2018).

This is highlighted in the case of Sally Challen whose murder conviction was quashed and a re-trial ordered on the grounds that she killed her husband having experienced coercive control throughout their 40-year relationship (Davies, 2019). With this in mind let's take a closer look at coercive control.

2.3.   Understanding coercive control

Before embarking on this research, the terms 'coercive control' AND 'mobile phone*' Or 'cell phone*' OR 'smart phone*' were used to search the databases Scopus, PsychINFO and Web of Science. They identified three articles, none of which were deemed relevant to this thesis. The scope was broadened to consider 'domestic abuse' OR 'domestic violence' OR 'intimate partner violence' AND 'mobile phone*' Or 'cell phone*' OR 'smart phone*'. The same databases presented 41 results, after duplicates were removed. Reading of the title and abstracts revealed that mobile phones were considered alongside other forms of communication technology such as computers and emails or focused specifically on features of mobile phones such as sexting or texting. Whilst an important part of abusive relationships, papers relating only to sexting and texting were not considered as this research was interested in all the different ways mobile phones were used to abuse adult women. The literature also showed there was a lack of clarity around whether or not the behaviours displayed were abusive, for example in Drouin et al's (2015) study participants were willing to engage in texting/sexting even when they didn't want to and so coercion was difficult to establish.   Further, much of the research into sexting/texting focuses on adolescents (Draucker & Marksoff 2010) in dating relationships (i.e. not cohabiting couples, which was the focus of my study).

Indeed, in almost all the articles, the samples were confined to college students (Bennett et al. 2011; Burke et al. 2011; Drouin et al. 2015; Kellerman et al. 2013; Melander 2010; Perkins et al. 2014; Schnurr et al. 2012; Short & McMurray 2009) raising concerns that they reflected the experiences of young, educated individuals, typically from higher socio-economic backgrounds. Since the focus of this research relates to the abuse and coercive control of adult women by intimate partners these articles were not considered. The search was conducted periodically throughout the research process and most recently in December 2018. No additional articles became available suggesting that there is currently no academic literature that looks exclusively at mobile phone technologies and their role in the coercive control of adult women.

There is a lack of clarity in the literature about the definition of coercive control and disagreement about the best way to record it (Crossman *et al*., 2016; Hamberger *et al*., 2017; Nevala, 2017). This makes analysing coercive control difficult yet understanding the parameters within which coercive control exists is essential for any discussion relating to the subject. A narrative review of the available literature was undertaken and combined to find a conclusion about what constitutes coercive control (Green *et al*., 2006).

In abusive relationships coercion is the use of various tactics to compel someone to do or not do something (Cook & Goodman, 2006). Coercion in abusive relationships involves the control of the everyday actions, thoughts and emotions of the survivor, which can be done overtly or in more clandestine ways (Beck *et al*., 2009; Cook & Goodman, 2006; Crossman *et al*., 2016; Velonis,

2016).   This includes restricting the survivor's autonomy and freedom (Crossman & Hardesty, 2017: Stark, 2007; Whitaker & Abell, 2014), forced economic dependence (Adams *et al.*, 2008; Dutton & Goodman, 2005) isolation from family and friends (Crossman *et al.*, 2016; Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Velonis, 2016) and undermining the survivor through name calling and diminishing her self-esteem (Kelmendi, 2014; Velonis, 2016).   These behaviours are deliberate, pose a credible threat and cause fear in the recipient (Hester, 2013). The role of mobile phones in this is discussed in Section 7.4. Surveillance is essential in order to monitor whether or not the controlling tactics are having the desired effect and if the survivor is behaving in the way that the perpetrator wants (Raven, 1993, 2008; Stark, 2007).

Some authors argue that coercive control is an underlying dynamic that is established and maintained by physical violence (Day & Bowen, 2015; Hamberger *et al.*, 2017; Stark, 2010). Others that it is akin to, but different from emotional violence and should be considered in its own right (Crossman *et al.*, 2016). Physical abuse is an important element of coercive control, not least of all because it is an integral part of the credible threat outlined above. However, in this thesis, coercive control will be viewed as a form of emotional abuse, an underlying dynamic that holds the different types of abuse together and changes the behaviours, thoughts and (re)actions of the survivor.

Much of the research is agreed that consequences of emotional abuse, including coercive control, are similar to or worse than physical abuse, with women reporting that overcoming the former is far more difficult than

overcoming the latter (Crossman *et al*., 2016; Follingstad *et al*., 1990; Hester *et al*., 2017; O'Leary, 1999; Seff, *et al*., 2008). The impact of emotional abuse has been likened to that of post-traumatic stress disorder (Arias & Pape 1999) where memory impairment is considered the most common form of cognitive deterioration (Johnsen & Asbjørnsen, 2008). Emotional abuse also indicates a high risk of future physical violence (Felson & Messner, 2014; Follingstad *et al*., 1990; Marshall, 1996; Straka & Montminy, 2008), and it is therefore important to identify coercive control early if we are to keep survivors and children safe.

Coercive power was first identified by French & Raven (1959) in relation to social and industrial psychology. Here the agent (in the case of domestic abuse, the perpetrator) threatens the target (hereafter referred to as survivor) with negative and undesirable consequences if they do not comply (Raven, 2008). The perpetrator either imposes things on the survivor that the survivor does not want, or removes/decreases things that the survivor desires. The purpose of such behaviour is for the perpetrator to obtain a desirable goal or outcome (Raven, 2008).

To contextualise coercive control within abusive relationships feminists argue that the perpetrator uses on-going, systematic attempts to assert power over the survivor as a means to manipulate and control them (Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Hamberger *et al*., 2017; Velonis, 2016). The perpetrator's desired outcomes are dominance and subordination of 'their' woman (Gaman *et al*., 2016; Hayes, 2013), which is outlined in Section 3.1.

In order to exercise coercive control, the perpetrator must be both willing and able to deliver the consequences threatened (Hamberger *et al*., 2017). This deliberate intention to control, emotionally wound or exploit the survivor is arguably an essential element of coercive control. Without it, we run the risk of labelling people as abusive when this may not be the case. Take for example aggression exhibited by a person with dementia or mental health problems. Whilst the behaviour and actions of the individual may leave the carer or family member feeling controlled and in fear, to my mind, this behaviour should be viewed within the wider context. If it is out of character for an individual to behave like this and it is a result of a medical condition it should not be seen in the same way as the coercive control exhibited by perpetrators of domestic abuse. This deliberate intention might also help distinguish between a measured attempt to ridicule or embarrass the survivor (Raven, 2008) and a poorly judged comment that was done without malice (Follingstad, 2007).

The perpetrator must also know whether or not the survivor has complied and in order to know this, surveillance is essential (Raven, 1993; Raven, 2008; Stark, 2007). The integral nature of surveillance as a method of monitoring and controlling women in domestic violence relationships is widely recorded in the literature (Arnold, 2009; Cook & Goodman, 2006; Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Tanha *et al*., 2010; Hayes, 2013; Velonis, 2016) with Stark (2007, p257) describing it as '*almost universal in abusive relationships*'. Stark (2007) a structural feminist, asserts that in most abusive relationships, perpetrators monitor their partners so intensively that their privacy is compromised, and thus coercive control should be viewed as a liberty crime. Micro-surveillance, that

is, the surveillance of the minute aspects of a woman's everyday life (Stark 2007) serves to create the impression that the perpetrator is everywhere even if he cannot be seen; he is both omnipotent and omnipresent (Stark 2007). The significance of this to the power dynamics in abusive relationships is discussed in Section 10.4. The fear of punishment coupled with the survivor's belief that the perpetrator can and will find out whether or not they have complied, is what brings about a change in the survivor's behaviour (Raven, 1993, 2008).

Raven (1993) recognised that there are personal forms of coercive power where rejection or disapproval from someone important (such as intimate partners) can form a more powerful basis for coercion. In abusive relationships a perpetrator may initially try to build a positive relationship with the survivor and when ready to coerce, will use intimidation as part of the preparation, often objectifying or dehumanising the survivor in the process (Raven, 2008). This is discussed in Section 7.3.1). In the case of domestic abuse, the perpetrator is likely to have built a trusting relationship with the survivor; typically sharing private information; dreams and ambitions as well as fears and anxieties (Hayes & Jefferies, 2016). When a relationship becomes abusive this cherished information can become a weapon with which to threaten and control the partner (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Velonis, 2016). The coercion associated with this breach of trust, will be different from other forms of abuse due to the deliberate exploitation of the woman's known vulnerabilities and insecurities (Belknap *et al*., 2012; Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Velonis, 2016). The importance of trust is considered in Sections 7.4.3, 8.2 and 9.3 and frequency

of these references shows how it permeated the abuse experienced by the participants in this research.

Over time, this cycle of power and powerlessness feeds on itself; a catch 22 develops between the perpetrator and the survivor as the former will increasingly distrust and disregard the latter (Raven, 1993). Should the survivor comply, the perpetrator believes that this is due to his surveillance and the survivor continues to be seen as untrustworthy. Indeed, any successful influence (such as a desired change in behaviour) is attributed to the perpetrator and the need for surveillance is reinforced. Surveillance results in greater distrusting and devaluation of the survivor which then results in greater surveillance, and so the cycle continues (Raven, 1993).

I am not suggesting that all intimate relationships are a source of coercive control nor that all abusive relationships were planned from the outset. Some relationships may begin as genuinely loving, but something changes which alters the dynamic and makes the perpetrator feel that coercion is now necessary. That said, and as will become clear, some women in this study did believe that their ex-partners had intended to abuse/coercively control them from the outset.

Having discussed the mechanics of coercive control, the next section considers the impact of living with this constant and on-going oppression.

2.3.1 The impact of coercive control

The power of coercion lies in the survivors' belief that there will be negative consequences if they fail to comply (Hamberger *et al*., 2017; Raven, 2008) . Whilst there is a theoretical choice to resist this power, the survivor knows that this comes at a cost (Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Stark, 2007). Coercion is likely to impact on every aspect of the survivor's life (Hamberger *et al*., 2017) which, when taken in isolation can appear insignificant to the outsider (Williamson, 2010). Take for example a remark made by a perpetrator that is viewed by others as gentle banter, within the context of abusive relationships it might be a warning to the survivor not to 'cross the line'. Her response to this, such as panic may seem an unnecessary overreaction to friends and casual observers. Coercive control must therefore be viewed within a context, as it is prone to being '*invisible within plain sight*' (Stark, 2007, p14). These micro-regulations, that is the control of the minute aspects of everyday life (Stark 2007), are difficult to identify but powerful in that they slowly erode a woman's self-esteem, self-confidence and self-respect (Hamberger *et al*.,2017; Williamson, 2010)

> *"…the cumulative impact of this kind of micromanagement can be to crush the victim's spirit by leaving no room for independent thought or action…. that he [the perpetrator] is capable of monitoring her thoughts and actions at all times. This explains how women can become entrapped in this kind of relationship: she experiences the abuser's control as ubiquitous and is unable to act in her own behalf even when the abuser is not physically present."*(Arnold, 2009, p1435*).*

Multiple incidents of abuse are usually experienced by the same person, which has a cumulative effect that is greater than the sum of its parts (Stark, 2007). Negative experiences of control include intense fear of the partner and a

perceived risk of future threats or harassment (Crossman & Hardesty, 2017). This fear is based on what could happen (Arnold, 2009), and is accompanied by anxiety, guilt, reduced self-esteem, and depression, with fear persisting even after the violence has stopped (Crossman *et al*., 2016; Stark, 2006). The fear experienced by the women in this study, including the role of mobile phones is discussed in Section 7.4.1. I argue that because of its cumulative nature, there is no minimum threshold of severity or impact; this is all the more important because, many women do not identify their experiences as abuse at the time of its execution (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Kelly *et al*., 2009).

Through the use of coercion, perpetrators can create a world that determines the boundaries, rules and expectations of their partners, that is they can create their own reality (Williamson, 2010). In order to manage this, women often internalize the controls placed upon them and learn to anticipate and avoid failure (Williamson, 2010). Over time, the woman's resistance is worn down and there is a change in behaviour as women succumb to an '*alien will'* (Stark 2007, p15). That is, they stop their preferred behaviour, for example going out, seeing friends and family and behave in ways that they believe will please (or at least not anger) the perpetrator, such as staying home or seldom, if ever contacting loved ones (this was reflected in this research and is discussed in Section 7.4.4). Coercion reduces the survivors' ability to make decisions and limits her independence and autonomy (Hamberger *et al*., 2017; Williamson, 2010). Her physical and psychological integrity is undermined and she is constantly at a loss (Stark, 2007; Velonis, 2016). In extreme cases this can

result in the woman becoming more infantile and unable to do almost anything without the abuser's permission (Stark, 2007).

Women become 'entrapped', lose basic aspects of their everyday lives as well as their human rights (Hamberger *et al*., 2017; Stark, 2007). Stark (2007) likens this to hostage situations where women are almost brainwashed by the perpetrators. Stark (2007) refers to Stockholm syndrome where the relationships some women form with their abusers changes so that the attachment increases as the abuse escalates. Small acts of kindness promote feelings of gratitude and the dynamic changes so that the survivor sees the perpetrator as kind rather than subjecting her to abuse.

The perpetrator uses coercive control to create an environment where the survivor cannot trust her own senses and the abuse becomes internalized (Haeseler, 2013; Sweetnam, 2013; Williamson, 2010). Gradually, the survivor begins to believe the perpetrators' accounts and criticisms. The woman's self-esteem is crushed, there is no room for independent thought or action, she reconstructs her self-image according to the perpetrators' responses such that her self-worth is measured not by her behaviour but by the perpetrators' reactions to her behaviour (Arnold, 2009; Williamson, 2010). The fear of the consequences of such mistakes, as well as living with the volume of these uncertainties often leaves the survivor paralyzed (Williamson, 2010; Zosky, 2011). She takes on board the abusers' reality, reconstructing her self-image according to his norms and is left negotiating the unpredictable rules, changing boundaries and the ever shifting unreality of his world, (Sweetnam, 2013;

Williamson, 2010) But, whatever the woman does is wrong, she can never win, because she has no control over what winning means and the outcome can often result in physical abuse (Williamson, 2010).

It is often easier for women to negotiate this unreality; she can feel safer because it is less anxiety provoking to comply or be grateful for the kindness, than it is to recognise, resist or challenge the abuse (Williamson, 2010). In this way their experience of abuse can be both internalized and normalized (Velonis, 2016; Williamson, 2010). Ironically, because of the ever shifting rules and boundaries, negotiating this unreality only serves to increase the perpetrators' control (Williamson, 2010). Resistance is required to break this cycle (Raven, 1993; Raven, 2008) which can be as simple as identifying the behaviour as abusive, even if that means taking responsibility for the abuse (Williamson, 2010).

2.4.   Conclusion

This chapter began by contextualising domestic abuse through a social constructionist lens and considered how it has influenced attitudes towards domestic abuse. Context is important to understand the covert and pervasive nature of coercive control, the impact of the threats, the extent of the fear and the responses of both the survivors and criminal justice agencies. Without this framework it is difficult to identify and understand coercive control and there is a danger that changes to legislation may be futile. This chapter also introduced surveillance, a theme that will be revisited throughout the thesis. But first,

Chapter Three considers theorizations of power from a structuralist and post-structuralist perspective.

Chapter 3: Power and the mobile phone

Having provided a social, historical and legislative context for domestic abuse in Chapter Two, this chapter now turns its attention to power, comparing and contrasting structuralist and post-structuralist accounts of this. The former, supported by the feminist movement, focusses on three explanations; patriarchy, the Power and Control Wheel and Johnson's typology. In contrast, Foucault's (1991) post-structuralist account of disciplinary power is then considered before ending the chapter with a discussion of the impact of mobile phones on contemporary life.

3.1   Feminist theories of power

Feminism is not one school of thought but encompasses many ways of thinking and understanding that have been shaped by historical, theoretical and political distinctions (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Phillips, 2006). They have different ideologies, which have collectively informed the feminist movement (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Feminisms recognise gender inequalities that make women subordinate to men (Hannam, 2012; Redfern & Aune, 2013) and want to rectify this by promoting women's freedom and empowerment (Parr, 2015). That relationships between men and women are socially constructed and that gender inequalities are open to change is central to all schools of feminism (Hannam, 2012). Finlayson (2016) believes that feminism essentially consists of two main elements; the first is the belief that patriarchy exists and the second is an opposition to this system. As such she does not believe that only women can be feminists or that only women suffer under this hierarchy. Rather

Finlayson (2016) argues that women are worse off relative to men under a patriarchal system.

Second Wave feminists argued that gender inequality is due to male power constructed through institutional and cultural practices (George & Stith, 2014). Within this movement radical feminists believed that biological differences are at the root of inequality, whilst anti-capitalist feminists argued that success cannot be obtained without addressing economic inequalities (Redfern & Aune, 2013). Second-wave feminism brought with it equal rights legislation, women's shelters and perpetrator programs (Ali & Naylor, 2013; George & Stith, 2014), but was criticized for believing that all women share the same experiences within a patriarchal society (George & Stith, 2014; Redfern & Aune, 2013; Synder, 2008). With the rise of postmodernism, a new movement was born that considered gender alongside race, class, religion and sexual orientation and embraced an intersectional version of feminism (Snyder, 2008). These third wave feminists emphasized social justice and saw patriarchy as one of many oppressive factors (George & Stith, 2014). The debate relating to intersectionality, the modernization of patriarchal power and post-structuralist understandings of women's oppression is considered in depth in Section 10.1. The instigation for my shift from a structural feminist to a more fluid feminist is explained in Section 5.8.1

Phillips (2006) reminds us of the importance of maintaining a range of feminist perspectives on domestic abuse policy, since they all make valid contributions

in different ways. These differences do not require the dismissal of one group's stance by the other, rather

> *"…. the way feminisms are most usefully maintained in a national domestic violence policy is to acknowledge that structural questions and perspectives must be maintained whilst avoiding blanket ideas of women's experience of domestic violence. It is also clearly necessary and vital to the application of social policy to apply postmodern approaches to understanding the diverse experience of women, particularly their cultural and contextual specificity, along with different ways of resisting violence."* (Phillips, 2006, p202).

As explained in Section 1.3, this thesis is interested in the impact of mobile phones on the power dynamics in abusive relationships. Whilst there are many feminist theories that offer insight into domestic abuse, not all of these emphasise power. This section considers feminist theories of domestic abuse that focus explicitly on power and starts by analysing the role of patriarchy.

3.1.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy or "*power of the fathers*", is often cited as the underlying cause of domestic abuse (George & Stith, 2014, p179). A patriarchal society is one where men are given privileges that are not afforded to women and domestic abuse is a manifestation of this male power in a male dominated society (Dickerson, 2013; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Stark, 2007). Underpinning feminist structural explanations of domestic abuse is that gender issues must be viewed through a patriarchal lens if they are to be understood (Kurtz, 1989; Lawson, 2012; Mason, 2002; Stark, 2007). Violence (including domestic abuse) causes not only pain but is something oppressive that weighs heavily on the women who are its targets (Mason, 2002).

Structural feminists place power and control at the heart of domestic abuse (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; George & Stith, 2014). Many believe that violence and abuse should be understood within a socio-historical context (such as that described in Section 2.1) and is linked to gender inequalities in various forms (Hester, 2017a). It is within this context that some feminists explain domestic abuse as a way for men to exert control over "*their women*" (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000, p 949; Stark, 2007). Men, it is argued, maintain social control through a system of coercive acts that helps sustain their social dominance over women (Anderson, 1997). Many feminists have argued for the need to understand this power and control which is supported by structural inequalities and patriarchal systems that force women to remain in a submissive state through a system of physical, emotional, financial and sexual abuse or exploitation (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Mason, 2002; Straka & Montminy, 2008). These various forms of mistreatment are considered in the next section.

3.1.2 The Power and Control Wheel

The Power and Control Wheel (see Figure 3), a common tool in understanding and intervening in domestic violence, is used extensively when working with perpetrators and survivors of domestic abuse (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Harne & Radford, 2008; Mullender, 1996; Pence. & Paymer, 1993). Developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth Minnesota, it offered tactics used by men to maintain power and keep women subservient (Ali & Naylor, 2013). The Power and Control Wheel changed the social construction of domestic abuse from one that recognised only extreme physical violence to one that

identified other less obvious forms of abuse. (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). In doing so this model exposed the consensus that subtle forms of power and control had until then, been socially acceptable (Muehlenhard & Kimes 1999; Pence. & Paymer, 1993).

In this model, the hub of the wheel signifies the inequality between men and women such as beliefs about the role and position of women within the family. The spokes of the wheel represent behaviour exerted by the abuser as a

Figure 3: The Power and Control Wheel

means of keeping the woman in a submissive state and assumes that such tactics are not isolated incidents but part of a wider motive to exert male power (Ali & Naylor 2013; Pence & Paymer, 1993). Although not exhaustive or definitive, the spokes include emotional violence (including humiliation), denying, minimizing, excusing and blaming, intimidation, isolation (including monitoring and controlling), coercion and threats (Harne & Radford, 2008). A detailed discussion of the limitations of Power and Control Wheel is available in Section 10.1, but critics argue it neither explains abuse in same sex relationships, nor the abuse that occurs from women to men (Ali & Naylor, 2013).

The next theory not only accepts the abuse of men by female intimate partners but was born from the gender symmetry/asymmetry debate, i.e. why some surveys show men to primarily be the perpetrators of domestic abuse and others that perpetration of domestic abuse is equal across genders.

3.1.3 Johnson's typology

This theory proposed four types of violence that help shed light on the different and changing power dynamics in the violence exhibited between couples. Devised by Johnson & Ferraro (2000), the first typology, known as situational couple violence, is broadly defined as a consequence of a specific argument that results in a violent incident. This form of violence is unlikely to be as severe, does not involve controlling behaviours and seldom escalates over time. The violence could be from either or both parties and so the power is not fixed and when recorded statistically, would likely be perpetrated equally by

men and women (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1993; Straus & Gelles, 1986). This behaviour is used to settle differences rather than to hurt or frighten a partner and since there is no element of control, should not be regarded as abusive (Stark, 2007).

The second typology, violent resistance was, originally described as a form of self-defence. It is when the survivor, usually a woman, uses violence to combat the violence she experiences. However, the behaviour displayed by women in this situation would not necessarily meet the legal definition of self-defence nor would women necessarily recognise their reaction as protection (Johnson, 2005).

The third category, mutual violence has now been disregarded (Johnson *et al.*, 2014) but referred to violence in which both parties were violent and battling for control over the other.

The final category, originally known as intimate terrorism, is the abuse people associate with the term domestic violence (Crossman *et al.*, 2016; Johnson, 2005; Thomas *et al.*, 2013). It is

> *"…….. merely one tactic in a general pattern of control. The violence is motivated by a wish to exert general control over one's partner………it is more likely to escalate over time, is less likely to be mutual and is more likely to involve serious injury. …..The distinguishing feature of IT is a pattern of violent and nonviolent behaviours that indicates a general motive to control."* (Johnson & Ferraro 2000, p949)*.*

Later referred to as 'coercive controlling violence'(Kelly & Johnson, 2008), this re-naming is important as it recognises that coercion and control define an abuser's motives, the survivors' experiences, and contextualizes the violence within the wider relationship (Thomas *et al*., 2013). There is an acceptance that coercive control is gender specific and is predominantly performed by men against women (Anderson, 1997; Caldwell *et al*., 2012; Crossman & Hardesty, 2017; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Johnson, 2005; Stark, 2007). Coercive control is central to distinguishing between situational couple violence and intimate terrorism (Hardesty *et al*., 2015).

Women who experience coercive controlling violence suffer more frequent and severe violence and have higher levels of perceived future threat and fear (Hardesty *et al*., 2015). That coercive control is more likely to persist after separation highlights the significance of control in this form of abuse (Crossman *et al*., 2016). It may also account for the importance of fear (see Section 2.3) that many authors attribute as essential in the identification of coercive control (Day & Bowen, 2015; Hamberger *et al*., 2017; Hester *et al*., 2017b).

The accuracy of Johnson's categories is important because they inform practice and guide intervention (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2015). However these accounts have been criticised because they do not appreciate that domestic abuse works on a continuum and that there are overlaps in women's experiences (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2015). Johnson's categories are therefore not as distinct as initially thought and the blurring between them means that they are not mutually exclusive (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2015; O'Neal *et al*., 2014).

In addition, control can be achieved through non-violent means so relationships which are controlling but not physically violent must still be considered abusive (Mennicke & Kulkarni, 2016). This is consistent with legislation as outlined in Section 2.2. The connection between fear and physical violence is not always proportional, i.e. relationships with high levels of fear may have few incidents of physical violence and non-violent control strategies can escalate into physical abuse (Mennicke & Kulkarni, 2016). However Johnson's studies did not consider control exerted in non-violent relationships to constitute abuse and were therefore not considered in the typology (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2015). This theory is also criticised for not adequately addressing the issue of violence within same sex relationships; originally Johnson (1995) stated that power dynamics in lesbian relationships was due to situational couple violence, but later acknowledged women intimate terrorists (Johnson, 2006).

Nevertheless, by recognising that abuse can be perpetrated regardless of gender Johnson & Ferraro (2000) helped reconstruct understandings of domestic abuse (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Whilst maintaining the importance of power in abusive relationships, they recognised that power dynamics between couples is not necessarily fixed. In the case of situational couple violence for example, these dynamics change according to the circumstances and the power could be seen to circulate between both couples. This idea of power as something that circulates is discussed in the next section.

3.2   Foucault and Power

In his book '*Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison'*, Foucault (1991) offers an alternative, post-structuralist explanation of power. This moves away from traditional forms of hierarchy such as patriarchy towards a state that promotes involvement from its 'subjects'. (Mckee, 2009; Sawicki, 1986). In contrast to structural feminists, Foucault (1991) persuades that power is not something owned by institutions or imposed oppressively on powerless groups or individuals (Sergiu, 2010). Rather he explained power as something

> *"…. designed to facilitate the description of the many forms of power found outside these centralized loci. He does not deny the phenomenon of class (or State) power, he simply denies that understanding it is more important ………[his] "bottom-up" analysis of power is an attempt to show how power relations at the micro-level of society make possible certain global effects of domination (e.g. class, power, patriarchy)."*
> (Sawicki, 1986, p2.)

Foucault questioned the binary nature of struggle implicit in revolutionary theories (Allen 2009; Sawicki, 1986), believing power to be mobile, a constantly shifting force that operates at a micro level in society. Power is no longer simply a force that comes from above, it has moved away from the public, brutal displays of harm associated with sovereign power outlined in Section 2.1 and has been replaced by a programme of discipline in the form of exercise, training and supervision.

Foucault (1991) turns to the school, the military and ultimately the prison system of the time to explain the concept of disciplinary power. Here, individuals were carefully supervised, their time organized effectively, and their days separated

into segments. He describes how children and marching troops are trained in the most detailed way; the position of the body during handwriting, the angle of the head when marching. These were corrected through repetitive and graduated tasks. The use of highly regulated supervision, such as when and for how long the activity was undertaken, made the task more efficient and effective.

These techniques, though applied in different ways to different populations, were successful in that they both regulated the subject and emphasized obedience to the rules. Eventually, the subject becomes conditioned to a signal and responds by adopting the required behaviour or response. These docile bodies are created through the actions of disciplinary power.

> *'What was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act on the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviour. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it…it defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. Thus, discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, "docile" bodies'* (Foucault, 1991, p138).

Foucault's understanding of power considers how subjects are constructed through a complex web of interactions. Since there is no single base of power nor a single revolutionary subject, Foucault (1991) sees power as something that is always circulating (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014; Mckee, 2009; Sawicki, 1986).

The discipline involved in training 'makes' individuals so that they become both the objects and instruments of power (Foucault 1991). Foucault (1991, p139)

talks of a micro-physics of power '*small acts of cunning endowed with a great power of diffusion, subtle arrangements apparently innocent but profoundly suspicious*'. It is something that is neither seen or recognised (Schwan & Shapiro, 2011); disciplinary power is more a strategy than a possession, it has a dynamic of its own and is intentional (Sergiu, 2010).

Unlike structural feminists (see Section 3.1.1), he saw power as something relational that diffuses throughout society (Sergiu, 2010). Foucault's (1979, cited in Foucault 1991) term 'capillary power' highlights how power stretches into the smallest and most private parts of life, resulting in a quiet, slow, almost invisible force "*a network of relations constantly in tension, in activity…. that one should take as its model a perpetual battle*" (Foucault, 1991, p26)

In contrast to feminist theories, Foucault (1991) believed power is not possessed but "*exercised through its invisibility*" (Foucault 1991, p187) and that it is productive not oppressive (Sawicki, 1986). Power becomes multi-directional, it does not just flow down from those with power to those without, but is horizontal or can come from the bottom up (Sawicki, 1986; Sergiu, 2010). Foucault was not referring to Power with a capital P; rather power is ubiquitous and is in play in institutions and family relationships alike (Foucault, 1982).

Foucault (1991) reminds us that from the start of life, we are acclimatised into highly monitored, highly surveillanced places. We are born in hospitals and educated in schools, and become accustomed to abiding by their rules, regulations and procedures. Schools, hospitals and prisons were designed to

allow the greatest degree of observation "*a perfect eye so that nothing would escape and a centre to which all gazes would be turned.*" Foucault (1991, p171). Disciplinary power is something that is exercised by surveillance (Sergiu, 2010) and Foucault (1991) draws on the work of Jeremy Bentham (1791), and his concept of the Panopticon (see figure 4) to illustrate his theory of power.

3.2.1 The Panopticon

Bentham (cited in Foucault 1991) used the prison system to explain the Panopticon. In the centre there is a guard tower where all the prisoners are axially visible. There are two windows, one providing a backlight to make the prisoner visible, the other something through which the guard in the tower can watch the prisoner at all times. The walls between each cell separate the prisoners, preventing visibility and communication between them, thereby ensuring isolation from other inmates. Thus, the prisoners are only able to see the guard tower, which serves as a constant reminder that they are permanently being watched and monitored. This surveillance is an essential part of the mechanism of control and eventually no locks or bars are needed because the inmates supervise themselves. Thus, disciplinary power works so that social control is no longer imposed from above, but by disciplining people into serving power themselves, they become their own gaoler. Rather than using violence; rules, procedures and regulations are used to control people. The power comes from within; it is not external or imposed from above.

Foucault (1991) deduces that an important effect of the Panopticon is

"to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power, so ……that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary…." (p201)

Bentham (cited in Foucault 1991) explains that power needs to be both visible and unverifiable. Since power is horizontal, not hierarchical, it is difficult to know where it is coming from and harder still to know how to get out from under it. Bentham (cited in Foucault 1991) states that if an individual is in a confined space and constantly visible, that person's behaviour will change as

Figure 4: The Panopticon
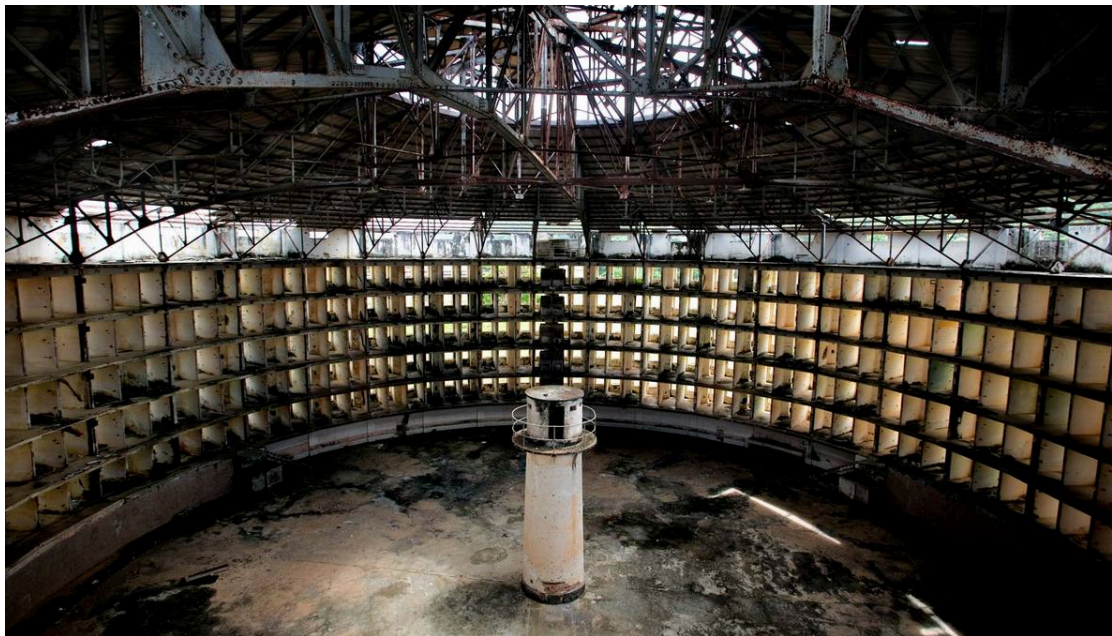
Photograph from The Guardian.

they begin to assume responsibility for their own surveillance. This constant threat of unpredictable surveillance cultivates a particular form of self; individuals watch themselves because of the uncertainty of whether or not they are being watched by others and so the power is transferred. It is this "*state of*

conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functionality of power." (Foucault, 1991, p 201). Indeed, the inmate only needs to think that they are being watched for behaviour to change and for compliance to be achieved. Foucault (1991) explains that as humans we are rational, we watch ourselves, monitor and obey because our reasoning tells us that this is right. Being socialized within a system of monitoring ourselves extends the reach of power in an extreme way. This tight, constant disciplinary control takes hold of the mind as well as the body (Bartky, 1990).

Unlike structural feminists, Foucault (1991) asserts that power does not belong to an individual or group and that if some have more, others will have less (Cooper, 1994). Rather power is felt in the effect that one's actions have on another, it operates by structuring one's choices and decisions (Cooper, 1994). Power works within a social relation of inequality e.g. relationships between men and women, black women and white women, lesbians and heterosexual women (Mason 2002). The relativity of power means that the dynamic can shift and so traditional concepts of power such as that from men to women, white to black etc. can be reversed (Cooper, 1994). Whilst Foucault recognizes that difference can be a source of fragmentation, he also understands that difference can create several sources of resistance to particular forms of domination (Sawicki, 1986).

The feminist Monique Devaux (1994) believes that Foucault does not give the docile bodies agency in his early account of power and that women's choices and differences are lost. She argues that there is a risk of reducing women's

subjectivity and treating them as "*robotic receptacles of culture rather than active agents*…" (Devaux, 1994, p239).

Foucault (1991) believes that power relations only arise when there is conflict, it is dependent on resistance and when the resistant forces are overcome the limits of power are reached and it too is overcome (Sawicki, 1986). Foucault (1991) introduces the adolescent petty criminal Béasse, who resisted the judges' attempts to make him delinquent by refusing to be shamed by his imposed docility. He expands this by suggesting that "…..*a radical critique of the class origins of the justice system, if combined with working-class resistance, can topple the system*." (Schwan & Shapiro, 2011, p164)

Foucault (1991) asserts that power becomes more intimate; it does not act from the outside but internally through the self and because of this there is an ability to resist (Mckee, 2009). Within this context, freedom and human agency are pre-supposed and do not require liberation from an oppressor (Mckee, 2009). Thus power is not something to be overthrown since it tries to devolve autonomy and responsibility from the state towards the individual (Cooper, 1994; Mckee, 2009). It is a political strategy where both those who resist and govern have power (Cooper, 1994; Mckee, 2009). Foucault became increasingly interested in the resistance shown by those upon whom the power was exerted and admits in his later work that resistance is inherent to the model of disciplined bodies (Sergiu, 2010).

As will be discussed in Section 9.4 women in this study did demonstrate resistance to the abuse. Unfortunately, due to the word count and time constraints this later development of Foucault's theory will not be considered in this thesis but is highlighted as an area for future research in Section 11.6. However, given my feminist principles and social work values (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2) it would be remiss of me to leave the reader believing that the loss of agency outlined above is an inevitable or permanent state.

Returning to the importance of surveillance, this next section considers how mobile phones influence contemporary relationships.

3.3   The mobile phone, surveillance and power

Keeping in touch with friends, family and colleagues is an important part of contemporary life (Henderson *et al*., 2002). Mobile phones transcend the boundaries of physical distance, facilitating social interaction such that not having a mobile phone could mean exclusion from new forms of sociality (Henderson *et al*., 2002). Mobile phones are a common tool, across generations, used to build and develop intimate relationships in modern society (Bergdall *et al*., 2012; van Volkom *et al*.,2013).

The mobile phone is more than a technical device; it is now an integral part of a user's life that binds people together (Miller-Ott *et al*., 2012; Srivastava, 2005;). For example, Generation Z or 'digital natives' i.e. those with no recollection of life without smart phones and internet access (Gentina *et al*., 2018) have abandoned traditional computers for mobile devices (Ahn & Jung,

2016). Nomophobia, the fear of having to go without a mobile phone, is now common among this population (Gentina *et al.*, 2018).

Small, light and designed to fit into a pocket, mobile phones can be taken almost anywhere (Arnold, 2003; Dimond *et al.*, 2011). They contain a mine of private information that can be sent secretly and discretely, especially in the form of text messages (Dimond *et al.*, 2011; Srivastava, 2005) to convey subtle and private feelings (Luo, 2014) .

However, this increased convenience enables technology to enter into people's private lives (Srivastava, 2005), mobile phones have raised questions about what is considered appropriate contact (Katz & Aakhus, 2002) which requires a re-negotiation of social lives (Ngcongo, 2016). Because of mobile phones, most people now assume that they can and must be 'always on' i.e. accessible to others on a regular if not constant basis (Hall, 2017; Mihailidis, 2014; Ngocongo, 2016). This perpetual contact (Katz & Aakhus, 2002) is promoted by the advent of Web 2.0, that is the ability for interaction, collaboration and more pervasive networks such as social networking, blogs etc. (Techtarget, 2018). The use of social networking sites and their accessibility via smart phones creates a dependency on peers, promotes a sense of belonging and represents a psychological closeness (Choi, 2016; Mihailidis, 2014). Expectations of quick or instant responses is common within relationships and can bring with it feelings of being under permanent pressure (Kato & Kato 2015). This can leave people feeling anxious about switching off or stepping away from their mobile phone (Mihailidis, 2014).

Whist this increasing dependency on mobile phones can assist in promoting the self-worth of an individual, controlled or prohibited access to mobile phones, (which may occur in abusive relationships, see Section 8), is likely to have a negative impact by increasing the users' isolation and decreasing their self-worth (Hall, 2017). Similarly the pressure of being constantly available to others brings with it a sense of entrapment (a term used by Stark (2007) when describing the impact of coercive control), that is anxiety, guilt or stress that results in relational dissatisfaction (Hall, 2017). Consider, for example, a relationship where one member is keen to maintain regular and continuous contact through text messaging and calling, the other sees this as unnecessary to building an intimate relationship. The former may feel rejected and undervalued by the limited communication whereas the latter feels trapped within the confinement of such demands. These differing expectations of availability within romantic relationships can be a source of conflict and can be accompanied with feelings of being controlled (Hall, 2017; Hatuka & Toch, 2017). When discussing mobile phones Hall (2017) explains that

> " ....., entrapment is a manifestation of yielding to the expectation of accountability to others and internalizing norms of accessibility and responsiveness" (Hall, 2017, p149).

Entrapment is more strongly associated with texting than voice calls, because unlike voice calls which have a distinct beginning and end, texts are ongoing unfinished conversations (Hall, 2017). Entrapment is associated with becoming overwhelmed by the volume of the text traffic and/or social networking site notifications (Hall, 2017). Like the entrapment outlined by Stark (2007) in

Section 2.3.1 these feelings of being overwhelmed are cumulative and can reach points where feeling free is difficult (Hall, 2017).

Arnold (2003), describes the paradoxes of the mobile phone; we can move but we are always there, it can liberate yet serves as a leash, we are close yet physically distant. Communication technologies, especially mobile phones are constructing new perceptions and categories of space and time (Fortunati, 2002). They enable communication that can overcome time-space barriers and increase the presence of virtual space in our lives (Hatuka & Toch, 2017; Ngcongo, 2016).

The mobile phone fixes us at a certain point but it is everywhere rather than nowhere; it's accessibility means there is no escape from anyone (Arnold, 2003). This ubiquitous nature of mobile phone communication means that people feel a high degree of social presence, even when there is no physical proximity between two people (Choi, 2016). The user who is neither physically close nor distant, is always available, but not present (Arnold, 2003); he is omnipresent and 'unverifiable' (Bentham, cited in Foucault 1992).

Mobile phones shift people who are not physically there into a communicative presence and removes those who are in the same physical space (Arnold, 2003). The public space becomes a background against the cellular intimacy and the physical space is emptied of significance (Fortunati, 2002; Hatuka & Toch, 2016). Individuals in public spaces can become engrossed in intimate

conversations on their mobile phone and enter their own private world (Fortunati, 2002). Thus, individuals may be,

> *"…present in body, but their attention, mind and senses can at any moment, after a ring of the mobile phone, be drawn elsewhere by their communication network, which can contact them at any moment."*
> (Fortunati, 2002, p 518/519)

This means that the receiver no longer occupies their own space as they are pulled out of their physical space and into the world of the caller, that is the world of the abuser. The intensity of this engagement and the emotional and psychological 'removal' of the person receiving the call from their geographical surroundings increases their isolation from their social setting (Hatuka & Toch, 2016). The importance of this is considered in Chapter 9.

Since digital technology allows surveillance to take place easily, it can also be used to 'keep tabs' on people (Miller-Ott *et al*., 2012; Ngcongo, 2016). The surveillance offered by mobile phones moves beyond what can be seen by the human eye so that physical space is now only one of many interfaces for social interaction (Fortunati, 2002; Hatuka & Toch, 2017). Simultaneously there is increased visibility as the anonymity of public space is shrinking and this too is supported by surveillance (Hatuka & Toch, 2017; Roessler & Mokrosinska, 2013).

This visibility, once confined to the state via systems such as CCTV are now available to individuals, including those in romantic relationships (Hatuka & Toch, 2017; Ngcongo, 2016). This peer-on-peer or lateral surveillance

(Andrejevic, 2004), has a power dynamic which is similar to that described by Foucault (1991). It

> *"....is the basis of social norms and constitutes a form of social control. Power is exercised in social interactions and is not necessarily limited to governments......this vertical-horizontal dynamic is not a dichotomist condition but should be seen as a set of juxtaposed methods of information collection and sharing that enables asymmetrical visibility and contributes to its normalization. "* (Hatuka & Toch, 2017, p986)

Power comes not only from hierarchical sources but, because of technology people create networks, a horizontal power from which 'micro-powers' develop and grow (Hatuka & Toch, 2017, p 988). These micro-powers are accepted by 'subjects' and can be used to discipline people (Hatuka & Toch, 2017; Yar, 2003). Thus, the power dynamics created by mobile phones mirror the disciplinary power described by Foucault (1991).

The Panopticon has often been used to understand CCTV in public spaces (Yar, 2003). This analogy has its limitations since CCTV does not offer permanent visibility as it can only monitor people in spaces where cameras are present (Yar, 2003). However these restrictions do not apply to mobile phones and Yar's (2003) description of the Panopticon created by these accessories bears striking similarities to Foucault's (1991) training of docile bodies. It is

> *"… linked to a whole host of disciplinary interventions, including drills that train the body, regimes that closely regulate schedules of activity and swift interventions that punish deviations from the prescribed norm"*
> (Yar, 2003, p256)

The accessibility and subsequent entrapment by mobile phones mean that constant surveillance could, at least potentially, happen. Through the use of GPS tracking or spyware apps*, mobile phones are used in intimate abusive relationships to monitor behaviour (Burke *et al*., 2011). Hidden cameras have often been used by perpetrators to post or threatening to post intimate photographs of current or former partners (Burke *et al*., 2011; Woodlock, 2013). Mobile phones can create a perfect storm where features such as video calling and GPS tracking can leave abused women feeling that they are constantly visible, even perhaps when they are not. This will be discussed in Section 9.5

3.4   Conclusion

This chapter has considered structural and post-structural accounts of power. The former is reminiscent of the punishment of women as outlined in Section 2.1, the latter evoking the feelings described by Stark (2007) as a result of coercive control (see Section 2.3). As such the possibility that the power dynamics in abusive relationships may have shifted from a hierarchical power to a subtler form of disciplinary power is introduced. This potential shift in power is reinforced by the constant surveillance afforded by mobile phones; their ability to create a Panopticon and the power dynamic this creates, mirrors Foucault's (1991) account of disciplinary power. This chapter has therefore introduced the idea that mobile phones might create a link between theories of coercive control and disciplinary power. By creating these associations, the possibility that mobile phones may be influencing the power dynamics in

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* software that can be installed on a phone to locate it via GPS, (Siciliano 2011)

abusive relationships has also been raised. These topics will be revisited throughout this thesis.

The next chapter turns to the methodology and explains the paradigms that influenced the analysis and understanding of this research as well as explaining why grounded theory was chosen as a method of data analysis.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The previous chapter considered Foucault's concept of disciplinary power alongside mobile phone use and questions the accuracy of structural explanations of power dynamics in abusive relationships. It also raised the possibility that post-structural understandings of power might inform our understanding of coercive control within the context of mobile phones.

This chapter outlines the methodological journey I have taken as part of this research. It navigates the reader through the contradictions and confusions I faced in developing a social constructionist position before explaining the significance of feminism in my construction of knowledge. The chapter then moves into a brief discussion of Foucauldian philosophy and its compatibility with my methodological approaches.

4.1 My journey to social constructionism

I learned quickly on my doctoral journey of the importance of understanding how my life experiences, specifically as a learner and a practitioner, have been influenced by my understanding and perception of the world. During my early years in higher education as a physiology undergraduate, without realising it, I was trained through a positivist lens. There was no need to acknowledge my personal position; I was hidden from the research, an unbiased observer to the reactions that happened around me.

This invisibility was challenged when I embarked on a career as a social worker. This way of thinking does not sit comfortably with a profession that works

alongside people, empowering them to reach their full potential (Parsons 1991). Knowledge cannot be neutral or value free (Satsangi, 2012) as the wishes of service users are paramount and the opinions and value of others, including the social worker, are an important part of every decision (Wilks, 2004). There is an acceptance in social work that there is no perfect, universal answer and that learning and knowing are guided by ethics of responsibility and caring (Swigonski, 1994). Thus, the positivist requirement of subject-object separation works against the principles and ethics of social work practice (Swigonski, 1994).

My social work training taught me that there are several ways of knowing (Chu & Tsui, 2008). The interactions between service users and social workers, including the values held, are an inevitable part of these relationships (Wilks, 2004). However, I had never applied these principles to a research scenario. During my preliminary research, I was surprised to find myself fighting against my positivist instinct to keep myself invisible to the research (Mauthner & Doucet, 2012). With time I began to accept that it would be impossible for me, the researcher, to measure the qualitative data in a scientific way because, in qualitative research, knowledge is constructed rather than discovered (Silverman, 2014). The way individuals interpret and view the world around them differs; it is subjective (Jenney *et al*., 2014) and this construction of knowledge is political, ideological and permeated with values (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). I have come to understand that social problems, including domestic abuse, are socially constructed (Muehlanhard & Kimes, 1999; Teater, 2014). There are many different versions of abusive relationships (Johnson, 1995;

Whiting *et al*., 2014) all of which require sophisticated thinking (Stith *et al.,* 2005) and I found it difficult to align this with my positivist perspectives.

Section 2.1 of this thesis demonstrates how male violence against women has been ever present yet not always seen as such, seemingly only 'discovered' once named as 'domestic abuse' in the 1970s (Kitzinger, 2007). The draft Domestic Abuse Bill 2019 also exemplifies this through changing its language from violence to abuse (see Sections 1.1 and 2.2) and promises to place responsibility on the perpetrator to stop abusing. It remains to be seen whether these alterations to terminology will change the social construction of domestic abuse and modify its reality in the future.

4.2   My journey to standpoint feminism

Feminist research places women at the heart of the research and aims to capture their lived experience in a respectful manner (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). It stresses the importance of participants' knowledge, especially those who are 'labelled' or oppressed, and legitimises their view of the world as a valid source of knowledge (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Parr, 2015). It is defined by its values and processes and considers issues of power and marginalisation (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; van Wormer, 2009) where women's experiences are structured within and in opposition to social discourses e.g. patriarchy (Silverman, 2014). Feminist research is primarily for and about women and focuses on how to make theories of knowledge less susceptible to gender bias (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Gray *et al*., 2015). I was keen to look beyond the taken for granted white, male dominated, middle class assumptions of bygone

years (Charmaz, 2014); I wanted to focus on women's lives to enable the discovery of their knowledge in order to challenge power (Collins, 1986; Hesse-Biber, 2012).

Standpoint feminism recognises that women are not a homogenous group with some authors arguing that gender is not the most relevant factor (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Collins, 1986). It coexists and interacts with experiences of marginalisation, and understanding the world will be influenced by factors such as class, race, and sexual orientation (Intemann, 2010). Different bodies are subjected to different forces, hold different beliefs and it is this intersectionality that determines an individual's view of reality (Intemann, 2010). The notion of truth is not rejected, rather knowledge is socially constructed and this 'situatedness' offers privileged insight to the truth (Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002). Standpoint feminism aims to give this 'situated knower' a voice, its purpose is to understand women's oppression in order to end it (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Charmaz, 2014; Gray *et al*., 2015; ; Parr, 2015).

However, simply belonging to an oppressed group is not enough, standpoint is achieved through critical and conscious reflection on the ways in which power and social location informs and influences knowledge production (Intemann, 2010). Thus,

> *"Standpoint theory makes it possible to ask new questions and to see new things about nature and social relations, not from the lives of those who control the ruling apparatus but from the lives of those at the margin."* (Swigonski, 1994, p392).

However, feminists should not lose the continuities or similarities in women's experiences that help identify patterns of discrimination and domination (Dominelli & Campling, 2002). Whilst the women participants in this research come from diverse backgrounds (See Table 1), this research is interested in the common experiences shared by these women. Oppressed groups have a less distorted view of the world and through living in both the dominant culture (e.g. patriarchy) and their own culture, there is a more comprehensive understanding of social reality (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Given these considerations, feminism seemed inevitable.

4.3 My journey to grounded theory

Grounded theory is often promoted as a methodology for research into previously unexplored areas, including social phenomena (Charmaz, 2008; Charmaz, 2009: Glaser, 2013; Kushner & Morrow, 2003). As outlined in Section 2.3, database searching of the available literature revealed that there is no research relating to mobile phones and their role in the coercive control of adult women.

Because grounded theory is iterative, we learn what needs to be studied as we go along; themes emerge from data and this can uncover hierarchies and structures that need to be challenged (Clarke, 2012). Since I was keen to delve into this unexplored world and develop new knowledge, grounded theory seemed an obvious method of data analysis.

Grounded theory is also implicitly feminist since it has a commitment to studying people on their own terms and through their own perspectives (Clarke, 2012; Silverman, 2014). It recognises that participants' views are subjective, embedded in a social web of interpretation and re-interpretation, yet it supports the notion that they are a valid source of data (Silverman, 2014; Wuest, 1995). Charmaz's (2010) account of grounded theory emphasises the importance of power between the participants and the researcher. She agrees with feminist researchers that equalising or reducing these power imbalances is important (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Gray *et al*., 2015; Karnieli-Miller *et al*., 2009), but recognises that at least some of the power differences will always exist (Kelly *et al*., in Mayard 1994). Researchers are responsible for the datum they collect, how they gather and present it; ultimately, they have the analytical control of the material (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Charmaz, 2010; Charmaz, 2014; Redman-Maclaren & Mills, 2015).

Charmaz's (2008, 2010) take on grounded theory, offers systematic strategies for analysis alongside the opportunity to interpret data (Charmaz, 2010) and gave me the much-needed confidence to begin my research. Grounded theory methodology goes beyond the descriptive process of data collection techniques, once the bread and butter of qualitative research, and requires the use of analytical questioning to focus or streamline the study to develop or construct theories (Creswell, 2013; Gibbs, 2015). Research concepts are gradually built up, layer by layer until a theory is constructed; the theory emerges from the coding and analysis of the datum itself, that is, the theory is

grounded in data (Charmaz, 2014). How grounded theory was used to analyse this research is outlined in Section 5.8.

Charmaz (2010, 2014) provides a convincing argument that research is an interpretive portrayal of the world rather than an exact picture. She argues that neither participants nor researchers can be unbiased or passive observers. Rather we all make up our own assumptions and have our own constructions of reality, which are based on social status and knowledge.

4.4   Foucault and methodology

At the start of this research, largely due to the influence of feminism in my practice, I accepted the role of patriarchy as the explanation of the power dynamics in abusive relationships. However, it soon became clear that structural power did not sufficiently explain what the data analysis revealed. Rather Foucault's (1991) account of disciplinary power seemed to lend itself as a theory to explain the power dynamics in abusive relationships as a result of mobile phone technology. This journey is discussed in Section 5.8 and the relevant findings presented in Chapter 9.

However, Foucault (1991) did not address the issue of feminism and has been criticised for his androcentric writing (Bartky, 1991; Deveaux, 1994). The complexities of feminism and Foucault are discussed in depth in Sections 10.1 and 10.2 but broadly as a post-structuralist, Foucault (1991) challenged the significance of hierarchical power (see Section 3.3). Feminisms argue for the rights of women and many hold the patriarchal structure responsible for their

oppression (Finlayson 2016), whereas Foucault (1991) found this structural power to distract from the more subtle and sinister power that he termed disciplinary power (Sawicki, 1986).   However, Foucault accepted that disciplinary power and structural power coexist and so there are no issues of compatibility regarding power *per se*.   Rather it is where the two schools of thought place their emphasis; feminists argue that the important power relates to patriarchy, Foucault (1991) that it relates to disciplinary power.

Foucault, grounded theory, social constructionism and feminism all agree that power should be viewed within a historical context; what standpoint feminists refer to as 'the situated knower' (Bloomaert, 2008; Foucault, 1991). This thesis will argue that the advent of mobile phones situates domestic abuse within a different, modern context that brings with it changes in the power dynamics. Foucault (1991) recognises that power can be understood in multiple ways, that structural power and disciplinary power can exist at the same time and are not incompatible (Sargiacomo, 2009; Sawicki, 1986). This thesis will argue that both explanations must now be considered in order to understand the power dynamics in 'modern day' abusive relationships. (see Section 10.4).

Foucault is also concerned with the power of discourse, (for example the dominant discourse of science), and how it silences the oppressed and subordinated (Cain, 1993). As we have seen in Sections 1.1 and 2.1 language has been significant in the social construction of domestic abuse. Grounded theory also pays attention to the implicit meaning of language and how it structures and forms a frame for actions (Gibbs, 2015).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter explained the paradigms that have influenced this research namely social constructionism and feminism, specifically Standpoint feminism. I also outline my decision to use grounded theory as a means of analysing data. Power has been a central theme in the thesis and this chapter highlights how the different methodologies are compatible with each other and with Foucault (1991). Having contextualized my methodological position, the next chapter considers the methods adopted and why.

Chapter 5: Research Methods

In the previous chapter I outlined my methodological influences including my decision to use grounded theory in the data analysis. This chapter turns the focus to the methods used in this research. It outlines the rationale for choosing my sample, my decision to interview participants, the recruitment process and data collection. The ethics of this research is also considered here alongside its rigour before highlighting my reflexivity. The chapter concludes with an account of the data analysis process.

5.1   Choosing a Sample

In order to learn about the chosen area of study researchers must make strategic decisions to find rich sources of data to glean in-depth information (Birks & Mills, 2011; Patton, 1990). This is particularly important since an integral part of grounded theory design is the concurrent collection of data and data analysis (Birks & Mills, 2011). In grounded theory methodology participants are chosen to maximize the relevance and quality of data obtained (Glaser, 1978). Women in refuges were chosen as a sample because they are most likely to be survivors of coercive controlling violence (See section 3.1.3) and are more likely to seek support from these institutions (Archer, 2000; Kelly & Johnson, 2008; Myhill, 2015; O'Neal *et al*., 2014).

This purposive sampling was also limited to women in opposite-sex relationships who had experienced domestic abuse at the hands of their current or former male partners. Women within same-sex abusive relationships have not been approached for this research, nor have women who have experienced

violence from family members. This is because the focus of this study is on the power dynamics of abuse from men to women in intimate relationships and the dynamics between parents and siblings is not the same (Kelly & Westmarland, 2014; Lawson, 2012). During one interview, it transpired that a participant (Sofia) had experienced abuse from her parents and brothers. Given the sensitivity of the topic and my awareness of the power dynamic between researcher and participant (see Section 4.3) it seemed inappropriate to terminate the interview. Her data was collected but not analysed at the same time as the other participants. Rather, it was considered after all the data had been collected and a theory had emerged and was used as a means to compare and contrast her story with those of the other participants. The transcript showed correlations with the other participants experiences' and certain aspects of her account have been included in this thesis to highlight the need for further research into this area (see Section 11.6). Given the influence of post-structural feminism in this research, it seems pertinent to explain that, since none of the women interviewed expressed a disparity between their assigned gender at birth and their identity as a woman, it is presumed that all the participants are cis women (Calton et al., 2016).

Twelve women were interviewed for this research, and although the study size is small, all the survivors had experienced abuse over a sustained period of time and in some cases from more than one abuser. This extensive experience of abuse provides detailed and intense information about the subject. The small sample sits comfortably with grounded theory as this methodology places importance on depth of understanding not breadth (Neustifter & Powell, 2015;

Parr, 2015). Twelve participants are also deemed sufficient to understand common views and experiences among relatively homogeneous people (Guest *et al*., 2006, cited in Charmaz, 2014) and, in her study of the role of mobile phones in romantic relationships, Ngcongo (2016) found that theoretical saturation was achieved by the twelfth interview. This sample related specifically to heterosexual women living in refuges at the time of the interview who had fled relationships involving coercive control. Whilst there was diversity in the demographics of the sample (see Table 1) the participants did provide opportunities to find similarities in their experiences and identify patterns of discrimination and oppression (Dominelli & Campling, 2002). .

5.2   Choosing a research method

Qualitative approaches sit well with feminist research because they allow for an open-ended and in-depth study (Kelly *et al*., 1994). It is imperative to hear the accounts of women survivors directly and actively involve them in the research process (Collins, 1986; Mosedale, 2014). I wanted to find a way to bridge the gap between data collection and analysis and to offer participants the opportunity to engage in the former and the latter. Involving the participants in the "*back and forth interplay with data*" ensures that theoretical interpretations make sense to those who have lived through these experiences (Strauss & Corbin 1994, p 282). Also, by including the participants in the analysis, the criticism that grounded theory is silently authored and that researchers are the "distant expert" (Charmaz, 2000, cited in Mills *et al*., 2006)*,* begins to be addressed. With this in mind, an online focus group was created to ensure that the theories that emerged were grounded and re-grounded in data.

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Children	Length of time with partner	Time at the refuge.	Time since leaving partner.
Katherine	25	Not stated	Not stated	Two pre-school children	6 years	12 months	12 months
Sofia	24	Asian	Muslim	None	Abuse began 1 year ago	Three months	3 months.
Suzie	50	White	Not stated	Adult (independent) children	5 years. Abuse began after 4 months.	9 months	1 year
Francesca	29	White	Catholic	One primary school child and one baby	6 years	1 month	1 month
Caprice	28	Black African	Not stated	Two primary school children	7 years	9 months	2.5 years.
Christina	40	Bangladesh	Muslim	Two primary school children	9 years. Abused 4 years	9 months	9 months
Donna	38	Moroccan	Muslim	One primary school child	5 years	27 months	27 months
Joanna	30	Black African	Not stated	None	12 months	18 months	18 months
Matilda	32	British/Bangladesh	Muslim	One primary school child	4 years	4 months	5 months
Indie	32	Asian	Buddhist	Two primary school children	11 years	5 months	9 months
Peaches	37	Jamaican	Christian	One primary school child	13 years	6 weeks	3 months
Josephine	30	Black African	Christian	One baby	2 1/2 years	6 months	6 months

Unfortunately, only one participant contributed to the focus group using closed answers to open questions. These contributions were insufficient to inform the data analysis and the focus group will therefore not be discussed in this thesis.

5.3   Recruitment

London Southbank University, where I am employed, works closely with the organisation Hestia, the largest provider of domestic abuse refuges in the capital (Hestia 2018). They work with women and children escaping abusive relationships and offer emotional and practical support, including accommodation (Hestia, 2018).

My search for potential participants began when I contacted a former colleague at Hestia. We met to discuss the details of my research and I obtained permission to approach women living in the refuges. In this way Hestia acted as gatekeeper, ensuring the ethical efficacy and value of the study (Peckover, 2002).

I began the recruitment process by attending staff team meetings to explain my research and its rationale. Having gained staff trust, I was invited to the refuges themselves, to attend house meetings (a forum for staff and residents to share information) and invite the residents to participate in this research. The gist of my recruitment 'speech' is provided in Appendix 3, but it was not read verbatim as I was keen to make eye contact and engage residents from the start. Before leaving each refuge, recruitment posters were provided (Appendix 4) along with hard copies of the participants information sheet (Appendix 1). A full schedule, outlining each aspect of the recruitment process is available in Appendix 5.

If, during the house meeting, women expressed an interest in participating, I made a note of their email address and mobile phone number. The interviews were arranged to accommodate the participant's availability within a context of competing demands such as childcare, work, training etc. and at their request, took place in the refuges.

Prior to the interview participants' information sheet and consent forms (Appendix 2) were emailed and the day before I rang or texted the participants to confirm their availability. At the start of each interview, the information sheet and consent forms were verbally summarized, and the participants asked if they had any questions. The consent form was signed, and participants reminded that they could terminate or withdraw from the interview at any time and without giving an explanation. Participants were also informed that they could ask for or turn off the audiotape themselves whenever they wanted and without the need to provide an explanation. Participants were also reminded that their identity would remain anonymous and were encouraged to choose their own pseudonyms. This was in an attempt to share the power dynamics and was in keeping with feminist informed strategies (Burgess-Proctor, 2015; Neustifter & Powell, 2015). This proved hugely successful in building positive relationships quickly as we often laughed together at the names chosen.

5.4   Semi-structured interviews

In-depth interviews are considered one of the best ways to understand women's lives as they allow a holistic exploration whilst providing detail into their experiences (Devault & Gross, 2012; Gray *et al*., 2015; Kelly *et al*., in Maynard 1994). Interview data is a means to access the stories in which women describe their worlds and provide opportunities to obtain a plausible view of these (Silverman, 2017). Semi-

structured interviews were chosen as they reflect the methodological principle that experience is a source of knowledge (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Open questions were asked in order to generate detailed responses from the participants (see Appendix 9) and intensive interviews were constructed to

> *"permit[s] an in-depth exploration of a particular topic with a person who has had the relevant experiences"* (Charmaz, 2008, p25).

Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours. They were recorded and transcribed immediately so that initial coding could be undertaken before the next interview and focus codes could be generated quickly (Charmaz, 2014). Before discussing the data analysis in Section 5.8, the thesis will look at the ethics considered when engaging with the participants.

5.5 Ethics

Having received permission to interview residents at Hestia, ethical approval for this research was sought and obtained from the University of Sussex's ethical research committee. This application provides a detailed account of the moral and ethical issues considered, (see Appendix 6) and includes how the women could be supported after the interview given their experiences of trauma and vulnerability.

The process of feminist research is as important as the outcome and examining women's experiences must be done in a way that is respectful, collaborative and caring (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Kelly *et al*.,in Maynard, 1994). I was aware that the sensitive nature of the topic posed potential risks to participants, including exposure to shame and feelings of responsibility when reliving traumatic events (Wahab, 2012).

Guided by the feminist ethics of care (Burgess-Proctor, 2015), arrangements were made for keyworkers at the refuges to provide support to the women if this was necessary and where appropriate to incorporate this into their care plan. This was particularly successful in the case of Sofia who had been reluctant to discuss her abuse with staff at the refuge. During the interview she openly shared her experiences of abuse with me and gave me permission to tell staff that she was ready to talk. As a result, staff were able to work alongside Sofia offering her the necessary support (this is discussed in Section 11.5)

This research had the potential to benefit or empower the participant, by giving a voice to social taboos or silenced experiences (Preissle & Han, 2012). There is a difference between empowering and not exploiting and whilst the former is not always possible, I had a responsibility to ensure that I was compassionate towards the participants (Berger, 2015; Kelly *et al*., in Maynard, 1994). I listened openly and without judgment during the interviews and created a help sheet based on my reading, with information on how the participants could keep themselves safe in relation to their mobile phones (see Appendix 7). This help sheet was sent to the women post interview with an email thanking them for taking part in the research.

Confidentiality was also considered extensively throughout the process. In addition to creating pseudonyms for use in the interviews all email correspondence had 'mobile phone research' in the subject heading, rather than any reference to abuse or violence. This was in case the participants had returned to, or had embarked on, a new relationship with an abusive partner.

Throughout the research I made efforts to respect the strength and resilience of these women despite the abuse and the structural disadvantages demonstrated by the Criminal Justice System (Hester, 2013) (see Section 2.1.1). I wanted to view these women survivors of domestic abuse as "…*agents actively located in history-as makers of the worlds around them rather than as mere victims of an overarching patriarchy*." (Devault & Gross, 2012, p226). See Section 11.5 for further discussion.

5.6   Reflexivity

Kelly *et al*., (cited in Maynard, 1994) argue that feminism is more than an epistemology, but an important aspect of how we see and address every stage of the research process. Reflexivity is an important component of this and as outlined in Section 1.4 has been an integral part of this thesis to show its assimilation into all areas of my research. This includes my choice of language (Section 1.1), method (Chapter 4) and my values when securing the personal and emotional safety of the participants (Section 5.5). However, given the importance of power, values and reflexivity in the research process (Charmaz, 2014; Mills *et al*., 2006; Redman-MacLaren & Mills, 2015; Satsangi, 2012), time will also be given to consider it here.

Researchers should be open, honest, transparent and accountable in their work and reflexivity requires an awareness of the researcher's position within the study (Gray *et al*., 2015; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Relationships should be based on empathy and mutual respect that acknowledges different personal histories and experiences (Parr, 2015). Reflexivity is influenced by personality gender, class, race and the social status that exists between researcher and participants (Karnieli-Miller *et al*.,2009).

The research process leads to changes in power relations and brings with it ethical and moral issues for the researcher (Karnieli-Miller *et al*., 2009). It exposes power in the exploratory process and can hold the researcher accountable to those they research (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Relationships are never simple as power is embedded in and shaped by similarities and differences (Devault & Gross, 2012). I have made concerted efforts to turn the researcher lens back on myself and take responsibility for how my 'situatedness' (see Section 4.2) may influence me, the research (Berger, 2015). I was aware of my position as a white woman who has achieved middle-class status through education, and I was careful to ensure that the information provided to participants (see Appendix 1, 2 and 7) was written so that it was easy to understand.

5.7   Rigour

Qualitative studies have been criticized for their lack of rigour (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is important for the researcher to promote the trustworthiness of their research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2014), and ask,

> *"How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?"* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 290*).*

Trustworthiness may be considered in relation to credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A breakdown of my efforts to demonstrate this include scrutiny of the research process by supervisors and the ethics committee, the use of raw data (direct quotations) from the interviews and an audit trail of the research process. A more detailed account is provided in Appendix 8.

5.8   Analysing data

The coding of data is a pivotal link between the collection of information and its development into an emerging theory and offers clear guidelines with which to analyse data (Charmaz, 2014). Grounded theory has a highly systematic approach to the collection and analysis of data (Coyne, 1997) and so satisfied my positivist need for an organized structure. A central focus of grounded theory is the development of theory from constant comparative analysis (Coyne, 1997). This is assisted by the concurrent data collection and analysis so that there can be comparisons from code to code and incident to incident (Birks & Mills, 2011). Coding can relate to both descriptions and feelings (Charmaz, 2014).

Grounded theory begins with initial coding which is used to analyse the information by breaking the transcripts into '*discrete threads of data'* (Jones & Alony, 2011, p104). Grounded theory does not apply preconceived quantitative logic to data, rather "*codes emerge as you scrutinize your data and define meanings within it*" (Charmaz, 2014, p114). Constant comparative analysis begins by comparing incidents with previous incidents and as the analysis progresses categories are formed; incidents in categories are then compared with incidents in other categories (Birks & Mills, 2011; Partington, 2000). This constant comparison between incidents and categories allows for simultaneous coding and analysis (Partington, 2000). A theory is built up from data and this inductive process is achieved by successive comparative analyses until a grounded theory is fully integrated (Birks & Mills, 2011). The process was not as straightforward as Figure 5 might suggest because the to-ing and fro-ing between data and the categories, an integral part of grounded theory, is more of a spiral than a linear process, (Charmaz, 2010; Mills *et al*., 2006).

Initially coding was undertaken line-by-line, using gerunds where possible (Glaser, 1978) to interrogate data and allow new ideas to emerge (Charmaz, 2014). Latterly incident-by-incident coding was used because some women spoke as though they were the perpetrator, quoting or paraphrasing him and shifting, sometimes seamlessly, from her dialogue to his. Line by line analysis would have made it too difficult to distinguish the woman's account from her imitation of the perpetrator. For participants where English was not their first language, I was also concerned that using line-by-line coding might attribute significance to repetition rather than recognise it as a grammatical correction.

The information was stored using NVIVO 11. Nodes representing codes were developed using the participant's own language and to keep the analysis grounded in data (Charmaz, 2014). The process and outcome of data analysis is too extensive to discuss in its entirety and this section focuses on how I arrived at the theory that Foucault (1991) might help explain the power dynamics in abusive relationships as a result of the mainstream integration of mobile phones. The role of mobile phones in the coercive control of women is not discussed here, but data are presented in Chapters 6-9. Charmaz (2014) acknowledges that it is difficult to analyse data without having preconceived ideas and my previous experience as a probation officer, lecturer and researcher would inevitably influence my understanding of coercive control. However, '*there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head*' (Dey, 1999, p251, cited in Charmaz 2014) and my efforts to be open-minded are supported by my willingness to shift away from ingrained feminist explanations of structural power. Prior to analysing the data, I could not have imagined that I would be challenging patriarchy in the way discussed in Section 10.1, nor did it occur to me that, because of mobile

phones, I would be suggesting a different theoretical explanation for the power dynamics in abusive relationships.

5.8.1 Coding in grounded theory

Grounded theory is usually used to create a model of the concepts generated, but it can also be used to present organized and descriptive themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Repetitive behaviour on the part of the perpetrator was identified early in the initial coding. Nodes were made for 'texting me' 'phoning me' 'tracking me' etc. and quickly a core category was created called FEATURES OF MOBILE PHONES which reflected how perpetrators used mobile phones in their abuse. Focused codes sort, integrate and organize data until the categories fill and become core categories (Charmaz, 2014; Jones & Alony, 2011). Focused coding revealed that the survivors were not only describing the features of the mobile phone but also how it made them feel. For example, participants talked of how their partners were 'bombarding' them with phone calls, 'isolating' them from others through constant checking of their mobile phones and 'controlling' them with the sheer volume of texts. A category called 'CONTROLLING' was created to reflect perpetrator behaviour. Constant comparisons between these two categories showed that many of the nodes used reflected tactics in the Power and Control Wheel and this was the first theory to emerge (see figure 5). This is discussed in Section 8.1 and a visual representation of the adapted wheel is provided in figure 8.

Charmaz (2014) argues that as things emerge in the data, theoretical sampling should be employed. Interview questions were therefore revised to explore the themes that appeared to emerge and to gain a greater and deeper understanding of the

participants' experiences. As shown in Appendix 9, questions were re-phrased and prompts included, which reflected the codes identified in the initial interviews.

Figure 5: Adapting the Power and Control Wheel
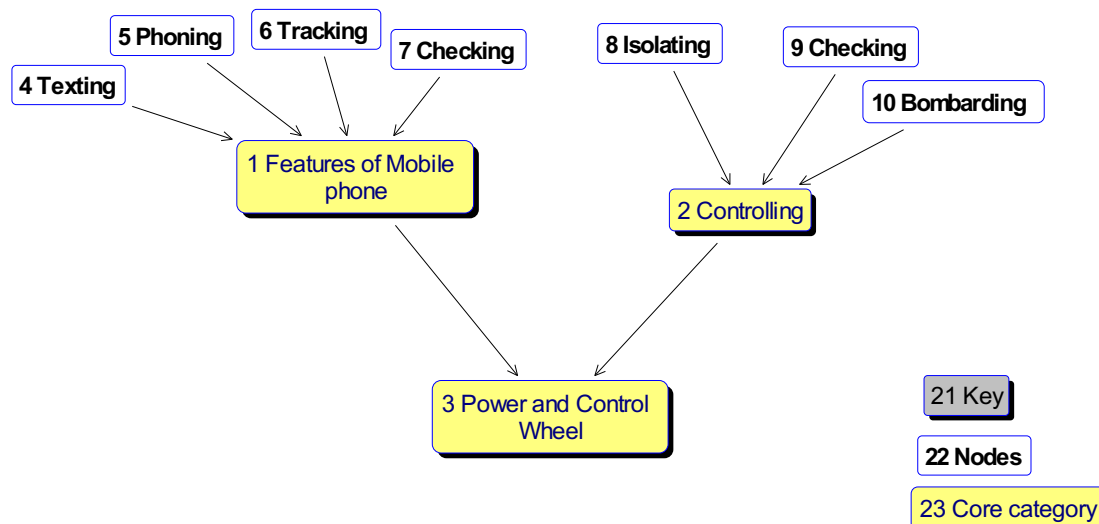
I was struck by Joanna's repeated requests for freedom in her relationship. Donna spoke of feeling paranoid that her ex-partner would find her. I returned to the transcripts employing constant comparisons across the data collected and discovered nodes that described the impact of mobile phone abuse on the participants. These included 'doing what he wants', 'feeling trapped,' feeling paranoid', 'believing he is everywhere' 'looking over my shoulder'. Many of the behaviours displayed suggested the women felt that the perpetrator was everywhere, so another category was created called OMNIPOTENCE. Comparing nodes in this category with that in CONTROLLING eventually led to the formation of a new core category called SURVEILLANCE (See figure 5). Re-analysis of the raw data revealed evidence of this in all the interviews and the category SURVEILLANCE became a lynchpin in the

development of the primary theory. As outlined in Section 4.2, this research was viewed through a feminist lens and I had not anticipated that Foucault would play such a crucial role. It was the discovery of the significance of surveillance in the data that led me consider Foucault's (1991) theories as a means of informing the analysis. At the time, I had not appreciated the significance of shifting from a category called CONTROLLING to one called SURVEILLANCE, but upon reflection, this was likely to be the first step in my move away from the feminist structural understandings of domestic abuse outlined in Section 3.1, towards post-structuralist explanations highlighted in Section 3.2. Thus, it is the data itself that led me to shift my feminist understandings of power. This is explained in Chapters 9 and 10.

In grounded theory, theoretical sensitivity encourages the researcher to look at and re-examine puzzling data and not to dismiss it, as unresolved information may create new ideas that can lead the researcher in new directions (Charmaz, 2014). In an interview with Gibbs (2015), Kathy Charmaz explains that findings which don't fit with the rest of the data, are important as they allow for a creative leap.

I was confused by Francesca's use of video to contact her partner when she was running late. This untypical use of the mobile phone meant that it was not being used by the partner as a tool for surveillance and so did not fit with the pattern emerging in other interviews; a node videoing was created and put to one side. Later it became central to the concept of docile bodies (see Section 9.3). Matilda explained her decision to leave was because 'enough is enough', rather than as a result of a specific life-threatening incident. She actively made the decision to leave

Figure 6: Identifying Surveillance as a core category

6 believing he is everywhere

15 Looking over my shoulder

5 feeling paranoid

4 Feeling trapped

9 Omnipotence

17 Checking

3 Tracking me

2 Phoning me

1 Texting me

8 Features of mobile phone

14 Surveillance

13 Controlling

12 feeling controlled

10 Bombarding

11 Wanting freedom

20 Key

18 Nodes

19 Core category
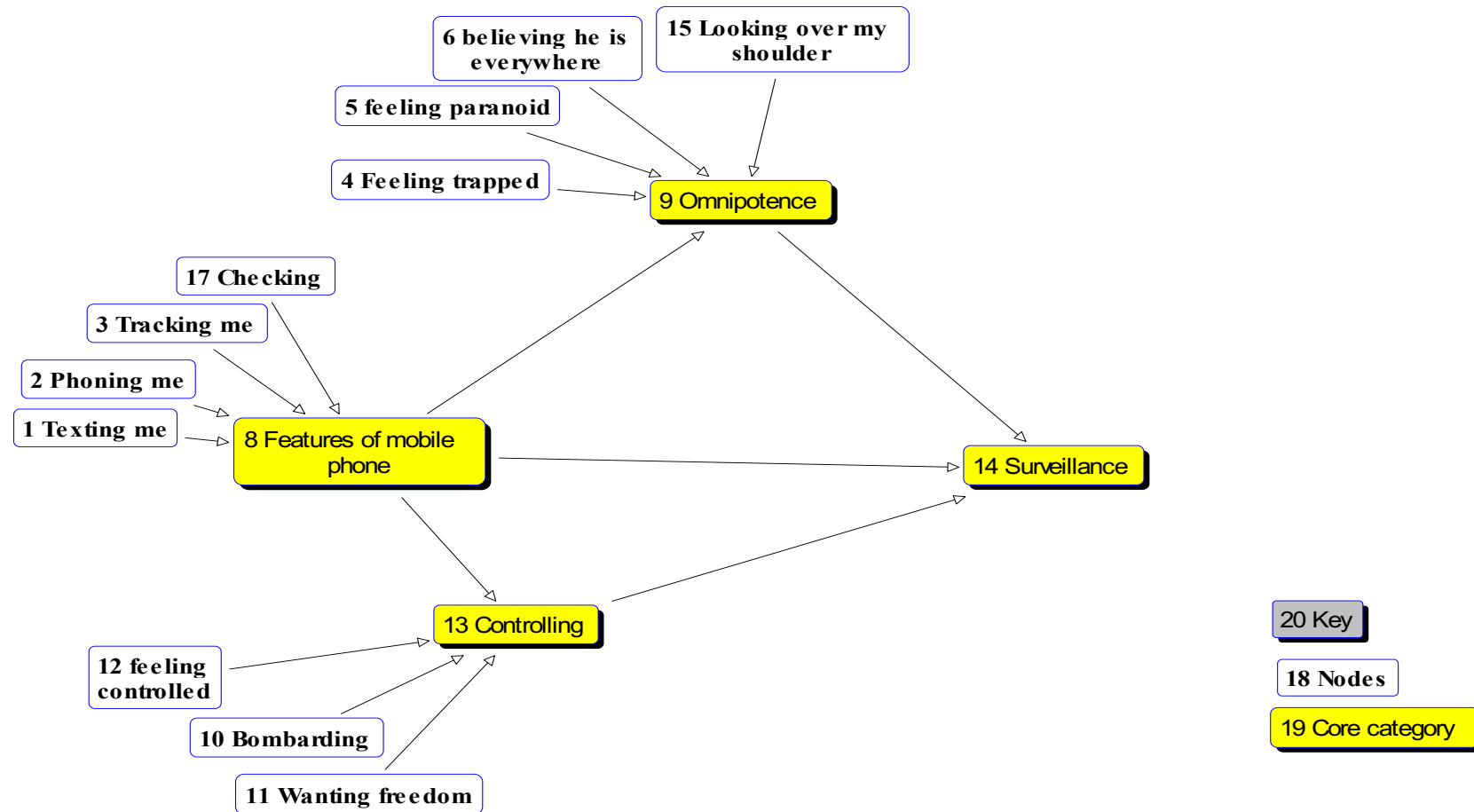
suggesting she was no longer trapped in the relationship. This challenged my pre-conceived ideas that women only left at times of crisis and again I was unable to understand this behaviour within the context of patriarchy. Further, Matilda's decision to leave without a specific trigger indicated that she was willing and able to resist the abuse (See Section 9.4). Constant comparison of data revealed that this was the case with several women and nodes already existed called 'fuck it', 'pulling a knife' 'lying' 'reporting it' and so a core category called RESISTING was created. Other women complied with the abusers demands and another core category called COMPLYING was created to incorporate the nodes 'agreeing to his rules',' doing what he wants' and 'blaming herself' (ie taking responsibility for the abuse and changing her behaviour accordingly). Later the node 'videoing' was incorporated into this category.

5.8.2 Using memos

Memos are important in grounded theory as they record the researcher's thinking and help understand seemingly unrelated and confusing data (Birks & Mills, 2011). Memos were used to unpick data again and again until I was able to "*weave the fractured story back together*" (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, p72). Appendix 10 shows how memos led me to Foucault (1991) and helped theorise the emerging findings.

Making inconsistencies understandable through finding or creating a theory that might explain such confusion, is at the heart of abduction (Gibbs, 2015). Abduction is an intellectual act, a mental leap, that brings together things which one had never associated with one another (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz 2014). Appendix 11 and Figure 6 show how unpicking data via grounded theory techniques led to me recognising that the category RESISTING was consistent with Foucault's (1991)

Figure 7: A theory emerges
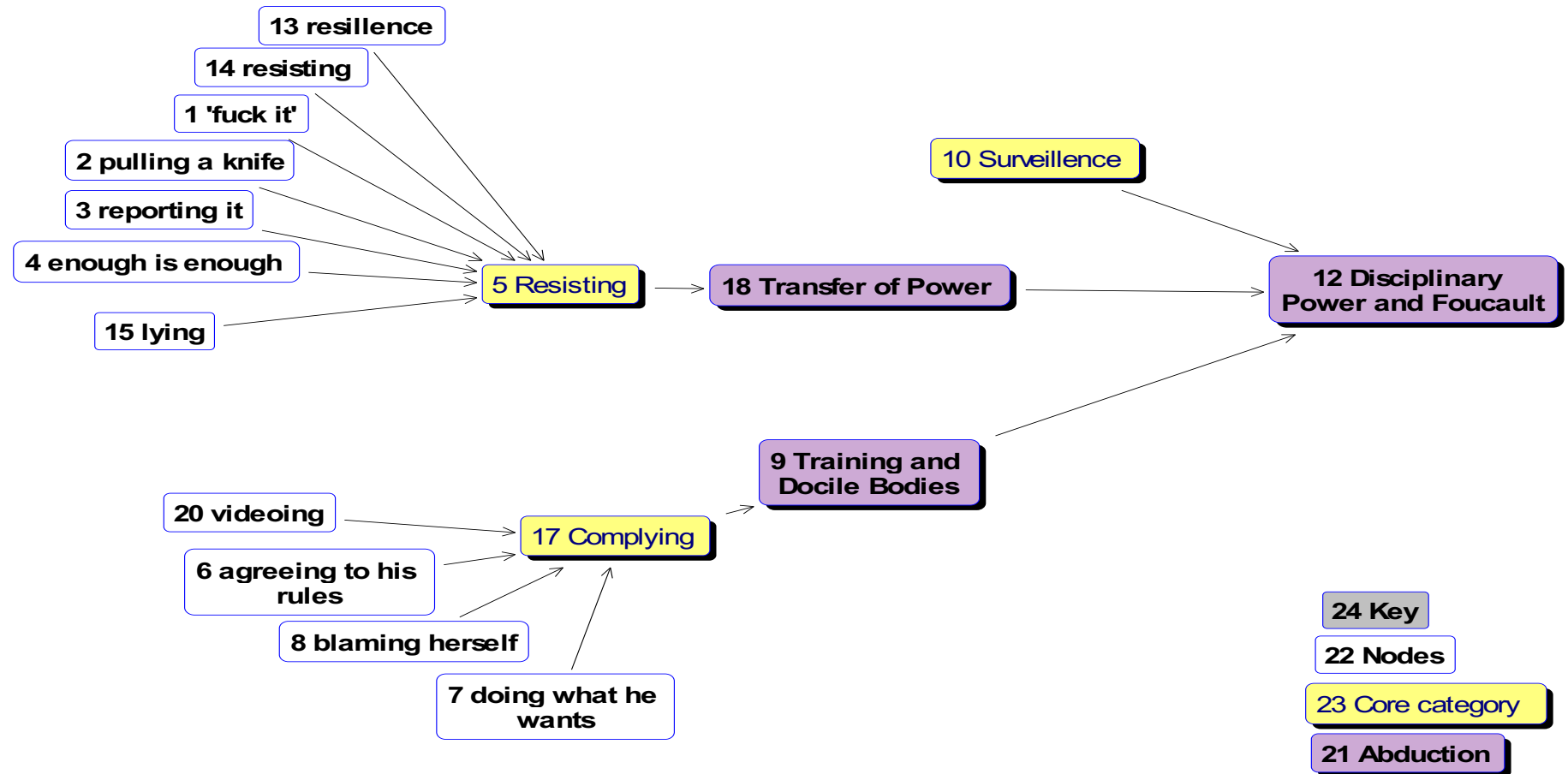
theory that power can be transferred. Similarly, the category COMPLYING fitted Foucault's (1991) training and docile bodies (see Chapter 9). This contributed to the overall theory that Foucault's (1991) account of power helps us understand 'modern day' abusive relationships in a way that traditional structural theories cannot. This is discussed in Chapters 9 and 10

5.9   Conclusion

This chapter explains the decisions I made in relation to gathering and analysing data. Throughout the chapter and specifically in relation to reflexivity, it emphasises how the welfare of the participants was central to my work and also the importance of rigour to demonstrate the integrity in this research. The chapter concludes by outlining my data analysis and how the change of category title from controlling to surveillance became central to theory development. The analysis challenged feminist structural accounts of power in abusive relationships and introduced Foucault as an alternative explanation. The theory of power dynamics in 'modern day' abusive relationships, presented in Section 10.4 was therefore iterative and emerged from data analysis.

Chapter 6: The women's stories

In keeping with feminist research, I believe that women's stories are a legitimate source of knowledge (Gray *et al*., 2015). This chapter is dedicated exclusively to the experiences of all the women interviewed during this research. This section does not contain direct quotes from the women as it aims to offer an overview of women's situations and provide a holistic view of the abuse within their daily lives (Gray *et al*., 2015). Direct quotations are used from Chapter Seven onwards.

6.1   Katherine

Katherine's first experience of domestic abuse was when she bought her partner his first smart phone. She believed that the internet access provided by the phone, turned him into a 'different person' and accounted for the rapid decline in their relationship. Her partner used his phone to access social media, sending her offensive pictures via Instagram and persistent and offensive texts via WhatsApp. When out with her friends he would text and ring Katherine constantly. When she turned off her phone, he 'bombarded' her friends with calls and texts demanding to know where she was and who she was with. Her partner regularly went through Katherine's contacts and apps including her Snapchat account, demanding explanations for all male names or pictures, even if he knew they were relatives.

As the abuse escalated, her mother-in-law became involved, demanding explanations for Katherine's whereabouts and preventing her from seeing her female friends. At times, mother and son would work collaboratively in the

abuse, for example, they refused to take Katherine to the hospital, despite her having a temperature of 47° C, insisting that she call, and pay for, a taxi to the hospital. After a week as an in-patient, Katherine was discharged with a course of medication. Her partner and his mother insisted that she take her tablets in the corner of the room because they were irritated by her 'attention seeking' behaviour.

Concerned that she might leave him, Katherine's partner threatened to put up a picture of her on Facebook stating that she was a missing person.   His intention was to use social media to rally the online community to help him find her. Following their separation, Katherine's partner would regularly circumvent her attempts to block contact. He created fake profiles on social media and used these to find out more about Katherine's movements.

6.2   Suzie

Suzie and her abusive partner had been friends for many years before starting an intimate relationship. Suzie was the landlady of a public house and described herself as once gregarious and comfortable in crowds. With seven brothers she enjoyed the (non-romantic) company of men.

At the beginning of this relationship, Susie's partner became jealous of her interaction with customers and would accuse her of having affairs. Suzie's partner knew her passwords and he would check her mobile phone and emails to keep abreast of her social plans. Once arranged, Suzie's partner would then prohibit her from going on these evenings out. He would regularly check her

phone, read her messages and emails and demand to know about the men whose names or photographs appeared there. He sent abusive texts and voicemails to her and tracked her movements using Global Positioning System (GPS) technology. This satellite navigation system and precise-positioning tool has limited accuracy (Bauer 2013) and often suggested that Suzie had visited buildings that she had only walked past. He would interrogate her about where she had been and why, until it became so intense Suzie felt unable to leave the flat at all.

Suzie's partner would often text to say he was on the way home, but then not return for several days. She learnt to check his phone and discovered that he was regularly engaging in casual (sexual) relationships. Suzie had been in relationships with a number of abusive men, some before the advent of mobile phones. She described the mobile phones as 'a tool for the abuse'.

6.3   Francesca

Francesca described a romantic and attentive courtship that became abusive as soon as they began living together. She worked twelve-hour night shifts as a cleaner to financially support her family, but her partner accused her of working as a prostitute. Often Francesca would be late home from work due to rush hour traffic and he would accuse her of staying to have sex with an extra customer or because she was having an affair with her pimp. Francesca would ring her partner to explain that she would be late home, but he would seldom, if ever, pick up. Francesca would also video her location and the slow-moving traffic to explain the delay and show that she was on her way home. Francesca

provided pay slips and bank statements to prove the source of her income, but to no avail.

Her partner would often take Francesca's mobile phone and run into the bathroom to check through her contacts and interactions with others. He refused to let her see friends, limited her phone calls to ten minutes and forbade her to brush her hair. Unable to have a bank account of her own, her income went into her partner's account and was spent on alcohol and cannabis. Francesca had a poor credit history and because of this, was unable to find her own independent accommodation.

Her partner's behaviour was unpredictable as he would fluctuate between completely ignoring her and regularly abusing her. The emotional abuse escalated into physical abuse and culminated in a time when Francesca took a knife and threatened to kill her partner. This response would be consistent with Johnson's (2005) account of violent resistance outlined in Section 3.1.3.

6.4   Caprice

Caprice's partner would compulsively check her phone to see whom she was communicating with, dictate what time she could speak and to whom. She was not allowed to speak her mother tongue indoors and was forced to communicate with her family in the garden. The verbal abuse escalated into physical abuse and her partner regularly strangled her until she lost consciousness.

Following their separation, the partner continued to intimidate Caprice and bombard her with phone calls and text messages. Her attempts to block him were circumvented, often in very creative ways. For example, he would send texts to the home phone and Caprice would get abusive messages spoken in a stilted, robotic voice. Her ex-partner also electronically transferred 1p into her bank account with a message threatening to kill her. He also bought their four-year-old daughter an iPhone so that he could listen to background conversations and establish Caprice's environment, who she was with and details of any planned family activities.

Her ex-partner would break into Caprice's home and move objects around. Days later he would text her informing her of the location of the missing objects. One evening, after meeting her ex-partner in Central London, she returned directly home. After arriving, she made herself a coffee, called a friend and vented her concerns about her ex-partner's mental health. She went into the living room, turned on the light and found her former partner sitting in the dark, listening to the conversation and waiting for her return.

When Caprice moved to the refuge her former partner was no longer able to contact her so he reported Caprice to the police accusing her of harassment and threating violence against him.

6.5   Christina

Christina moved to this country and lived with her husband and his parents and sisters. Extended family would regularly visit and live in the property

during the week before returning to their own homes at the weekend. At its peak, eighteen adults and children were living in the property simultaneously. Her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law initiated the abuse shortly after she gave birth, approximately five years into her marriage.

Christina's experience of abuse was initially from her extended family members rather than her husband. This included domestic servitude, for example, Christina would be expected to do all the domestic chores and cook for all 18 members of the family. There would be no recognition of the hard work and often all the food would be consumed without Christina having eaten. Initially her husband refused to accept that his family was abusing her, but later, when he became involved, his emotional abuse of her was accompanied by physical assaults.

Christina planned her departure to coincide with the children's summer holiday, explaining to the family that she and the children were going to visit a relative outside London and would remain there throughout the school break. It was only when she didn't return in time for the start of the school term that her husband made contact. She told him that neither she nor the children would be returning home and that the relationship was over. Initially the ex-partner rang Christina approximately every 10 minutes throughout the day. After a week she demanded that he stop contacting her. When Christina blocked her husband's phone, he circumvented these attempts by ringing her on his father's or his cousin's phone. Her husband also persuaded other members of the family to contact Christina directly and emotionally blackmail her to return.

6.6   Donna

From the start of the relationship Donna was not allowed independence. Her husband drove her to appointments and waited there to drive her home. She was not allowed out of the house and if she unexpectedly did, he would call her constantly on the mobile phone. Donna's husband threatened to have her deported (thereby preventing future access to their daughter) if she refused to do as he said. Frightened of the consequences, Donna used her mobile phone to search for legal advice. It was when he challenged her about this search history that Donna realized he had been covertly checking her mobile phone, including her use of WhatsApp calls and messages.

Donna had to call the police because of the fear and injuries relating to physical abuse.   Whilst remanded on bail, her husband used his mobile phone excessively to contact Donna and asked her not to appear in court as a witness to the abuse. Eventually Donna relented and the prosecution was dropped. Some weeks later and as a direct result of the first arrest, her husband sought revenge and made regular, bogus calls to the police informing them that Donna had stolen his property. Donna was arrested, taken to the police station and temporarily separated from her daughter.

The police placed Donna and her daughter in temporary bed and breakfast accommodation for their safety. Once settled, their daughter turned on the iPad her father had given her several months before. A message appeared stating that the iPad had been reported stolen, which (unbeknownst to Donna)

automatically sent a message to the owner (the perpetrator) with details of the iPad (and therefore Donna and her daughter's) location.

6.7   Joanna

From the start of the relationship Joanna's partner would question her about her movements and activity. Initially Joanna believed that this was a reflection of his love, but the questioning increased in frequency and intensity and she was soon being physically assaulted for offering insufficient information or refusing him access to her phone.

Joanna's partner monitored and controlled her almost exclusively through their mobile phones. He used her mobile phone to access all of her social networking sites and downloaded her Facebook page to his mobile phone. This meant that he could see posts and messages sent to Joanna as they appeared and often before Joanna herself. Joanna's partner would obsessively check her mobile phone for contact with other people and determined whom she could speak with and when. When not together he would ring up to 50 times in a given period and follow these up with multiple texts. More often than not, her partner would then video call to confirm her location and whom she was with. If Joanna was on the bus and her ex-partner at work (a driver), he would call her and demand to hear the bus announcements confirming the name of the next stop to make sure she was where she said she was.

Joanna was expected to always respond instantaneously and failure to do so would result in more texts, phone calls etc. and an increased risk of physical

violence. It was this control and the use of video calling that Joanna found the most difficult part of the relationship.

Joanna has a history of abuse at the hands of men from a time before mobile phones were readily available. She found that mobile phones made the abuse more claustrophobic and talked about feeling trapped due to the lack of freedom.

6.8 Matilda

Following their engagement Matilda realised that her fiancée was not a fan of mobile phones, making limited contact with her even though they were thousands of miles apart. After they married, Matilda's husband would make her feel uncomfortable every time she used the phone, often instructing her not to pick up. Eventually the stress of managing the mobile phone around her husband became too much and Matilda would hide the phone in places where he could not hear it ring. Matilda would also specifically visit her sister if she needed to use the phone freely.

When she moved to this country, Matilda was not allowed a smart phone, a bank account nor did she get help with finding employment and so she was financially dependent on her husband. Her 'brick phone' (urban dictionary) only offered calls and texts, but no access to the internet, and so Matilda was reliant on her husband to buy her international phone cards or to lend her his smart phone so that she could contact her family abroad free of charge via internet-based apps. She became very isolated and developed a system whereby she

would call her friends and let the phone ring twice before hanging up. This was a signal that she was free to talk and an invitation for them to ring her. When her husband found out about this, he physically assaulted her.

Eventually, Matilda's husband did allow her to get a smart phone because of the derogatory comments made by others. He then began taking her phone and deleting her photographs without her permission and against her will. Six months after the most recent violent attack, Matilda woke one morning and decided 'enough is enough'. She contacted the police and left the relationship. There was no apparent trigger to this decision.

6.9   Indie

Indie is from a middle-class Buddhist family, is well educated and came to the UK from abroad to study (and obtained) a post-graduate degree. Her husband courted her heavily for many years until she agreed to marry him. He originally contacted Indie via mobile phone having (secretly) searched her friend's mobile phone contacts to obtain her number. The verbal abuse began soon after their marriage when her husband's attention focused on his sister's well-being and happiness. Her sister-in-law also became involved in the abuse, insulting and degrading Indie at every opportunity.

Indie's husband, insisted that she stay at home to cook, clean and look after the children, despite her capacity to earn more money than him. They lived in inappropriate accommodation and with two flights of stairs between the

kitchen/front door and the living room, Indie would have to carry her twins and their equipment up and down 70 steps several times a day.

Her husband's physical abuse began when he joined her in the UK and after he had received his British citizenship. He would only speak to her when issuing insults or shouting abuse and whilst it was often low key, it was continuous, and Indie was broken by its persistence. Unable to tolerate the abuse, she would collapse, sobbing, begging her husband to let her and the children return home to her parents. When she threatened to leave, her husband showed 'evidence' he had recorded on his mobile phone that Indie was both mentally unfit to parent and a perpetrator of domestic abuse. Unbeknownst to Indie, her husband had also self-harmed, taken pictures of the injuries he had caused and threated to show this 'evidence' of Indie's perpetration to the police and social services.

6.10 Peaches

Peaches and her husband were married for 13 years but lived in separate countries until, at her husband's, request she and their daughter moved to the UK. When her husband was away, Peaches went to visit a relative in her new home. This aunt did not want Peaches' husband to know where she lived, and they lied/avoided his questions about their location during a mobile phone video call. Within seconds of ending the call Peaches received a text from her husband with a map showing her exact location, including a photograph of her aunt's building. The text also included a map of all her movements since arriving in the UK.

Her husband began ignoring Peaches, her texts, voice calls and face-to-face communication. She became her husband's slave, waiting on him hand and foot, even combing his hair. When Peaches found messages on her husband's phone, she realised that he was in an intimate relationship with another woman. The husband's partner also became involved in the abuse, sending offensive messages with private references only her husband could have known, confirming that he had breached the trust she placed in him.

Eventually Peaches withdrew into herself and she would have little if any communication despite sharing the same physical space with her husband. The only exception was when her husband wanted sex and Peaches learnt that if he wished her a good morning, she would be raped that night. Text messages from him were entirely sexual in nature including photographs or videos depicting the sexual positioning he required that night. It was the emotional and physical injuries because of a rape committed in front of their (sleeping) child that took Peaches to her general practitioner, who contacted the police.

6.11 Josephine

Following the birth of their child, Josephine's partner demonstrated behaviour that Josephine found possessive. He would ring her constantly on his mobile phone to establish her location, even though he knew where she was and on occasion he would try and prevent Josephine from leaving the house with 'his' child. He would take (non-intimate) photographs of her at home on his phone without her permission and in ways that made her uncomfortable. At times

Josephine and her partner would be talking and Josephine became aware that he had called another person who was listening to their conversation. Josephine was constantly insulted and verbally abused by her partner, he would intentionally say something to provoke Josephine into arguments. When Josephine responded angrily, her husband would voice and video record their conversations, careful to make minimum contributions himself and keep his tone calm and collected when he did speak. With time, Josephine learnt to read his behaviour and could predict when he was recording. She would often defy him by stating that she knew he was recording and that it would not keep her quiet.

Josephine believed that her partner wanted to justify his own abusive behaviour by portraying her as an unreasonable and demanding woman. The intention she thought was to discredit her amongst friends and family. Josephine's partner also criticised her child-caring and despite his lack of interest in the baby, he regularly threatened to contact social services and report Josephine as incapable of caring for their child

Post separation, her partner tried calling her several times and Josephine blocked his number. Shortly before our interview Josephine had received a call from someone who was unwilling to give his name. Unclear whether or not this was her abusive ex-partner, she blocked the caller.

6.12 Sofia

As outlined in Section 5.1, when Sofia volunteered to be interviewed for this research, I did not know that she had experienced abuse from her brothers and parents. However, she was keen to get involved even though this research related to the abuse of women by male intimate partners. Her eagerness suggested to me that mobile phones were playing an important role in her experiences of abuse and I was reluctant to dismiss her contribution. Because the power dynamics between parents and siblings is not the same as those in intimate relationships (Kelly, 2014; Lawson, 2012), her data not was analysed alongside other participants but was considered separately after a theory had emerged. Analysis of Sofia's interview revealed several correlations between her experiences and the other participants suggesting that mobile phones are being used in different types of relationships involving coercive control.

Sofia's abuse began when her brothers suspected she was in a romantic relationship with a young man, a relative, well known to the family. Sofia left home for several days following an 'incident' with her family. When she returned, she learnt that her brothers had been GPS tracking her mobile phone for several months and had established that she was spending time with her (now) fiancé Her parents were told, and they too began to engage in verbal and emotional abuse. The parents misinformed Sofia's sister and destroyed the close bond they had always shared, and Sofia became isolated from all her family.

When she became aware of her family checking her mobile phone, Sofia began

Table 2: Mapping mobile phone functions to perpetrator behaviour

Features/functions of the mobile phone	How they were used by perpetrators	Effect on the women	
Texting	Persistent texts Abusive and threatening texts Intimidating texts. Sharing intimate messages with others. Involving others by asking them to text	Intimidation Isolation Wearing them down Undermining them Frightening them	
Voice calls	Persistent calls Abusive calls Threatening calls Listening to background noises to establish location. Secretly calling others during a disagreement or argument. Involving others, by asking them to call.	Intimidation Isolation Wearing them down Undermining them Discrediting them Frightening them	
Camera	Persistent video calling Sending obscene photographs or videos Demanding intimate photographs or images. Taking photographs of self-harm Videoing the impact of the emotional abuse.	Undermining them Lowering self-worth Discrediting them Shocking them/betrayal of trust. Wearing them down	
GPS tracking	'live' tracking when partner not physically together. Checking mobile phone location at the end of the day	'Looking over their shoulder' Feelings of perpetrator omnipotence.	
Accessing social media	Threatening to advertise her as a missing person if she ever leaves him. Downloading her social media accounts onto his phone. Setting up fake accounts	Constantly feeling watched/trapped Feelings of perpetrator omnipotence. Unable to get away Powerless	

using passwords and lock id, but her family still checked for messages or missed call notifications that popped up momentarily on the home screen. Her brothers would regularly send abusive and threatening texts and leave offensive voicemails on her phone. They would ring demanding explanations of her whereabouts, disbelieving her accounts that she was still at work or stuck in traffic traveling, home. The abuse escalated, and her brothers became physically violent and tried to strangle her. Sofia avoided the family home, staying late at work or remaining in her room for days. She regularly went without food and estimates losing seven or eight kilos during this time.

Themes that arose in relation to the women's stories are summarised in Table 2.

6.13 Conclusion

This chapter gives the participants the opportunity to share their stories and provides a voice for women who are seldom heard (Parr, 2015; Swigonski, 1994). It highlights the similarities between their experiences, but also shows the parallels with Sofia's account of familial violence. This suggests that mobile phones are being used within different relationships that are included in the definition of domestic abuse (Home Office, 2013). It is Sofia's contribution to this research that first suggested that the abuse experienced from family members and those in intimate relationships may not be so very different. Indeed, returning to the primary data revealed that many of the women experienced domestic abuse from friends, in-laws and other family members. This recognition raised questions relating to the role of mobile phones in

honour-based violence and within the context of Peaches' and Christiana's stories, their role in domestic servitude and modern slavery. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, the need for further research into these areas is considered in Section 11.6. Sofia's account is integrated into the remaining chapters only to highlight these similarities.

Having considered the women's individual stories, the following chapters pool these experiences and present patterns that emerged from the data analysis. The next chapter considers the contribution of mobile phones on both perpetrator behaviour and women's responses and views it within a broader context.

Chapter 7: The wider context and the impact of coercive control

The last chapter described the personal accounts of the abuse women faced and the role of mobile phones in this. This chapter now extends this knowledge to provide a context of the abuse within wider frameworks. It focusses specifically on the women's shared experiences including the impact of the abuse on them. In this and the remaining chapters the women are quoted verbatim to reflect the rigour and accuracy of this research (see Section 5.7 and Appendix 8). Since some women had English as their second language, some quotations will not be grammatically correct.

Beginning with patterns that emerge in relation to perpetrator attitudes and behaviour this chapter considers the influence of structural oppressions, specifically patriarchy and the objectification of women as a context for the abuse. It highlights how abuse escalates, how credible the (spoken and unspoken) threats are and invites the reader to consider how structural inequalities might influence this. This chapter concludes by drawing on Stark's (2007) work on coercive control and examining how this abuse impacted on the participants' daily lives. Thought has also been given to the efforts the participants made to negotiate the abuse within a context of rules that were contradictory and never explained.

7.1 The significance of mobile phones in domestic abuse

When I began visiting refuges, some of the women I met had difficulty identifying mobile phones as playing a role in their abuse and were reluctant to engage in the research believing they had nothing to contribute. This might reflect women's difficulty identifying emotional abuse and not seeing themselves as a victim (Kelly *et al*,.in Maynard, 2009), but it might also reflect a time when domestic abuse was socially constructed as only consisting of physical violence (see Section 3.1.2).

I changed my approach to recruitment and asked to hear the stories of all women, irrespective of mobile phone use, arguing that this would prevent a biased sample. Women seemed more confident to get involved and recruitment became easier. All the participants interviewed had experienced abuse via mobile phones, though some identified this for the first time during the interview. The prevalence of mobile phone use and the difficulty some women had identifying these technologies in their abuse suggests that mobile phones play both an overt and covert role in the coercive control of women.

Some of the women interviewed were acutely aware of the role mobile phones played in their abuse and believed that it was affecting many others. Joanna was clear about the significance of mobile phones in her abuse and emphasized the importance of sharing this information.

"…. he was controlling me by phone. Everything was by phone…*the only reason I have accepted this interview is because I know if you get this message out there it will help a lot of women."

Katherine believed that ownership of a smart phone was the trigger to her abuse.

"I bought him a BlackBerry (pause)†and then I don't know, it's just since then I don't know what it is, whether It's something he's been seeing on the internet or something, I don't know but something (pause) changed rapidly. Like it changed really rapidly, I don't know…. when he got that phone in his hand it's like he just changed into a different person really." Katherine.

The way Caprice's partner used his mobile phone to monitor and control her contact and interaction with friends and family helped her identify that something wasn't quite right in the relationship.

"I met this guy, fell in love, decided to go to [Caribbean country] with him – the fact that I didn't have a number there and then the number that he had was the number that I gave my people to contact me, but it was on his terms for me to talk to my friends. It was on his terms if he would let me use the phone to call my friends or whatever. So that's when I started noticing that this guy, there's something wrong with you, who does that?" Caprice.

This thesis now goes on to consider why mobile phones are so significant in abusive relationships.

** Denotes a skip in the quote
† Denotes a pause in the participants speech.

7.2   Accessibility

Those who had already identified for themselves the importance of mobile phones in their abuse attributed it to their size and availability.

> *"…. it's easier, it's more convenient; it's smaller, its faster, and I can do it wherever; I could be on a train, I could be walking. You can't see people walking with a laptop, but you see them walking with their phones like that (holding phone close to face)".* Caprice*.*

> *"…and they are just holding it, their phone, in their hand……., it's like right there, everyday (pause) 24/7 (pause) everyone has their phone in their hand……. because a laptop, you can't put it in your pocket as easily as you can with a phone. That' s probably (pause) why mobile phones are such an issue (pause) because you can just walk around with it and whenever you feel like doing something with it you just pull it out and do it and carry on with your day."* Katherine*.*

7.3   Patterns in perpetrator behaviour

This section identifies the patterns in perpetrator behaviour and considers how the social constructions of domestic abuse outlined in Section 2.1 might have influenced perpetrator attitudes and behaviour.

7.3.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchal attitudes were evident in the accounts of many of the participants in this study, including abusive partners' expectations due to their status as men;

> *"He is saying that a woman shouldn't talk back at a man, when the man is talking, that is his perception. You are a woman so you are not supposed to talk back (pause) as a man you are the head of the house, I want to be the head of the house, I want all decisions to be in my hands, I want to be in charge of everything, the money, the children, the work, everything."* Josephine*.*

"…whatever he asks for I must always present to him. Because I'm his wife and whatever he says I'm to do I am to do (laugh), it's what I'm supposed to do." Peaches.

Patriarchal attitudes were not restricted to specific cultures or religions; however, their dominance within certain groups makes it more difficult for women in these cultures to speak out about or against the abuse.

"…this is the Asian traditional woman whatever happens, whatever the husband does the hitting, they just keep it inside. The traditional woman in Asian culture, so very rarely it will come out, very rarely." Indie.

The rules abusive men placed on their partners were not applicable to them; for example, information on the perpetrator's phone was deemed private but this was not the case for the participants. The perpetrator's lack of willingness to extend this privacy to their partners may too be a result of patriarchy and the centuries of female oppression associated with this. Take the following quotes which highlight how men felt they had a right to access their partner's phone whenever they wanted. This presumption of male privilege is also discussed in Section 8.1.6

"You're living for someone else, he was free on his phone, but I wasn't free on my phone." Joanna.

"He could get up and he would just use my phone. Like my phone was both of our phones; my phone was his phone and my phone; but his phone was his phone, I was not allowed to touch or breathe next to it or my finger could get broken literally. I remember one time we had a fight because all I wanted to do: I didn't have no credit, I wanted to make a phone call, and the way he just launched at me like a tiger and I was just like, "What is your problem?" Caprice.

The impact of patriarchy on the objectification of women is explained in Section 2.1 and its inevitability in coercive control outlined in Section 2.3. The thesis now considers how men degraded women to the status of a mere object rather than as someone with whom they could relate.

7.3.2 Objectification

This was particularly apparent in the case of Peaches whose husband, despite sharing the same house and bed, denied her existence and refused to engage in almost any form of communication. Peaches learnt that any and all texts from her husband would be sexually explicit, often containing images of a position or a sexual 'style' which would set the scene for sex later that evening. Peaches' feelings or willingness to engage in this was of no concern to her husband.

> *"If you should look on the phone and look at the messages my husband send to me. If it's not about sex, sex related videos or something like that, no. If I should text him and say what do you need for dinner? Or, what time are you coming home? He wouldn't answer. Just he would text me oohhh are we going to do this when I get home? Or you know, what style or whatever…."* Peaches

Peaches explains how she became dehumanized, invisible and insignificant,

> *"….it's like I wasn't there, I wasn't, it's like I wasn't there. There is nothing I could talk to him about that I get a respond, pertaining to our relationship. He would be there on his phone playing candy crush, sending a text to, whoever, I don't know. "*

This objectification may also be a factor in why the violence escalated.

7.3.3 Escalation

Everyone interviewed talked of how their coercive control through mobile phones escalated into physical violence and many experienced sexual violence as well.

> *"At first, he was just being verbally and emotionally abusive, but recently what led to that separation, the final straw he was physical with me.* Josephine*.*

> *"It just kept getting worse and worse."* Katherine*.*

> *"…he realised he could no longer break me via texting me and stuff and*
>
> *being horrible to me, so he started being physical. "* Caprice*.*

The escalation of violence in intimate relationships is recognized extensively within the literature in relation to teenagers (Dardis *et al*., 2014) and adults alike (Day & Bowen, 2015; Dobash & Dobash, 1984; Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2008;). The extracts provided above support this and highlight the importance of intervening early in abusive relationships (Feld & Straus, 1989).

7.3.4 Credible threat

The way men used mobile phones to threaten their partners will be considered in detail in Section 8.1, but it is important to understand this within a wider context.   This includes how men took advantage of their partner's vulnerabilities, using structural power and inequality to their benefit. Partners

deliberately took advantage of women's immigration status, and/or their bond as a mother, to create a credible threat; both concrete and implied threats. This exploitation may also be a reflection, or consequence of, patriarchy.

> *"He was using that [reporting her to immigration] to scare me all the time, he wanted to separate me and the child, he wanted to separate me and the child because he knew that if I am in the child's life, he could not have that control that he wants about the child."* Josephine.

> *"Sometimes in the messages and stuff he would take it out on the kids too, he knew that my kids are my weakness, so he would try to get to me by using the kids and saying, "The ungrateful bitch" – just like me – and things like that. "Me and them can just all die"."* Caprice.

In many cases, the threat was not always articulated. Previous physical or sexual violence was sufficient to imply that non-compliance would result in further similar abuse and so the credible threat was just as frightening even if it was covert or left unsaid. Consider the quote below when, at the request of her relative, Peaches lied about her location.

> *"When I go down the bottom of the map that he have sent…….everywhere that I have been since he have been in Jamaica. It came there, the history of where I've been, it came to the bottom of the map, I don't know how he did that. "* Peaches

Here Peaches' husband does not threaten her, indeed nothing is ever said. Rather the threat is implicit, he has been following her and knows she has been lying. This warning brings with it a strong implication that there will be negative consequences for her.

As outlined in Section 6.9, Indie's husband verbally and physically assaulted her until she broke down. At the point of her collapse, and never earlier, without her knowledge, he would use his phone to video record her pleas to stop and be allowed home.   Her husband also self-harmed, caused bruising and scratches to his face and took photographs as 'evidence' of Indie's abuse of him.

> " …that is his tactic that is how he collected everything because in the arguments he says, you can't turn anything against me, I have your phone and I will work out [pause] I will find whatever against you. From that I found that he is using the mobile against me. …… So that is the main weapon he was using against me. You have to stay you have to keep shut or otherwise I am taking our children away....". Indie

During the abuse Indie feared that her partner's substantial 'evidence' compared to her lack of evidence would support his claims of abuse and highlight his natural parenting skills which juxtaposed with her poor ones. In this scenario it was the mobile phone itself that enabled the credible threat.

> "…so you say the mobile, though he abused me he recorded everything using the mobile for him. Whatever supporting him to become a good father, he would use the mobile phone, but he record everything." Indie.

7.4   Impact of the abuse

The last section identified patterns in perpetrator behaviour and links this to a wider structural context. This section now considers themes in relation to how such behaviour impacted on the women participants.

7.4.1 Fear

All the women in this study were living in refuges because they were afraid of their partners. As we have seen in Chapter 6, some were strangled and in these cases it would be wise to presume they were at significant risk of harm (Thomas *et al*., 2013). Fear was evident amongst all the women in this study and the threat so high it ultimately forced them to move into a refuge. In some cases, the women's fear was explicit, and openly expressed,

> *"I was frightened because he was hitting and telling me that I am a bad woman, physically emotionally, every day..."* Indie

> *"…... my hands its (mimes trembling) . I go work and all the time I was stressing, I know because I can't go at home…."* Francesca

> *"Knowing that he knew where I was every minute of the day was weird (pause) it was quite freaky and scary."* Suzie*.*

With others the fear was not expressed but it was palpable during the interview. Peaches went to visit relatives when her husband was abroad, they were keen that he did not know their new address and so, when her husband rang, Peaches pretended to be at the cousin's old home. After hanging up, Peaches' husband sent her a message with her exact location, including a picture of the new house, thus exposing Peaches' lies during the call.

> *"…by the time I was done talking and everything he sent me this map (pause) and when I click on it, it showed me the exact point that I was. I was in {name of road} and it shows me the exact house, the street everything and that I was at {name of the road} [pause]…."* Peaches

7.4.2 Cumulative

As outlined in Section 2.3.1 the effects of abuse are cumulative, based on what could happen. This was also the case in this research, where the credible threats coupled with the escalation of the abuse impacted on the participants' everyday lives.

> *"I cannot work because all the time I forget something, always check. I can't work. He write a message and I see my screen shot with message. My heart goes chutchutchut. I can't check who is text me because I know bad words everything."* Francesca.

In the case of Francesca, it is possible that the text might serve as a trigger to the intense fear as outlined in Section 2.3.1. Katherine spent much of her time trying to manage the abuse and keep things calm,

> *"If I did the little, tiniest thing wrong all hell would break loose…. I would be pretty much walking on eggshells around him. Just do whatever I could to just to keep things steady, instead of going up and down up and down up and down, but it didn't really work."* Katherine.

Caprice explains the impact of her partners constant phone calls and texts;

> *".. ….my day would be ruined, and I wouldn't be able to focus or do anything because he would just take up all of my days. Everything was just small arguments and drama and messages and stuff whatever, which was just to get to me. "*

The fear of abuse accumulated over time until the women believed the threat was everywhere. This is discussed in detail in Section 9.5.

7.4.3 Internalising the abuse

In many cases the women internalised the abuse and took responsibility for their situation. Notice how Peaches repeats how she let her husband rape her as if the abuse was her fault and Caprice who despite the extreme situation, attributes her defiance as the reason for her abuse;

"I don't like it [sex] in the way that I'm like, I feel like I let him do those things to me; I let him take advantage, I let him do this I let him do that…I was always thinking that it was something that I am doing wrong, so I'm always trying to make it right, you know." Peaches

"If you don't love me, he'll mess up my pretty little face". But he's telling me that while he was strangling me, and my feet are not on the floor. And, yeah, and I brought it on myself because I don't listen, and I choose not to listen." Caprice.

Indie too takes responsibility for her situation, initially for his decision to record and photograph the 'events' and then for her foolishness for not doing the same. She assumes this responsibility even though she was unaware of her husband's evidence gathering;

"I think my mistake that he started collecting evidence, my mistake means that I didn't think about those stuff, because I trust him, and I loved him." Indie

Others believed that the abusive partner's decision was indeed theirs.

"yes, I was involved [in the decision to get a new contract in her partner's name] because he told me what he wanted and I said yeah, that will be nice, " Joanna

124

7.4.4 Alien will

As outlined in Section 2.3.1 persistent abuse often results in a change in the survivor's behaviour as they adopt an alien will (Stark 2007). Suzie who thrived off other people's company, stopped going out. To an outsider Suzie's reaction, described in the quote below, might appear petty, yet the repeated arguments and constant surveillance instilled in her an alien will (Stark 2007). Her demeanour changed as her confidence and self-esteem plummeted and she became passive and unresponsive.

> " sometimes I would just leave it [confrontation] and I got so withdrawn into myself that every conversation that we would have was an argument so I would just sit there, and I wouldn't talk. I would just sit there and watch TV…." Suzie.

The impact of the abuse left many of the women feeling worn down or at a loss, to the point where they gave up doing things they wanted to do, or simply withdrew into themselves; Caprice almost stopped functioning,

> "I went so skinny as though as I was just born. I wasn't eating, I wasn't sleeping; I was just a mess. And then he was just abusing me even more when I got like that 'Look at you, you look like a starving dog'. Caprice

Indie shut down

> "I didn't speak, I didn't tell anything, I was just shutting myself down." Indie.

Sofia was not in an abusive intimate relationship and experienced the abuse from her family. Nevertheless, she too succumbed to an alien will and stopped eating;

> *"at the weekends I would not even go downstairs into the living room……. My mum or dad sometimes would come upstairs to check up, are you ok? Do you want to have lunch or dinner? I used to not even go and eat with them."* Sofia

7.4.5 Entrapment

The role of mobile phones in the monitoring and control of the women is the subject of Chapter 8, but the confusion it created for the women is worthy of note here. Some of the scenarios described by the women were reminiscent of Kafka's (2000) '*The Trial'* since neither the reason for their monitoring, nor the system establishing their guilt. was ever made clear.

> *"Even if I'm not lying, immediately I'm a liar because I didn't answer the video call, to show him and he would use that video calling a lot."* Joanna

> *"….it's like I'm hiding something, and he wants to know what I'm hiding. I'm not hiding anything, I want to go out …."* Donna.

The cumulative nature of the control, coupled with the fear of the consequences meant that the women in thus study felt trapped, unable to get away from the oppression they faced.

> *"And whenever I was with him, I feel pressure that if anyone call me and that's why I change my number, I don't give any of my friends my number. "* Matilda.

In Indie's case, her fear became so high and her self-esteem so low, that she became entrapped and unable to make a decision. This was in stark contrast to the woman who arrived in this country alone, made friends and obtained a Post-graduate degree.

> *"because I was under big stress and I couldn't do anything like, I couldn't think about, I couldn't think. I was just helpless…. "* Indie.

The significance that mobile phones played in Caprice's entrapment is emphasized below.

> *"I think I would feel less trapped (without mobile phones), just not as much, due to the fact that if there were no mobile phones people wouldn't be able to access the social media on their phones and stuff. You wouldn't be able to communicate with me, email me so easily, so freely, how you please ……. I felt I was stuck I felt there was no getaway. I felt my only getaway was to die, because he made me feel like that "* Caprice.

7.4.6   Negotiating the unreality

Many of the women tried to second-guess the perpetrators reaction, to try and negotiate the abusers unreality (Williamson, 2010). See Section 2.3.1.

> *"….my behaviour would change because I wouldn't go places, I made sure it was places he would approve of me going."* Suzie

But ultimately nothing the women said or did was enough to appease the perpetrator

> *"I couldn't win. If it [mobile phone] ring it would be a problem and then sometimes it would ring and obviously when you get into a new*

relationship, I'm bound to have people that I was talking to before you, you see?" Joanna.

Despite Suzie feeling oppressed into remaining at home and almost never leaving, this too became a problem. Notice too, how Suzie states that the decision is hers

"And then he was like, 'why aren't you going out?' 'Because I don't want to. Because if I go out, you just start accusing me of being with somebody." Suzie.

As outlined above, Indie was afraid that her partner's videos of her breaking down would result in her losing access to her children. Whilst I have not seen these videos, I anticipate that they show a desperate, pleading woman that many professionals would identify as suffering from abuse. Interestingly, Indie had not considered the prospect that these videos might actually be evidence of her despair. It had not occurred to her that the videos might demonstrate the impact of his abuse and thus, contrary to his intentions, actually support Indie's version of events that he was the perpetrator.

"I say these things but I don't have anything recorded, I don't have any evidence, I just have one photograph in my phone, where he punched my eye, I got a black eye, so I have that photograph but apart from that I don't have anything (pause) I just have to try to keep it, everything inside" Indie

Rather it seems Indie entered the man's reality, part of which was the unquestioning acceptance that those in authority would unconditionally believe his account. Thus, Indie became a target of her husband's patriarchal power;

she became docile and compliant and her behaviour was transformed from an educated, independent, autonomous woman, to the frightened and oppressed 'traditional' Asian wife she describes in Section 7.3.1.

7.5   Conclusion

This chapter builds on the narratives in Chapter 6 and provides a wider context within which to understand the participants' experiences of abuse. It considers the symbiotic relationship between structural oppression and mobile phone abuse; how the former reinforces male expectations, while the latter were used to exploit structural inequality to pose (sometimes unstated) credible threats to the participants. The impact of coercive control on women is also considered and shows that perpetrators use mobile phones in ways that mirror well-established patterns of behaviour associated with coercive control.

The next chapter identifies the specific ways in which perpetrators used mobile phones in their abuse of women. Whilst much of the behaviour described by the participants is consistent with the Power and Control Wheel, the next chapter also demonstrates the limitations of this model when applied to abuse involving mobile phones.

Chapter 8: How mobile phones are used in domestic abuse

In previous chapters we heard the stories of all the participants and pooled their collective experiences to understand the abuse within a wider context. We considered the effect of patriarchy, how it may have influenced perpetrators and contributed to the abuse. The preceding chapter concluded by looking at the impact of this on the participants and how living with the abuse changed their behaviour and self-perception.

This chapter moves to look specifically at the relationship between mobile phones and abusive behaviour and how the former might complement or enable the latter. Data analysis will show that the Power and Control Wheel (see figure 3) is extremely helpful in contextualizing the abuse. However, as we shall see, this model is insufficient to explain the significance of these technologies in the coercive control of women. An alternative representation of the Power and Control Wheel is provided in Figure 8, which considers the impact of mobile phones on domestic abuse. This chapter concludes by outlining the attempts made by women to prevent their former partners from monitoring and controlling them and ends with an account of how men circumvented these efforts to ensure that they were able to persist with their coercion post separation.

8.1   The Power and Control Wheel

This research showed that perpetrators use mobile phones to complement and reinforce behaviour that has long been identified by feminists as tactics in the abuse of women (see Figure 8). The original Power and Control Wheel (Pence & Paymar, 1993) outlines the eight most common strategies associated with abusive behaviour (see figure 3), all of which are consistent with the way mobile

Figure 8: Adapted Power and Control Wheel
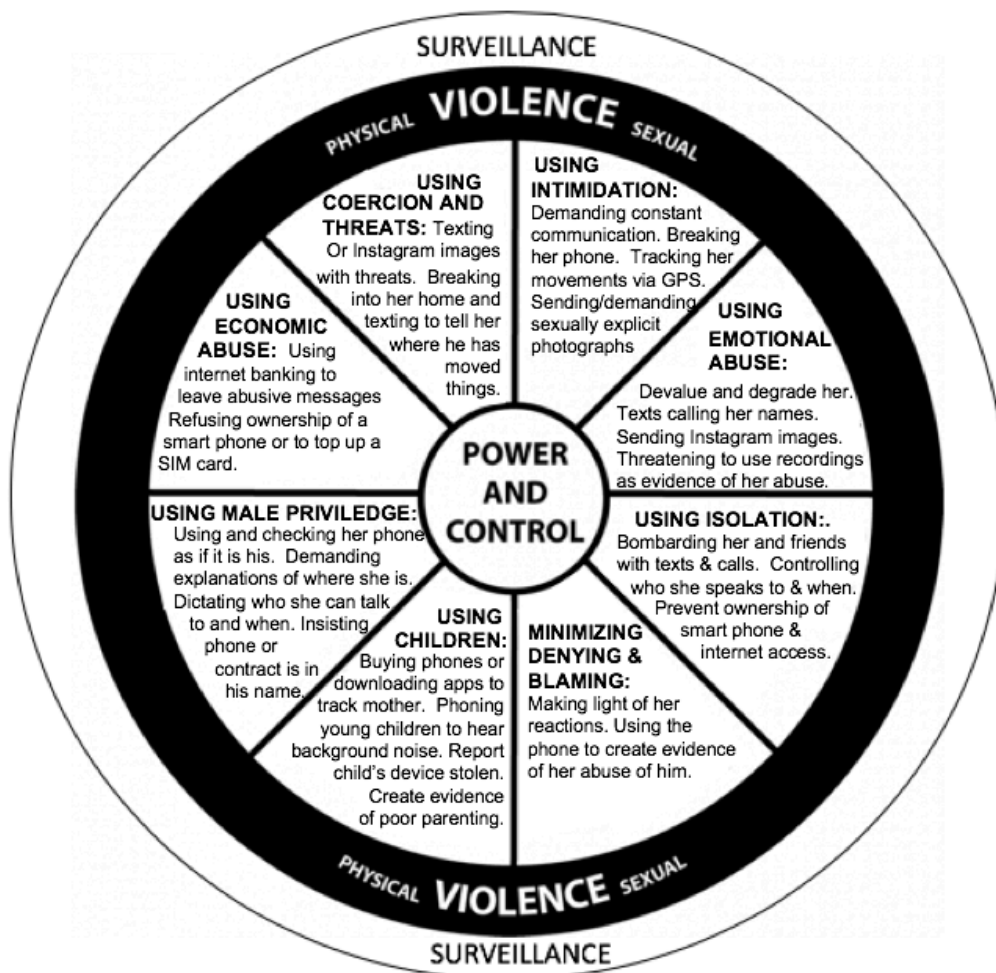
phones were used in the abuse described by women in this research. Like the original Power and Control Wheel, the behaviours do not fit neatly into one

category; rather one example of abusive behaviour can cross several categories simultaneously. The information provided below has been arranged according to the most obvious, or striking, examples of that behaviour but may be applied to other categories within the wheel.

8.1.1 Intimidating

One of the most common ways men used their mobile phones to intimidate others was by sending abusive or threatening texts and voice calls.

"my ex-partner used to threaten me a lot, so it could be via text, call.."
Caprice*.*

"texting me……. a lot, like he text me about 30 texts all at once….
just…… saying really horrible and degrading things to me………"
Katherine*.*

Although coercively controlled by family members rather than a partner, this was also the case for Sofia, whose family used mobile phones to intimidate her.

"texts and voicemails, they used to leave me (pause) Sometimes they
used swear-words when they leave voice messages for me, even text
messages to me. They used to be abusive as well…… some stuff they
used to say like you won't get away with this (pause) I'll show you what
will happen to you. Some were quite threatening, " Sofia

Mobile phones were also broken, an effective display of power, given the dependency we have on them.

" He tried to break my phone and was trying to threaten me saying, "You
said this about me to your friend", and then used all of the information

that he heard and tried to twist it and throw it back in my face. It was quite a very nasty period of stuff… a lot of phones got broken in our relationship and it's five or six [pause] literally because when we'd have an argument the first thing, he'd do was pick up my phone and just smash it; he'd always go for the phone." Caprice.

Perpetrators would also use mobile phones to complement and reinforce other intimidating behaviour, for example, Caprice's ex-partner broke into her home, moved things around and used the mobile phone to reinforce his intimidation.

"He would break into my house and then move things around in my house, and then call me and message me and let me know that he's been in my house."

Katherine's ex-partner would turn up uninvited at her home and expect her to be in, even on a Saturday, when one might expect her and the children to be out. The photos he sent of himself standing outside, with texts demanding an explanation for her whereabouts show his clear intention to intimidate her.

"my ex-partner used to basically just stand outside my house and take pictures and send it to me. Like if I wasn't at home, he'd send me pictures saying where are you. I'm outside your house?" Katherine.

8.1.2 Emotional abuse

Participants also spoke of how mobile phones were used to send abusive and threatening texts directly to them and via other platforms including social networking sites.

"when I was in Australia, he would just be sending me abusive messages (pause) He would text me things like that….saying I should get back to work, I'm being lazy, because I'd put some weight on as well, I was getting fat." Suzie.

"…him constantly texting me and like on Instagram you can send someone pictures on someone else's thing. He would always send me pictures, not very nice pictures on Instagram and he would just direct message me them, just so that I could just see them." Katherine.

Name-calling in the texts was also common:

"You are a bitch (Pause) it's very bad. I can't tell you [the names he called her] because it is very shame for me." Francesca.

*"You want to be a single mum and want to be a whore. "*Caprice

Again, it is interesting to compare the findings of the participants with Sofia's narrative who, despite not being a survivor of intimate partner violence was also called names.

"They were calling me names mainly in Arabic. Mainly calling names, threatening words as well. yeah, mainly that." Sofia.

8.1.3 Isolating

Men used mobile phones in various ways, often creatively, to isolate their partners from family and friends. This included monitoring and controlling their partners' access to and use of mobile phones, whom they could speak to, when and for how long. This is reminiscent of Foucault's (1991) account of supervision outlined in Section 3.2. Caprice describes the restrictions placed on her use of mobile phones;

" 'I've [perpetrator] told you not to be on the phone after hours...after ten o'clock in the evening; no one should be calling your phone' …Before

ten [pm] and depending on who I was talking to. If it was people he was comfortable with me talking to he would let me talk, if he wasn't, he would do certain things or start arguments when I'm on the phone and I would have to come off the phone…" Caprice

Micro-regulation (see Section 2.3.1) like this contributed to the women's isolation since maintaining contact with their friends and family became too stressful.

"all my friends not call me because when I talk my friends, he shout me, and my friends they think oh my gosh, what he doing, he crazy and they say goodbye and that's it.". Francesca.

"…just escalated into him making me feel that I'm not supposed to have male friends….." Suzie

Despite being coercively controlled by family members rather than a partner, Sofia's experience of abuse from her father also mirrors that of the other participants;

"one time he [father] just took my phone and he didn't give it back to me for I think around 3-4 days and I kept asking but he said no, I'm not giving it back to you (pause) and he was making that the issue. So, if he takes my mobile phone then I am not able to contact that person." Sofia.

In Katherine's case, when out she would turn off her phone to avoid the onslaught of texts and calls from her partner. In an effort to establish if her account was accurate and to keep up with the evening's events, her partner would circumvent this and bombard her friends with texts and calls instead. The embarrassment this caused resulted in her isolation from the group;

> *"Just general non-stop phone calls, messaging friends in [pause] like, if he can't get hold of me, messaging my friends and obviously my friends would try and block the number, but he would just call off a different number [pause] instead and keep doing that. And make not just me feel uncomfortable but everyone around me feel uncomfortable. So it's like those people they don't really want to be that close with me anymore..."* Katherine*.*

8.1.4 Denying, minimizing and blaming

As we have seen in the case of Indie and Josephine, some men used their phones to gather 'evidence' to disguise their abusive behaviour and shift the responsibility onto their partners. Indie's husband took pictures of his self-inflicted injuries and threatened to show them to the police as evidence of her perpetration should she ever disobey him. Sometimes, unable to cope with the emotional abuse, Indie would feel at the brink of insanity and would beg her husband to stop and let her return home to her parents abroad. She first became aware that he was recording this on his phone when he showed her 'evidence' that Indie wanted to leave her children and was an unfit parent. He threatened to share this with the police should she ever try to leave him.

> *"When I'm crying why you doing that, why you doing this? (pause) he will record that. He will say I will tell the police that she is mentally upset, and I'll show this, this is how you cry. That is how you ask (pause) he has told me that he would tell the international police that this woman is mad and using the children. That is the main thing he was doing throughout, he was telling me, "you're mad and you're going off"* Indie*.*

Similarly, with Josephine, her partner would provoke her into arguments and when she reacted, he would record the conversation, careful to manage his tone and limit his contribution to the 'argument'.

" he would first start the conversation, or he would start the quarrel and then, when he gets angry, because he wanted to prove to them that maybe I get angry and he is not the only person who is getting angry, I get angry too. Sometimes I talk back at him so it was there to prove that he will record it and then he will, he will send it to them. She was angry she was talking like this, she said that she said that. Meanwhile he knows what he was doing so he would try to talk less, or he would try say less." Josephine.

8.1.5 Using children

Some of the women in this research talked of how their ex-partners manipulated their position as a father and used mobile phones to extend their power and control over them. Caprice's ex-partner bought their four-year-old daughter the most up-to-date iPhone, allegedly to maintain contact with her. However, it transpired that he did this to glean as much information as possible about Caprice. Caprice explains:

> *"…he would call her [daughter] and doesn't say nothing, and because she's a child sometimes because he's not saying nothing that's why she's constantly just leave the phone. This guy could be there all day the phone will be on, the phone would die, and he will just be there listening to my background, listening…"* Caprice.

Police moved Donna and her child into bed and breakfast accommodation for their safety. When her young daughter turned on her tablet, as she had done hundreds of times before, Donna was surprised to find an alert saying that the iPad was stolen. She was concerned and contacted the police.

> *"……..the police he come, he find that when you report it to apple store an iPhone or iPad is stolen, the apple store they localize the iPad, so they have, we saw with policeman that they have got [pause] the email was been sent to him with the address of the bed and breakfast, yeah, where I was. Where the iPad is."*

Thus, Donna's ex-partner had used his child and technology to find their location, circumventing attempts by the police to keep both mother and child safe.

8.1.6 Using male privilege

The role of patriarchy within the wider context has already been considered in Section 7.3.1.   The significance of male privilege, often associated with patriarchy, will be considered here specifically in relation to mobile phones.

Without exception, the women interviewed had their mobile phones regularly and frequently checked by their partners. This involved checking her contacts and with whom she had interacted that day.

> " ..he'd go through my phone and see my cousin's name and say, "who's this?" I'd say, "it's my cousin, you know it's my cousin" (pause) Just anything to try and pick….…...he would go through my snap chat, I'll say that [pause] who's this? who's that? who's this person? who's that person?" Katherine.

> "At that time, he checked my contacts and he ask me 'Who is this? Who is this?' '" Matilda.

Men would also monitor when, to whom and for how long their partners spoke on their mobile phones.

> "I text but he all the time, check me. I can't talk too much with friends, when I talk 10 minute he say stop, how long you can talk with your friends, stop." Francesca.

> *"…but it was on his terms for me to talk to my friends. It was on his terms if he would let me use the phone to call my friends or whatever."* Caprice.

Caprice's mother tongue was French and is the language she used to communicate with her family. She explained that because her partner didn't speak French,

> *"I was not allowed to speak French in the house. So, if I wanted to speak to my mum I would have to go in the garden.… he'd ask me "I've told you not to be on the phone after hours [pause] after ten o'clock in the evening; no one should be calling your phone"*

In this extract we can see that the way Caprice's partner not only controlled who she spoke with, but by dictating the times she could speak and the location of these conversations, he was also controlling her time and her space.

This checking of phones to see whom women spoke to were accompanied by demands for an explanation regarding unauthorized contact with friends and family. This possessive and almost fanatical behaviour is reminiscent of patriarchal attitudes in 19th Century England. For example, in this research, abusive men saw their partner's mobile phone (and the information contained within it) as something that belonged to them; something that they had a right or even a duty to check. These evoked stories of bygone times, prior to the Married Woman's Property Act 1870, where a wife was deemed to be her husband's property and everything she owned (her children, her estate etc.) belonged to him.

"[If] I'm taking pictures or anything all the time he taking, deleting all the pictures for his computer so I can have more memory, but I don't want to, but he did this…. that's the thing, he didn't deleting, he's swapping he just change everything." Matilda.

"……if I changed my password so that he couldn't, he would then quiz me as to why I haven't, why he can't get into my phone. Why have I put a password on it that he doesn't know?" Suzie.

"……he will just be going through, as if it was his phone, looking at pictures…" Peaches.

8.1.7 Economic abuse

The way men used mobile phones to economically abuse was subtle and initially difficult for me to identify. Matilda, for example, was not allowed a smart phone and without access to the internet she was excluded from sociality (Henderson *et al.,* 2002) because she could not download apps that would enable her to contact her family abroad, free of charge. Matilda's economic dependence on her husband (see Section 6.8) meant that she had to beg him for a phone card or access to his smart phone to keep in touch. Denying Matilda a smart phone meant that her husband increased his power over her and in the end, Matilda stopped asking to use the phone.

"I don't want to [pause] give me the pain, because I have to beg for the card. You feel like you are begging someone just to call [pause] and you feel disappointed, just for one pound you need to call…." Matilda.

Caprice's partner used his mobile phone to deposit a penny into her online bank account just so that he could leave an abusive message on her bank statement.

" When I moved to the refuge he couldn't text or call me so he used to email me and put pennies into my account because you know when you put money in somebody's account you can message them, leave a message or reference? So, I was getting abused via references like that: "Fucking bitch". He put 1p in my account and it will come with a message like, "You're a bitch. You're going to die". Caprice.

8.1.8 Coercion and threats

The coercion used by men was often subtle and seemingly part of a longer-term plan. The coercion involved in persuading the woman to give the men access to their mobile phones is an example of this. Initially men appeared willing to share their phones, as if setting a precedent, implying that only those with something to hide would refuse access.

"Slowly slowly, [abusive partner] showing me, "look you can see my phone. yeah, you can see my phone, you can see my phone." [Joanna asks] "Why don't you trust me? You have trust issues." Joanna.

But ultimately this willingness was not upheld, and the rules abusive men placed on their partners to share their mobile phones were soon no longer applicable to them. These double standards suggest that perpetrators did know that insisting women shared the information contained on their mobile phones was wrong. Men's beliefs that they had a right to do so might also reflect the historical context of male ownership outlined above. This too may be a result of patriarchy and the centuries of female oppression associated with this.

To my knowledge, this is the first time that the Power and Control Wheel has been used to understand how mobile phones are used by perpetrators of domestic abuse. This thesis is the first to identify that the tactics employed by

perpetrators closely mirror traditional techniques of domestic abuse. Thus, it seems that perpetrators have integrated mobile phones into their abuse to complement and reinforce behaviour that has long been established as abusive. A pictorial representation of an adapted Power and Control Wheel is provided in Figure 8 (see Appendix 12 for permission to adapt) to help explain the role of mobile phones in the abuse of women.

8.2   Surveillance: beyond the Power and Control Wheel

The increasing worldwide ownership of mobile phones coupled with a design intended to be taken almost anywhere (Arnold, 2003; Dimond *et al.*, 2011; Statistica, 2018b), means that it is now much easier to know where anyone is at any one time (Miller-Ott *et al.*, 2012; Ngcongo, 2016). So, in abusive relationships, perpetrators can use mobile phones to 'keep tabs' on their partners wherever they are and whatever they are doing. Signal permitting, this twenty-four hour a day, seven days a week (24/7) surveillance can occur irrespective of the location of the abuser, the survivor or their proximity to each other.

All the women in this research talked at length about the role mobile phones played in their monitoring and control. Examples of how perpetrators kept track of who they spoke to, when and for how long have already been outlined above. This section now goes on to consider other ways mobile phone assisted perpetrators in the surveillance of their partners. Take the case of Joanna whose partner manipulated the lightweight and accessible mobile phone to confirm her whereabouts and who she was with.

"If I'm on a bus, he'll ask me, are you on a bus, yes I'm on a bus. I don't believe you. I'm like, I'm on the bus. Ok for me to believe you I need to hear the bus (pause) you know when the bus tells you you're at this location or that location? He wants to hear that... video call to see that you are really with friends, or with your girlfriends or you're really at home. When I say I'm home he doesn't believe me, he'll video call me or pass me mum, let me talk to mum. Or if mum isn't there let me talk to your brother. You see?" Joanna

In some cases, it started as a joke.

"It was a bit of a joke when we got new phones, oh my god look what phones do these days. And it was (pause) at that moment I didn't know what he was doing (pause) but then (pause) knowing that he knew where I was every minute of the day was weird (pause) it was quite freaky and scary (pause) 'Why are you actually doing that?' I didn't understand. Like I say the phone did play a big part in all that, as I say, it all started off as part of a joke." Suzie.

Some women were aware of the surveillance from the start, others found out because of an interrogation when they had failed to comply with their partner's norms and inadvertently broke the 'rules'.

"He would check through everything from my Facebook to my text messages to my WhatsApp messages; everything. Even though I never saw him doing it the things he would say after, "Who called you at twelve on an unknown number?" Caprice

"And I never expect that he would check my phone, he went on Google and saw the history of Google, can you believe that? The history of what I'm searching in Google. I was shocked when he told me……He wanted to know everything I'm doing, I don't know why. He really wanted to know everything about what I am doing." Donna.

Most of the women talked of how their partners bombarded them with unwanted communication to establish where they were, what they were doing and who they were with.

> *"…he used to call me constantly at first, he used to call most of the time (pause) It was quite uncomfortable for me why he has to call me all the time like that even when I'm outside and I've told him where I'm going."*
> Josephine

As we can see from Joanna's story in Section 6.7, this non-stop communication was often cumulative; text messages were followed by phone calls and for some women video calling such as Facetime was used to check that she was where she claimed to be and in the company of someone he approved of.

Another common form of surveillance was the use of GPS tracking;

> *"He's trying to portray that he doesn't want anything to do with you but meanwhile he's using that [GPS tracking] on me. He doesn't want you to know that he is following you or tracking you to see things about you."*
> Josephine.

> *he would be able to see where I was and if I turned my location off, he'd be like, 'why are you turning your location off? Where have you been, who've you been with?' [pause] Stress……He could watch where I was going, what I was doing, ……"* Suzie

It is interesting to note the similarity of the research participants with the narrative of Sofia, who was coercively controlled by family members and whose brothers would monitor her whereabouts,

> *" ….. used my mobile phone number to track my location before [pause] to see where I am. I was out of my home [pause] my parents' home, I was living with them, I was out of home for a few days because of the incident that happened, and he [brother] used to track my location using my mobile phone number."* Sofia.

Suzie, a former fun-loving landlady, found her partners constant GPS tracking a particularly oppressive form of abuse. Because of this, she stopped going out and speaking to people, preferring instead to stay at home alone, just to avoid arguments.

> *"He would track where I'd been and what I'd been doing, because you can do that with the mobile phone these days….. tracking me all the time. Wherever I went [pause] and in the end, like I said, I never went anywhere, I was just housebound unless he said I could go out"* Suzie.

As outlined above, Donna's partner located both Donna and her daughter in a place of safety when he reported their iPad stolen. Participants explained how difficult it was to prevent the men from tracking them;

> *"If I turned the location off, he would see and then there'd be a phone call asking 'why's your location off?'* Suzie.

To my knowledge, this is the first piece of research to identify the opportunities mobile phones afford in the surveillance of others. The significance of this in abusive relationships will be considered in depth in Chapter 9 and 10.

8.3 Circumventing women's attempts to stop the abuse

Even after the relationship had ended, men were determined to maintain contact and persist in oppressing their former partner. Blocking their ex-partner's number or changing mobile phones were common practice for the women in this study but their ex-partners regularly involved family or friends or pretended to be someone else.

> *"he got that restraining order, so he ask his son to send me a request via Facebook, a friend request. I know his son, …….. I know that he would never do something like that on his own, he must be advised by his dad to do this".* Donna

A more unusual example is provided by Caprice;

> *"At one stage I blocked him from texting so what he did was texted me on my landline, so you had this lady with the voice talking: "You are a…" you know? "You are a bitch. I'm going to kill you". But obviously it's like a machine talking but reading what he'd texted, which was very freaky."* Caprice*.*

The inevitability of this and the feeling of no escape is captured by Katherine;

> *" And if it's not his account that he's looking from, because I've blocked him, he'll be looking from someone else's account. So, he'll still know where I am, what I'm doing (pause) yeah it's just really hard to find a way [pause] to [pause] shut him out completely".*

8.4   Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how perpetrators use mobile phones to abuse their current and former partners and how the tactics employed reflect behaviour that has long been established in the Power and Control Wheel. This reinforces earlier suggestions that perpetrators are using mobile phones alongside well-established patterns of abuse to monitor and control their partners. However, mobile phones also provide opportunities to monitor and control others all day, every day, irrespective of geographical location or proximity and thus can be used in themselves as vehicles for the coercive control of others. These new opportunities have not been recognised by the Power and Control Wheel and

thus the model has not considered how the power dynamics may have changed as a result of this.

The next chapter considers an alternative way to look at power and applies this to mobile phones in abusive relationships. It tries to address the omission of surveillance and turns to the work of Michel Foucault (1991) to understand how mobile phones might impact on the power dynamics in abusive relationships.

Chapter 9: Foucault, disciplinary power and the Panopticon

The last chapter considered the ways in which mobile phones were used in the abuse and coercive control of women. It highlights how these tactics support and reinforce long established techniques of abuse. The familiarity of the behaviour was striking and to emphasize this the information was presented in the form of an adapted Power and Control Wheel (Figure 8), a format that is familiar to practitioners and academics alike. Designed to fit into a pocket, and be with us almost all of the time, mobile phones are now an accepted part of modern life, always around and ever present (Arnold, 2003; Miller-Ott *et al*., 2012; Srivastava, 2005). Mobile phones enable unprecedented surveillance of others and communication is easily achieved long after the relationship has ended (Dimond *et al*., 2011). As such mobile phones offer more extensive opportunities for perpetrators to 'keep tabs' on their current and former partners any time, any place and, signal permitting, anywhere.

This chapter now moves to reflect on how such persistent and unrelenting communication and exposure may have changed the power dynamics in abusive relationships. Turning to post-structural explanations of power, this chapter considers Foucault's (1991) account of disciplinary power as a means to understand this, including the impact on survivors.

9.1 Relational power and the transfer of power

In the early part of Joanna's relationship, mobile phones enabled continuous contact, including regular phone calls, sending love songs and affectionate texts. Joanna readily allowed her partner access to her mobile phone and soon it became an integral part of their relationship. However, subtly and with time, her partner became more insecure and increasingly concerned that Joanna was having a relationship with someone else. Initially, Joanna naively offered her mobile phone to her partner as a loving gesture to reassure him of her loyalty;

> *" I was no! I can show you". "Prove to me then". "I don't have any [lovers]" and I would just show him, "Look there", show him. "Look I don't have anyone, look". I'm so free look at my message, look at this I don't have anyone, just to prove to him."*

But before she knew it, Joanna was routinely expected to share the information contained on her mobile phone. Any reluctance to do so, not because she had anything to hide but because it was her private information, was viewed suspiciously and often resulted in physical assaults. It seems that Joanna's partner's motivation to look at her phone was not as innocent as it was originally presented. Rather than seeking reassurance it may have been an intentional strategy to shift the power.

> *" And then gradually it became so regular that oh, like oh, you know like I'll show him, and I'll show I'm (swooping gesture on palm of hand) and then boom (claps her hands), it came into a routine." Joanna.*

A similar change in relational power dynamics was also apparent, though very subtle, in Caprice's life. She describes coherently how her abusive relationship made her feel, and yet within the same sentence states that she is unclear what, if any, impact the abuse had on her.

> " …..my mind was all over the place and then I started going through anxiety, depression, insecurities, so I couldn't even tell you what it was and whether it was affecting me at the time." Caprice.

In these two extracts we can see, firstly, how Joanna's infidelity became the central issue and her abusive partner's right (or otherwise) to routinely check her mobile phone is overlooked. Similarly, Caprice's account shows how she too has almost forgotten her partner's abusive behaviour. Rather, the focus is on her own inadequacies: Caprice is unable to eat and sleep and is "…*just a mess*". Both examples show how the power held by the perpetrator becomes invisible, while the object of the power, namely the survivor and her behaviour, take centre stage. This concept is central to Foucault's (1991) account of disciplinary power as discussed in Section 3.2.

By minimizing the impact of her partner's abuse and placing emphasis on her responses, it is possible that Caprice is taking responsibility for her partner's abuse. Internalising the abuse in this way is common to survivors of coercive control (see Sections 2.3.1 and 7.3) and may also be an example of how power acts internally through the self (Foucault 1991).

9.2   Training

As outlined in Section 3.2, the training required in disciplinary power was to both regulate the subject and emphasize obedience (Foucault 1991). This can be seen with Suzie, a once confident and outgoing woman;

> *"….[I] just started not talking to people, I started withdrawing from everything…… I just know what he wanted me to do, where he wanted me to go, people that he wanted me to spend time with (pause) so there (pause) yeah….."* Suzie.

Here, the abusive partner monitors Suzie's movements and makes decisions regarding her interactions with friends. Like the coercive control outlined in Section 2.3.1 he takes away her autonomy and the accompanying transfer of power means that Suzie only ventures to places she believes her partner will approve of. That she will only do this with her partner's permission emphasizes the extent of her obedience.

Peaches describes how her husband used his mobile phone to train her into understanding that the only communication he would engage with was in relation to sex. The final comment of this extract, hints at the oppressive nature of his dissatisfaction, even when she is doing as he requests;

> *" He'll not send me pictures unless it has to do with a man and a woman naked, or a man or a woman in a certain position…… [naked selfies] are the only pictures he will ask me for. And I will send a full picture of myself from my phone, oh that's not what he's asking me for, 'Didn't you see what the text says?' Oh my gosh."* Peaches

She went on to explain that:

> *"If I call him in work he wouldn't even pick up, I have to send him a voice call to say to him it's important can you please answer your phone. He wouldn't pick up."* Peaches.

These repetitive and graduated expectations meant that the training became cumulative. Indeed, Peaches could predict her husband's carnal desires and almost without exception, she would comply irrespective of whether or not she wanted sex. As Peaches explains,

> *"I would never feel my husband touching me unless he wants to have sex [pause] anytime he comes in and he will give me a hug or a kiss, I know [pause] there is something he needs. Apart from that, I can tell whenever my husband needs sex in the evening or sex right away, I can know, cos that's the only time he is who he is [meaning the man he was before the abuse began]."* Peaches

Matilda's story also shows her gradual training. Her husband's original explanation, that she could not use the mobile phone for fear of upsetting his parents, is an example of the subtle and apparently innocent power he wielded invisibly over her. By using his parents as the excuse, the focus is shifted away from his power and without realizing it, Matilda is adapting to her husband's 'norms'.

> *" 'Your friend called on the car and you pick up and you smile'. I say, 'yes she called from America'. He said, 'yeah I know, she can call from anywhere but Mum and Dad was there and it's not appropriate for you to be smiling and laughing."*

Matilda's story demonstrates how the demands are repeated over time and gradually increase in terms of their restrictions and expectations. The repeated

training becomes cumulative in its effects as shown sometime later in this relationship,

> "We were on a journey and [my] mum call. He said don't receive the call 'I don't like now any calling because in the journey I don't like anyone calling you or me, it's bothering me' and then I didn't answer that call."
> Matilda

The quote below suggests that Matilda's training had, unbeknownst to her, begun from the day their marriage was arranged. The extract shows the subtle, yet sinister nature of the power within their relationship and how it is gradually exposed.

> "'No, I don't like phone, you know before my marriage that I don't like phone'. Yes, one kind, I know that he doesn't like the phone, but I never thought that he not like me to call."

The quote from Francesca below also demonstrates how the perpetrator used his mobile phone to train her. Francesca always finished work at 6 am and she believed that his asking her when she would leave work was not a reflection of his concern, rather it was to check that she would be leaving at the agreed time. In this case, his coercion, this calculated manipulation (see Section 3.2) would probably go unnoticed by others and this subtle source of power would remain invisible yet within plain sight (Stark, 2007, Section 2.3.1).

> "Sometimes he would call to check. 'Hello how are you? When do you finish?' 'six o'clock I finish you know, all the time it's six o'clock' "
> Francesca.

9.3 Docile bodies and the efficient machine

Disciplinary power bled invisibly into other aspects of the women's lives. With Matilda, the techniques adopted to control her mobile phone use extended efficiently into her finances. The extract below shows Matilda's confusion during the interview that she, a bright and educated woman whose autonomy had been encouraged by her parents, had not considered her need to be financially independent when she arrived in this country.

> *"It's kind of weird for me too, that why I didn't think about that, why didn't I have a bank account or anything? Why can't I put my money in my bank, but all the time if I have money, he just take it from my purse*

Eventually, Matilda was so adapted she became an efficient and 'effective machine' (see Section 3.2). The impact of the disciplinary power meant that she adopted an 'alien will' (Stark, 2007, Section 2.3.1), seldom calling her friends even when her husband is not around and feeling guilty when she did.

> *"Because he was not here I can speak but when he came I never speak with anyone…..sometimes I am feeling guilty (pause) maybe I am calling people and at the end I was thinking it's my fault (pause) that I can't manage… ."* Matilda

Her friends and family also unwittingly complied with the perpetrator's norms. His refusal to allow Matilda a smart phone means that they no longer contacted Matilda directly. This ensured her isolation, a common tactic in coercive control (see Sections 2.3 and 8.1.3). Bentham too (cited in Foucault 1991 and discussed in Section 3.2.1) recognised the importance of isolation in a prison setting since it ensured dependence on the prison guard (i.e. the perpetrator)

and not other prisoners (i.e. the survivor's friends and family). As Matilda explains,

> "Everything is his decision. So, he is putting on his phone he has Wi-Fi, so when I am going out and mum or anyone call me, they can't find me because I don't have Wi-Fi so sometimes, they call me on his number. So, if anything come up any big issues or anything and that someone is really important, they call on his number? Matilda.

The cumulative effects of the training coupled with the consequences of non-compliance meant that Matilda became a 'docile body' and operated as he wished,

> "Phone was really headache for me and in the end, I was just all the time, put phone in my room, in my drawer. I can't receive the phone, I can't call anyone so there is no point, and at that time too I don't have viber‡* or anything."

Matilda learns to comply, perhaps unconsciously with his demands; the efficient machine has become conditioned into hanging up the phone merely at the sight of her husband.

> "At the end, the last one year because I had anxiety problem and especially my friends or anyone call me and suddenly, he comes and sometimes I just off the phone without telling them bye and that's why my friend, the best friend she text me 'Why don't you tell bye? What's happened to you?'" Matilda.

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‡* a free app that allows users to make free calls, send texts, pictures and video messages.

As Joanna's situation intensified, she explained how she became less and less able to 'win' and negotiate the shifting sands of her partner's unreality (Williamson, 2010 see Section 2.3.1). Joanna explains how she became disciplined so that just the ring of her mobile phone made her afraid.

> *"When my phone rang my heart just jumped out of my heart, because I knew this was going to be a problem. You see?"*

Francesca would often be late home due to problems with traffic. Her uncharacteristic decision to record the traffic jam and send it to her partner demonstrates how she too has been trained and succumbed to an 'alien will' (see Section 2.3.1).

> *"When you come back? Oh yeah again traffic, again you stuck traffic because you come 9 o'clock". Sometimes I stuck in traffic and film everything and photo everything when I am stuck in traffic because he does not trust me."* Francesca

By volunteering this video, Francesca has become an efficient and effective machine, reporting into the abuser, even when this is not requested. Francesca is now monitoring herself and the abuser can readily deny responsibility for his actions.

9.4   Resistance

It would, at the very least, be inaccurate to think that the women in this research remained docile bodies without autonomy or independence. The nature of this sample meant that all the women did resist the abuse; they left their partners to reside at a refuge, but some participants did more than this. Donna and

Peaches worked alongside the Crown Prosecution Service and took their former partners to court, Francesca took a knife and threatened her partner. Francesca's strength and determination when recalling this incident is clear;

> *"I not scared of him, because I be very strong. Be, be ok, Me or you, you die, or I die, I'm not scared you know, because him he change everything (breaks down). I say stop, it's my life, I can't be a little animal, a little dog you want to (suck lips) and coming. You don't want go out, I say stop. He be out too much drinking, he say he it's not my child and (mimes holding a knife) I think I kill you, I not scared of him."*

However, a specific incident such as extreme physical abuse or fearing for one's life, was not always the trigger for women in this study to leave their partners. As shown in the quotes below, many participants showed their resistance as they 'rebelled' against their training to conform to perpetrator 'norms' despite obvious negative consequences,

> *"Control. He was very controlling. Controlling and then when we got to the point that I was just like, Okay, it's not one rule for you, one rule for me; you can't have my phone if I can't have your phone……….Okay, fuck it. Yeah, I'm just going out and do what I'm doing"* Caprice.

> *"…….. he told me if you go out again by the time you come back, I will lock the doors, I will change the keys, I will throw your things out. And I said, ok, fine I'm going to go out tomorrow, because of that I will go out tomorrow. "* Josephine.

> *"…… yeah I am a little scared but not more because (pause) and (pause) sometimes I scare too much when he check me, check me, check me check me and when we are shouting I be strong…….."* Francesca

Eventually, Joanna's surveillance became so intense and her yearning for freedom so overwhelming, she would tell her abusive partner that she was

alone when in fact she was visiting friends. Joanna explained how the need for autonomy outweighed the inevitable physical harm he would impose on her as a consequence of her resistance.

> *"Literally he would call me and call me and call me so there came a time, I would stop answering the phone because I knew that I wouldn't be free if I answered the phone, and the peer pressure would spoil my day. So, I wouldn't answer the phone and I knew I had to answer (pause) for it, had to answer for it later, but at that time I don't want to answer it."*

Several months after the most recent violent assault, Matilda woke and decided, "*enough was enough*". Without understanding why, she left the house and contacted the police at 7.30 am.

> *"I was outside I call the police, the police came I said I am here, I said I want to go out (leave the relationship), just take son and take passport to go out of this house. The (police) man say ok but the woman was saying what happen today what's happened, I said nothing happened today, nothing, but I want to go out. Six month ago, he beat me like this…….I didn't think that I am coming out I just [pause] at 7.30 I think I am coming out….yes, enough is enough….."*

What is interesting here is that Matilda was not afraid at the time she called the police and there was no obvious trigger to the call. This suggests that there is some internal force or resistance that acted internally through the self (see Section 3.2) that drove Matilda to leave the relationship. She didn't pack a suitcase or take her passport and perhaps her response was a subconscious strategy that when physically fit she could change the power dynamics of the relationship and bring the abuse to an end. This repositioning of the power from the abuser to the abused reflects Foucault's assertion that resistance accompanies power.

9.5   Omnipotence and the Panopticon

The role mobile phones play in the surveillance, monitoring and control of survivors is explained in Section 8.1, but its command is captured by this extract from Joanna.

> *"…..constantly I felt controlled. Even when I was out, I was controlled because he would control me by texting me, not just, not just calling me on my phone, he would call me on my phone, text me on my' (pause) ymmm (pause) message, what's app me, you see? Facebook me, so it was literally four different places. So (counting on her fingers) phone calls, texts* WhatsApp *,Facebook, that's four."* Joanna*.*

This research suggests that the constant surveillance became a powerful means to keep the women subservient, to create and maintain these docile bodies. The threat of tracking and the ability to monitor left many of the women feeling like they could be seen at any time, all the time.   Take these two examples from Katherine;

> *"he had mentioned before about putting a tracking device on my phone or something like that (pause) but as far as I know he hasn't done that. But who's to say that he hasn't [pause] no matter where I am, he can [pause] just track my social media mainly, so I stopped using my social media."* Katherine

> *"It's really hard [pause] to like [pause] hide yourself basically, so he could do anything, he could put a picture to say I'm missing and then people will start ringing his phone saying, "oh I saw her here, I saw her there".* Katherine*.*

The constant and permanent visibility afforded by mobile phones meant that many of the women believed they were being watched even when this was not possible (see Section 8.2).   As explained in Section 3.2 the impact is

"*permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action.*" (Foucault, 1991, p 201). During the interview Suzie was still convinced that her partner would find her even if she turned off the location setting in her phone and disabled the GPS tracking system,

> "*I wouldn't go places, because I know he would find me [pause] If I went to meet somebody [pause] if I turned the location off he would know where I am, he would track my phone.*" Suzie.

Donna's story, post separation shows the longevity of disciplinary power and how difficult it is to overcome. Donna's experience of her husband almost finding her and her daughter in bed and breakfast accommodation is outlined in Sections 6.6 and 8.1.5. During the interview for this research and some two years after the event Donna showed me how, even now, she tries to prevent this.

> "*I put tissue (tissue is covering the lens of the camera). I don't know but in my mind, I think maybe he can see over the (pause) I know, it is a sickness, but I put it and I glue it so he can't see [laughs]*". Donna.

Donna went on to explain that when she leaves the refuge and she is re-housed in her own permanent accommodation,

> "*I will not take that iPad with me. I put him in pieces and throw it out. I am saying to you what I am really thinking that if I have to move, I will put it in separate pieces and put each piece in a different place. [laugh] I know I'm crazy.*" Donna.

Notice that the impact of the monitoring is almost as intense two years after the event as it was at the time. What is interesting here though is that at some level, Donna realizes how absurd her response is. Her acknowledgment that she is '*crazy*' suggests that Donna logically knows that her former husband cannot and will not find her. Yet Donna continues to be uncertain about whether or not she is being watched and so the '*automatic functionality of power*' (Foucault, 1991, p201) is maintained long after the relationship has ended.

> "It's like he knows where I am and he's in his car somewhere, seeing me, …….. he can come anytime….. I know I'm exaggerating but I can't keep those things from coming from my mind. When I see a car like his car, I have to make sure it's not him inside that car. ….it's because of localization, that is why I think he can see me even if the localization is off now but still I think to myself that maybe he can know." Donna.

Matilda's responses to mobile phones persisted for some time after she left her husband and long after the abuse had stopped. The ring of her mobile phone continued to induce anxiety even at the time of interview, highlighting the long-term effects of disciplinary power.

> "….when I first came here [the refuge], I first scared about the [staff] I was thinking what they will think if I am calling people? [pause]ring, like make me anxious. Its phone is like horrible, I don't know, I really feel like if I [pause] not take your phone I'm feeling like I'm ignoring you, like rude, because of him." Matilda.

The surveillance and control offered by mobile phones is an extension of traditional forms of surveillance. The perpetrator no longer needs to be in the physical proximity of his (ex) partner and share her company when she sees friends and family. This extension of the boundaries afforded by mobile phones

means that perpetrators can monitor and control their partners more than ever before. Mobile phones offer opportunities to do this secretively.

The intensity of Joanna's surveillance created the feeling of constant visibility that left her feeling trapped. This is captured in this extract below where Joanna is comparing her most recent abusive relationship with one that occurred before the mainstream use of mobile phones. Note how she associates being out with being free.

> "If I can compare it, I was more free in that relationship [before mobile phones]… I wasn't receiving a lot of calls because I didn't have a mobile. He [previous partner] wasn't controlling me… it was different in that sense, when I'm out I'm free."

As the surveillance intensified so too did Joanna's self-surveillance until eventually the perpetrator took on an omnipotence and omnipresence. Ultimately Joanna believed that her abusive partner was everywhere,

> "Everywhere I go I would look behind me to see if he's there or if I'm with my friends and we were doing something silly, you know going out for a drink or anything, I became paranoid because he was checking my ev-ry move, every move... " Joanna

Joanna summarizes the impact of mobile phone surveillance as follows,

> "Happiness comes with freedom, if I am locked up in a cell, am I going to be happy? No. That's how it feels, it feels like you're [pause] you're locked up. You feel there's no freedom even when you're out. You feel like you are locked up somewhere, you don't have freedom, someone is controlling you." Joanna.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how Foucault's (1991) theory of disciplinary power is evident in the participants' accounts of abuse via mobile phones. It considers the relational nature of this power, how it can subtly be transferred and dramatically re-claimed. This chapter considers the role of mobile phones in women's training, how early in the relationship this begins and how it stealthily influences relational power dynamics. The chapter follows Foucault's (1991) theory demonstrating how the survivors became efficient machines, effective in the task of obedience, docile bodies conditioned to signals and adopting the required behaviour. The chapter then considers the bravery of the women who resisted the abuse, ultimately finding the strength to leave these relationships despite the risks posed. The chapter ends with how the surveillance offered by mobile phones creates a Panopticon, providing the perpetrator with a sense of omnipotence and how the women respond to this. Throughout, this chapter shows the shift of power between the perpetrator and the women and demonstrates that the power within abusive relationships is both relational and circulatory.

The next chapter considers structural and disciplinary accounts of power in abusive relationships and specifically coercive control. It considers whether or not these theories, if taken together might better explain the power dynamics in the coercive control of women by men when mobile phones are used.

Chapter 10: The evolution of power and the meeting of minds

The previous chapter demonstrated how Foucault's (1991) account of disciplinary power offers new ways of understanding domestic abuse within the context of mobile phones. Several points have been raised in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 as result of key findings in this research. This includes the ways male perpetrators use mobile phones in the coercive control of women and how consonant they are with existing structural theorizations, notably the Power and Control Wheel. Whilst recognizing the important role patriarchy plays in coercive control, what has become apparent is that these widely-used feminist theories of domestic abuse are insufficient in themselves to fully make sense of how mobile phones extend and amplify abusive dynamics in intimate relationships.

This chapter begins by recognizing the importance of feminist theories and the role of patriarchy. Drawing on intersectionality, the chapter considers coercive control within same sex relationships as a way of critiquing the limitations of solely structural and feminist analyses of power. In an attempt to address the gaps relating to individuals' collective yet unique experiences of oppression, this chapter then turns to the work of Foucault (1991). It applies his theory of disciplinary power to coercive control within the context of mobile phones before comparing his work with that of Stark (2007). The chapter ends by considering whether their theories complement each other and if they should be used in combination to understand the power dynamics in abusive

relationships, given the mainstream integration of mobile phones into today's society.

10.1 Assessing feminist explanations of power in abusive relationships

The role of patriarchy was a dominant theme within this research. Perpetrators objectified their female partners (see Section 7.3.2) and used male privilege, such as their 'entitlement' to check their partner's phone and dictate to whom the women could speak, when and for how long (see Section 8.1.6). The oppression faced by the women participants as a result of this is also central to the findings in this research.

As outlined in Section 3.1 feminists believe that domestic abuse is at least facilitated by structural inequality in the form of patriarchy and thus women are far more likely to experience domestic abuse than men (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). These feminist theories have been undermined by the recognition that men are also victims of domestic abuse (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018; Myhill, 2017) and that domestic abuse exists in lesbian relationships (Barnes, 2011; Irwin, 2008) .

It is also argued by feminists and non-feminists alike, that the assertion that patriarchy is at the heart of all female inequality and oppression over-simplifies power relations (Hunnicutt, 2009) including within abusive relationships (Chrichton-Hill, 2001). Patriarchy implies a 'false universalism' that suggests fixed structures, ignores differences in men and women and sees masculine-

feminine as binary concepts rather than something socially constructed (Dickerson, 2013; Hunnicutt, 2009).

Some feminist scholars argue that women are not a homogenous group and that the violence they experience will be influenced by many factors including race, class, gender identity, disability, religion and sexuality (Cooper, 1994; Chavis & Hill, 2008; Flood & Pease, 2009; Rogers, 2017b). Crenshaw (1991) believes that women have multiple identities that intersect and shape their experience of violence and that the prejudice and barriers faced by women will differ as a result of this intersectionality. For example Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people are more likely to live in poverty than the white population, which might account for why low income BAME women are most likely to be victims of domestic abuse (Browne & Bassuk, 1997; Crenshaw, 1991). In relation to violence, it is a goal of feminist supporters of intersectionality to move away from such universal accounts (Mason, 2002).

Another common concern about feminist explanations of domestic abuse relates to the assertion that it is a heterosexual phenomenon (Gaman *et al*. 2016; George & Stith, 2014; Hayes & Jefferies, 2016). These heterosexist theories are based on social constructions of masculinity and traditional sexist roles within the family, where girls must grow up pretty to get a husband whose patriarchal attitudes and values mean that a woman's place is in the home (Balsam, 2002; Hester *et al*., 2010; Letellier, 1994). Violence experienced by those in same sex relationships is rendered invisible or forced into existing frameworks of masculinity such as defining female abusers as 'butch' or male

survivors as emasculated (Irwin, 2008; Letellier, 1994). Alternatively, violence within same sex relationships has historically been dismissed as the exception to the rule (Letellier, 1994). Cultural norms that a 'real man' could not be experiencing domestic abuse, coupled with the understanding that it only happens to women, mean that feminist theories are oppressive because they make it more difficult for men to identify themselves as experiencing domestic abuse (Gaman *et al*., 2016; Letellier, 1994). In contrast, relationships between lesbian women are viewed as utopic, incapable of violence and outside patriarchal influence, and so also run the risk of being overlooked (Barnes, 2011; Irwin, 2008). Similarly, stereotypes that women are not violent mean that violence within lesbian relationships can go unnoticed (Barnes, 2011; Irwin, 2008; Ohms, 2008).

Structural feminist theories of domestic abuse therefore do not address the issues faced by gay men and lesbian women or female to male abuse (Barnes, 2011; George & Stith, 2014; Letellier, 1994). Feminists have been reluctant to engage in the debate about violence in same sex relationships because of its challenge to feminist theory including the binary that only women are survivors of domestic abuse and only men can be the perpetrators (George & Stith, 2014; Letellier, 1994). If misogyny is at the heart of domestic abuse and gender differences bring about power differentials, then either men cannot be at the receiving end of domestic abuse or misogyny cannot be the sole cause (Letellier, 1994).

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered and queer survivors of domestic abuse do share common experiences (such as isolation and intimidation) with heterosexual survivors (Calton *et al*,. 2016; Letellier, 1994; Rogers 2017a). However, the power and control tactics used can also be specific to these groups, such as threats to disclose their sexuality or gender (Calton *et al*., 2016). How these individuals respond and contextualize the abuse will also not be the same as they face different and often additional barriers to reporting the abuse and seeking help (Calton *et al*,. 2016; Letellier, 1994). This partial sharing of experience means that only some aspects of feminist theory can apply (Calton *et al*., 2016). Letellier (1994) urges caution that male survivors of domestic abuse should not be seen as male versions of abused women.

Intimate relationships between men and women can be egalitarian and women can take on the dominant role (Caldwell *et al*., 2012). Domestic abuse also crosses all boundaries e.g. age, race, class etc. (Chavis & Hill, 2008; Flood & Pease, 2009; Rogers, 2017b) and so it is perfectly feasible that this context of equality might serve to hide domestic abuse with either a male or female abuser. That said, women are far more likely to encounter situations and factors that actively disempower them and which make them more susceptible to poorer outcomes (Caldwell et al., 2012).

The Power and Control Wheel was developed in consultation with heterosexual women survivors from a town where 90% of the population were white (Ellen Pence, 2009; Rankine *et al*,. 2017). Concern has been expressed that the Power and Control Wheel fails to recognise the multiple identities of women

including race and sexuality (Chavis & Hill, 2008; Hughes, 2005). Because it only considers one dimension of identity at a time, there is unease that it perpetuates the narrow lens through which domestic abuse is understood (Chavis & Hill, 2008; Rankine *et al*., 2017). For example, when looking only at sexual orientation, the Power and Control Wheel assumes that the experiences of white lesbians are the same as those of lesbians from ethnic minorities. Bisexual women, mothers and the cultural role of the family are also not considered (Chavis & Hill, 2008; Damant *et al*., 2008; McQueeney, 2016; Rankine *et al*,. 2017). As such the Power and Control Wheel focuses on only one form of oppression at a time and it seems unable to accommodate the multiple forms of oppression faced by abused women or the possibility that women have natural leadership roles in some cultures (Chavis & Hill, 2008; Rankine *et al*., 2017). The Power and Control Wheel therefore overlooks the oppression experienced by women outside given characteristics and is at risk of failing to identify specific risk or protective factors such as resilience and social support.

Gender is a significant part of power imbalances in society, partly due to historical and cultural norms of gender socialization, where it is believed that men have the right of authority over their wives/partners and children (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Caldwell *et al*,. 2012). Men also tend to be physically larger and stronger than women and so will usually have greater physical power (Caldwell *et al*., 2012). Difference is important in abusive relationships and can be a source of power, but power is everywhere and exists in all relationships (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Caldwell *et al*., 2012). Whilst gender is an apparatus of power,

it is the power itself that is the central issue (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Caldwell *et al*., 2012). Rather than look to gender difference as an explanation of domestic abuse it might be wiser to look to power dynamics themselves (Letellier, 1994).

10.2 Foucault's account of power and its relevance to abusive relationships

Feminism does provide us with a means of linking domestic abuse to wider issues of dominance and subordination, but it is criticized for providing a 'one size fits all' approach to violence (Chavis & Hill, 2008; Cooper, 1994; Flood & Pease, 2009; Mason, 2002; Rogers, 2017b). Foucault (1991) on the other hand recognises the subjectification of an individual and, due to the relative, circulatory nature of power, potentially understands the changing positions that individuals occupy at any one time (Mason, 2002). Indeed, Foucault saw power as a relationship between forces where difference is not necessarily something to be bridged (Cooper, 1994; Sawicki, 1986) and so his interpretation of power could readily take into account the intersectionality of women outlined in Section 10.1. Foucault's (1991) emphasis on the circulatory, horizontal nature of power means that abuse within same sex relationships might also be better understood from this perspective.

On the face of it, Foucault's (1991) account of power as something productive is incompatible with feminist understandings of power as something oppressive (Mason, 2002). Foucault (1991) has been criticized for his androcentric writing and his lack of attention to the oppression of women, but the potential

significance of his work to feminism means that a debate is essential (Bartky, 1990; Cooper, 1994; Deveaux, 1994; Mckee, 2009; Phelan, 1990).

Paying closer attention to the apparent contradictions between these two perspectives, (see Section 2.3) whilst Foucault did challenge revolutionary theories, he did not dismiss them (Cooper, 1994; Deveaux, 1994; Sawicki, 1986). Rather he provided an alternative way to look at systems that moved away from behaviour that best served the monarchy towards something that promoted the well-being of the population (Mckee, 2009). He advocated a move away from the '*juridico-discursive'* model of power such as sovereign power (or in feminist discourse, the patriarchy) and invited us to consider power away from the State (Sawicki, 1986, p 25). Foucault (1991) recognized that sovereign power exists in the modern world, and insisted that punishment is always entangled with political struggles (Sargiacomo, 2009). Indeed, the concept of the Panopticon recognizes that marginalized groups are defined and observed by those who occupy central positions (Mason, 2002). However, Foucault believes that power is '*diffuse and enigmatic'* (Mason, 2002, p127) and that hierarchical power distracts from, or even legitimizes, the more important disciplinary power (Devaux, 1999).

Foucault acknowledged that every society is influenced by strict powers that "…*imposed on it constraints, prohibitions or obligations*" (Foucault, 1991, p136), but he also saw something new; not the triumphant power, outlined in Section 2.1, but a

"...... modest, suspicious power that functions as a calculated, but permanent economy. These are humble modalities, minor procedures as compared with the majestic rituals of sovereignty or the great apparatus of the state." (Foucault 1991, p170*).*

Foucault (1991) does not reject the existence of oppression; rather his account of power is not a question of oppression alone (Mason 2002). Bartky (1990, p6) refers to the 'modernisation of patriarchal powers' and how it has evolved in a way similar to that described by Foucault. Believing that femininity is socially constructed and socially imposed, Bartky (1990) cites the use of make-up to create expected and accepted forms of beauty, or exercise regimes to obtain the perfect bodies, as examples of this. The self-discipline required to maintain these ideals is so deeply internalized that women are unable to identify it or at least critically analyse it (Bartky, 1990). The fear of not conforming to such powerful ideals means that women risk rejecting their own identity (Bartky. 1990). This blurring of the distinction between structural (men's expectations of women's appearance) and post-structural understandings (the internalization and self-regulation of these expectations) is also commented on by Devaux (1999). She explains that the transition from patriarchal power to more modern, disciplinary forms of power, and its significance to women, is reflected in the "...*shift from overt manifestations of oppression of women to more insidious forms of control*" (Devaux, 1999, p238). Violence too works its way into the body and shapes our understanding of self since, as shown in Section 2.1.1, it labels those who are targeted with undesirable statements about their own vulnerability and influences the way we understand what it means to be both a perpetrator and a survivor (Berns & Schweingruber, 2007: Mason, 2002).

Foucault (1991) argues for a relational model of power (see Section 3.2); power does not belong to nor is it possessed by any one individual or group and should be understood as a practice or an exercise (Cooper, 1994; Mason, 2002). He focuses on the dynamics of the power rather than on the subjects themselves and, unlike The Power and Control Wheel, enables analysis within a context of difference such as the intersection of race, class, gender and the different experiences of inequality and violence as a result of this (Cooper, 1994; Mason, 2002; Sawicki, 1986). Whilst he recognised that difference can be a source of fragmentation, Foucault (1991) also understood that difference can create several sources of resistance to particular forms of domination (Sawicki, 1986).

When considering the question of who has the power in abusive relationships, Mason (2002) suggests that we turn to violence itself for the answer. The productive function of power (such as the survivor's compliance to the perpetrator's norms), is determined by which subject position (age, race, gender etc.) is considered dangerous and which are thought to be vulnerable. It is the very act of violence itself that tells us what subject positions, or intersectional identities, are dominant or oppressed either during or as a result of this abuse. Mason (2002) argues that,

> *" …..the Foucauldian model is particularly helpful for analysing violence because it recognises that power is both oppressive and productive…..it allows for the fact that the productive process of subjectification may take place through oppressive practices such as violence. Although the feminist model of power does not address the question of subjectification in the same way, its contribution is crucial because of its ability to show us how violence oppresses. If we intend our research to come to terms with the various ways in which violence relates to power, we need to remain cognizant of the different emphases within both models. "* Mason 2002, p126.

10.3 Foucault, coercive control and mobile phones

85% of the adult population now own mobile phones (Deloitte, 2017). The imminent expectation of 5G connectivity means that far more devices will be able to access the internet at any one time (Wall, 2018). With improving technology and a large consumer group, constant communication between parties has never been easier. This constant availability to others means that all forms of communication including unwanted texts, voice and video calls, etc. are instantaneous, and difficult to block (Dimond *et al*, 2011) and, as Donna's story shows in Sections 6.6, 8.1.5 and 8.3, the perpetrator circumvents these efforts, often in creative ways. The portability of mobile phones also means that texts, calls etc. can be sent from anywhere at any time and so they enable constant communication irrespective of whether or not this is welcomed. This section applies Foucault's (1991) theory of disciplinary power to interpret the impact of the perpetrator's' ability to persistently monitor and control their current and former partners, paying particular attention to the power dynamics in these relationships.

Expectations of quick or instant responses are common within relationships (Kato & Kato, 2015) and, as we have seen in this study, often leave abused women feeling that they are under permanent pressure to respond or behave in a certain way. Women's responses, for example Francesca's quote in Section 7.4.2, suggest that, within abusive relationships, mobile phones can serve as a trigger to instil fear in a survivor (see Section 7.4.1). People feel overwhelmed by the volume of communication traffic and this can lead to feelings of entrapment (Hall, 2017). As Section 7.4.4 shows, abuse via mobile

phones resulted in changes in women's behaviour as participants submitted to an 'alien will' (Stark, 2007).

Indeed, Stark (2007) recognizes that women's autonomy and independence have and will change over time, and that the methods employed by men to control women will also need to change. As outlined in Chapters 7 and 8, this thesis proposes that mobile phones are being used by men alongside well-established patterns of abuse to monitor and control their partners. Men in abusive relationships use mobile phones as a vehicle to entrap their partners, for example Katherine and the volume of communication, or Caprice and the overt and implied threats in her communication.

However, mobile phones also transcend the accustomed physical proximity required for face-to-face communication, allowing contact even when people are not located in the same geographical area. Mobile phones mean that observation no longer requires an enclosed space; they offer constant surveillance that goes beyond bricks and mortar.

Mobile phones provide perfect opportunities for the micro-surveillance of partners such that the perpetrator can easily establish the whereabouts of the survivor. Suzie (Section 6. 2 and 8.2) talked of how GPS tracking allowed her partner access to her location and movements without the need to see her in person. Text, phone and video calls followed up Joanna's accounts (Section 6.7, 8.2 and 9.5), checking and double-checking that she is where she claims and in the company of someone he approves of.

Meanwhile (see Section 9.5), the location of the sender can be both hidden and unverified, his location unknown, omnipresent and omnipotent in his absence. In this way mobile phones become the, "…*eyes that must see without being seen*" (Foucault, 1991, p171). The intangible presence of the abuser means that it is difficult to know where the power is coming from, it is diffuse and enigmatic (Mason, 2002) and so it is harder for the survivor to get away from it.

As we have seen in Section 9.5 a text stating that she is being watched can instil and propagate the perception that a survivor is constantly visible. This is irrespective of where she is or what she is doing, or indeed if she can be seen at all. As we have seen in this research (see Section 8.3), this constant visibility coupled by the survivor's inability to block or prevent this often leaves survivors feeling that, "…*this visibility is a trap*" (Foucault, 1991, p 200). Even after leaving the abusive relationship and despite the safety of the refuge, some women in this study, including Donna and Suzie, were still convinced that one day they would be found via their mobile phone.

Believing that she is constantly visible, the survivor conducts herself in a way she believes the perpetrator will approve of, 'just in case' she is being watched. The constant threat of the intense and unpredictable surveillance offered exclusively by mobile phones means that the survivor assumes responsibility for her own observation and watches herself. Indeed, Francesca volunteered videos when she was stuck in traffic as evidence of her compliance. The cycle of self-monitoring is truly cultivated and perpetuated and the power has been

transferred. Power becomes more intimate because it does not act from the outside but internally through the self (Mckee, 2009).

Because of mobile phones, there is no longer the need to lock women in the home or keep them hidden away to isolate them. Section 8.1.3 shows that most of the participants, including Katherine and Matilda, complained that mobile phones ensured their isolation from friends and family. Mobile phones create a new Panopticon that transgresses traditional boundaries such that survivors can be out and about, visible to strangers, friends and family, but because of mobile phones, their behaviour is still monitored and controlled by their abusive partners. Even when surrounded by a crowd the woman monitors herself. This docile body becomes an efficient machine; disciplinary power is a productive force where the survivor's oppression results in her compliance to the perpetrator's norms. Mobile phones therefore create a trap where coercive control can be invisible within plain sight (Stark, 2007), they provide modern ways to abuse and bring a modern form of power which, like disciplinary power, "…*operate[s] in such a way as to prevent us from seeing it*." (Phelan, 1990, p424).

10.4 Foucault (1991) and Stark (2007: The meeting of minds?

Evan Stark's explanation of coercive control comes from a feminist perspective, emphasizing the role of male domination and sexual inequality in the coercive control of women (Stark, 2009). However, the landscape has changed; because of mobile phones people are, for the first time, able to contact others whenever they want and wherever they are. As demonstrated in this thesis,

not only have mobile phones changed the concept of, '…*invisible in plain sight'* (Stark, 2007, p14) but they have also extended the range of the abuse further than ever before. Mobile phones offer opportunities for constant surveillance irrespective of location and geographical proximity and, it is argued here, have changed the power dynamics within abusive intimate relationships.

This chapter has argued that both feminist and Foucauldian perspectives are desirable when trying to understand the power dynamics in abusive relationships. Given too that mobile phones have created a new Panopticon that stretches beyond geographical boundaries, it seems wise to reconsider Stark's (2007) account of coercive control within this context. The discussion below and the theory that follows is somewhat ambitious, but it is only intended as an outline, a template for how we might understand the relationships between coercive control and disciplinary power following the mainstream and widespread introduction and use of mobile phones.

Stark (2007) explains that male perpetrators often use threats to deliberately intimidate their partners and to force them to either do things that they don't want to do or prevent them from doing things they enjoy. This was the case with all the participants, but perhaps most notably with Suzie whose personality seemed to change as she became withdrawn and seldom left the flat. These expectations that the survivor will do as he wishes, even if it is to her detriment, is a reflection of male privilege, rooted and historically nurtured in patriarchal systems (Finlayson, 2016; Stark, 2007). Stark (2007) recognises that conflict in abusive relationships takes a variety of forms and this was demonstrated in

this research. For example, Francesca showed violent resistance (Johnson, 1995) whereas Peaches' feelings were left suppressed and unsaid. Foucault (1991, p26) believes that power exists when conflict is created and that the way to manage or manipulate this power is '…*calculated, organized, technically thought out*….' Thus, both authors recognise that there is an intention to reap the power and that conflict is a necessary aspect of this.
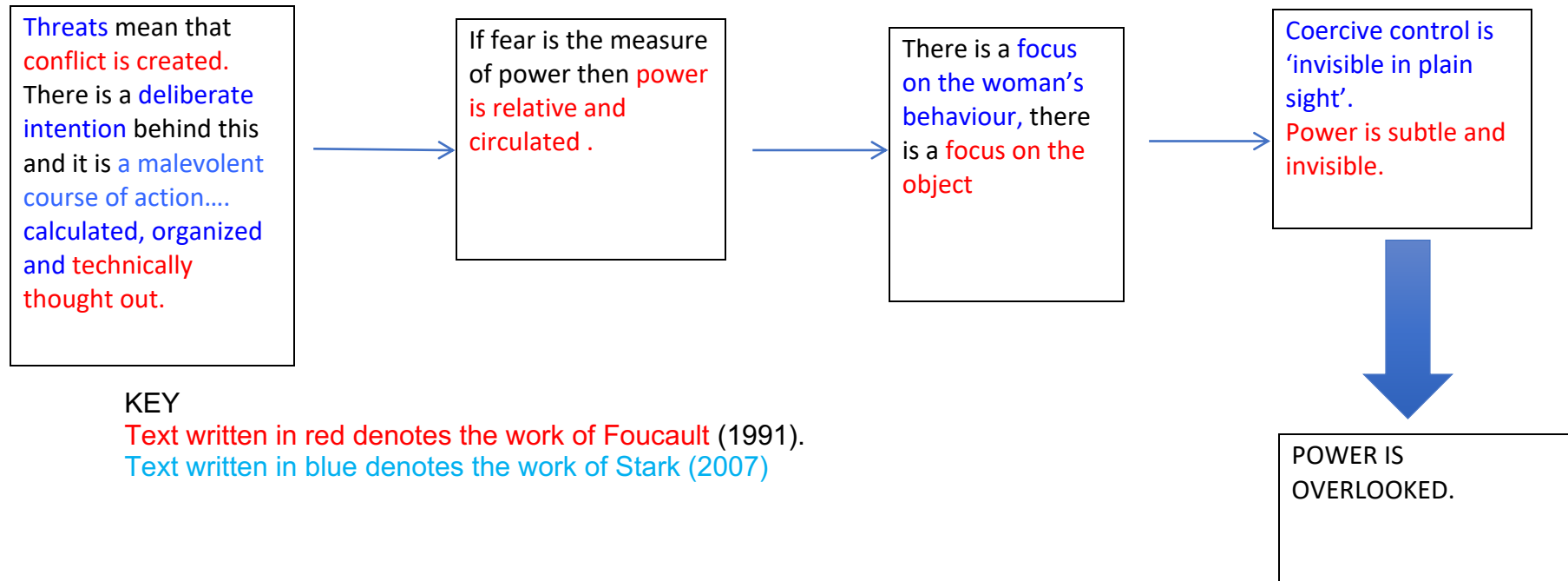
Foucault (1991) and Stark (2007) do not, apparently, agree on the nature of power; the former believes that it is relative and circulated throughout society, whereas the latter argues that power is hierarchical and passed down from those in authority to those in more subservient positions, for example from abusive men to oppressed and abused women. Research into heterosexual abusive relationships involving male perpetrators shows that psychological abuse including threats from abusive partners increases women's perceptions of the men's power (Marshall, 1996). Fear too is closely linked to emotional abuse (Kelly *et al.,* 2009). What if then, in intimate abusive relationships, we measured power according to the degree of fear? The more power the man can wield over the woman the more frightened she becomes; the more frightened the woman is, the more power the man has. In this way, power and fear are circulating, feeding off each other.

I have no doubt that the fear in abusive relationships can be persistent and unrelenting; however, it is seldom a constant. For example, the fear experienced by a woman who is being strangled by her partner is likely to be greater, at that moment, than the fear experienced by the same woman when

she receives an abusive text from her partner who is beyond her physical proximity. Over time too, the survivor may become more fearful of the perpetrator as the abuse escalates and the risk to her and (where relevant) her children increase (Day & Bowen, 2015; Feld & Straus, 1989). Indeed, one of the effects of trauma is the perception that the perpetrator has more power than he has (Bishop and Bettinson, 2018). This fear might also influence the survivor's reaction, as we have seen with Francesca; when the level of abuse was life threatening, she overcame her fear and threatened her abusive partner with a knife. Such confrontations might only last a moment, but at that precise time the man's power is diminished. The abuser's power might also be reduced for longer periods of time, for example, when women leave the relationship. All the women in this research left the abusive relationship and in doing so challenged the man's authority. However long this conflict (or resistance) persists there is an argument that within this context, power is, as Foucault (1991) insists, both relative and circulated.

Stark (2007) dedicates much of his book to analysing the rationale for the men's behaviour and examining the impact of the abuse on woman. For example, Stark (2007) talks of the micro-regulation of everyday behaviours and describes women as the object of male control. Stark (2007, p14) also talks convincingly of the hidden nature of coercive control, it is '…*invisible in plain sight*.' Foucault (1991) believes that power is subtle, referring to the micro-physics of power;

Figure 9: Foucault, Stark and Coercive Control

Threats mean that conflict is created. There is a deliberate intention behind this and it is a malevolent course of action…. calculated, organized and technically thought out.

If fear is the measure of power then power is relative and circulated .

There is a focus on the woman's behaviour, there is a focus on the object

Coercive control is 'invisible in plain sight'. Power is subtle and invisible.

POWER IS OVERLOOKED.

KEY
Text written in red denotes the work of Foucault (1991).
Text written in blue denotes the work of Stark (2007)

181

Something unseen and unrecognized and argues that the focus is on the object and thus distracts from the power itself. Again, we can see similarities in the way that both theorists agree that power is concealed or disguised. This process is outlined diagrammatically in Figure 9. Having discussed the perhaps unexpected similarities between both authors in relation to the power dynamics in abusive relationships, let us now turn to look at the changes in the survivors' behaviour in more depth.

Foucault (1991) talks of training as a way to correct behaviour, whereas Stark (2007) explains that compliance is essential to avoid punishment. Whilst the language used is different, with the former drawing on a structural feminist discourse of power 'over' (Tew, 2006), it seems that there is agreement that a purpose of power is to bring about compliance. This compliance is seen in the way the survivor changes her behaviour and so fits with Foucault's (1991) account that power is productive. Foucault (1991) uses the term 'training' to explain how the change in behaviour is brought about and turns its 'subjects' into a more 'efficient machine'. Stark (2007) talks of how women's behaviour changes as they adopt an 'alien will' to try to reduce or manage the abuse. Indeed Foucault's (1991) use of the terminology 'subjects' suggests the objectification of individuals and is reminiscent of feminists' accounts of power, including how abused women become the object of male control (see Section 7.3.2).

Stark (2007) refers to women's micro-regulation, and Foucault (1991) talks of intensive supervision of the subject. Both authors have therefore identified

Table 3: The meeting of minds?

Stark and coercive control	Foucault's and disciplinary power.	Comparing and contrasting the two authors.
Focus is on the woman's behaviour, usually her inadequacies.	Focus is on the object.	The woman becomes objectified during coercive control. Object becomes the focus in disciplinary power.
Tactics employed include micro-regulation.	Training includes micro-physics of power.	There is a consensus that small acts bring about change. Also agree the importance of monitoring tasks, such as when and for how long an activity is undertaken.
Compliance is essential	Behaviour is corrective	Use of language reflects schools of structuralist and post-structuralist thought, but in essence the concepts are complementary. Both are agreed that the behaviour does change.
Surveillance 'almost universal'	Surveillance is essential	Both believe surveillance is integral
Creates an illusion that the perpetrator (and thus the power) is omnipotent.	Power is unverifiable.	It is within the context of mobile phones that Stark (2007) and Foucault's (1991) works complement each other .
Alien will	Docile body.	Both refer to learning to respond to a signal and adopting the required behaviour.
Entrapment, doesn't know how to get away from the power. Can be accompanied by a (reluctant) acceptance of the power dynamic.	Efficient machine. Unaware of or accepting of the power dynamic.	Stark argues that the woman is stuck and cannot get out from under it. Emphasizes oppression. Foucault believes that it is subtler and not always apparent to the individual or group.
Resistance comes at a cost	Resistance is inevitable	Both accept that resistance is present.

surveillance as essential in maintaining power dynamics. Foucault (1991) draws on the work of Bentham's Panopticon (cited in Foucault, 1991) to highlight the importance of surveillance in disciplinary power and Stark (2007, p257) describes surveillance as '*almost universal in abusive relationships'*. Again, we see a resonance between the two authors in that intense supervision or monitoring through the use of surveillance is essential to bring about obedience and compliance. As outlined above, because mobile phones are with us everywhere we go, communication can occur at any time irrespective of the location leaving the survivor feeling constantly visible, whilst the perpetrators remains hidden. Stark (2007), believing that the male perpetrator is the source of power, recognises that he (and thus the power) becomes omnipotent and omnipresent. Bentham (cited in Foucault, 1991) describes power as being both visible (e.g. hearing the perpetrator's voice during a call to her mobile phone) and unverifiable such as the location of the perpetrator. These comparisons are summarised in table 3.

10. 5 Conclusion

This chapter recognizes that feminist theories of power are helpful in understanding domestic abuse, but it considers their limitations in relation to intersectionality and same sex relationships. Looking at coercive control within the context of mobile phones, this chapter argues that surveillance extends beyond physical proximity and creates a modern Panopticon (Bentham, cited in Foucault, 1991). In the prison of coercive control, the perpetrator is the guard; the mobile phone becomes the guard tower; and the prison is no longer limited to confined spaces but extends beyond physical proximity.

The chapter concludes by comparing Stark's (2007) theory of coercive control with that of Foucault's (1991) disciplinary power and argues that, within the context of mobile phone technologies, these perspectives are not only compatible, but when used together, better explain the power dynamics in abusive relationships. The implications of this for practice, policy and legislation will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

It is estimated that one third of women who have been in relationships will experience sexual or physical violence in their lifetime (WHO, 2017). It is also anticipated that globally mobile phone use will exceed five billion users in 2019 (Statistica 2018b). Yet little is known about the role the latter plays in the former. This thesis has identified the ways mobile phones are used in the coercive control of adult women in intimate heterosexual abusive relationships including its impact on survivors. To my knowledge this is the first study to investigate how mobile phones may have influenced and instantiated the power dynamics in these relationships. In doing so, it has answered the research questions posed in Section 1.3 and outlined in Table 4. After considering the limitations of this research, this chapter examines the ways this research has contributed to knowledge and the potential implications for implementing this in practice both within the Criminal Justice System and beyond.

Women with experience of domestic abuse within heterosexual relationships and who were resident at refuges were interviewed for this research. This purposive sampling was chosen because residents of refuges are most likely to have experienced coercive control as a part of their abuse (Archer, 2000; Myhill, 2015). In keeping with my feminist epistemology, I was keen to give these women a voice and tap into their expert knowledge (Parr, 2015).

Data obtained from the semi-structured interviews were analysed using grounded theory. This methodology favours theory construction over description and is well suited to the study of hitherto unexplored areas

Table 4: Revisiting the research questions

RESEARCH QUESTION	FINDINGS	REFERENCE
Are mobile phones being used in the coercive control of women and if so how?	YES. Mobile phones are being used in ways that are similar to traditional forms of domestic abuse eg the power and control wheel.	Section 8.1
How does abuse via mobile phones compare with traditional forms domestic abuse?	Patriarchal attitudes persist and influence men's expectations in relation to access to mobile phones, dictating when partners can use mobile phones, who they can speak to, when and for how long.	Section 7.3.1 Section 8.1.6 Section 8.1.3
	Mobile phones enable the surveillance of women 24/7. This extends the boundaries of control beyond physical proximity	Section 8.2
What is the impact of mobile phone technology on survivors of coercive control?	The impact of coercive control on survivors reflects that explained by Stark 2007.	Section 7.4
	Participants in this study behaved in ways they thought their partners would approve of even when he was not around.	Section 9.2
	Survivors turn into efficient machines, regulate their own behaviour and become docile bodies.	Section 9.3
How have mobile phones influenced the power dynamics in abusive relationships?	Mobile phone are used in the training of survivor's	Section 9.2
	Mobile phones result in a relational power. Resistance can happen.	Section 9.1 Section 9.4
	Foucault can help explain power dynamics within the context of mobile phones.	Section 10.3
	Power should now be understood within both a structural and post-structural way.	Section 10.4

(Charmaz, 2008; Charmaz, 2009: Glaser, 2013; Kushner & Morrow 2003). The intention behind this research was to establish how mobile phones influence contemporary domestic abuse, particularly in relation to coercive control.

11.1 Key contributions to knowledge

The findings in this research indicate that mobile phones play a significant role in domestic abuse generally and coercive control specifically. The way perpetrators use mobile phones appears to complement traditional forms of abuse and is consonant with well-established feminist analysis of domestic abuse including the Power and Control Wheel (Pence & Paymar 1993). However, this thesis argues that these models are insufficient to explain all the opportunities now afforded to men in the abuse and coercive control of current and former partners. The identification of the inadequacy of existing theorizations to explain the role of mobile phones in coercive control is the first of this thesis' original contributions to knowledge.

Secondly, this thesis is the first to identify that mobile phone functions such as texting, phone/video calling and GPS tracking etc. enable perpetrators to have constant and ongoing contact with their partners irrespective of the geographical distance between them. The 24/7 surveillance afforded exclusively by mobile phones means that (signal permitting) perpetrators can now monitor and control their partner at anytime and anywhere.

Thirdly, this thesis suggests that as a result of this surveillance mobile phones extend the power and control traditionally afforded to abusive men. The ability

to constantly observe and communicate enables the perpetrator to create a sense of omnipotence and omnipresence that is similar to that outlined in Bentham's (cited Foucault 1991) Panopticon. However, this Panopticon is different because mobile phones remove traditional physical barriers to abuse so that power and control no longer have geographical limits. This thesis is the first to recognise that mobile phones have the potential to expand the reach of a perpetrator's power, giving him a more persistent presence within the survivor's daily life. The Panopticon created by mobile phones means that the perpetrator no longer needs to be physically present, making perpetrator's physical size and strength less significant (Caldwell, *et al*., 2012). This means that the adapted Power and Control Wheel (see Figure 8) should be considered in relation to same sex relationships and the abuse of men by women and need not be restricted to male perpetration in heterosexual relationships.

Drawing on Foucault's work on disciplinary power, this thesis argues that, due to this omnipotence and omnipresence, women survivors believe that they are always being watched, even when they are not. Indeed, as discussed in Section 9.5, many women in this research talked of their concern that perpetrators would use mobile phones to find them long after the relationship had ended. Because of this surveillance, women in abusive relationships can become self-regulating and change their behaviour to conform to what they think the perpetrator wants even when he is not there. This self-regulation has not been considered by traditional structural explanations of domestic abuse and therefore raises questions regarding the power dynamics in 'modern day' intimate abusive relationships.

In his book "*Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*" Foucault (1991) offers two vignettes to highlight changes in power over time. The first, set in the mid eighteenth century recounts the gruesome and public execution of Damiens, whose body had pieces of flesh torn out and filled with burning sulphur before being horse drawn and quartered. In contrast, the second vignette, set almost a century later, is the daily timetable of a criminal set in the Parisian prison system of its time. A calm, carefully regulated and meticulous timetable divides the prisoner's time into sections for prayer, learning, exercise etc., and appears to handle the criminal in a more dignified and reasonable way. The transition from the triumphant punishment of the former to the almost invisible punishment of the latter highlights how readily we recognise the former to be a source of power, yet the subtler power, seen in bureaucracies for example, so often escapes our notice (Blommaert, 2008).

This thesis suggests that as a direct result of the mainstream use of mobile phones an almost identical shift in power has occurred in intimate abusive relationships. It is the first to apply Foucault (1991) to this phenomenon, arguing that earlier prominent and visible manifestations of power such as the Scold's bridle served as a warning to women should they transgress societal norms (see Section 2.1). It argues that these punishments demonstrate how patriarchal systems socially constructed violence against women as once acceptable or even necessary. The significance of patriarchy has been highlighted throughout this research and feminists' explanations of domestic abuse are therefore not dismissed in the analysis.

Rather, this thesis recognizes that mobile phones brings with them opportunities for peer-on-peer or lateral surveillance (Andrejevic, 2004; Hatuka & Toch, 2017) and follows Foucault's (1991) proposal that hierarchical power, such as patriarchy, distracts from the subtler disciplinary power (Devaux 1999). Like Foucault's (1991) account of prisons, this thesis proposes that mobile phones have provided perpetrators with opportunities to use disciplinary power to coercively control their partners and ex-partners. This is done by

"……… training their bodies, coding their continuous behaviour, maintaining them in perfect visibility, forming around them an apparatus of observation, registration and recording, constituting on them a body of knowledge that is accumulated and centralized." Foucault p321*.*

This thesis compares Foucauldian (1991) interpretation of power with Stark's (2007) feminist explanations of coercive control. It proposes that these two theories share unexpected congruence in relation to power and coercive control, which makes them useful to integrate and elucidate the ways in which mobile phones can operationalize coercive control. This is a further aspect of the original contribution of this thesis.

11.2 Limitations of this research.

The small sample of 12 women raises issues about the generalizability of findings to the general public so conclusions should be considered as emergent and tentative. Charmaz explains that "…*grounded theorists can offer the grist for emergent hypotheses that quantitative researchers might pursue*."

191

(Charmaz 2014 p198).   Further research is required to understand if the explanation of power dynamics presented here is applicable to larger sections of the population.

The women in this research were adults who had been in long-term relationships with their abusive partners. This means that the impact of abuse via mobile phones on the power dynamics in short-term relationships remains unknown. Because coercive control is cumulative (Stark 2007) it is likely that the impact of technology on a survivor in a short-term relationship is different from that experienced in a long-term relationship and this too requires further exploration.

The power dynamics in abusive relationships that relate specifically to culture, religion or sexuality have also not been discussed in this research. Similarly, the impact on generation Z or "digital natives" has also not been considered. This is particularly important given concerns relating to adolescents' excessive dependence on smart phones including the anxiety and stress caused by social interactions (Ahn & Jung, 2016; Gentina *et al*., 2018).

This chapter now moves to consider the implications of the findings for policy and practice.

11.3 Implications for the Criminal Justice System

The Crown Prosecution Service lists "….*emails, text messages, smart-phone apps, spyware and GPS tracking software*" (CPS, 2017) as examples of how

social media has been used in coercive control. However, this description would more accurately be attributed to mobile phones and therefore raises questions as to whether or not the Criminal Justice System has understood the significance of mobile phones in domestic abuse cases. As shown in Section 2.1 the social construction of domestic abuse by society and the Criminal Justice System often results in further oppression and re-victimization of women. This includes society's tendency to blame the victim, excuse or reward the perpetrator and more recently the concern regarding the increasing arrests of female perpetrators of coercive control (see Section 2.2). This section now considers whether routinely using information contained in mobile phones might help address this unbalance and if, by providing a clearer context for abusive behaviour, arrest, prosecution and conviction rates might improve under s76. The role of mobile phones within this context has not, to my knowledge, been considered or discussed in the literature.

Technology such as photographs of injuries, 999 calls or CCTV footage have been successful in the prosecution of domestic abuse cases (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018; Hester *et al.*, 2003). Chapter 8 describes how Katherine's abusive partner used Instagram to send photographs of threatening messages, and many other women explained how texts were an integral part of their abuse. Investigating the volume and wording of messages could provide a context for the behaviour so that tactics designed to isolate and intimidate a partner might be recognised as abusive, rather than misunderstanding them as expression of love or being over protective (Bishop and Bettinson, 2018). Contextualizing individual incidents of physical assault within a broader context

of surveillance, monitoring and control might also make it more difficult for men to minimize or deny their abuse. This too might remove the temptation for the CPS to reduce charges relating to domestic abuse, for example the case of John Broadchurch (Section 1.2.)

Women experiencing domestic abuse are seven times more likely to receive a head injury than women who are not in abusive relationships which often results in problems with memory and concentration (Ivany *et al.*, 2018). Memory is a significant part of giving evidence and the effect of trauma due to domestic abuse can have negative impacts on the survivor's credibility as a witness, often resulting in the police and the Crown Prosecutions Service's decision not to proceed with a case (Bishop & Bettinson, 2018). This physiological impairment could easily contribute to their revictimization in the Criminal Justice System and the press (see Section 2.1) and feed into the social construction of domestic abuse where women's lack of accurate memory reinforces stereotypes that they are helpless, passive victims.

However, when used with care by trained professionals, mobile phones might help with the reconstruction of this image. By using the mobile phone to provide a time and date for threats/abuse e.g. through specific texts or photographs, it might help the police or CPS to create a more accurate timeline of the abuse, which may in turn help the survivor recall and relay her experiences more clearly. Mobile phones could provide a context for the abuse, messages, phone calls etc. would provide a record of individual incidents to show a pattern over time. Gathering evidence of these specific incidents sits better with current

policing practices yet could provide insight into the woman's everyday abuse (Hester, 2013; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Polletta, 2009). When viewed collectively these individual incidents might show how a perpetrator has "*repeatedly or continuously engage[d] in behaviour towards another person (B) that is controlling or coercive*" (s 76(1)(a) Serious Crimes Act 2015). However, caution is warranted, as we have seen some of the participants used their mobile phone as evidence of the abuse, but abused women may well themselves send abusive or threatening messages to their partner as a means of retaliating against or resisting the abuse. Such behaviour might itself be deemed coercive or abusive unless it is seen within the wider context of coercive control.

11.4 Implications for practice: risk assessment, risk management and safety planning

Perpetrator risk is under-estimated in 71% of domestic abuse cases meaning that intervention is insufficient to protect survivors including children (HMI Inspectorate of Probation, 2018). This section now considers the potential role of mobile phones in the assessment and management of risk in abusive relationships and how they could enhance professional decision-making within this context. Information held on mobile phones may offer professionals the opportunity to contextualize and identify coercive control quickly. This is important because coercive control is a known risk factor which helps predict the escalation of violence and if recognised early could prevent injury or death (Day & Bowen, 2015; Walklate *et al*., 2018;).

Risk assessment tools are common in statutory and third sector agencies, though their accuracy, including their ability to measure coercive control remains a source of debate (Jenney *et al.*, 2014; Messing & Thaller, 2014; Myhill, 2017). Those working with survivors of domestic abuse, including staff at Hestia, use the Dash risk checklist (SafeLives, 2014a) to identify those who are at risk of harm (SafeLives, 2014b). Whilst this checklist considers all aspect of domestic abuse, including coercive control; in relation to mobile phones, it only recognises '*obsessive phone calls texts and emails*' (SafeLives, 2014b). No mention is made to GPS tracking or other behaviours highlighted in the adapted Power and Control Wheel (Fig 8). Using a tool that is familiar to practitioners might help them understand how mobile phones are used in abusive relationships. If questions about mobile phones are integrated into practice, it could provide practitioners with useful information, assist with their assessments and reduce the bias of defensive practice (Whittaker & Havard 2016).

Drawing on the accounts provided by the women in this study, practitioners could now begin to recognise coercive control specifically within the context of mobile phone use as outlined in Section 8.1. This thesis proposes that practitioners should be trained and encouraged to actively ask about the ways mobile phones are used in relationships to gain insight into the levels of abuse. Mobile phones could be used in creative ways supporting innovative practices which are encouraged in social work (Lambley & Marrable, 2013). Examples include:

- Asking about the frequency and mode of contact. This includes efforts the perpetrator has made to circumvent the survivor's attempts to prevent communication (see Section 8.3). Evidence of the perpetrator's determination to maintain contact, despite instructions to the contrary would indicate a risk of harm especially if there is a court condition of non-contact. (Kropp & Hart, 2000).

- Sharing information about mobile phone use within multi-agency settings would provide excellent opportunities to compare the perpetrator's account with that of the survivors. Highlighting discrepancies in their explanations may suggest minimization or denial of abuse by the perpetrator, another indicator of risk (Hoyle, 2008).

- If the phone has been provided by the perpetrator (including to children), professionals should look for apps that contains spyware to check if their movements are being tracked. Indeed, engaging children in discussions about mobile phone communication might also be a non-threatening way to engage children in conversations about their experiences of abuse. This would reduce concern that risk assessments with families are dominated by parents' views at the expense of the child's perspective (Lefevre, 2015) and enable professionals to gather a fuller picture of the situation.

- Although not explicitly referenced in this research, it might be useful to consider how photographs could be used to establish the survivor's

whereabouts, e.g. photos of the survivor next to signs announcing the cancellation/late arrival of public transport. This might be a tactic devised by the survivor to manage the physical abuse when she arrives home late.

11.5 Retrospective learning

From the start of this research, I struggled to justify to myself why the women should be persuaded to share their stories or why I had the right to ask. I was hesitant during recruitment, afraid of exploiting them by inadvertently coercing them into the research (see section 5.5). I was not convinced of the research's potential to be therapeutic or empowering until I interviewed Sofia. She was timid, obviously vulnerable during the interview and I was taken aback when, at the end, she was eager to embrace me and even thanked me for the opportunity. It transpired that the interview was the first time she had spoken about her abuse and I learnt from subsequent visits to the refuge that Sofia went on to share her experiences and obtain support from staff there to move on positively with her life. Reflecting on this I recognise that my concern for the women's welfare had overshadowed the participants' resilience and their willingness to share their stories to help others. Perhaps subconsciously and against both my best intentions and feminist principles, I too had been influenced by the social construction of women survivors and treated them as helpless victims lacking in agency (Hoyle & Sanders 2000; Meyer 2012).

In sharp contrast, I had not considered the impact on me of interviewing women who have suffered trauma. As a probation officer I had extensive experience

of working with violent offenders and I believed that I had built a high level of resilience to this. I was therefore surprised to discover how difficult I found it to leave the women's stories behind. Upon reflection, I realized that interviewing for this research was the first time I had seen (rather than read) the impact of domestic abuse on survivors. Consider this extract from my research journal made some three weeks after the interview with Peaches. It describes how she

> *"….physically grew and shrunk throughout the interview. When she recounted her experience of the final rape, she looked weak and vulnerable. This was less obvious when she showed me her phone and the evidence she had collected against her husband. When Peaches described her experience of domestic servitude, I could almost feel the worthlessness that he has instilled in her. I am having difficulty shaking this off."* Research Journal 11th November 2017*.*

I was struck too by people's cruelty, especially friends and family of the perpetrator who joined in the abuse. Again I questioned my right to probe into these women's lives and I began to doubt that my research would ever make a difference, symptoms that have been associated with vicarious trauma (Trippany *et al*., 2004). I was lucky to have supportive friends and supervisors who reinforced my decision to take a break from interviewing and focus on administering self-care. In future I will be more aware of this, actively planning breaks from traumatic interviews and allowing myself time to re-build my resilience.

As outlined in Section 5.2 my intention was to involve the participants in an online focus group to ensure that the findings made sense to them. Whilst the lack of engagement was disappointing to me as a researcher, it was encouraging to me as woman. They had moved on with their lives and had

other priorities; some wanted to draw a line under the abuse and move on, for others juggling work, study and motherhood meant that they had no time. With hindsight it may have been better to return to the refuges and engage new residents in analysing the results with me to see if the findings resonated with their experiences of abuse.

11.6 Further research

This research is timely given the extent of both domestic abuse and mobile phone ownership (see Section 1.2) as well as the current political and legislative interest in coercive control (See Section 2.2). The aim now is to have this research published and disseminated to academics, policy makers and practitioners with a view to inform practice and policy.

The next step, in my view is to extend this current research and apply it to specific groups. This would embrace the intersectionality of women focussing on those from different cultures, religions, teenagers and lesbian relationships. Take the case of Sophia, analysis of the transcript showed similarities between her experiences and those of the other participants, including the willingness of family members to become involved in the abuse. Given the proportion of participants who spoke of this, research into familial abuse is a fruitful area for future exploration. Sofia's abuse began when she became involved in a romantic relationship that her family disapproved of. This raises the question of honour-based violence and highlights the importance of researching the role of mobile phones beyond the more traditional forms of domestic abuse to include all of the Home Office's categories of domestic abuse . Thought should

be given as to how best to reach some of these women given the cultural barriers explained by Indie in Section 7.3.4.

Peaches described a life where her husband's coercion meant that she was obliged to provide services such as cooking, cleaning and brushing his hair. This servitude (Home Office, 2017) raises the possibility that mobile phones might be used as a tool for coercive control within the context of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 (Modern Slavery Act, 2015).

The role of mobile phones in the sexual exploitation of children should also be considered (Lefevre *et al*, 2018). Research is emerging in relation to the influences of mobile phones and social media in gang activity (Irwin-Rogers *et al*. 2018; Kelly 2019) including the sexual exploitation of women and girls (Beckett *et al*., 2013; Havard, 2018). Indeed, it is possible that mobile phones play a role in all situations where there is the potential for exploitation and further research is needed to understand how this influences power, domination and oppression.

Section 9.4 discusses how, many of the women in this research, overcame their training, shed their docile bodies and rebelled against the perpetrator's expectations despite the inevitable negative consequences. There has been insufficient scope to discuss or analyse this resistance in any depth here, but this research does suggest that the loss of agency because of domestic abuse can be overcome. Research is urgently needed to understand how

practitioners can support women to regain their autonomy and independence following experiences of domestic abuse.

The shift in focus from the hierarchical, patriarchal power to one that is horizontal and circulatory might also shed light onto the coercive control of men in heterosexual and same sex relationships. Because mobile phones allow coercive control to happen irrespective of physical proximity the significance of men's physical size and strength is diminished (Caldwell, *et al*., 2012). It is likely therefore that the power dynamics in these relationships will also have changed and further research into this area is important.

The speed with which technology is developing makes it difficult to keep abreast of the changes including their impact on abusive relationships. This means that research, legislation and policy will always be playing 'catch up' and will never truly reflect how new software enables perpetrators to develop tactics to control and abuse their partners. However, given that 76% of women killed in the UK know their killer with 46% perpetrated by current of former partners (Perraudin 2018), failing to keep close to these developments is literally a matter of life and death. Society has a responsibility to respond to the needs created by these changes and to learn how to predict the impact of future technological developments in abusive relationships.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participants information sheet

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Study title

Women's experiences of how men use mobile phones in relationships involving domestic abuse.

About the researcher.

This research study is being conducted by me, Tirion Havard, a doctoral research student undertaking the Doctor of Social Work programme at the University of Sussex UK.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to hear the accounts of women survivors' of domestic abuse; I want to understand your experiences of how mobile phones have been used in the context of the abuse you have experienced.
Before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.
Why have I been invited to participate?

You are being asked to participate in this study because you have been involved in a violent intimate relationship(s) and because you have sought help from a refuge. Most people now have mobile phones and they are a big part of everyone's lives. I think that they probably play a part when women experience domestic abuse but I'm not sure. I would like to hear about whether mobile phones have been part of your experience of domestic abuse.
Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form, just before the interview. If you decide to take part you are free to withdraw at any time up until the completion of the research in March 2018. If you do decide to withdraw then just drop me an email on the address provided below stating that you wish to withdraw. You do not have to give a reason for this decision, and it won't affect any of the services you receive.

You will be asked to take part in one in-depth interview which will last between approximately one and one and a half hours. However, it is up to you to decide how much you want to discuss and if you require more or less time to express yourself, this will not be a problem. The interview aims to encourage you to say as much as possible about your experiences and knowledge and will draw on your experiences of abuse with an emphasis on the ways in which mobile phones have been/are being used by your abusive partner(s). The interview will be audio taped and then transcribed (typed up) anonymously by a company employed to undertake transcriptions for academic purposes. A copy of this transcription will be made available to you for you to check for accuracy and to add any further contributions should you wish. The final transcription will then be analysed, and your insights will be included anonymously as part of the study.

I am also keen to include you and the other participants in the analysis of the data (what everyone says in the interviews) to ensure that the results are meaningful and 'real'. To this end, I have created an anonymous and confidential online discussion group where I will post my thoughts and theories and ask you to comment on these. Shortly after the interview, you will be emailed a link to this discussion group . Only people with this link will be able to access this discussion site so it's completely private. The programme is also designed to avoid it being identified/recognised by search engines such as google, yahoo etc.,. This makes it extremely difficult for anyone outside of this research project to find the discussion page and no-one outside of this project could access the online space without access to the link. Getting involved in this part of the research is not compulsory; if you like, you can participate only in the interview and have no further involvement with the project. At the end of the research, this online site will be deleted.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

I understand that it may be difficult and/or upsetting for you to talk about your experiences of domestic abuse with your current or former partner(s). If that happens, you can just stop the recording, pause or end the interview at any time without the need to give me an explanation. Staff at the hostel know about this research and have been involved in the planning of the project. They too understand that being interviewed might affect you emotionally and they are available to you if you want extra support.. I will contact you again, shortly after the interview to check that you are okay . If you think you would find it helpful to meet me again to discuss the impact of the interview then I would be happy to arrange that.

Taking part in the online discussion shouldn't affect your safety at all. The private, anonymous and confidential nature of the discussion means that neither you nor other participants will be identified and the discussion board itself can only be accessed via a direct link. In addition, everyone who is taking part will have signed a consent form agreeing not to talk about the online discussion with people outside the research group (that is myself and the other women interviewed). The exception to this is if a discussion has affected you emotionally and you want support from staff at the refuge. At the end of the interview, you will be given details of support agencies outside of the refuge as well as information about how to stay safe online.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Taking part in this research provides you with an opportunity to share your experiences in a safe place where no-one is judging you. By being interviewed, you can help survivors and those who work with domestic abuse understand more about ways in which mobile phones are being used in abusive relationships. By learning more we can all influence policy makers about attitudes/responses to domestic abuse and can guide professionals who work with survivors and perpetrators so that they can better support survivors of domestic abuse and promote their safety. In this way your contribution is important and is likely to help other women in similar situations in the future.
Will my information in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected by this study will be confidential and no information will be disclosed that could lead to the identification of you or anyone else. In order to keep you anonymous, the transcripts of interviews will not have your own name on, but just a pseudonym (a made-up name) and a number (a unique identification code). Only the pseudonym will be used in the research analysis and any subsequent reports or publications, including my thesis. The key linking pseudonyms and real names will be stored securely and separately from the research data. Strict confidentiality will be maintained at all times unless any information should emerge that would suggest you or another vulnerable person or persons is at risk. This might then need to be disclosed to a member of staff at the refuge and the legal limitations of confidentiality would no longer apply. It is important to emphasize that such situations rarely arise in research. In the unlikely event that it was necessary, I would aim to discuss this with you in advance.

All digital recordings of interviews will be deleted once transcribed (typed out) and no raw data (the recording or the transcripts) will be made available to anyone outside the study. The University of Sussex and I will retain complete ownership of the data until it is deleted at the end of the project.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you do want to take part in this project then do please contact by email on t.havard@sussex.ac.uk letting me know you are willing to take part in this study and that you have understood the contents of this information sheet. I shall then contact you to arrange a time, date and location that is convenient to you for the interview. You will also need to sign a consent form to give your permission before any interview can take place.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The findings of this research will be incorporated into an assignment as part of the assessment requirements for my doctoral program. Findings (but not the raw data) may also be used in subsequent publications, either by myself or by other parties at the School of Education and Social Work, University of Sussex.

Who has approved this study?

The Social Sciences & Arts Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) at the University of Sussex has approved this research. Pamela Zaballa, Head of Women and Children Services-policy, has also given me permission to approach the refuge and ask residents if they are willing to be involved in this research.

Contact for Further Information

If you have any questions or comments about this study, please contact me via email on (t.havard@sussex.ac.uk). You can also contact my supervisors (Dr Lel Meleyal l.f.meleyal@sussex.ac.uk or Dr Michelle Lefevre on M.Lefevre@sussex.ac.uk) if at any stage you have any concerns about the way in which this study is being conducted. In addition, you can verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you may have, by contacting the Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) at the University of Sussex (crec-ss@sussex.c.uk).

Thank you

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. I hope this answers your questions about this research, the purpose and aims, as well as your role and time commitments should you wish to take part. If you have any further questions or you would like any more information please do not hesitate to contact me on t.havard@sussex.ac.uk.
Tirion Havard, Doctoral Social Work Student, University of Sussex. Date: __/__/2016

US

University of Sussex

CONSENT FORM FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

PROJECT TITLE: Women's experiences of how men use mobile phones
in relationships involving domestic abuse.

Project Approval
Reference:

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have
had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the
Information Sheet, which I may keep for my own records. I understand that
agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

Be interviewed by the researcher
Allow the interview to be audio taped
Allow what I say to be used as part of this research project.

I understand that I can also choose to participate in an online discussion of
the data at a later stage in the research but that agreeing to this interview
doesn't mean I have to do that as well.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential and will be
anonymised. This means that neither me nor anyone else will be able to be
identified when reports are written on this project. I understand that
confidentiality would only be broken if something was said in an interview
which suggested that me or someone else was at risk of harm; or which
indicated unsafe practice by a professional.

I understand that I will be given a transcript (a typed copy of my interview) for
my approval before this is included in the write up of the research. This is so I
can check for accuracy and to add any further comments should I wish.

I understand that any involvement in the online discussion with other participants of the research will also be anonymous and confidential. I agree not to share any information posted on this discussion board with anyone outside of the research process.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without giving a reason and without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way. In order to do this, I understand that I must contact the researcher directly on the email address provided . This means I can change my mind about being involved in this project right up to the completion of the research in March 2018

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. This means that any written papers will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, and any electronic data will be kept in a password-protected file on the researcher's computer or an encrypted data stick which no-one else can access.

I agree that the information provided can be used by the researcher as part of their current doctoral programme of study which the researcher is undertaking and in any subsequent publications which draw on the research findings.

Name: _____

Signature _____

Date: _____

This is to reassure you that I am committed to meeting the ethics and data protection requirements outlined above. You will be given a copy of this signed for you to keep.

Signature _____

Name: _____Tirion Havard_____

Date: _____

Appendix 3: Request to the women.

Social worker by qualification and worked as a probation officer in London for many years before taking up my role as a lecturer at LSBU. I gained a lot of experience of working with perpetrators.

Currently studying for a DSW where my interest is the impact that mobile phones are having on violent relationships. There is very little information out there and so I want you to help me find out what's going on.

Previous research with Probation Officers suggested that mobile phones are now an important part of abusive relationships. Probation Officers know a lot but I have the impression that they don't know it all. I also think that if we understood mobile phone use in abusive relationships that it might help practitioners etc. to protect others.

I want to try and get the full picture and I'd like you to help me. you are the people who know what's going on, you've experienced this, managed it, and coped with it, you've lived through it and you are the experts in it.

I'd like to interview you about your experiences. I think the interview will take about an hour, but if you want to spend longer that is fine, or if you don't have that much time then we can work around that. It's up to you how much you want to say and how long you want to take to say it.

Your identity will be protected, you can make up your own name or I will make one up for you. The interviews will be recorded and then written out word for word. I'll send you a copy of this for you to check if you want to.

If you are willing to do this then I would be really grateful for your contributions. But I am keen to keep it real and make sure it makes sense to those who have experienced it. so, I will also invite you to be involved in the data analysis and share with you what I think I have found and see if it makes sense to you and if you'd like to say anything about it, that would be great.

I have set up an online discussion group and I can send you a link. Only people with the link can access the site. Your safety shouldn't be compromised in any way.

I do understand that this might be difficult for you and I have been working closely with Hestia who know what I am doing and are willing to support you if it does raise any issues or emotions for you.

If you do agree to take part I really would be very grateful to you. My background in the Probation Service means that I do understand more about domestic violence than most. I am quick to recognise the denial minimization and blame often attributed to you and you are in a safe pair of hands.

I want to give you a voice and hope that together we can find out what is going on and then tell those who need to know about it. I am planning to make a change and I'd like you, the experts, to help me.

I have already published an article about my research with Probation Officer's, presented in three different conferences and I am preparing another paper which I hope to get published soon. I also teach my research to social work students and so I hope I am already beginning to change things, even if it's only on a small scale.

Appendix 4: The poster

Did mobile phones play a part in your abuse?

In this research project, I will be talking to women who have experienced domestic abuse where mobile phones have played a part in the abuse. By listening to women's stories, I want to understand the effects on you and hope this will inform future work with women at risk

.

Do you have a story to tell?
Would you like to have your say?

All interviews will be confidential. No information will be disclosed that could lead to the identification of you or anyone else.

If you could spare some time to talk with me about your experiences, please contact me on the email address or telephone number below.

thavard@sussex.ac.uk
020 7815 8356

thavard@sussex.ac.uk
020 7815 8356

thavard@sussex.ac.uk
020 7815 8356

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020 7815 8356

Appendix 5: Recruitment schedule

Participant	Date of interview	Location
House meeting	15th December 2016	Refuge 1
House meeting	22nd December 2016	Refuge 2
Katherine	5th Jan 2017	Refuge 1
Sofia*	10th Jan 2017	Refuge 2
Suzie	1st February 2017	Refuge 2
House meeting	20th March	Refuge 8
House meeting	21st March 2017	Refuge 3
Non attender	28th March 2017	Refuge 3.
House meeting	5th April 2017	Refuge 2
Joanna	20th April 2017	Refuge 2
House meeting	21st April	South London (refuges 4 and 5)
Francesca interview	25th April 2017	Refuge 4.
Caprice Interview	25th April 2017	Refuge 4
Christina interview	3rd May 2017	Refuge 2.
Donna interview	11th May 2017	Refuge 5
Non attender	12th May 2017	Refuge 2.
Matilda	17th May 2017	Refuge 2.
House Meeting	13th September	East London (refuges 6 and 7).
Peaches	20th September 2017	Refuge 6
Indie	28th September 2017	Refuge 7.
Josephine	4th October 2017	Refuge 6.

* not included in the original data analysis but considered after a theory had emerged.

Appendix 6: Ethics application

Project Title:

Beyond Geographical Boundaries: the covert role of mobile phones in maintaining power and coercive control in the domestic abuse of women.

Project Description:

The aim of this research is to understand the role of mobile phones in relationships involving domestic abuse. It is interested in how men use mobile phones to control and emotionally abuse adult women with whom they are, or have been, in intimate relationships. The research will explore women survivors' accounts of how perpetrators' abusive and controlling behaviour may be changing in light of mobile phone technology and the impact of this on survivors.

During my time as a court duty probation officer in London Magistrates Courts during the 1990s, I noticed how courts increasingly needed to explain to defendants that bail conditions involving no contact with the victim included no text messages or other contact via mobile phones. This is now echoed on the Crown Prosecution Services' website which also specifies contact via mobile phones as a breach of this condition. This need for this guidance led me to contemplate how mobile phones are being used between perpetrators and their victims in domestic violence situations. It therefore seems pertinent to question the relationship between mobile phone and domestic abuse.

The literature relating to domestic abuse and mobile phones is limited, though there is evidence that mobile phones and texting specifically are interwoven into domestic abuse relationships (Dimond et al. 2011; Draucker & Martsolf 2010). This supports my preliminary research (Havard 2014) involving interviewing probation officers, which indicated that perpetrators are using mobile phones in domestic abuse situations. However, cross-referencing the Probation Officer's accounts with the limited research available does suggest that mobile phones are being used in ways that Probation Officers have not encountered and are not considering. For example, the use of GPS tracking was identified by only one probation officer in the preliminary study, yet research with survivors of domestic abuse suggests that this form of monitoring is common (Melander 2011, Southworth 2007) and is the source of most worry and distress to women survivors (Dimond 2011).

On the 29th December 2015, the government introduced legislation to close the gap in the law in relation to patterns of behaviour. Section 76 of the Serious Crimes Act 2015 created a new offence of controlling or coercive behaviour in intimate relationships. This law recognises that domestic abuse is not a one-off event, but an incident that should be viewed within a wider context of abuse. Research into this area offers insight that will benefit professionals from many disciplines. Mobile phone technology has the potential to expose coercive control and thus change the way professionals

assess and intervene in domestic abuse situations. It could provide a context for domestic abuse; proof or evidence that it is seldom a one-off event, but rather a pattern of behaviour, which seeks to subordinate the victim and deprive them of liberty and a sense of self. For example, in my practice as a probation officer, offenders charged with domestic violence offences often justified or explained their violence as a 'one off', isolated incident that could not have been foreseen or foretold. However, evidence of a history of threats (such as texting) from a previous or current partner will provide a context for violence, including any patterns of behaviour, which can challenge the offender's explanation and support the survivor's account. The technology is out there, much of which could shed light on perpetrator behaviour and intention. However, in the absence of research and understanding it may be that professionals and policy makers are missing a golden opportunity to gather information about mobile phone use and its role in domestic abuse.

Risk assessment: I have answered yes to the sections A4 and A5 (see below), which triggered the need for a risk checklist (C1).

A4. Might the study induce psychological stress or anxiety, or produce humiliation or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in the everyday life of the participants?

A5. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use, ethnicity, political behaviour, potentially illegal activities)?

In the risk checklist (C1) I have answered yes to the following questions.

C1. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable, or unable to give informed consent, or in a dependent position (e.g. children (under 18), people with learning difficulties, over-researched groups or people in care facilities, including prisons)?

(see section C19)

C4. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety, or produce humiliation, or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?

(see section C17)

C8. Could the nature or subject of the research potentially have an emotionally disturbing impact on the researcher(s)?

The nature of the subject matter could potentially have an emotional effect on the researcher. However, I am an experienced probation officer who has worked with perpetrators of domestic abuse and exposed to information that was often much brutal and/or disturbing. I have developed a resilience as a result of being routinely exposed to such information. Further both Doctoral supervisors are qualified social workers with experience of working with domestic violence. They will be able to offer me support as well as help me identify any risks.

C10. Does the research involve any fieldwork - Overseas or in the UK?

The work will take place in refuges across London. All refuges are staffed and during the interviewing process I will be surrounded by professional colleagues.

Data Collection and Analysis:

C13. PARTICIPANTS: How many people do you envisage will participate, who they are, and how will they be selected?

Purposeful sampling will be employed for this study. Up to 15 women who are residents in domestic abuse refuges will be interviewed for this research. The first 15 women indicating a willingness to be interviewed will be randomly chosen to take part in the research. All women will need to have a good level of spoken English because I do not speak other languages and I have no resources to access translating or interpreting services.

C14. RECRUITMENT: How will participants be approached and recruited?

I have already made contact with managers at HESTIA, a charity that is the largest provider of domestic abuse refuges in London.   They also offer several support options to women and children survivors of domestic abuse as part of their domestic abuse shared services. HESTIA will act as the main gatekeeper and I have obtained permission from Pamela Zaballa, Head of Women and Children's Services to approach the residents at their refuges.

In the first instance I hope to engage staff who work in the refuges in the research and gain their enthusiasm for the project so that they can publicize the research and are more likely to provide additional informal supports to the women who become involved. To this end I have been invited to attend a training day for all the staff involved in supporting women and children survivors of domestic abuse. During this session, I intend to share the aims, objectives and potential significance of my research and answer any questions staff may have. This will also provide me with the opportunity to obtain feedback from frontline staff, including any concerns they may have regarding the safety of women and children involved in the research and how to guard against this.

I have also received permission from HESTIA to attend refuge house meetings where staff and residents share information and discuss the running of the refuge. After engaging with the staff in the training day, I expect to visit these meetings to spend time with the women explaining to them the aims and objectives of my research, the process of data collection and analysis and the potential significance this research could have on policy and practice. During these visits I hope to recruit participants for the research, allay any fears or concerns that they may have and answer any questions participation in this research might raise. I also have permission to place posters around the refuges which will contain my contact details and will enable the potential

participants to contact me confidentially to seek further clarification and/or express a willingness to get involved with the research.

C15. METHOD: What research method(s) do you plan to use; e.g. interview, questionnaire/self-completion questionnaire, field observation, audio/audio-visual recording?

The research will consist of two parts, namely face to face interviews of the women participants and discussion via an online forum.

Women will be invited to participate in one semi-structured interview, which is expected to last between one and one and a half hours. Only one interview is anticipated because the temporary nature of refuge accommodation will make it difficult to organize follow up interviews. It is anticipated that the interviews will take place at the refuge since this is a safe place for the participants.

Interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed anonymously by a company employed to undertake transcriptions for academic purposes. Where possible, the transcript will be sent to the participant electronically (where this is possible and only with the agreement of the participant), for further comment and once this process is complete the interview recordings will be erased. Every reference to, or quote by, the participants in the interviews will be anonymous to ensure confidentiality and the safety of the participants.

It is also my intention to involve the participants of this research in the analysis, by inviting them to comment/discuss the themes once they have been identified. This will provide the women with the opportunity to be involved in the co-production of knowledge and is consistent with the feminist standpoint position. A confidential and anonymous online forum will be created where I can share my findings with the participants and invite them to comment on any themes or theories that I think have emerged. Email addressed will be requested from the participants at the start of their interview.

C16. LOCATION: Where will the project be carried out e.g. public place, in researcher's office, in private office at organisation?

The interviews will take place at a location most convenient to the participants where they will feel safe and comfortable. It is anticipated that this will be in the refuge where they live. Permission to interview the women at their premises has been obtained from Pamela Zaballa at HESTIA, domestic abuse shared services. If the participants wish to be interviewed outside the refuge setting, a risk assessment will be made in relation to both the participants and the researcher's safety.

C17. INFORMED CONSENT: Please describe the process you will use to ensure your participants are freely giving fully informed consent to participate. This will usually include the provision of an Information Sheet and will normally require a Consent Form unless it is a

purely self-completion questionnaire-based study or there is justification for not doing so. (Please state this clearly).

Potential participants will be provided with an information sheet when I attend the refuge house meetings and copies will be left at the refuges in case there is interest from residents who were unable to attend the meeting. For those who contact me specifically through email, a participants information sheet will be sent to them electronically. At the point of interview the content of the information sheet will be summarized to the participants and I will verbally confirm that they have understood. Only then will the participants be asked to complete a consent form.

C18. RIGHT OF WITHDRAWAL: Participants should be able to withdraw from the research at any time. Participants should also be able to withdraw their data if it is linked to them and should be told when this will no longer be possible (e.g. once it has been included in the final report). Please describe the exact arrangements for withdrawal from participation and withdrawal of data for your study.

Participants of the research will be given the option to stop the recording, to pause or end the interview at any time, without the need to offer an explanation. This empowers women who might be finding the process too difficult to make decisions that best serve their needs. Furthermore, the participants can choose to opt out of the research up until the end of the research in March 2018.

C19. OTHER ETHICAL ISSUES: If you answered YES to anything in C.1 you must specifically address this here. Please also consider whether there are other ethical issues you should be covering here. Please also make reference to the professional code of conduct you intend to follow in your research.

Women in refuges are often particularly vulnerable due to their traumatic experiences of domestic abuse and the uncertainty/insecurity/fear that is invoked in leaving an abusive partner. However, all participants will be residents at a refuge and as such will have been allocated individual keyworkers, trained staff who are employed to support the residents through the difficulties of coming to terms with an abusive relationship and the risks of leaving abusive partners. I have spoken with the managers of the refuge and they have agreed that should my research raise any issues for the participants the keyworkers will offer the women support. This support will be available both informally and formally via a care plan. Participants will also be provided with information about how to keep safe online as well as with details of a national domestic abuse helpline should they wish to seek support outside of the refuge.

It is important to recognise that whilst women in refuges are vulnerable, it is also possible they may find talking about their experiences to be beneficial (WHO 2001). It is extremely important to be aware of the potential impact of the questioning on the respondents and to manage these emotions during the interview process. With this in mind, all interviews will aim to end by

empowering the woman, for example, through reinforcing the woman's resilience, coping strategies and reminding her that her contribution is important and likely to help other women in similar situations in the future.

C21a. Please provide details of anonymisation procedures and of physical and technical security measures here:

Interviews will be recorded and transcribed anonymously by a company employed to undertake transcriptions for academic purposes. Where possible, the transcript will be sent to the participant for further comment and once this process is complete the interview recordings will be erased. Every reference to, or quote by the participants in the interviews will be anonymous to ensure confidentiality and the safety of the participants.

The information from the discussion groups will be held online and stored securely by a hosting provider, in this case Google. The forum will be created so that it actively avoids being searched by search engines and will only be available to those with access to the link. The system will be set up in such a way that there will be a delay between making the entries and posting them online. This is to enable me to edit entries, which may be necessary if participants inadvertently disclose something about their location or identity. Furthermore, this delay enables me to 'veto' entries and in the unlikely event that a perpetrator gains access to the link through coercing it from his partner, and makes a comment, I can stop the entry before it is posted. Only I will have the ability to edit the posts.

Emails will be sent from the forum to a dedicated account informing me that someone has made a comment. This will enable me to access the comments quickly and check that the contributions are completely anonymous. An email account will be created for this research only. This is to avoid any accidental mixing up or sharing of data that might inadvertently occur through using any of my existing email accounts. Information will be in a blog format and the source of the comments (identity, email address etc.) will not be traceable. Information will be held on this website will be deleted when the research is completed.

C25. Data management responsibilities after the study. State how long study information including research data, consent forms and administrative records will be retained, in what format(s) and where the information will be kept.

The study information, including the research data, consent forms and administrative records will be retained for up to four year (Kings College London, 2011). This is in case the validity of the research is challenged.

The information that links the pseudonym with the true identity of the participant will be kept in a secure place away from electronic data relating to the transcripts or the online discussion group. This is likely to be a separate encrypted memory stick.

Appendix 7: Staying Safe

If you are worried that someone you know is using your mobile phone inappropriately, you might find the following information useful. What you do and how you do it will depend on what sort of phone you have, for example an iPhone is different to an android phone and not all android phones are the same. The methods for protecting yourself on android phones can also vary from brand to brand. What follows is some information that can help you to take steps to increase your safety; the ways to do this will vary slightly according to the version or the brand or phone that you have.

Blocking phone calls/ phone numbers:
iPhone:
Go to settings >phone>blocked>add new, choose contact/number.
Android phones:
From the call log/history: Select the number you want to block, then hit the 3-dot menu ⋮ icon in the upper right corner and choose Add to reject list. This will disable incoming calls from specific numbers.
OR
From your contact list: select the person you want to block from your contacts list. Hit the button in the right-hand corner that looks like a pencil. Then tap the 3-dot menu icon in the upper right corner and mark the box next to 'all calls to voicemail'.
OR
From the settings menu: tap the 3-dot screen and chose setting>call>call rejection>auto reject list>create. Insert the contact name or phone number in the search box that appears.

For more information on this, including a video tutorial try
http://www.digitaltrends.com/mobile/how-to-block-phone-calls-on-your-android-smartphone/#ixzz4DkAE2B3t

Blocking Text messages.

iPhone.

Open the phone app from your home screen > Open contact list > Chose the person you wish to block > Scroll down to block this caller > Block contact.

Android phone

Open messaging > Press the 3- dot menu icon ⋮ in the upper right-hand corner > Chose blacklist > Turn blacklist on > Select plus (+) to add the person you wish to block.

GPs tracking.

Many phones and apps have a tracking system that is often automatically set to be on. How you deactivate them depends on the type of phone or app, but the principles are essentially the same.
To deactivate the tracking feature, follow the following steps:
iPhones.

Go to Settings >privacy> location services> share my location. Turn this off i.e. slide the button from right to left to remove the green background.

Under system services there are two functions: frequent locations (turn this off, i.e. slide right to left to remove the green background) and find my iPhone (turn this off).

You can also turn off the location tracker to apps that have been downloaded, e.g. Twitter, WhatsApp, viber etc

History - click on one of the locations to bring up a detailed map.

Android
Settings>location or location services>.
OR
Settings>personal>location> it is possible to switch off all that appear or just google location history.

Downloaded apps.
As a general rule, delete any apps that you don't understand or which you did not download. Some examples of apps that can be downloaded to your phone so that someone can monitor you include:

spy phone : this allows someone to see every picture, text, call and message sent on an android phone.

 Connect: this is available for iPhones and allows someone to follow you on sites like Facebook, Instagram, Google contacts, linked in etc.

Find my friends: this is for both androids and iPhones. This means that you will appear on a map and someone can quickly see where you are.

Trick or tracker: this is available for android and iPhones. The app must be downloaded to both parties smartphones. When activated it sends your location every 15 minutes, it also sends text alerts when you travel out of an 'agreed' area and it notifies the other party when you arrive home.

Appendix 8: Strategies to promote rigour.

Based on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria.

Criterion	Strategies adopted	How the strategy promotes vigour.
Credibility	Research design and data collection, e.g. interview schedule and focus groups questions, scrutinised by supervisors	Inconsistencies and lack of clarity identified, discussed and addressed early in the process.
	Ethics approval from University of Sussex.	Safeguarding the women was considered by an independent and objective professional body.
	Extensive dialogue and discussion with staff at Hestia who acted as gatekeepers.	Ensured legitimacy of the research and promoted the safeguarding of the women participants.
	Participants unknown to the researcher.	Avoids bias or criticism of interviewing people with the same values and moral code.
	Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed by the researcher at the earliest possibility.	Accurate record of the interview.

	Research journal and memos written throughout the process. Regular discussions about data and my responses in supervision sessions with the supervisor.	Helps promote reflexivity and develops an understanding of the research process including my influence on the research.
	The switch from line-by-line coding to incident coding.	To avoid potential bias in the analysis when English was a second language. In these cases, the participants often repeated themselves to correct their grammar or choice of vocabulary, there was no significance in the repetition. Some participants paraphrased their abusers and line-by-line coding made it difficult to distinguish between the participants voice and the voice of the abuser.
Transferability	Purposive sampling, to capture within an organisational context.	There is scope here to consider the impact of mobile phones on other forms of violence such as family violence between parents and children/siblings etc. It can also apply to same sex relationships and the abuse of men by women. Understanding the role of mobile phones can impact on professional practice to inform professionals understanding and influence the way they work with perpetrators and support survivors of domestic abuse.
Dependability	One researcher collected all the data and transcribed all but one interview. This interview was transcribed by a professional transcription service.	Consistency in researcher approach and practice. The professional was employed to avoid delay between data collection and analysis. The professionally transcribed interview was listened to many times to ensure accuracy.
	Clear account of the research process and data analysis, including the use of raw data in the form of	Enables the reader to see some data first hand and then follow the data analysis path.

| | verbatim quotes from the interview themselves.

Inclusion of memo's, reflective journal entries etc. in the appendices and the body of the thesis.

Regular discussions and scrutiny as part of the supervision process with supervisors who are well versed in grounded theory and domestic abuse. | Enables the reader to follow the data analysis path. Promotes reflection and reflexivity.

Promotes self-reflection and accountability throughout the research process. |
|---|---|---|
| Confirmability | An audit trail provides an account of the research process.

See the strategies employed for credibility, transferability and dependability as outlined above. | The reader can assess the date and understand the context of the findings.

See above. |

Appendix 9: Interview Questions:

Interview Questions:

Text in black represents the original questions. Text in blue shows how the interview questions developed in light of participant feedback. the analysis of the transcripts. This includes a lack of clarity or understanding the question, the question eliciting insufficient or repetitive information and themes that appeared to be emerging in the women's stories.

1. Drawing on your personal experience please can you tell me about one or two situations that you have been involved in where your current or former partner(s) used their mobile phone in ways tha made you feel uncomfortable, unsafe or controlled? (prompt, eg did he use it to keep tabs on where you were? You can refer to as many relationships as you wish).

   Can you think of any examples or situations where your current or former partner used their mobile phone in a way that made you feel uncomfortable, unsafe or controlled?

   Prompts: Messages Instagram Text Tracking What's app emails Viber Facebook Phone calls Skype Video calls Facetime Pictures Snap chat

2. Did it feel like he used it as part of his abuse to you? can you tell me about the ways it felt part of his overall abuse of you and ways in which it was different?

   How did this make you feel? Did this feel abusive to you at the time? Later?

3. Are there any other ways that your current or former partner(s) have used mobile phones as part of their abuse? (again as many relationships as you wish).

4. Do you think that the way your current/former partner(s) used mobile phones affected how you felt or what you did? Either during the your relationship or since? Could you tell me a bit more about that please.

5. Is there anything else that you think I should know to help me or other women in your situation to understand how mobile phone are used in abusive relationship and/or how to overcome this?

   Is there anything else that you think would be useful to help professionals (eg the police, social workers etc) understand how mobile phone are impacting on abusive relationships?
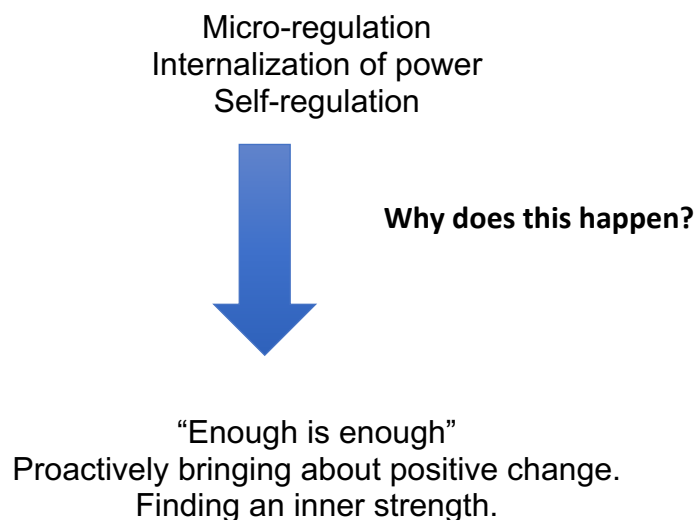
Appendix 10: The Matilda moment

Memo 5th September 2017.

On the way to a conference in Portugal I began speaking to a woman at the airport who told me that she has provided bereavement counseling for domestic violence survivors.

During this exchange I recalled the node 'enough is enough' and how many of the women I have interviewed have a resolve or a strength about them. I spoke specifically about Matilda and how she called the police for help weeks after her husband's last physical assault and without any obvious trigger.

What this suggests to me is that women reach a point when they are unwilling to continue to maintain the status quo. There is a proactive choice to change their circumstances. This is not the same as 'fleeing' out of fear where they need to be rescued. Rather (using Karpman's drama triangle) they move from victim to the rescuer and rescue themselves.

So how does this fit with Stark and Foucault's surveillance?

<div align="center">

Micro-regulation
Internalization of power
Self-regulation

</div>

Why does this happen?

<div align="center">

"Enough is enough"
Proactively bringing about positive change.
Finding an inner strength.

</div>

Memo 30th October 2017:

Revisited the interviews and the initial coding I reconsidered all the initial codes. Closer analysis of the interviews showed that women were responding to the abuse in different ways, some were reasoning with the abuser, others challenging the abuse, others becoming subservient whilst others began agreeing to the perpetrators demands. There were also other categories or nodes that might fit into this larger parent node, including 'enough is enough', 'serving him and others'. I realized that all the women in this study reached a point where they couldn't take any more (and thus found themselves in a refuge-this is a biased sample). For some, this was a particularly brutal incident (e.g. Peaches and her rape in front of her daughter) for

others it was more an accumulation of the abuse and reaching a tipping point. Revisiting the initial coding showed categories including 'drip, drip, drip' ,'wearing me down' and 'giving up resistance' stood alongside other categories such as 'resilience', 'enough is enough' and 'resisting'. Caprice for example says I "refuse to be a victim" indicating an inner strength and determination. These women are not push-overs even though there are times when they have lost themselves. I know that Foucault talks of how disciplinary power 'eventually up rises' so time to look deeper into Foucault as he may well give the women agency that feminism does not.

Memo 20th March 2018.

With a bit more, Foucault under my belt I think coercive control may well be the deconstruction and reconstruction of identity, but Foucault would explain it outside of gender (he wasn't interested in gender so found other explanations). Would Foucault look at coercive control as a subtle power, innocent to many if not seen within a wider context? (this hidden in plain sight thing that Stark talks about). The drip drip drip effects of what feminists believe to be monitoring and control would be highly regulated supervision and surveillance that trains the person to comply and become an efficient machine. It is not specific to gender and it can be applied to same sex relationships and transsexual relationships. Might it be more to do with whether or not one has been trained? I do think training is linked to vulnerability, the more vulnerable one is the easier they are to persuade, or train and women are often more vulnerable than men, lower incomes, less financial independence, more childcare and all that which might account for the gender asymmetry.

Maybe the whole monitoring/surveillance thing is part of the training?

Appendix 11: Contextualizing coercive control

Memo 1st February 2018

So, I have been thinking about coercive control and legislation alongside the literature I have been reading. I re-read my diary entry 20th September 2016.

"It is something that often cannot be seen, by both those on the inside experiencing this form of abuse but especially by those on the outside such as practitioners. Rape and other forms of physical violence leave bruises and other pieces of forensic evidence, coercive control cannot. Rape and other forms of physical violence can speak for itself, coercive control cannot."

Coercive control sometimes might be felt, not in the way of a physical blow that leaves marks and bruises but rather an atmospheric change that might be likened to the presence of (usually negative) energy. Consider a perfectly harmless scenario when you enter the room and sense that you could 'cut the atmosphere with a knife' it doesn't need to be seen or heard it's just there. Similarly, coercive control is 'just there' sometimes in the shadows, sometimes centre stage. A sinister omnipresence that keeps you on your toes and prevents you from living YOUR life. "

My current thinking is that whilst legislation recognises the need to see offences as part of a pattern (not discrete individual events), no thought has been given to context.

My thoughts are that coercive control should be viewed within the following context:

Fear
Entrapment (can't or doesn't know how to get out)
Enter a man's reality (self-blame, justification, entangled with entrapment)
Omnipotence (believing he is everywhere, linked with entrapment)
Stealth, its secret and hidden. Stark and hidden within plain sight so nobody can see it unless they already know. This is really important for professionals and identifies coercive control (especially CJS which might help address the poor arrest/prosecution rates)

Mobile phones make surveillance possible at all times, regardless of location (signal permitting).
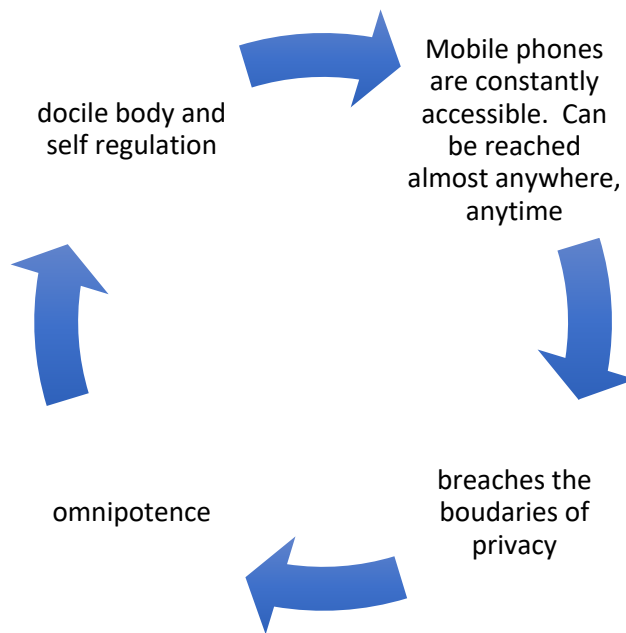
Mobile phones can make the power invisible-

 This omnipresence/omnipotence is permanent in its effects.

The woman's compliance to the rules links with docile body self-regulation- due to entrapment (as a result of omnipotence and fear).

Appendix 12: Revisiting the research questions.

RESEARCH QUESTION	FINDINGS	REFERENCE
Are mobile phones being used in the coercive control of women and if so how?	YES. Mobile phones are being used in ways that are similar to traditional forms of domestic abuse eg the power and control wheel.	Section 8.1
How does abuse via mobile phones compare with traditional forms domestic abuse?	Patriarchal attitudes persist and influence men's expectations in relation to access to mobile phones, dictating when partners can use mobile phones, who they can speak to, when and for how long. Mobile phones enable the surveillance of women 24/7. The extends the boundaries of control beyond physical proximity	Section 7.3.1 Section 8.1.6 Section 8.1.3 Section 8.2
What is the impact of mobile phone technology on survivors of coercive control?	The impact of coercive control on survivors reflects that explained by Stark 2007. Participants in this study behaved in ways they thought their partners would approve of even when he was not around. Survivors turn into efficient machines, regulate their own behaviour and become docile bodies.	Section 7.4 Section 9.3
How have mobile phones influenced the power dynamics in abusive relationships?	Mobile phone are used in the training of survivor's Mobile phones result in a relational power. Resistance can happen Foucault can help explain power dynamics within the context of mobile phones. Power should now be understood within both a structural and post-structural way	Section 9.2 Section 9.1 Section 9.4 Section 10.3 Section 10.4

Appendix 13: Permission to adapt the Power and Control Wheel