

“The devil will make you pregnant”

Constructions of sexuality and womanhood
among New Zealand Filipino women

Aïyesha Melničenko

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By

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Abstract

High youth pregnancy and sexually transmitted infection (STI) rates in New Zealand are an under-researched health concern, particularly among ethnic minority communities. Conflicting sexuality messages from home and dominant cultures may make negotiating a sexual standpoint problematic for immigrant adolescents. An understanding of cultural minorities' constructions of sexuality and influences affecting their decision-making would aid the development of culturally applicable sexuality education. This thesis discusses research with New Zealand Filipino women, with an aim to investigate how immigrant women make sense of sexuality in the context of intimate relationships. For the first study, six focus group interviews, involving 33 New Zealand Filipino adolescent women, discussed individual and cultural interpretations of sexuality, safer sex and womanhood. A discursive analysis examined patterns of agreement and conflict in the young women's talk to reveal how they used and resisted cultural discourses of heterosexuality. Contradictions often arose as they shifted between dominant Western and Filipino messages about sexual safety and appropriate feminine behaviour. Principal constructions of women and sexuality that came out of the talk, and how these constructions promote or restrict sexual behaviours, are discussed. The second study, twenty-six individual interviews with New Zealand Filipino adolescent girls and their immigrant Filipino mothers, explored how immigrant women construct life narratives to make sense of their sexual selves. Interviews focused around individuals' personal stories of intimate relationships, heterosexuality, romance, sexual education, womanhood, and adjustment to the interface between New Zealand and Filipino portrayals of sexuality. Thematic and narrative analyses explored areas of agreement and dispute within and across the women's stories, as they took up different identities as mothers, daughters, girlfriends, Filipinas, and New Zealanders. Thematic analysis of the daughters' interviews examined key patterns in the young women's

constructions of first sexual experiences, including explanations of first sex, the gap between expectations and experiences, sexual safety, and perceptions of their partners. One young woman's story was focused on in a more comprehensive study of how sexual, feminine and cultural identities are constructed and reconstructed through narrative. After an overview of the themes from the mothers' interviews, three mothers' narratives were discussed in relation to their constructions of sexual selves as they learned about, experienced, and taught their daughters about sexuality. Links found between mother and daughter narratives likely signify the passing of cultural stories of feminine sexuality through the generations. Many contradictions were apparent in the adolescents' talk, as girls worked to develop and explain a sense of self that moved between subject positions offered by the heterosexuality discourses of their new migrant context and their Filipino heritage. How young Filipinas' sexual stories recycle and resist the talk of their mothers and cultural contexts is discussed, as well as how cultural identities influence sexual practices. The thesis also reflects upon the appropriateness of discursive research for allowing cultural expression among marginalised populations.

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Para sa aking paa,
kung ok lang sa'yo.

Preface: Positioning Myself In The Research

The present thesis revolves around a qualitative study of interviews with immigrant Filipino women living in New Zealand, with a focus on these women's perceptions and stories of sexuality, womanhood, culture and identity. New Zealand has a large and expanding immigrant population and has very much become a multiethnic community. In recent years, attention has turned to the lack of information on the experience of being an immigrant and ways in which to aid the process of adjustment to life in New Zealand (Ward, 2007). Another recent area of concern and need for research is that of adolescent sexual health in New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2001), where rates of adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) are alarmingly high and have been found to be even higher in many minority ethnic communities (Ministry of Health, 2004). The current study was born out of an interest in understanding what factors may be influencing young immigrants' sexual behaviours and choices, and how these factors may play a role in the high rates of pregnancy, abortion and STIs among young New Zealanders of a minority background.

With an interest in the socio-cultural and discursive resources that young people draw on to make sense of their sexuality and sexual experiences, I concentrated on a particular cultural community, that of New Zealand Filipinos, for my study. The research presented in this thesis could be seen as an in-depth pilot study of different cultural understandings of young Filipino women's sexuality and how these mesh with their migration to New Zealand and exposure to / absorption of varying contradictory cultural expectations around their sexuality. Such information is valuable in aiding the development of culturally appropriate sexual health education programmes, particularly given that recent literature suggests that young people frequently have the biological knowledge regarding sex, but that social and cultural factors have a great impact on their actual practice of safer sex, producing a knowledge-practice gap (Allen, 2001).

From a social constructionist perspective, reflecting on one's own relationship to the research, as initiator, participant, analyst and writer, is a crucial part of the production of knowledge from the research. In recognition of the power the researcher holds, in terms of conducting the research and interpreting the material obtained, reflexivity is important in order for me to clarify what I brought to the research.

My interest in the needs of immigrant populations can be traced back to my own family culture. I am a Czech New Zealander, born of a Czech father who came to New Zealand with his parents as a refugee and a New Zealand Pakeha¹ mother who works with refugees and migrants. My husband is a New Zealand Filipino who immigrated with his family to New Zealand in his teens. Our relationship started while we were both teenagers. Both coming from close-knit extended families and minority ethnic communities, we developed our relationship in a cross-cultural context that involved a lot of learning about each other's family cultural mores. Involvement with multiple ethnic communities in New Zealand from an early age has led me to great interest in how young people from immigrant families form and negotiate identities between their multiple cultures. More recently, my particular interest in working with youth identity has been furthered by my studies in clinical psychology.

My relationship with my husband and his family led to me becoming closely acquainted with the Wellington Filipino community over the past thirteen years. In this time, I have travelled extensively through the Philippines on three occasions, learnt some Filipino language and many customs, and, most significantly, been accepted as a member of a Filipino family.

¹ Pakeha refers to New Zealanders of European descent, as opposed to the indigenous New Zealand Maori population.

The idea for the present research originated from discussions I had with friends and acquaintances in the New Zealand Filipino community. Concern was expressed over the frequency of teen pregnancy in their community and the uncomfortable silence around youth sexuality that perhaps contributed to this, while also making discussion of the issue unlikely. The suggestion of one of these friends that I may be a suitable person to research the issue led me to explore this possibility, ultimately leading to the research described in the following chapters.

Coming from an immigrant family made me aware of some of the acculturation issues facing immigrants. It simultaneously afforded me somewhat of a special status within the Filipino community, as somewhere between a New Zealander, an immigrant and an honorary member of the Filipino community. It was felt by friends within the New Zealand Filipino community that this 'borderline' position meant that I was perceived as more able to understand their immigrant identity than many other Pakeha would have been, making community members more comfortable when talking with me. As I began to explore the youth sexuality literature, I discovered other researchers have noted a lack of qualitative sexuality research using Asian adolescent girls, who may not find it culturally acceptable to discuss sexuality with unfamiliar Western² interviewers (Tolman & Szalacha, 1999). I considered that my knowledge of and experience with the Filipino community could help to overcome this barrier. This affiliation has given me an understanding of concepts, words and boyfriend / girlfriend relationship issues in the New Zealand Filipino community, so that I felt in an ethically appropriate position to do culturally sensitive research with this community. While the discoveries made in this research cannot be assumed to apply to other New Zealand ethnic minority

² Western is defined here as a social, rather than geographical, construct, referring to more affluent capitalist societies, generally with an Anglo-American and largely white, middle class cultural focus (Bulbeck, 1998).

groups, I saw this as a step towards driving more culturally applicable sexuality research.

Throughout the research, it was important to keep in mind that, while integrated into a Filipino family, I am not a Filipina myself. For some participants, this may well have stilted our communication, creating a distance between us and meaning that my understanding and interpretations of their talk represent those of an outsider. However, the majority of participants seemed to recognise me as in a position to understand many of the cultural issues they raised, while still separate enough from the community that their fears of being judged by someone of their own community and of information getting back to their community and damaging their reputation were dissipated.

My age and gender probably also assisted me in conducting the research. As a young woman myself, I was able to relate to many of the issues the young women raised, likely making them more comfortable to talk about sex and intimate relationships than they would have been with an older or male person. This belief was strengthened by many girls' talk of silence around sexuality in their community and the inability to talk about these issues with their parents and parental generation. Being a little older than the girls and in a long-term relationship though, I was again in an in-between position in terms of generations, making it still acceptable for me to talk with the mothers.

Overall, sitting on the margin between cultures and generations, I was afforded the privileged position of being trusted with sensitive and personal information that many women reported never having previously disclosed, whether due to a lack of opportunity, readiness or comfort. Such a position made me feel fortunate and motivated in carrying out the research. At the same time, I felt the weight of responsibility to retell and interpret the stories I was told with care and respect.

My current family situation (living with my Filipino husband and his sister) and many of my life experiences in some ways match the cultural expectations of the women I interviewed. Nonetheless, my participation, reading and interpretation of the interviews has also been influenced and limited by my own background. I came to the research as a feminist psychologist interested in the experiences of immigrant women. My foundation in psychology and my academic goals regarding the empowerment of women and critical thinking about the construction and maintenance of societal power structures have no doubt played a major role in how the stories told to me have been analysed and presented. Having been raised in a family of strong-minded women and independent thinkers, and among a mix of cultures and beliefs (including Christian and Buddhist religious philosophies, as well as a strong focus on science and logic) will also have greatly affected my perspective. Awareness of the differences between my background and those of the predominantly Catholic New Zealand Filipino women I interviewed led me to continue to seek counsel and discussion from New Zealand Filipino friends and acquaintances while writing the current thesis. However, it must be stressed that the analysis presented in the following chapters is but one of many possible interpretations, and due to the physical constraints of a thesis, involves only a small portion of the incredibly rich material provided by the women who participated in the project.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate New Zealand Filipino women's sexuality and the role that culture plays in this. Chapter One involves a critical literature review, examining the cultural context of New Zealand Filipino women, with a focus on elements of adolescence, culture, femininity and immigration in relation to sexuality. Chapter Two discusses a range of sexuality discourses in current circulation in New Zealand and the West, as well as within the Filipino culture. Chapter Three provides a methodological rationale for the thesis, with a discussion of critical psychology, feminism, social constructionism, post-structuralism, Foucauldian discourse theory, critical cross-cultural theory, and critical

realism. Following on from this, Chapter Four describes and explains the method for the focus group study. Chapter Five goes on to discuss the analysis that came out of the focus group study, with a focus on sexuality discourses and the subject positions available to and taken up by the young women in the New Zealand Filipino community.

The focus groups were followed by individual interviews with mothers and daughters from the New Zealand Filipino community. Starting with a discussion of narrative theory and my chosen narrative method in Chapter Six, the narrative section continues with a thematic analysis of the young women's stories of boyfriend / girlfriend relationships and first sex in Chapter Seven. A more detailed narrative analysis of one young woman's story of heterosexual relationships, first sex and sexual power dynamics is presented in Chapter Eight. In Chapter Nine, after a brief discussion of the themes that came through in the Filipino mothers' talk of sexuality, a narrative analysis of three of the mothers' stories is put forward, with a focus on their stories of learning, experiencing and teaching about sex. Both Chapters Eight and Nine discuss the development of the women's sense of identity and making sense of their sexual experiences through the process of their storytelling. Finally, Chapter Ten involves an overview of the analyses as a whole, reflection on the research conducted, and consideration on further avenues for future research with immigrant sexualities.

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Chapter One

Culture, Adolescence and Sexuality

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the current socio-cultural context and research regarding adolescent sexuality in the West and, in particular, sexual health and gender-based issues for young women. The chapter goes on to discuss the role that culture plays in sexuality and the often treacherous path for young immigrants in finding a space between their home culture and adopted culture's positions on young women's sexuality. The cultural context for New Zealand Filipinos, the focus of this thesis, is then briefly examined, followed by the objectives of the present research.

Adolescent Sexuality in New Zealand

Adolescence is an important transitional period for psychological development, during which individuals gain independence from family, make major life decisions, and form a definitive personal identity (Santrock, 1997). A major process in the formation of identity involves sexual exploration, experimentation with adult sexual roles and making sense of personal values amid the social mores and pressures regarding sexuality (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006).

A worrying link to this in New Zealand is the nationwide concern regarding the sexual health and behaviour of New Zealand adolescents. With high and increasing rates of unintentional pregnancy, abortion and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) among New Zealand youth, New Zealand's adolescent pregnancy and mothering rate (birth rate to teen mothers is 27.3 per 1,000 women 15 to 19 years) is ranked third highest in the OECD (Collins, 2005; Ministry of Health, 2003). While New Zealand's high teen pregnancy rate of approximately 50 per 1000 of that population has remained relatively constant over the past twenty years, the teen abortion

rate has nearly doubled in this time (Collins, 2005). Around 7000 New Zealand adolescents are pregnant each year (Collins, 2005). In 2003, approximately half of these resulted in a live birth, the other half in abortion (Collins, 2005), suggesting a great many adolescent pregnancies are not wanted (Ministry of Health, 2004; 2005). The added challenge of motherhood at this early point in life can cause extensive economic, physical and psychological exhaustion (Ministry of Health, 2004). Many studies have related adolescent pregnancy to negative outcomes, including poorer educational achievement, socioeconomic disadvantage, and poorer mental health (Boden, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2008; Caldwell & Antonucci, 1997; Fergusson & Woodward, 2000).

Alongside this, it appears that the age at first sexual intercourse for young New Zealanders is decreasing, while the number of sexual partners increases (Jackson, 2004 for review). This is concerning, because an early onset of sexual activity has been linked to a higher probability of sexual health problems and adolescent pregnancy (Jackson, 2004; Ministry of Health, 2004). Also of grave concern is that New Zealand adolescents commonly have unprotected sex. A recent national study found that only around 60% of adolescents report using contraception consistently (Adolescent Health Research Group, cited in Collins, 2005). Research also reports that youths have disproportionately high and increasing rates of STIs, with the highest rates of chlamydia and gonorrhea amongst the 15-19 years adolescent female group in 2004, and the incidence of chlamydia considerably higher in the New Zealand population than in many other Western countries (IESR, 2005).

Improving current adolescent sexuality education and pregnancy prevention programmes, and applying them to high-risk groups in our society, appears vital. Much of the research around adolescent sexual health and pregnancy, in and out of New Zealand, involves quantitative methods and a biomedical focus. Such studies offer information on identifying sexual behaviours and looking at correlations, risk factors, and negative consequences resulting

from early sex, unprotected sex, and adolescent pregnancy. However, the complexities of their sexual behaviour are mostly left unknown, when the voices of the young people themselves are left unheard and the focus remains on facts and figures (Collins, 2005; Jackson, 2004). This leaves a hole in the knowledge of how to tailor sexuality education and prevention programmes, as well as how to appropriately develop useful adolescent sexual health policy (Jackson, 2004).

Another problematic assumption of traditional psychology studies of adolescent sexuality is that people make rational decisions based on factual knowledge (Woollett, Marshall & Stenner, 1998). As such, other New Zealand research, again in survey form, has concentrated on adolescents' knowledge and attitudes about sexuality and sexual health. These studies suggest young New Zealanders have a fair amount of knowledge regarding sexual health and STIs (Allen, 2001; Jackson, 2004). However, this has not translated into generally safe sexual practices. Research demonstrates a wide knowledge-practice gap (Allen, 2001). Sexuality and the meanings attached to it are complex and diverse, yet this is left out by questionnaires and surveys (Woollett et al., 1998). Both sexuality research and sexual education need to move towards a greater focus on the socio-cultural context that may be influencing young people's actual sexual behaviours (Allen, 2001; Ministry of Health, 2005).

Qualitative research opens up the potential to discover social and cultural factors influencing the knowledge-practice gap, including the potential dilemmas of the gendered sexual roles available to young people, the individual and group meanings attributed to sex and sexuality, and thus the difficulties they may have in negotiating healthy behaviours in their sexual relationships, which may be impacting on their lack of follow through on sexual safety knowledge (Jackson, 2004). What has been established about sexuality education so far is that abstinence programmes and biologically-based sexual education are generally of little help, unless comprehensively tied with safe sex education, recognition of social influences, and social skill

development (DiClemente et al., 1992; Kirby et al., 1994). Studies of young people's perceptions of sexual education, including a recent New Zealand study of adolescent mothers, have found that sexuality education tends to be too narrowly focused on biological aspects, such as puberty, risks, and safe sex, with minimal attention to social aspects youths would appreciate help with, such as negotiating sexual relationships, safe sex, sexual identity, and gender (Jackson, 2004; Collins, 2005).

As it seems the function of well-rounded preventative programmes should involve attention to changing sexual knowledge and attitudes to improve sexual decision-making (Franklin & Corcoran, 2000), research that furthers knowledge about the influences affecting the decision-making process will surely be of benefit. Related to this, Jackson's (2004) research asking relevant parties about what they thought was needed in the study of New Zealand adolescent sexuality uncovered a number of target areas that are considered in the present research, including examining young people's awareness and practice of safe sex and its relation to the knowledge-practice gap, as well as young people's understandings of sexuality and how they work through sexual relationships with their partners.

Young Women, Gender and Sexuality

Since the 1970s, research around young women's sexuality has come to the forefront, as the sexual revolution heightened recognition of the gendered nature of sexuality and the power differentials at play in the negotiation of intimate relationships. While young women today are often considered to have achieved sexual liberation, research shows mixed messages, as women continue to be framed within dominant discourses¹ that maintain conventional ideas of femininity (Gavey, 2005).

¹ The thesis works from Weedon's (1987) definition of discourse, which includes ways of constituting knowledge and also related social practices, subjectivities and power relations.

While young women of today may no longer be expected to keep their virginity for marriage, Thompson's (1990) qualitative research around American adolescent girls' sexual experiences described a largely negative picture of first sex for young women, who spoke of pain, disillusionment and regret. Holland, Ramazanoglu and Sharpe's (1998) similar work with young English women demonstrates that more recently there has still been little space for young women's sexual pleasure or agency, as they remain situated within a heterosexuality that prioritises masculinity, teaches passive, self-sacrificing femininity, and insidiously links to risky sexual behaviour. Fine's (1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006) recognition of the "missing discourse of desire" for young women in the way they are educated about sex explains part of this, as girls are trained to see sex as dangerous, masculine and something to avoid or eventually give in to passively. The sexual double standard, whereby sexually desiring and agentic girls continue to be labelled with a bad reputation for displaying a sexuality that boys would be revered for, also plays a major role in why young women are still cautious of stepping outside conventional femininity (Gavey, 2005; Jackson & Cram, 2003). Also the romantic discourse, which expects girls to relegate their own needs and wants to the background, as they focus instead on maintaining relationships, promotes the value of pleasing and caring for boyfriends, even when this may directly contradict a girl's own safety (Tolman, 1999).

On a more positive note, some recent research has established a shift in how young women are positioned sexually. While the sexual double standard remains strong, many young Western women are finding a base from which to challenge it, speaking of their own desire and of possibilities for active female sexuality (Jackson & Cram, 2003; Tolman, 2002).

While these latest studies are heartening for young Western women, voices and positions of 'other' women are generally still silenced. As Jackson's (2004) analysis of gaps in New Zealand youth sexual health research points out, most overseas and New Zealand research uses white, Western, middle

class participants. There is a need for the inclusion of minority groups, who are frequently forgotten by mainstream studies.

Culture and Sexuality

American studies show elevated rates of adolescent pregnancy among ethnic minorities, including Latin and Black Americans (SIECUS Report, 1997). In such groups, typical adolescent stresses are compounded by cultural or religious identity conflicts, as well as other variables of coping with acculturation, lowered socioeconomic status and education, and family unemployment. New Zealand health statistics also show especially high adolescent pregnancy and birth rates among ethnic minorities (Ministry of Health, 2003; 2004). New Zealand's high adolescent abortion rate is especially high among Asian and Maori women (Ministry of Health, 2004). Of recent concern is the markedly high abortion rate among adolescent Asian women, with the highest crude abortion ratio being among Asian women under age twenty (Ministry of Health, 2004) and 364 abortions per 1,000 known pregnancies to Asian women in general in 2001; a rate 61% above the national mean (Ministry of Health, 2003). Reasons behind these rates and in-depth analyses of these women's circumstances have yet to be explored, and little is known of the cultural applicability of current sexuality programmes to minority (Asian) adolescents. However, the lack of sexuality education among new immigrants may play a significant role (Asian Public Health Project Team, 2003). Young minority women would be an appropriate sector of New Zealand society to target for prevention programmes (Chung et al., 2007).

In New Zealand, few studies have examined Maori and Pakeha adolescent sexuality issues (Jackson, 2004). Current adolescent sexuality policies have been predominantly developed from research done outside New Zealand, and the few studies that have been carried out within New Zealand rely mainly on young Pakeha New Zealanders (Jackson, 2004 for a review). Even less is known about the nature of adolescent sexuality decisions among other New Zealand ethnic groups, who, as members of a minority

population, are likely faced with additional identity clashes and socio-cultural stressors (Asian Public Health Project Team, 2003). Until now, the mainstream sexuality literature has largely ignored minority groups and statistical analyses have tended to categorise them only as Maori, Pacific Islander and Asian or Other (Health Research and Analytical Services, 1994; IESR, 2004).

Recent exploration of the use of contraception among New Zealand's Pacific and Chinese peoples found various specific cultural factors influential in why these women are less inclined to use contraception, including conservative family morals, lack of discussion and education around sexuality, fear for reputation, and beliefs about contraception and whose responsibility it is (Collins, 2005).

In many non-Western cultures, women are socialised to see sexuality as a forbidden topic (Salgado de Snyder, Acevedo, Diaz-Perez, & Saldivar-Garduno, 2000). If sexuality, intimacy, and safe sex practices are not discussed actively, how can young minority women living in a Western culture learn to express and deal with their concerns about sexual experiences? Migrant women often struggle to find a way to become "Westernised" while still staying faithful to their own cultural heritage (Phillips, 2000). Elevated adolescent pregnancy rates may relate to minority adolescents' own perceptions of sexuality being mismatched with those of their family culture and the culture in which they now live (Asian Public Health Project Team, 2003). To make adolescent sexuality and pregnancy prevention programmes culturally applicable to minority groups, the way adolescent women from cultural minorities talk about and perceive sexuality, and the influences affecting their sexual decision-making must first be explored.

Immigrant Adolescents, Gender and Sexuality

New Zealand is a multicultural nation with a high proportion of immigrants in the population, which has led to a changing ethnic and cultural

compositio. Asian immigrants make up a significant minority population at 6.6 per cent of the New Zealand population, with more than three quarters of Asian residents originating from outside of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). More than doubling between 1991 and 2001, the Asian population is expected to have a significantly increasing growth over the next decade, principally from immigration (Asian Public Health Project Team, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 2002). A demand for New Zealand research around the issues of immigrant identity, acculturation and health has been noted in recent years, particularly for Asians and women (Asian Public Health Project Team, 2003; Ward, 2007).

Youths (aged 15-24years) constitute a relatively large part of the New Zealand Asian population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). It is likely that the complex issues affecting the children of immigrants are different to those of their immigrant parents, as these youths are caught between cross-cultural and intergenerational tensions. Yet, there is minimal research available around the experiences of second generation immigrants (taken to mean either children of immigrants who were themselves born in the new country of residence or those who immigrated to the new country during childhood), regarding the emotional challenge of building a cultural and personal identity between the two cultures (Manderson, Kelaher, Woelz-Stirling, Kaplan & Green, 2002). Some studies of Asian adolescents growing up in the USA and Australia have described these youths as having an elevated vulnerability to mental and physical health problems including depression, low self esteem, substance use, and adolescent pregnancy, as well as social and school problems, including delinquency, leaving school early, and unemployment (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001; Manderson et al., 2002), due to having to deal with the pressure to acculturate alongside all the normal developmental issues of adolescence.

In the modern world and as part of the global community, adolescents are exposed to a wide array of values, ideas and practices that may sit outside those of their family norms. Parents are often concerned that this heightens

the likelihood of risky sexual behaviour and results in pregnancies and STIs (Manderson et al., 2002). For adolescents from immigrant families, exposure to beliefs and experiences different to those of their family culture is an ever-present stressful reality. Such adolescents must negotiate the clash between their two cultures, as they work towards attaining autonomy over their personal and sexual identity, while attempting to accommodate the expectations of both cultures (Espin, 1997; Manderson et al., 2002).

The few studies of immigrant youth and sexuality note the young people's description of friction between trying to please their parents and community, honour their religious beliefs and avoid shaming the family, while also trying to adapt to the new social environment, which is frequently more broad-minded about sexuality than the traditional values of their parents' generation (Manderson et al., 2002). Women play a crucial role in immigrant identity and the sense of cultural continuity (Espiritu, 2001). Some parent-child conflicts appear gendered, with young Asian, Latin and Pacific Island immigrant women observed to be having particular tensions with parents around dating, sexuality and becoming too Westernised; with closer parental monitoring of daughters' sexuality, bodies and independence than for sons (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001; Manderson et al., 2002; Tupuola, 1996). Of the young Filipino women surveyed by Manderson et al (2002) who still lived with their parents, most expressed feeling restricted by their parents in this manner. DeSantis, Thomas, and Sennett (1999) found similar intergenerational conflict between immigrant Haitian parents and children around sexuality, partly due to the different rates of acculturation between generations.

Filipino Culture in the West

The Filipino community is the fourth largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand, making up five per cent of the Asian population. The New Zealand Filipino population has rapidly grown from 4917 at the 1991 census to 11091 at the 2001 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

Mainstream Filipino culture emphasises a sense of shared identity and community responsibility (Enriquez, 1993; Manderson et al., 2002). In illustration of this, the Filipino language shows an abundance of words to describe human interrelatedness and collectivity (Enriquez, 1993). Deemed central to the Filipino personality and pivotal to moral values in the Philippines is the concept of *kapwa*. While closest in meaning to the English words ‘others’ or ‘fellow beings’, *kapwa* does not distinguish between this ‘other’ and the self, instead signifying the unity of self and others, and involving the treatment of all with respect and care (Enriquez, 1993). Making up the core value *kapwa* are the concepts of *hiya* (shame), *utang na loob* (gratitude), and *pakikisama* (yielding to the majority) (Enriquez, 1993). Along with *bayanihan* (working together for a common effort), these concepts are stressed in the individual’s relationship with their family (Enriquez, 1993; Manderson et al., 2002).

A sense of self that highlights the importance of connectedness, belonging and responsibility to one’s community is likely a significant influence in young people’s way of thinking, behaviour and sexuality (Enriquez, 1993; Manderson et al., 2002). Family loyalty and cohesiveness are of high importance and refer not only to the immediate family, but also to the large extended family with whom both prosperity and misfortune are shared. Alongside predominantly Catholic religious principles, the intermingling of self and family identity guides a concentration on the good of the family over the wants of the individual and implies a significant moral pressure on youths to comply with the expectations of their elders, with young women raised to value obedience over independence (Espiritu, 2001; Manderson et al., 2002). Stepping outside family customs and expectations is associated with great shame, so that those who are seen as lacking in respect for the shared sense of dignity and duty are often constructed as bad, disgraceful or to be avoided (Enriquez, 1993; Manderson et al., 2002).

Alongside this, parents hold the responsibility of protecting and monitoring young people and leading them in morality, even into adulthood (Enriquez,

1993; Manderson et al., 2002).). In real terms, this often translates to restrictions and surveillance, particularly of young women (Espiritu, 2001), although in many ways this is viewed as a strength and the cohesive, secure nature of families tends to be valued by young people (Manderson et al., 2002). While independence and freedom may be appealing to young second generation immigrants living in the West, research shows this does not take precedence over the importance of family loyalty and belonging (Manderson et al., 2002), although youths often feel a struggle between the two.

Filipino Immigrants and Sexuality

As already stated, little is known about the sexual behaviours and understandings of minority women in New Zealand. Studies of young Filipino women in Australia and the United States of America suggest that their efforts towards sexual safety and contraception are inconsistent, despite their awareness of the risks involved (Manderson et al., 2002). While this is also typical of mainstream youth populations, the meanings behind sexual practices are likely different for immigrant youth and compounded by the influences of both the family and dominant cultures including peers, partners and the media (Espiritu, 2001; Manderson et al., 2002).

Manderson et al.'s (2002) research with Australian Filipino women suggests that they are subject to particular cultural obstacles to open discussion of sex, due to issues of upholding family honour, fear of cultural shame, and friction between Australian and Filipino morals. As a result, advice on sexual practices and relationships is not readily accessible (Manderson et al., 2002). Despite this, it appears that young Australian Filipino women are engaging in sexual activity at fairly similar rates to the mainstream Australian population; yet their beliefs and morals about sexuality tend to align more closely and conservatively with those of their parental culture (Manderson et al., 2002). This includes ideas on the importance of abstaining from sex before marriage, which potentially leave them in inner

conflict over the incongruity between their beliefs and their own behaviour. The difference between belief and behaviour may also result in difficulty knowing where to turn if they need advice on sexual matters, as they may not feel a fit with mainstream views, yet they may also feel unable to tell their families about their sexual behaviour. It is likely that young Filipino immigrants, like other immigrant youth, may need support in negotiating a sexual space between the two cultures.

American and Australian Filipinos often positioned conflicts between the values endorsed by parents and those taken on by their children as the undesirable influences of the dominant culture that oppose traditional expectations around respect for elders and appropriate femininity (Espiritu, 2001; Manderson et al., 2002). Immigrant Filipino parents expressed concern about their children becoming “Americanised” (Espiritu, 2001). Filipino parents fear the risks of personal and sexual independence in the new country, particularly risks to family reputation and girls’ morality. As such, they are especially protective of daughters (Manderson et al., 2002).

Sex is commonly seen as unmentionable for Filipino families, with the young Filipino women of Manderson et al’s (2002) study worrying that they were less informed about sexual health than other young Australians. The young women described pregnancy and conflictual relationships with parents as principal problems for young Australian Filipino women and said they felt unable to go to parents over sexual issues out of fear of disgrace and disapproval (Manderson et al., 2002). As this view fits with anecdotal information from members of the New Zealand Filipino community, it seems likely to be of similar concern for New Zealand Filipinos.

Manderson et al’s (2002) study, however, involved young women with a mean age of 21, somewhat older than the adolescent age group I feel it is particularly essential to target. Additionally, while a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods were used, the focus remained on description of behaviour, rather than a close analysis of the contradictions in the talk of

Filipino immigrants and the subjectivities available to the young women of their community.

Aims of the Current Study

The present research aims to further knowledge about the influences affecting adolescent immigrant women's sexual decisions and to offer these women an opportunity to express their opinions and concerns regarding sexual experiences. In-depth qualitative interviews with a sample of young New Zealand Filipinas will investigate their understandings of romance and sexuality, focusing on how they make sense of sexuality and sexual practices in the context of intimate relationships.

Using discursive and narrative analysis, I will investigate the cultural and individual knowledge and discursive resources that adolescent Filipinas draw on to construct and account for intimacy and sexual decision-making. I expect that many areas of conflict and contradiction observed in the adolescents' discourses will be based around changes in cultural and social practices associated with the adjustment to New Zealand lifestyle and peers, alongside the maintenance of the Filipino cultural context in which traditional discourses of sexuality make sense.

Exploring Espin's (1997) idea that key cultural traditions and messages molding our perceptions of female sexuality are passed indirectly from parents, individual interviews will also be carried out separately with Filipina mothers and daughters. I expect to find links between mother and daughter narratives that may signify the passing down of knowledge and cultural norms of sexuality through the generations.

The contribution made by this research will help to fill a gap in the New Zealand adolescent psychology literature, by increasing understanding of the choices, pressures and discursive resources available to young (immigrant) women when they form values and make decisions regarding their sexuality. While the discoveries made in this research cannot be

assumed to apply to other New Zealand ethnic minority groups, this will be a step towards cultural sensitivity in sexuality research in New Zealand and a force to drive more culturally applicable sexuality programmes.

Psychological studies of immigrants have tended to focus on mental illness and the like, while skipping over the personal side of acculturation and the migratory experience (Espin, 1999). Knowledge of these women's interpretations and perceptions of sexuality can be used to enhance the relevance of adolescent pregnancy prevention programmes and sexuality education as they apply to the Filipino community and similar young minority populations in New Zealand. While some of the cultural mores that arise out of the New Zealand Filipinas' discourses will be particular to their community and cultural setting, other issues and concerns they raise are likely to be generalisable to other immigrant groups and the wider New Zealand adolescent population. In this way, my research will provide both a general adolescent women's outlook on sexuality and a more specific culturally based analysis of sexuality in the Filipino community. Researchers, clinicians and other skilled workers in the field cannot make the assumption that what works with Pakeha youth and families will work with other groups, when the cultural mores and norms regarding sexuality are so different.

Most of the published New Zealand data on adolescent sexuality is quantitative and problem-focused. My qualitative research will therefore make a distinctive methodological contribution, allowing the young women in the sample to voice their own issues and concerns about sexuality in their own words. The interviewing of mothers as well as daughters is also a fairly novel approach to sexuality research.

Perhaps most importantly, the knowledge that will be generated has practical implications. My research is driven by the need to inform education and prevention programmes addressing adolescent sexuality in New Zealand. This contribution will help to develop associations and the

passage of knowledge between applied psychological research, ethnic minority communities, such as the New Zealand Filipino population, and sexual education / adolescent support organisations in New Zealand, such as the Family Planning Association.

My work will put the adolescent psychology and sexual health fields in a position to compare knowledge about young Pakeha and young Filipina women's sexuality, as a step to identifying whether needs within education and prevention programmes might be different. If it is found that the 'one size fits all' approach to these programmes is not appropriate, this will have implications for other ethnic minority groups in New Zealand. The targeting of minority group adolescent women for appropriate sexual education may, in the long term, lead to a decreased rate of unplanned adolescent pregnancies and abortions in minority populations. This would in turn create a decrease in the number of young women who experience the educational, social and economic disadvantages that adolescent mothers are faced with.

My objectives include an exploration of how adolescent Filipinas perceive intimate relationships and make sexual decisions, particularly investigating how young Filipina women use cultural discourses of romance and heterosexuality that are available to them within Filipino and New Zealand cultures. From here, I plan to examine how young Filipinas deal with and justify problems and contradictions in their discursive resources relating to sexuality, and how these cultural discourses are linked to their own sexual norms and behaviours. In the second study, the aim is to investigate how Filipina women use narratives of their own life experiences to make sense of their sexuality, while exploring how young Filipinas' talk about romance, intimacy and sexuality relates to their mothers' talk of these issues. It is hoped that the knowledge obtained from the research can be applied by making recommendations for sexual education and pregnancy prevention programmes that will enhance their relevancy to the researched community and similar communities.

Chapter Two

Sexuality Discourses and their Circulation in Contemporary Society

Chapter One briefly introduced some of the literature around adolescent sexuality in its cultural context. Chapter Two will focus on a discussion of historical and current discourses around female heterosexuality in the West, and how these might fit with the specific Filipino cultural discourses that are likely influential for immigrant New Zealand Filipino women.

Sexuality is generally cast from a biological viewpoint (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Yet sexuality is also a social construction (Vance, 1984). Rather than being completely natural, the meaning and expression of sexuality, its relation to the body, and the sexual roles offered to men and women are shaped by social forces and institutions (Gavey, 2005; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Vance, 1984). These include religion, the school system and the family. Sexual meanings vary according to context, in terms of culture, gender, class, generation, education (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). This enables us to explain the great diversity in sexual meanings, behaviours and attraction across cultures (Vance, 1984). In the theoretical chapter that follow this one, we will see the social construction of sexuality occurs through discourses, which throughout history have created and evolved societal ideas of what is normal, what is acceptable and what is possible (Vance, 1984). How we understand our sexuality is expressed, labelled and interpreted through discourse. How we behave sexually can thus be seen as following a socio-culturally prescribed 'sexual script' that guides us on what to do sexually, how to go about and talk about sexual relationships, and even what to desire (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Vance, 1984). Foucault's study of the history of sexuality discusses how these meanings, roles and practices of sexuality are not shaped neutrally, but have been used in recent history to control and regulate society, in order to sustain dominant power structures (Foucault, 1979b; Gavey, 1993). Powerful social pressure is

applied to follow these norms and scripts, sometimes with formal rules and sanctions in place that individuals follow out of fear of the consequences of not doing so (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The last hundred years have seen many changes in mainstream society's ideas about sexuality, and adolescent sexuality in particular (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). In the first half of the twentieth century, girls in the Western world were expected to become wives and then mothers and in the meantime save their virginity. Meanwhile, the sexual double standard allowed and accepted boys engaging in multiple casual sexual relationships before settling down to the role of husband and provider (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). During the 1950s, premarital sex became more acceptable in the context of a loving relationship that was leading to marriage. However, girls were still given the responsibility for controlling sexual activity, while the view that 'boys will be boys' and will take any sex they can get remained the norm (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). From the late 1960s and 1970s, prescribed gender roles and the expectations of what was appropriate youth sexual behaviour became more blurred, as the idea of permissive sex became popularised. With contraception readily available, the women's liberation movement insisting on sexual equality, and the time between reaching sexual maturity and marriage becoming longer, sex was no longer so tied to marriage and procreation (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

While these ideas remain in circulation today, the age of HIV, alongside awareness of STDs and public messages about the dangers of sex, has decreased the appeal of free love (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Talk of sexual safety and responsibility has become prominent and the popularity of the conservative plea for premarital abstinence has risen in some areas. Modern Western youth tend to see premarital sex as the norm for both girls and boys, although cultural variations are found, with many immigrant groups being less liberal (Espin, 1997; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Although sex is cast as fun and pleasurable, sex within a love relationship is generally favoured over the permissive sexuality of the previous generation

(Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). While the sexual double standard is no longer held in such high esteem, particularly by young women, it is still clearly operational. The degree to which different standards remain for girls' and boys' sexual expression is partially dependent on culture and class (Espin, 1997; Lees, 1993; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Boys who have casual sex are cast in a positive masculine light, but girls who behave similarly may still be harshly criticised as 'sluts' (Lees, 1993; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). This has left open many subject positions for youth sexuality.

However, with the biological discourse of sexuality so dominant, the socially constructed nature of sexuality has been overlooked by much of mainstream teaching, literature and policy (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). In order to understand sexual behaviour, norms and beliefs, and the related gender and cultural differences, there is a need to investigate the meaning of youth sexual behaviour in its socio-cultural and historical context (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). The following chapter outlines contemporary dominant discourses of sexuality in Western and Filipino cultures discussed in the current sexuality literature, and the subjectivities these offer to women. The messages of these discourses may be received from different or even the same source. Despite their contradictions and tensions, they weave together to create an elaborate and compelling web of meanings for young women to work through in the navigation of their sexuality (Phillips, 2000).

Compulsory heterosexuality and the coital imperative

Fundamental to dominant sexual discourse in general is the overriding assumption of heterosexuality, with a lack of attention to alternative forms of sexuality (Gavey, 1993; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993). Tied to this is the idea that heterosex involves male dominance and the passive consent of women, desiring or not; a concept that recurs through much of the sexual discourse that circulates in modern society (Gavey, 1993; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993).

Another governing discourse in heterosexuality is the coital imperative

(Jackson, 1984). Assuming penile penetration of the vagina to be the central and natural purpose of heterosex, the coital imperative so dominates our construction of heterosexuality that it is tantamount to the definition of sex itself (Gavey, 2005; Jackson, 1984; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993). When other sexual practices are framed as potential parts of sex, they are usually referred to as foreplay, rather than as necessary or important to sex (Gavey, 2005). This is despite the finding that many girls report these activities as the most enjoyable parts of sex (Ussher, 1997). Instead, a natural sexual progression is understood, going from touching to (potentially) oral sex to (always) penetrative intercourse, and generally concluding in male orgasm inside the vagina, ideally with a simultaneous female orgasm (Altman, 1984). The possibility of sex without coitus is left out, and the coital imperative sits agreeably with the idea of male sexual fulfilment as the primary aim of heterosex (Gavey, 2005; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993).

Traditional gender roles and sexuality

Discourses of conventional masculinity and femininity position men as the initiators of sexual relations, due to their stronger sex drive, while women are placed in the coy, pleasing role, obliging men's sexual demands in private and maintaining a demure and attractive appearance in the public eye (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Related to this, society promotes media depictions of young men who are sexually driven, boasting multiple casual sexual encounters that centre on male sexual gratification rather than emotional attachment. Those who do not adhere to this stereotype risk insults related to being homosexual or unattractive (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The discourse of the Madonna / whore dichotomy:

Conventional femininity, on the other hand, presses young women to be chaste and 'good' (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Much more so than for young men, a young woman's social reputation depends greatly on her sexuality. Girls are positioned within the 'good girl / bad girl' or 'Madonna / whore' dichotomy (Lees, 1993). While they should always be attractive and

potentially sexy, they should not display their sexuality openly, as this could afford them the negative label of 'slut'. By instead denying their sexuality and remaining virginal, girls may stay 'good girls', although nowadays, not being interested enough in sex could also label them as 'frigid' (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

Within these discourses sit cultural scripts for explaining sexual behaviour. Girls have been socialised to associate sex with love and selflessness, so that having sex is frequently explained as being due to love, to wanting to be emotionally closer, and to wanting to satisfy the beloved boyfriend (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Girls are constructed merely as objects of male desire, their own pleasure stemming from pleasing the boy (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe & Thomson, 1999). With no mention of their own desire, the sexual script for girls is described by Walkerdine (1984) as part of a fairy-tale package whereby girls passively await the love of a strong man who will rescue them. Alternatively, the masculine sexual script emphasises experimentation, sexual desire and a need for physical satisfaction (Holland et al., 1999; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). This is a much more active script in terms of the fairy-tale also, as it is the boy who is the subject of the discourse, actively pursuing, romancing and rescuing the girl (Walkerdine, 1984).

Discourses of adult sexuality

Hollway (1989) investigated the way men and women talk about their sexual relationships. She revealed three dominant discourses that characterise heterosexual relationships in the West and continue to be found today - the 'male sexual drive discourse', the 'have / hold discourse', and the 'permissive discourse' (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). These have been added to by the 'pseudo-reciprocal gift discourse' (Gilfoyle, Wilson, & Brown, 1993).

The 'male sexual drive discourse':

The 'male sexual drive discourse' posits that there is an ever-present

biological sexual need that drives men to have sex (Hollway, 1989). This discourse sits within the dominant assumption that sex and sexuality are natural and biological, not socially constructed, and that sexuality is active (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989). In practice, this means an active *male* sexuality though and there is no recognition of women's sexual desire and drive (Hollway, 1989). Women are viewed mainly as passive sexual objects, eliciting desire in men, rather than being sexual subjects in their own right (Gavey, 2005).

The woman is only considered active in that it is she who must decide and maintain the boundaries of sex (Gavey, 2005). Acknowledging a power differential between men and women, the 'male sexual drive discourse' assumes that women must be pressured into sex, and it is their role to respond to male sexual initiative, by either accepting or resisting (Gavey, 2005; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). If the woman does not comply, it is possible that the man may use force to obtain sex and satisfy his sexual needs (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). A woman who expresses an overt sexual desire may be considered unwomanly and held accountable for any sexual exploitation she is victim to as a result (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The 'have / hold discourse':

The 'have / hold discourse' relates to Christian marriage vows, which reflect its central doctrine (Hollway, 1989). Within this discourse, sex is deemed acceptable within the context of a committed, monogamous heterosexual relationship. The husband leads and is responsible for his wife and family (Hollway, 1989). While the 'have / hold discourse' is supposedly equal for men and women, in effect it is mainly applied to the comportment of women, due to the workings of the sexual double standard (Hollway, 1989).

The 'have / hold discourse' and the 'male sexual drive discourse' thus offer very distinct yet compatible gender roles for women's and men's sexuality (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989). In place of the active and desiring male sexual drive, in the 'have / hold discourse', women are seen as driven by a

reproductive need and an orientation towards committed love and family. This supposedly creates a reciprocal relationship, whereby a woman trades complying with her man's sexual needs in exchange for security for herself and their children, while a man trades in his freedom in exchange for the care, sexual and otherwise, provided by the woman he has committed to (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989).

Today, these discourses may appear out-dated, yet they remain strongly in circulation (Gavey, 2005). Modern women may resist the 'male sexual drive discourse', but this is not easy, as our current discursive climate continues to punish women who step too far outside its confines in either direction. A great range of vocabulary is available in the policing of women's sexuality, with those restricting sex labelled 'frigid' and those choosing a more active expression of sexuality labelled 'slut' (Gavey, 2005). Such labels are frequently used as justifications in the subordinate treatment of women (Gavey, 2005). What has changed in recent decades is the introduction of a discourse around active sexuality and the right to sexual desire and pleasure for both men and women, married and unmarried (Gavey, 2005).

The 'permissive discourse':

The 'permissive discourse' originates from the free love ideal of the sexually liberated 1960s and 1970s, which challenged the 'have / hold discourse' and detached sex from procreation (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989). It states that young men and women alike should be free to express themselves sexually, as long as no harm is caused to anyone (Hollway, 1989). As with the 'male sexual drive discourse', sexuality is seen as natural and biological, but this time with a natural right to expression for all. The 'permissive discourse' thus recognises and allows women's sexual desire and activity as well as men's, and separates sex from procreation (Hollway, 1989).

Alongside the arrival of the contraceptive pill, the 'permissive discourse' made many changes to heterosexuality (Gavey, 2005). In theory, this

discourse no longer places women as sexual objects under the gaze of men, but instead positions them as equal sexual subjects with biological drives and sexual autonomy (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989). In practice however, the 'permissive discourse' and its accompanying sexual liberation have tended to be an affirmation of male sexuality (Gavey, 2005; Gilfoyle, Wilson, & Brown, 1993; Hollway, 1989). Sex is seen as a completely physical act and one's partner is seen as the means to sexual gratification (Hollway, 1989). Women tend to remain the objects of male desire (Gavey, 2005; Gilfoyle et al., 1993). The commitment and emotional side of the sexual relationship that is usually associated with feminine sexuality is denied (Hollway, 1989). With sex no longer tied to commitment and obligation, men are no longer bound to support the women they have a sexual relationship with, nor their children (Gavey, 2005).

The 'permissive discourse' enabled modern women to express their sexuality freely, making available many choices outside of marriage and bringing a voice of sexual confidence and pleasure. However, it takes for granted that men and women are equally and freely able to assert their wants and needs in the negotiation of sexual relations. It forgets what is often a very real power differential between men and women in the ability to say yes or no to sex (Gavey, 2005). The construction of male sexuality, and men in general, as powerful, and women as passive and submissive, stays strong, as does the dominance of the patriarchal power structures in society that maintain this construction (Gavey, 2005).

On top of this, the sexual double standard remains, albeit disguised, to criticise and regulate women's sexual choices and behaviours (Gavey, 2005). Women are far less able than men to avoid the derogatory labels attached to promiscuity (Gilfoyle et al., 1993). Plus, women's sexual autonomy may only extend so far, as society holds steadfastly to the conventional gender roles discussed already (Gavey, 2005). Women are still taught to see their sexuality as a commodity, with talk of how to be more attractive to men surrounding them (Gavey, 2005).

With virginity considered outdated and men and women alike expected to be sexually driven, the right to say no to unwanted sex with the defence of maintaining one's virtue has become problematic for women (Gavey, 2005). The construction of a missing discourse of desire among women has moved onto what Gavey (2005) describes as the 'escalating discourse of women's missing desire' (p. 111). Rather than being presumed to oblige men with sex out of duty despite having no desire of their own, women are now presumed to be nearly as desiring as men. It is assumed that, at least within a long-term relationship, women should usually want sex also. A woman lacking in desire may be constructed as abnormal, in much the same way that an aggressively desiring women previously was (and still is) (Gavey, 2005).

The 'pseudo-reciprocal gift discourse':

Related to the 'male sexual drive discourse', the 'pseudo-reciprocal gift discourse' assumes that men have a biological need for sex and require women to submissively gift themselves and surrender their bodies to fulfil their men's sexual needs (Gilfoyle et al., 1993). Implicit in this is that women have less of a drive for sex. In exchange for giving sex, women are rewarded with a reciprocal gift from their men who try to pleasure women, generally by giving them an orgasm (Gilfoyle et al., 1993). In both parts of the trade, men are positioned as conquering subjects of power, taking initiative and action in the sexual encounter, having control over the women they are given as gifts, and hopefully being proficient in their performance so that they can bestow pleasure on women. Meanwhile, women are positioned passively as objects, their bodies being given away and pleasure being given to them. This pleasure given by men is constructed as the natural source of sexual pleasure for women. The potential for women to find sexual pleasure on their own is ignored and conventional gender roles in the sexual act are emphasised (Gilfoyle et al., 1993). Because the striking power differential between the genders is couched in an idea that seems equal, modern and reciprocal from the outside, the discourse has been labelled the 'pseudo-reciprocal' gift (Gilfoyle et al., 1993).

Discourses of adolescent sexuality

While these discourses can apply to adolescent sexual behaviour as well, there are other overlapping sexual discourses at work for young people. These include discourses around love, sex, sexual safety, and most prominently, how to act as young women and men in and out of relationships. Fine (1988) and Moore and Rosenthal (1993) discuss four dominant discourses about adolescent sexuality, particularly called upon by the adult population and the media. These include discourses of morality, desire, danger, and victimisation. Meanwhile, Phillips (2000) talks of opposing pairs of discourses about femininity, masculinity, female victimisation and love. Again, the focus is generally on sexuality as biological, natural and maturation (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The sexual double standard:

As mentioned at the start of the chapter, the sexual double standard is still rife in discourse on adolescent sexuality (Lees, 1993). Boys are constructed as having more autonomy, yet less moral responsibility (Lees, 1993). While it is now expected that both boys and girls will engage in sex before marriage, girls are still cautioned about reputations, with appropriate sex being an intimate and emotional expression in a committed relationship (Lees, 1993). While boys are encouraged to be sexually dominant and their reputations may well be improved by multiple sexual 'conquests', girls are constructed as passive objects of male desire. They need to be discrete and avoid mention of female sexual desire to avoid offensive sexual labels (Tolman, 2002). Casual sexual relationships are more difficult to justify as appropriate sexual behaviour for girls (Lees, 1993).

For adolescents, as with adults, dominant discourse posits that boys' sexual drives are intrinsic and difficult to control when aroused, whereas girls' sexual drives, if they exist at all, are likely weaker and more controllable (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Vance, 1984). Boys require sex; girls do not. Girls are positioned as objects, rather than subjects of sexuality, constantly under the gaze of boys who take the active role of sexual initiator (Jackson,

2004). Sex is something that happens to them and something they are pressured into. It is considered normal for a boy to be aggressively lustful, attempting to persuade girls into sexual relationships (Lees, 1993). The responsibility for instigating and satisfying male needs is placed in the hands of the woman (Lees, 1993). As such, attractiveness and sexuality sit alongside each other for young women, who are taught that the role of sexual object is part of what it means to be a girl (Jackson, 2004). Girls are educated in how to appear attractive, desirable and desiring to boys, and good girlfriends and wives are expected comply with men's sexual urges even if they themselves do not feel sexually desiring (Altman, 1984; Jackson, 2004).

Constructing the male drive as easily aroused by any display of feminine sexuality and, once provoked, as virtually irrepressible, places avoidance, prevention and control of the male sexual drive as the woman's responsibility too (Lees, 1993; Vance, 1984). It assumes girls are in a position powerful enough to do so, and also posits that girls hold a power that boys do not – the ability to think logically and responsibly when boys may be morally overcome by their biological sex drive (Haag, 2000). If a girl does not manage to control her partner convincingly, the sexual encounter that eventuates may well be seen as her fault for leading the boy on, even in situations of rape (Lees, 1993). Girls are thus socialised to experience their sexuality as risky, dangerous, and something requiring constraint, as they are positioned as the moral gate-keeper to sexual behaviour for both parties (Vance, 1984).

Discourses of the 'good woman' – the 'pleasing woman' and the 'together woman':

Phillips' (2000) research with young women identified two versions of a 'good woman discourse' in modern times. In line with conventional femininity, the position of the 'pleasing woman' is one of chastity or discretion, with nurturance and deference to men (Phillips, 2000). With a silence around overt female desire and sexuality, women are encouraged to

concentrate their efforts on self control and being desirable objects for men. They are expected to be 'actively selfless', finding fulfillment in satisfying the needs of men (Phillips, 2000). The traditional Madonna / whore dichotomy plays a significant role in the discourse of the 'pleasing woman', which strongly separates 'good' virginal girls, who resist the sexual initiatives of boys, from the shameful reputation of sexually active girls, who do not (Phillips, 2000).

Alternatively, the more progressive 'together woman discourse' positions women as autonomous, bold, sexually knowledgeable and free, and able to allure and control men (Phillips, 2000). Women not only have the right to satisfying sexual relationships; it is posited that it is in women's grasp to have and be everything in one and to be treated as an equal in society (Phillips, 2000). While promoting a more positive portrayal of female sexuality, the 'together woman discourse' manages to find common ground with the portrayal of the 'pleasing woman'. Women who are too overtly sexual may still be cast shamefully, and the 'together woman discourse' is still often associated with talk of how to be desirable to men - this time by showing sexual confidence and agency (Phillips, 2000). The importance of having a man stays unquestioned. Perhaps most problematic for heterosexual women is the lack of attention to gendered power differentials in society that often prevent women from attaining the equality that the 'together woman discourse' assumes. Instead, the responsibility for ensuring they 'get it all' is placed completely on the woman herself, thereby setting her up for failure (Phillips, 2000).

Performing the script of femininity - 'Doing' girl:

A major part of both discourses of the good woman relates to getting and keeping a boyfriend, which is constructed as a principle goal for young women motivated to find love (Phillips, 2000; Ussher, 1997). Romance and the quest for intimacy and love can be seen as the female counterpart to masculine depictions of sexuality and conquest (Ussher, 1997). Most importantly, girls are encouraged to concentrate on obtaining the admiration

of young men, regulating their behaviour so that they appear to model what boys want. Caught in the bind of societal messages and rules on how to achieve this, girls are taught to be simultaneously attractive and yet unattainable, as part of the promoted 'playing hard to get' role (Ussher, 1997). They are instructed to be feminine but not so feminine as to be girly, to nurture boys and their need to feel dominant, not to initiate sex and relationships themselves, and so on (Ussher, 1997).

Many girls resist or even actively reject the conventional feminine role. The discourse of the modern girl, depicted in teen magazines, says girls are not only focused on love and romance anymore (Ussher, 1997). Despite this, they may understand and outwardly follow the rules, sometimes appearing sexually innocent despite a hidden agenda of sex. In this way, girls can be seen as performing a role - 'doing' girl, whether or not it fits with how they believe, feel or act when away from the male gaze (Ussher, 1997). By constructing 'doing' girl as an active choice they have made, girls are still able to feel liberated and equal with boys (Ussher, 1997). The sense of covert control and manipulation over unsuspecting young men this generates is often reflected on with pride, enjoyment and a sense of empowerment (Ussher, 1997).

Love and the romantic discourse:

Phillips (2000) recognises two discourses around love that are available to young women. The 'love hurts discourse' teaches girls that men will always behave badly in relationships, implicitly signalling to girls that it is up to them to accept this and be the ones to compromise their expectations if a relationship is to work (Phillips, 2000). On the other hand, the 'love conquers all discourse' constructs a heterosexual relationship as the way to a lifetime of happiness for a woman (Phillips, 2000). As with the fairy tales, it is assumed that once a girl finds her prince, he will end her troubles and save her (Phillips, 2000; Ussher, 1997). The possibility of a girl finding these things within herself or with another girl is not looked into.

Either way, dominant romantic discourse constructs love as uncontrollable and all-consuming, something special that sweeps its victims off their feet (Jackson, 2005; Lees, 1993). Love and sex with love are depicted as natural, things that ‘just happen’ and cannot easily be fought against (Lees, 1993). It is within the space of love that sexual activity is deemed acceptable, particularly for women (Jackson, 2005; Lees, 1993). ‘Good’ women and girls are expected to only express their sexuality (and any mention of desire) within the bonds of love and the long-term relationship that love directs girls towards (Lees, 1993). Hence, this privileging of romantic love and commitment in popular sexual discourse upholds the patriarchal status quo, by again manoeuvring girls into a sexuality based around dependence on boyfriends (Altman, 1984; Lees, 1993). As love is upheld as the sole justifiable excuse for sex, and discussion of love is valid when that of sex is not, Lees (1993) suggests that many girls may distortedly construct sexual desire as romantic love after a sexual encounter.

Sluts and slags:

What is obvious at this point is that girls are frequently defined in relation to their sexuality in a way that boys are not. When girls do not fit closely into the boundaries of the ‘good woman discourses’, they may be subject to a wide range of commonplace insults that relate to their sexual behaviour, such as ‘slag’ and ‘slut’ (Lees, 1993; Phillips, 2000; Tolman, 2002). No corresponding labels that carry such great weight are available for boys (Lees, 1993). While very offensive, the term ‘slag’ actually refers to girls who behave sexually in a manner considered normal for men in the ‘male sexual drive discourse’, in other words actively pursuing sex for reasons other than love. For example, a girl carrying contraception when she is not in a serious relationship risks the ‘slag’ label, as planning for sex goes against the dominant sexual discourse of romance and spontaneity (Lees, 1993). Similarly, the loss of virginity, sexual promiscuity or even behaving towards boys in a way that suggests desire for sex places a girls outside the confines of conventional femininity and therefore as a potential ‘slag’. Girls are depicted both as sexual objects - commodities that lose value once they

have been used, and as sexual subjects with a sexuality that becomes uncontrollable once ignited (Lees, 1993).

The label 'slag' acts to contain and control girls' sexuality. By judging girls by their sexual reputation, instead of their abilities and character, girls are cast as good or bad, nice or a slag, and their inferior position to boys is maintained (Lees, 1993). Without distinct criteria as to what behaviour the label entails though, a single girl's sexual reputation is often also called into question for a range of other behaviours besides sex that can take on sexual significance. Basically, any autonomous behaviour that places girls outside the need for and subordination to boys can be put under scrutiny. Such scrutiny may not only be carried out by males, but also by girls themselves who take these ideas on as common sense and monitor themselves and each other (Lees, 1993). To protect themselves from the bad girl label, girls are encouraged to both silence their desires and to take refuge in monogamous heterosexual relationships to escape the risky reputation of a single, and therefore available, girl. This also manages however to rid them of their independence, by placing them again as dependent on males (Lees, 1993).

The discourse of morality:

In the last two decades, there has been a re-emergence of the right and responsibility to say no. Greatly due to the age of HIV and greater awareness of STDs, the current discursive field has seen somewhat of a return to the conservative right (Gavey, 2005). The discourse of morality preaches abstinence, and casts premarital sex as morally wrong and risky (Fine, 1988; Gavey, 2005). Sex is again being coupled with love and commitment (Gavey, 2005). This discourse is frequently taken up by parents of adolescents and is embedded within many organised religions, including Christianity (Fine, 1988; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Taking this further, some claim that sexual education is wrong, as they fear it will encourage sexual behaviour, despite research not supporting this view (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Positing teen sexuality as immoral also raises difficulties for the promotion of safe sex. By teaching young people that sex

is wrong, safe preparation for the possibility of sex becomes similarly wrong (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

However, while the conservative discourse of morality has gained some popularity, this has occurred to a lesser extent in New Zealand than in countries such as the United States. Dominant discourse circulating in the New Zealand context continues to assume premarital, even casual, sex to be the norm (Gavey, 2005). A liberal adaptation of the morality discourse promotes a more positive message of youth sexuality that perhaps fits more meaningfully into the modern New Zealand context (Gavey, 2005; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). This stance urges responsibility for the sexual health and emotional wellbeing of the self and one's partner. Promoting sexual education, it includes messages such as that sex within a loving relationship is acceptable (Gavey, 2005; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The '(missing) discourse of desire':

The discourse of desire is also discussed by Fine (1988). Discussion of desire and sexual arousal is generally lacking or actively avoided in parental, school, religious and other adult communications to young people about sex. By instead concentrating sexuality education on how to say no, the role of sexual passivity and lack of pleasure is maintained for girls (Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The expectation that modern women should generally want sex and show desire, at least within long-term relationships, does not extend to adolescent girls (Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Gavey, 2005). Girls' constructions of their sexual experiences still significantly lack acknowledgement of or the language to describe their own sexual desire, a finding that has been termed the 'missing discourse of desire' in adolescent girls' sexuality (Fine, 1988; Holland et al., 1999; Thompson, 1990). Instead, a majority of the girls interviewed by Thompson (1990), for example, spoke of early sex with disillusionment, discomfort, and passivity. The concept of consent can be confusing here, as sex is generally framed as something that

happened to them, often under pressure, out of duty to or fear of losing a boy. It is not explained as something they had wanted, enjoyed or actively decided upon (Gavey, 2005; Haag, 2000; Thompson, 1990).

In contradiction to the parental view, sexuality and sexual desire are regularly and persistently portrayed by the mass media, with messages of safety and responsibility generally ignored, leaving young people caught between two very opposing views (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The discourse of danger:

Rather than communicating desire then, sexuality education programmes, and adults as a whole, tend to draw upon the discourse of danger, especially in regards to girls (Fine, 1988; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Adolescent sexuality is framed as problematic and linked to negative outcomes, such as delinquency, drugs, victimisation, and teen parenting (Haag, 2000; Moore & Rosenthal, 1998). Girls are socialised to see sex from the point of view of risks rather than desire - the risk of pregnancy, the risk of STDs and AIDS, the risk of being hurt and abandoned by a boy after sex, the risk of abuse, and the risk of a shameful reputation (Fine, 1988; Haag, 2000; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). There is also a lack of referral to other ways of sexual expression that are less risky than intercourse (Haag, 2000). Recently, some feminists have queried this emphasis on the negative aspects of youth sexuality, putting forward that sexuality ought to be constructed as a positive part of youth development (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The other side of the discourse of danger is the excitement and thrill of risking all these things (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Excitement, arousal, pleasure and danger have been frequently interwoven in the construction of sexuality for women; a common theme of romantic stories (Vance, 1992). With such great risks instilled in a young girl's mind, willingness to have sex with a boyfriend could be considered proof of love and trust itself (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

The discourse of female victimisation:

The discourse of female victimisation is also salient in the modern world, with the belief that girls must remain vigilant to avoid the sexual dangers that surround them (Fine, 1988; Haag, 2000; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Recognising the gendered power imbalance, men and boys are viewed as likely to sexually exploit and victimise women and girls, who, due to this ever-present danger, need to be protected and cautioned to keep their distance (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Phillips, 2000). Positioning girls as passive and helpless victims, who lack power and control in sexual relationships, the discourse of victimisation sets boys as dominating and overwhelming girls (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Vance, 1984).

However, this shows another point of conflict for girls in the meaning of their sexuality and sense of responsibility. Phillips (2000) notes two versions of a discourse of normal male sexuality, both of which hold girls accountable for preventing their own victimisation. This is consistent with the sexual double standard and what Haag (2000) refers to as the 'personal responsibility discourse' that girls are positioned as responsible for controlling male sexual behaviour and aggression.

The 'normal / danger dichotomy discourse' presumes two observably distinct sets of men: good or normal men that women are safe with and bad or dangerous men to be avoided (Phillips, 2000). Women are expected to be capable of distinguishing these men and it is their responsibility to act accordingly (Phillips, 2000). Phillips (2000) returns to the 'male sexual drive discourse' as the alternative, whereby aggression, lust and domination are considered normal parts of masculine sexuality and it is up to the ever vulnerable women not to provoke men into violating them. As girls may lack the power to negotiate sexual encounters then, it would seem they must avoid being in such situations in the first place. Accountability on the part of men is discounted, with the clichéd saying 'boys will be boys' and cannot be blamed (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Phillips, 2000). There is also a lack of discourse about what Phillips (2000) terms 'female pleasure without

penalties' – the ability to have enjoyable sex without being derogated, violated, and blamed.

Current circulation of sexuality discourses in Western society

While the adults around them focus on adolescent sexuality as problematic (Rosenthal & Moore, 1993), girls today have more autonomy and sexual freedom than previous generations (Lees, 1993; Ussher, 1997). Discussion of sex surrounds them and a lot of girls question and challenge the sexual double standard (Jackson & Cram, 2003; Lees, 1993). Rather than whether it is okay to have premarital sex, sexual technique and skill are often the topic of conversation in teen magazines, alongside issues of responsibility and consent (Ussher, 1997). The 'new' sexuality, prominent in the media, positions young woman as having an assertive and knowing sexual voice (Jackson, 2005; Jackson & Cram, 2003; McRobbie, 1996 & 2000). Girls, and particularly the women they grow into, are expected to be both the Madonna and the whore. The ideal woman is often constructed as the 'together woman', a modern 'Superwoman', who is supposed to live up to the high standards of being attractive, smart, and independent, as well as heterosexually desiring, but definitely not too aggressive (Gill & Walker, 1993; Jackson, 2005; Phillips, 2000). While being undersexed may reflect poorly, being oversexed is generally still more hazardous for a girl's reputation, so that desire must sometimes be disguised (Ussher, 1997).

However, research into girls' actual lives shows the change may be much less substantial than the media depicts, with girls often ambivalent about their sexual subjectivities (Haag, 2000; Jackson & Cram, 2003). A great many girls still take care in negotiating their sexuality around the Madonna / whore dichotomy, careful not to be too assertive in order to avoid derogatory labels such as 'slag' and 'slut', which remain the principal descriptions of active sexuality for girls among boys and much of society (Lees, 1993; Phillips, 2000; Ussher, 1997). Although, in many circles, casual sex is a norm, popular discourse still associates sex with love and commitment for girls (Ussher, 1997). Related to this, girls often limit sexual

activity, trying to be discrete or saving penetrative sex for serious relationships (Ussher, 1997). A discourse of an active and physical desire for young heterosexual women is still generally lacking and, despite some attention to female pleasure, this has not been considered necessary to sexual relations (Gavey, 2005; Haag, 2000; Jackson & Cram, 2003). Regardless of the forefront position of sex in the media and the assumption that Western society is now sexually liberated, the sexual assumptions of heterosexuality, coitus, and the male-focused construction of sexuality, remain virtually invisible and unquestioned through their normalisation (Gill & Walker, 1993). For women, there is still an emphasis on putting male pleasure ahead of their own and prioritising relationship work and intimacy (Gavey, 2005). This, and the depiction of female sexuality as passive, is hazardous to sexual health and wellbeing of girls (Gavey, 2005).

Safer sex

The discourse of safer sex and responsibility:

Safe sex practices, such as condom use, have social meanings constructed and negotiated through discourses too. The rational discourse of safer sex emphasises the health risks of engaging in sexual activity in the modern world and promotes preparation for sex with use of condoms and contraception (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). It assumes that, armed with awareness of the dangers of sex and knowledge of how to prevent these, men and women alike hold the power to insist on responsible sex (Gavey, 2005). A young person who supplies a condom in a sexual encounter can be seen as a concerned and considerate partner, looking to protect both parties (Holland et al., 1999).

However, the discourse of safer sex sits at odds with the conventional femininity discourse, which either denies the sexuality of women or constructs sex for a woman as a passive surrender of control to the man she loves (Gavey, 2005; Holland et al., 1999; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Women often feel a lack of control over the sexual encounter (Gavey, 2005). Condoms require negotiation and male cooperation, which may be

difficult to obtain with subtlety, as many young men are disinclined to use them (Gavey, 2005; Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1996; Lees, 1993). A woman carrying and assertively enforcing the use of a condom signifies that she is sexually confident and practised, something outside the realms of appropriate femininity (Lees, 1993). In addition, as the condom represents the woman's lack of trust that the man will take care of her, the condom itself, as well as her lack of submission, challenge conventional masculinity (Holland et al., 1999). Supplying a condom is also tantamount to the woman acknowledging that sex was planned. This is incompatible with the idea that sex occurs spontaneously in the course of love, and only in response to the man's initiation (Lees, 1993; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). Girls are left in a double bind, choosing between carrying a condom and risking the 'slag' title, or not carrying a condom and being constructed as irresponsible and foolish (Lees, 1993).

Other negative interpretations of safer sex include that condoms are awkward and unnatural, and that they reduce sensation and pleasure (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). When young men construct condoms in these ways, they portray condom use as irreconcilable with their pleasure and needs. In this way, young women are again put in the position of deviating from the scripts of conventional femininity and masculinity by confidently enforcing condom use or complying with unsafe sex practices and putting their sexual health in danger (Holland et al., 1999).

The 'trusting to love discourse':

Linking sex with love and therefore trust, the 'trusting to love discourse' and romantic discourse are often employed to justify not using a condom. By stating their present sexual relationship to be monogamous and long-term, condom use is portrayed as superfluous and not something that would be insisted upon if the person truly loved and trusted their partner (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Willig, 1998). However, such a standpoint fails to take into account their partner's past and potentially present sexual activity with others. In today's society, when youths tend towards a pattern of serial

monogamy, knowledge of a partner's sexual history is an important factor in disease prevention (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). The 'trusting to love discourse' is particularly problematic when we add into the equation that young women may be inclined to position a sexual relationship as loving, even when it is short-lived or casual, out of fear for reputation.

The not-me myth:

Finally, as part of the feeling of invincibility and invulnerability in youth, many young people draw on the 'not-me' myth in deciding not to have safe sex (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). From this position, youths construct themselves as impervious to the possibility of contracting HIV and STDs. While they may acknowledge that these dangers might befall another who takes sexual risks, they do not interpret HIV as a real threat to themselves (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993).

Sexuality and culture

Adolescents are caught between many competing social discourses, which are frequently contradictory in their interpretations of desire, morality, love and responsibility for girls and boys. There are also differences in the degree to which various discourses available in the larger culture are taken on by minority groups and various subcultures, and some discourses are specific to particular cultures and immigrant groups. For example, anti-rape slogans such as 'When a woman says no, she means no' and safe sex slogans such as 'No glove, no love' assume a direct assertiveness that, as discussed, may not fit well with conventional femininity (Bulbeck, 1998). In addition to this, these slogans assume individualist values inherent in Western culture that expect people to be aware of and insist upon their rights being met. Such positions may be even less available for women of other cultural groups (Bulbeck, 1998).

It must be remembered though that while many white Western women have still felt positive liberating effects of the sexual revolution, women of other cultures and religions have not necessarily experienced the same changes

(Gavey, 2005). In many cultural communities, including the Filipino, Latino and Samoan cultures, young women's chastity before marriage remains an important virtue and the 'permissive discourse' is not so readily available (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001; Gavey, 2005; Tupuola, 1996).

Young people of the New Zealand Filipino community grow up amidst multiple cultures, meaning exposure to the already mentioned sexuality discourses of the New Zealand mainstream, as well as to those of the Filipino culture (Manderson, Kelaher, Woelz-Stirling, Kaplan & Greene, 2002). Colonised by the Spanish, and more recently by the United States of America, the Philippines is a predominantly Catholic country and, as such, many of the traditional Western sexuality discourses are at play in the Filipino culture too. However, other concepts and values are specific to the culture and some of these will now be discussed.

Sexuality discourses of the Filipino culture

The following discussion of sexuality discourses in the Filipino culture is based on literature regarding immigrant Filipino communities in the USA (Espiritu, 2001) and Australia (Manderson et al., 2002), as well as indigenous cultural psychology literature from the Philippines (Enriquez, 1993). No such literature is known to be available within the New Zealand Filipino community. Espiritu's (2001) research on the talk of American Filipinos and Espin's (1997) research with Latin American immigrants to the United States demonstrate similar cultural values and discourses between the immigrant Filipino and Latin communities. While this will partly be the result of the shared experience of being an immigrant, it is also likely due to their shared histories of Spanish colonization and the associated religious conversion to Catholicism. Because of this, Espin's (1997) research is also drawn on here.

Virtuous Filipino women:

The Filipino and Hispanic cultures prize family honour as an important value and strongly connect this with the sexual reputation of young women

in the family (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001). The maintenance of daughters' virginities until marriage remains a cultural imperative (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001). The Madonna / whore dichotomy weighs heavy in these cultures, with the Virgin Mary, as a chaste and pure mother to all, being held as a chief role model in young women's lives (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001). The talk of American Filipinos reveals a depiction of virtuous Filipino women that fits into the 'good girl' subject position of conventional femininity. Filipina wives and daughters are idealised as sexually reserved, obedient and family-oriented (Espiritu, 2001). Discussion of sexuality is constructed as a taboo, making open talk with family and community members very difficult for youths due to fear of parental disapproval and bringing shame to the family reputation (Manderson et al., 2002).

'Becoming Americanized':

For these immigrants, the virtuous Filipino woman is partly founded on the construction of white Western women as deviant (Espiritu, 2001). White Western women are depicted as sexually promiscuous. Westerners in general are perceived as selfishly lacking in dedication and closeness to their families. This reflects especially badly on Western women, as family work and caring are tied closely to conventional femininity (Espiritu, 2001). Clashes between immigrant parents' values and the behaviour and values of their children are commonly attributed to unwanted pressures and influences from the larger Western society provoking youths to disrespect their elders (Manderson et al., 2002). Espin (1997) has found similar beliefs among immigrant Latinos, particularly the notion that American women and girls are carefree with sex. Equating 'American' with 'white', immigrant parents and youths alike associate 'becoming Americanized' with sexual promiscuity (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001).

The construction of immoral Western women makes an interesting oppositional discourse to the dominant construction of the sexuality of 'other' women that is familiar in the West (Bulbeck, 1998). Colonisation led to the subjugation and subordination of Third World women (including

Filipino women) by Western men. Through the eyes of the West, these 'other' women were historically constructed as immodest, oversexed and even perverse. By distinguishing Third World women from the chaste depiction of white women, the superiority of the West was affirmed and their right to colonise was defended (Bulbeck, 1998). Similar denigration applies to the sexuality of immigrant women and women of colour living in the West today (Espiritu, 2001). While modern Western (white) women are now often believed to be sexually liberated, the sexuality of women of colour is problematised. Portrayed as sexually backward or irresponsible, they are placed at either extreme, as lustful and promiscuous or docile and asexual (Bulbeck, 1998). Such Western stereotypes of the 'other' are taken up by various dominant groups to support and reinforce racist and colonialist power structures in society (Espiritu, 2001). Owing to the American presence in the Philippines in the twentieth century, Filipino women, in particular, have been constructed as sexualised and racialised commodities. Characterised as either exotic and sexy prostitutes or subservient domestic mail-order brides, they are rendered the objects of male sexual fantasies, while also cast as dangerous and untrustworthy (Espiritu, 2001).

Literature on the Filipino discourse that white women are promiscuous provides an example of what is rarely heard in Western culture - how 'others' frame the West (Bulbeck, 1998). Demoralisation of Western women can be seen as a site of resistance to Western depictions of Filipino women's sexuality. Drawing on a discourse that positions their own women as morally superior, Filipino immigrants construct their whole community as morally principled and superior to the Western society which politically, socially and economically dominates them (Espiritu, 2001).

However, basing a community's self-respect on the control of young women's sexual behaviour creates a dilemma. The ideal Filipino daughter must stay sexually virtuous, nurturing and dutiful - all the things white women are thought not to be (Espiritu, 2001). The possibility of an

alternative sexual script for young Filipino women is expunged or constructed as a sign of moral decay in the family culture. As a result of this discourse, young women's sexuality is frequently the focus of much debate between immigrant parents and daughters during the struggle of acculturation (Espin, 1997). Immigrant parents draw on the sexual double standard, restricting their daughters' independence, mobility and sexuality far more than they do for sons (Espiritu, 2001; Manderson et al., 2002). When daughters act autonomously, stinging insults insinuating that they are selfish, untraditional, and lacking in cultural knowledge and respect often regulate their behaviour (Espiritu, 2001). Indeed, the policing of young women's sexuality becomes of great concern to the larger immigrant community also. Espin (1997) describes how when faced with racism and contempt from the dominant Western society, community members who assume the role of guarding cultural tradition can always be counted on to judge and control young women's sexual behaviour in the fight to maintain the integrity and reputation of the culture. Young women's compliance with traditional sexual roles and patriarchal power structures becomes a mainstay of cultural preservation (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001).

Similarly, Filipinos and other immigrant groups view the maintenance of close-knit families in their communities with cultural pride (Espiritu, 2001). Again, it is the women who bear the principal weight of the community's status, by preserving family unity and cultural transmission through their role in the family and teaching children (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001).

In conclusion, to understand youth sexual behaviour, it is important to take into consideration the power relations and the complex discursive context in which they act. The discourses outlined in this chapter are a starting point in understanding the sexual stories and meanings of the New Zealand Filipino women who participated in the research to follow. What this means in terms of the sexual subjectivities, relationships and sexual health practices they take up is the question at the heart of the research.

Chapter Three

Studying Sexuality in a Cultural Context

In the previous chapter, I introduced the discursive context around adolescent sexuality for young Filipino women and within the broader Western world. The following chapter outlines the theoretical foundation I have found most beneficial to conducting and interpreting my research in a way that is sensitive to the nature of the topic of youth sexuality and the cultural context of the participants. Broadly speaking, this theoretical approach would be placed within the field of critical psychology, as it challenges mainstream theories and practices of psychology. It calls into question the objectivity of positivist empirical research and examines psychology's contribution to forms of oppression in society (Gough & Mcfadden, 2001).

As the preceding discussion suggests, perspectives of sexuality are historically and culturally situated; a point of difference from how mainstream evolutionary and biological arguments essentialise sexuality. Mainstream psychology reflects a modernist outlook that values science and reason as the key to objectivity and truth. Within this premise, positivist empirical psychological research searches for explanations for our behaviour and the way we are, assuming that a measurable truth is available through the use of carefully controlled methods and the objective manner of the scientist (Fischer, 2006; Gough & Mcfadden, 2001). In its focus on the individual, mainstream psychology presents an individual-social binary whereby people and their cognitions are viewed as distinct and able to be studied in separation from their social environment and free from the influence of the researcher (Fischer, 2006; Gough & Mcfadden, 2001). In efforts to focus on what was material and able to be definitively known and predicted, the subject of investigation has typically been reduced to behaviour and that which can be observed, with the meanings and context

less attended to (Fischer, 2006). With the turn to postmodernism, some academic psychologists have come to re-examine the theoretical assumptions of mainstream psychology (Fischer, 2006).

Critical psychology

Critical psychology questions traditional psychology's beliefs about science. It examines our understanding of the ideas of truth and objectivity, our assumptions about ourselves and what we see as possible and as normal (Gavey, 1997). It posits that all of us are entrenched in the social world. As a result of this, critical psychologists contest the claims of objectivity in science, stating that even scientists cannot escape the influence of their social and political values and those of the institutions they work within (Wilkinson, 1996). They highlight how mainstream psychology has often furthered the interests of the current hegemony by not identifying its partiality and casting subjective conclusions as fact (Gough & Mcfadden, 2001). The recognition that the knowledge produced by psychological research is influenced by the researchers themselves sits within postmodern theory, which puts forward that our view of truth is shaped by our context, culture, beliefs and ideas, and we are unable to step outside of subjective knowledge (Fischer, 2006).

The approach adopted for this research is a critical one. My reasons for this are to give a voice to the participants, to align myself with a feminist practice that informs my work, and to not put words into my participants' mouths. Critical psychology is not a rejection of science (Weedon, 1987). Rather, it stresses the need for researchers to maintain a critical eye over their methods and their claims, recognising the subjective nature of their work in terms of the topic of study, how it is studied and the interpretations that are made. Hence, critical psychologists emphasise the importance of making the limitations and biases of one's claims explicit, instead of positioning them as an absolute truth (Weedon, 1987). The critical perspective also recognises that people are more than biology and acknowledges our multifaceted nature and the influences of environment,

society, culture, and experience on our behaviour and thinking (Fischer, 2006).

Feminism

Feminism is a political movement intent on shifting gender based power structures across all realms of society, including sexuality. Modern feminism, brought about by the 1960s Women's Liberation Movement, examines the meaning behind being a woman, the ways in which our gender and sexuality have been characterised by others, and how we, as women, can be the driving force behind developing alternative meanings for ourselves (Weedon, 1987). Feminism recognises gender based power differentials in society. The notion that patriarchal inequality is structural implies that it is not due to any one individual's beliefs and prejudices, but is the result of social and institutional systems of power at work in society (Weedon, 1987). A relevant example of this structural inequality is feminism's critique of the history of scientific method and theory, which has historically used men as its subject of study. Science has traditionally paid little attention to women and women's issues or has worked from the assumption that scientific conclusions based on men should be representative of women also (Weedon, 1987).

Despite the patriarchal nature of scientific and social theory however, the majority of academic feminists stress the importance of linking theory into feminist practice. Instead of discarding theory and marginalising feminism further from the scientific community, most feminist academics concentrate on how to reconstitute science and theory to suit feminist objectives. This includes critical awareness of the way science is carried out, the nature of the knowledge produced, how it is presented to the public, and even what is regarded as scientific knowledge (Weedon, 1987). At the heart of feminism is the idea of the 'politics of the personal' (Weedon, 1987), whereby women's everyday experiences, the meanings they attach to the world and to themselves, are the first point of call in resisting patriarchal systems and creating new theoretical possibilities for womanhood (Weedon, 1987).

Various branches of feminism have developed, each tendering its own definitions of womanhood, explanations of how oppression works, and suggestions of strategies to transform the existing hegemonic practices (Weedon, 1987). Some see essential biological differences between men and women, while others see these differences as socially produced. Most feminisms though, are positioned within the liberal-humanist outlook that is dominant in the modern Western world. Humanism posits that each person has their own unique nature built around a rational, conscious, cohesive, coherent and self-governing sense of self, known as the rational subject. As such, women's retold experiences are frequently seen as the principal knowledge reservoir for feminist work, without the need for further theory. This is because, while each person's interpretation of reality is different, each is trusted as a fixed, valid and true interpretation of reality (Weedon, 1987). Similarly, the language people use in their reports is seen as a transparent expression of reality (Gavey, 1997). This research concerns giving a voice to women to express and reflect on their experiences of sexuality. As such, it makes sense to place the research within a feminist framework.

A critique of humanism in feminism:

A humanist approach can be problematic for feminism. Through the use of predetermined universalising categories, humanist methods reduce women's lived experiences to fit into dominant ideas, ironing out any differences and possible contradictions between and within women's experiences and the meanings they put to those experiences (Gavey, 1997). Individuals' experiences are far less fixed and consistent than humanism would have us believe, something that many feminists discovered as they shared their experiences with others in consciousness-raising groups (Weedon, 1987). The meanings they attach to an experience depend on how they interpret the world around them, their beliefs, their sense of self, the particular context of the event, and the possible understandings of the event that have been made available to them. In this way, people's experiences of reality can be seen to be plural and sometimes conflicting, begging the question: Can individuals'

reports of experience really be taken as authentic representations of reality? (Weedon, 1987). By taking into account these contradictions that appear to cloud 'reality', alternative theories may create a fuller understanding of the intricacies of meaning and experience from the perspectives of the women we attempt to represent (Gavey, 2005).

Taking women's lived experiences into account is an important part of understanding how power structures work in people's lives. However, Weedon (1987) argues that for a theory to be politically advantageous to feminism, it needs to attend to how women's experiences relate to these power structures, by acknowledging the contradictory nature of subjective experiences and working to identify whose interests particular interpretations serve in society.

Motivation for feminist action often eventuates as women question the contradictory messages given to them by society. On the one hand, the dominant patriarchal power structures in society keep the interests of women secondary to those of men and promote subservient feminine roles, with the premise that the meanings assigned to men and women are based on biological sex differences. On the other hand, the modern world claims free choice, based within the dominant liberal-humanist theory that we are all free autonomous and rational thinking individuals (Weedon, 1987). Faced with this conflict, women's sense of identity is often fragmentary, as they are pulled in multiple directions depending on the context. They may be left far less agentic and free than asserted by humanism. Not all choices available to them are created equally, as each act is regulated by meanings, constraints and potential consequences, both personal and social (Gavey, 1997). In making sense of these inconsistencies, humanism's in-control and autonomous individual is challenged (Weedon, 1987).

By perceiving the individual as the site for political change, humanist feminists suggest that the problem lies in individual attitudes (Gavey, 1997). Working at the individual level to shift oppression seems implausible

without taking into account the larger socio-cultural structures in place, as any change in people's behaviour and values would likely be fought against by the unchanged world around them (Gavey, 2005; Weedon, 1987). There is obviously a need to change society, not just individual attitudes.

Similarly, by assuming that each of us is self-governing and rational, humanism is unable to justly explain individuals' collusion in their own oppression. The notion that an individual always acts freely and is therefore valid in her actions can work against feminism, by placing responsibility and blame on the oppressed and rendering structural oppression invisible (Weedon, 1987).

Social constructionism

All of these arguments suggest that a focus on socio-cultural change, as opposed to individual change, may be key to the advancement of feminist theory and practice. This is where social constructionism, and particularly poststructuralism (which shall be discussed shortly), prove useful to feminism (Gavey, 1997) and to the present study. By contrast with the reductive style of mainstream psychology, which focuses on the individual mind (for example, study of attitudes) in its comprehension of social behaviour, social constructionism looks to the multiple facets and identities we take on and the makeup of culture and society as a whole (Burr, 1995).

Social constructionist theorists claim that the idea of the rational subject who makes self-aware and principled choices is erroneous (Bulbeck, 1998). Disputing the empirical notion that our experiences and actions result purely from a fixed biological and cultural makeup, social constructionists view identity, or subjectivity, as always embedded in a socio-cultural context from which it cannot escape (Burr, 1995). Viewing the everyday practices that we take for granted as potentially less universal than they seem, social constructionism posits that identity is fluid, multiple and actively constructed or performed by the individual (Gavey, 2005).

From the social constructionist perspective, all of our practices and the meanings behind these are contextualised (Weedon, 1987). For example, social constructionism does not rebuff the importance of biology in the development of sexual bodies and behaviour. However, it calls into question the fixedness of the meanings we attach to biological sex and gender and enables us to question hegemonic beliefs. Social constructionists recognise that sexuality, sexual behaviour and even our bodies themselves are produced, at least in part, by our cultures as well, and what we take as common sense is not as natural, normal and timeless as we think (Gavey, 2005). As stated by Bordo (1999), the body is made up not only of physical matter, but also the experiences and history it has been a part of. Seeing through the light of social construction brings hope for social change through the possibility of constructing alternative ways of understanding and being (Gavey, 1997).

Poststructuralism and Language

Much of the Western modernist-humanist world assumes language to be a transparent tool to express previously defined meanings (Parker, 2005). However, the acknowledgement that our experience of the 'real' world can be interpreted in conflicting ways and that even taken-for-granted categories, such as woman, are multiple and changing must make us question the nature of language itself (Ussher, 1997). It is here that most feminists, who assume a shared identity for all women based on biology, psychology or socio-cultural experiences, separate from poststructural feminists, who see interpretation of the category of 'woman' as created, performed and temporary (Bulbeck, 1998).

The term poststructuralism, used almost interchangeably by some authors with the term social constructionism, refers to a complex range of theories about language and meaning based in the work of theorists such as Derrida (1978) and Foucault (1979b; Weedon, 1987). Poststructuralist theories are drawn together by the belief that social meaning is created through language; in other words, language shapes how we see and interpret the

world around us (Foucault, 1979a & 1979b; Gavey, 2005). This runs counter to the assumption in mainstream science that language is a transparent *description* reflecting one's experience of a fixed reality that already exists outside of language. Instead, furthering the work of structural linguist Saussure (1986), poststructuralists state that language is the site of *construction* of our reality (Foucault, 1979b; Weedon, 1987). Different social meanings are given to the physical world by different languages, different cultures, different historical periods, and different discourses within the same language, cultural group and historic point (McRobbie, 2000; Parker, 1998). It cannot be assumed that these different meanings refer to the same concept built from a reality that is commonly conceived by all. Meaning is thus viewed as plural and changing through time (Foucault, 1979b; Weedon, 1987).

The label or 'signifier', to which various meanings are attached, is always set within a discursive context (Weedon, 1987). Its meaning at one time is dependent on that context. Because of this, the meaning of a signifier is constantly being challenged and redefined as it moves location between discourses (Weedon, 1987). All discourses do not carry equal weight however, as discourses are produced within social and institutional power structures (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The manner in which we carry out our lives and the meanings we attach to the physical world and structure around us is affected by the discourses we take up (Gavey, 1997). This is directed by the availability and social power of various discourses (Foucault, 1979b). Our access to a discourse depends on its current circulation in society and the political strength backing it, which is in turn determined by whose interests it serves (Wetherell, 1995). Language can therefore be seen as a site of struggle to define what *is* and to challenge what is possible, through a system of historically specific discourses competing for power in society (Foucault, 1979a). For feminist poststructuralists, it is this conflict in language that is considered the means to disrupting the status quo and invoking political change (Weedon, 1987). Through our use of discourses, we become agentic, able to help maintain the current hegemony

or to instigate change through the challenge of language, questioning what is otherwise taken for granted (Weedon, 1987).

Language is also where each of us constructs our 'subjectivity', in other words our sense of self, our thoughts and emotions, and our understanding of how we fit in the world (Foucault, 1979a; Gavey, 2005). As earlier discussed, in humanist thought, 'identity' implies a static and integrated innate sense of self with stable attitudes that are coherent and unique to the individual (Gough & Mcfadden, 2001). This forms the rational individual subject that is pivotal to Western psychology (Weedon, 1987). Within poststructuralism however, the notion that subjectivity is constructed, rather than described, conveys that it also is socially produced, plural and fluid, being redefined all the time in our speech and actions (Gavey, 1997). Hence, rather than a singular and unique biologically predetermined identity, different discourses offer various subject positions on which we can draw to cast ourselves and others (Wilkinson, 1996). An individual may construct multiple, potentially contradictory subjectivities to represent herself, depending upon the specific social setting and position in which she is speaking (Weedon, 1987).

There are many forms of poststructuralism and not all are useful for feminism. For example, McNay (1992) considers Foucault (particularly his earlier works, 1979a & 1979b) to have placed overimportance on determinism and the connection between power and knowledge, to the point that space for resistance is left unattended to. McNay (1992) argues that, more than passive and enmeshed recyclers of the discourses of dominant power structures, individuals are capable of agency and able to create resistance and possibly changes to the discursive realm. McNay (1992) is also critical of Foucault's (1979b) lack of attention to gender-based power structures.

Feminist psychologists have developed a 'feminist poststructuralism' to understand social and cultural practices in a manner which highlights how

power relations are constituted and reproduced in terms of gender and other oppression, and to discover ways in which to resist them (Weedon, 1987). For example, various discourses view the traditional role of women in society differently. While some assume the role of woman as caregiver, and sexually as passive, to be a natural part of our biological evolution, others see it as the socially created result of a male-oriented power structure in society. Each discourse vies to define the meaning behind the feminine gender role in society, and each brings its own consequences for women as a group, socially and politically, and for different possible subjectivities and actions for individual women and groups of women. A biological discourse imposes rigid subject positions for women, and resists the idea of these positions as being anything but normal and natural. A discourse that posits gender roles as constructed, however, rejects the essentialist view of gender and opens the way for less traditional roles of women (Weedon, 1987).

‘Decentring the subject’ by dismissing the assumption that we each have a fixed subjectivity and doing away with the individual-social binary by recognising that our sense of self is produced by and interconnected with our socio-cultural and historical context are significant moves for feminism (Weedon, 1987). It puts forward that there are multiple conflicting possibilities for our sense of self. This leaves the potential for change and brings the realisation that change is in fact inevitable as shifts occur in the discursive frameworks available to us (Weedon, 1987). From our early years, we are exposed to particular values and meaning systems (discourses) in our family and the world around us. These help us to understand our experiences in certain ways, and build our subjectivity. As we develop further and move away from the familiar, we may encounter and take on alternative systems of meaning which seem more suited to us. Hope for social and political change thus comes through the actions of individuals taking up alternative subjectivities and acting in accordance with them (Weedon, 1987). By making feminist discourse more readily available to society, for example, individuals may take up feminist subjectivities and build resistance to traditional subject positions of women.

The adoption of the poststructuralist perspective in this research means acceptance of multiple subject positions or identities for the young women participants and acceptance of the ability to move between these positions to make sense of their experiences.

Reflexivity:

While modernist social scientists work from the premise that it is possible to leave our biases and subjectivity behind and to carry out objective research through the use of carefully controlled conditions and neutral language, poststructuralists believe that it is impossible to remove ourselves from the influence of the discursive realm and that we are always subjective. While our values and assumptions about the world may often be invisible to us, due to their appeal to common sense and the natural, they are always there, affecting what and how we do research. For this reason, poststructuralists, and critical social researchers in general, emphasise the importance of maintaining a critical reflexivity throughout the research process - conceding that this is but one possible interpretation of many, making our biases and positions explicit, and scrutinising the way we construct our ideas and conclusions. In this way, it is possible for us to recognise our assumptions for what they are and admit the interests we serve in the selections and omissions we make (Gavey, 1997).

Feminist psychologists researching the social construction of heterosexuality have found Foucault's (1979b) discourse theory particularly valuable (Butler, 2004; Gavey, 1997; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1993). His central concern with history in the analysis of the relationship between discourse and power in society is important for the investigation of how power is exercised and how it can be contested (Foucault, 1979a; Gavey, 1997; Weedon, 1987). Foucault's (1979b) theory can help us to understand how people come to espouse particular discursive positions over others and why oppressed peoples abide by practices and meanings which maintain their position of oppression (Weedon, 1987).

Foucauldian discourse theory

Discourse is at the centre of Foucault's analytic framework (1979a; 1979b; 1986). In Foucauldian theory, language and meaning is always situated within discourse, which he defines as organised structures of meaning that offer us a particular understanding of the world and our relationship to it, including how to talk about and perceive it as well as how to behave in relation to it (Foucault, 1979a). Foucault (1979a) put forward the power-knowledge nexus, or 'pouvoir-savoir' (discussed also in Gavey, 1997). In the translation of Foucault's French writings, Spivak (1993) defines pouvoir-savoir as the power and ability to do something - only in the way you know it or can make sense of it. What Foucault (1979a) refers to is the relationship between discourses and subjectivities. He postulates that we are only able to act in ways that we know and are able to make sense of (Foucault, 1979a). As discourse creates what makes sense to us, it is discourse that circumscribes our subjectivity and behaviour (Gavey, 1997).

Such a theory makes explicit the interconnectedness between the individual and the social realm (Gavey, 2005). For Foucault (1979a), knowledge is not simply language or an individual's way of thinking. Discourses are the shared constructions of our culture, discernible in social and institutional organisation, practices and power relations which produce and reproduce them, as they in turn define and regulate our social practices and customs (Foucault, 1979b). They construct the material realm, including the understanding of the nature of our own bodies, mind and emotions, including our gender and sexuality (Weedon, 1987).

As already mentioned, discourses are manifold and often contradictory, each presenting its own depiction of reality and each competing for circulation in current society (Parker, 2002). Discourses each put forward a range of possible 'subject positions' that people can take on to construct their subjectivity in a certain way (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn, & Walkerdine, 1984). As an illustration of how this works, women often recognise that they behave and feel different depending on the context they

are in (Wilkinson, 1996). While there is a large range of possible feminine subject positions available to us on any one occasion, different contexts draw attention to different aspects of our femininity, making us aware of how we are expected to present ourselves at this point (Ussher, 2006). While we may choose to conform, reject or in some way resist the expected subject position, we always do so from one or another feminine subject position. We cannot escape subjectivity and discourse (Weedon, 1987).

The power-knowledge nexus explains how various sexuality discourses shape the particular subjectivities, choices, behaviours and desires that are possible (Gavey, 1997). Power is created, maintained and actively implemented through discourse also (Henriques et al., 1984). It is Foucault's (1979a) explanation of disciplinary power that demonstrates how power works through social norms to make compliance with hegemonic interests likely, while maintaining the appearance of free choice.

Subject positions differ in the amount of power they give to the individual (Foucault, 1979b). Within a discourse, some subject positions will be more desirable than others. Similarly, not all discourses hold an equal amount of authority (Weedon, 1987). Discourses vary in the degree of power they hold in society and therefore how readily available and socially acceptable they are (Foucault, 1979a). Those that defend the status quo will tend to carry more power, while those that challenge it will tend to be marginalised or ridiculed as wrong, deviant or extraneous (Weedon, 1987). Whether a discourse is available at any one time, and its degree of popularity or marginalisation, will vary across place, time and context, and no discourse is universal or definitive (Gavey, 1997).

Dominant discourses, such as the humanist discourse discussed earlier, often seem normal, obvious and natural (Foucault, 1986). They are frequently linked to dominant social institutions and value systems, such as the law, science, medicine, education and the family, and serve the interests of particular power structures (Foucault, 1979a). Pressure to conform to the

expectations of these dominant discourses may surround us through the common sense views of family, friends, schools and the media, and the 'expert' opinions on offer (Butler, 1993). In these ways, they gain clout and their partiality is rendered invisible, so that their meanings are accepted as fixed truths across society (Gavey, 2005; Weedon, 1987). These may be the most powerful discourses, because their sway can easily go unnoticed, making active resistance less likely (Foucault, 1979b).

It is the quietly coercing nature of the norm that Foucault (1979a) saw as rendering its power so effective. Foucault (1979a) argued that power does not consist merely of a supreme and absolute ruling force that works independently of its subjects to compel and oppress them. Instead, he proposed the notion of a 'disciplinary power' imperceptibly instilled in and dispersed through the entire network of social organisation, so that our choices and behaviours are controlled without our awareness (Foucault, 1979a; Gavey, 1997). Much of this discipline occurs through 'the power of the Norm' (Foucault, 1979a). Pressure is placed on individuals to conform to what is established as normative, socially acceptable behaviour and appearance through a range of subtle techniques that reward appropriate behaviour and punish departures from it that may be experienced by the individual herself or observed in others (Bordo, 1989; Gavey, 2005). Disciplinary power is often thought of as negative, employing punishments such as deprivations and humiliations and producing unpleasant and oppressive results. Foucault (1979a) recognised that power can also be positive, as it actively creates meanings, emotions and behaviours in people. It frequently does this through the use of rewards such as incentives and liberties, and the meanings, emotions and behaviours it produces may often be pleasant and seem emancipating. Foucault (1986) thus viewed power as neither necessarily positive nor negative (Gavey, 1997).

Through the workings of disciplinary power, Foucault (1979a) saw that there is no need for power to be demonstrated continuously or for people's actions to be surveyed closely and permanently by a sovereign power. Due

to its imperceptibility, individuals are relentlessly aware that they could be being observed at any moment without ever being sure or able to verify if they are currently being observed (Bordo, 1989; Foucault, 1979a). The potential for surveillance is always there, making its effects everlasting. As a result, individuals learn to regulate and control themselves without the need for external discipline (Gavey, 2005).

Meanwhile, people may also take on alternative readings of themselves and the world, as they are exposed to the influence of alternative discourses (Butler, 1993). Marginal discourses that challenge the beliefs of the norm and advocate alternative cultural values are likely assessed with more self awareness than the virtually invisible dominant discourses, so that individuals actively determine whether to take them on or not (Gavey, 1997). For example, following humanist assumptions in a psychology department may occur without active thought, whereas choosing to espouse the values of poststructuralism is likely done consciously (Gavey, 1997). In relation to sexuality, engaging in heterosexual coital sex may seem 'natural', whereas opting for non-penetrative sex only, engaging in homosexual sex or enforcing condom use with a partner may involve a more active and deliberate decision (McPhillips, Braun, & Gavey, 2001). Adopting an alternative discourse does not necessarily imply rejection of the dominant discourse or always acting in accordance with the new discourse (Parker, 2005). This could and does lead to fragmented and inconsistent experiences for the individual, as conflicting discourses compete for the individual's subjective interpretation (Gavey, 1997).

As understandings of the world change in their social acceptability and dominance, what is considered common sense or the 'norm' is redefined (Foucault, 1986). For instance, in regards to sexuality, Foucault's (1979b) analysis in 'The History of Sexuality' shows that sexuality is an area that has undergone many changes in its social construction, despite the naturalisation of what is currently seen as normative heterosexuality (Weedon, 1987). For feminist sexuality researchers, discourse theory spells

out how immersed we are in cultural values when we perceive reality, ourselves and our sexualities, and how this confines what we see as appropriate and possible (Gavey, 2005; Wilkinson, 1996). As individuals, discourse theory explains where the meanings we put to life originate from and why our sense of selves often seem fragmented and contradictory (Phillips, 2000). It enables us to recognise some of our assumptions about reality for what they are - culturally and historically conditioned interpretations (Foucault, 1979b). It acknowledges the power relations that have produced and continue to reproduce them, highlighting that these assumptions are less stable than previously thought (Parker, 2002). This leaves open the potential to rethink our assumptions and oppose the power structures they represent (Tolman, 2002). Such a theory shows great potential for social and political change and the advancement of a feminist sexuality (Gavey, 1997).

Discourse theory also provides a way of understanding the actions of those who facilitate their own oppression, outside of the potentially victim blaming humanist rational subject (Wilkinson, 1996). Instead, we see that what seem to be illogical choices are in fact actions set within the parameters of persuasive cultural guidelines about how and who we should be (Ussher, 1997). With each interpretation and action we make, we wade through a sea of cultural meanings and forces (Walkerdine, Lucey, & Melody, 2001). Often we are even unaware that there are other choices and possible meanings, due to a long socialisation towards the norm and a lack of availability of alternative discursive resources (Gavey, 1997). This emphasises the limitations of attempting socio-political change at the individual attitudinal level, making clear the need for structural change through discourse (Weedon, 1987).

Foucauldian discourse theory (1979b) sits well with the present research because it enables an understanding of the power dynamics at play within adolescent and minority women's sexual decisions and experiences, and helps to move blame from the individual to the socio-cultural context in

which they dwell (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1993).

Limitations of poststructuralist approaches for feminism:

Some feminists criticise post-structuralism for its anti-humanist stance, believing that critically pulling apart the concept of individual identity and experience and placing all as constructed in the social realm in some way devalues people and diminishes the significance of women's lived experience (Blood, 2005; Parker, 1998). This is of particular concern to those feminists focused on the advancement and celebration of a women's culture. However, this involves confusion over the purpose of poststructuralism, which does not aim to devalue women (Weedon, 1987). Instead, poststructuralism intends to understand the construction and position of women in society, the power structures around them, and the ways that women both take on and resist these powers (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1993).

Some feminists have criticised Foucault's (1979a) theory of disciplinary power for its lack of attention to resistance against power (McNay, 1992). In response to this kind of argument, Foucault (1986) argued that he had envisaged resistance as part of the structure of society's power relations and that he did not position power as completely able to subjugate individuals and eradicate resistance. While some positions may be more or less able to be realised, individuals are always open to multiple possibilities (Gavey, 2005).

Even so, this has remained of primary concern for some feminists, who consider Foucault (1979b) to have underestimated the role of agency, or autonomy, in the process of resistance. They believe that at times women are presented mindlessly as taking on cultural meanings without thought, as opposed to having an active sense of agency in how they are shaped by culture (Gavey, 2005 discusses this). The feminist concern for agency relates to it being seen as necessary in order for resistance and socio-political change to occur (Gavey, 2005). Many are alarmed by the notion of

‘discourse determinism’, fearing that discourse theory leaves little room for free choice and no way out of discourse (Henriques et al., 1984). However, as some poststructuralist feminists explain, such criticisms are misguidedly viewing disciplinary power structures as more definitive than is intended (Gavey, 2005). Gavey (2005) argues that Foucault’s (1979a & 1979b) theory demonstrates how our social meanings and subjectivities take shape in one way instead of another. The fact that disciplinary power can lead us to act in ways that oppress us does not mean that this power is absolute and that we are always led in directions that oppress us (Gavey, 2005; Tolman, 2002). Our subjectivities are constructed in multiple and changing ways (Ussher, 2005). While we can never be completely free and are always limited by what is considered discursively possible, we are still capable of negotiating our positions and choices from an infinite number of subjectivity combinations (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1993). Additionally, the idea of agency and freedom of action is separate from that of whether a particular action is resistance (Gavey, 2005). Whether resistance is seen as constructed within the network of social power or whether it is considered completely agentic does not determine its ability to effectively critique the power structure (Gavey, 2005). As stated by Foucault (1979a), while discourse can construct and strengthen power, it can also destabilise and obstruct power, and subjectivity is created by both dominant and oppositional discourses. The method to change therefore is to work at denaturalising oppressive dominant discourses and developing alternatives that can alter the future accepted interpretations of reality (Coulson & Bhavani, 1990; Gavey, 2005).

A valid criticism of poststructuralism and Foucault (1979b) in particular is the lack of attention to gender (Weedon, 1987). Despite his extensive analysis of power structures relating to sexuality, he did not sufficiently deal with the stark difference in power around sexuality for men and women (Gavey, 1997). However, by adding a feminist outlook on the relationship between gender and social power, as discussed earlier, poststructuralism has proved valuable to feminism in both theory and the potential for political

change (Butler, 2004; Weedon, 1987).

Feminism has an equally serious limitation. Coulson and Bhavani (1990), among other cultural psychology researchers, critique feminism's lack of attention to the issues of women of colour (hooks, 1981 & 2000b; Kimmel & Garko, 1995).

These concerns are of practical concern in this thesis, because they warn that there are many areas in which power balances may be unequal and there is a need for research and theory to attend to these domains. The participants of the current research are not only defined as a minority by ethnicity and immigrant status, but also purely by being women. As already indicated, cultural psychologists have made several critiques of discursive theory (Bulbeck, 1998; Landrine, 1995). Therefore, the next section will briefly describe the critical cultural arguments regarding feminist theory and research and the importance of giving marginalised groups a voice by not moulding minority views to majority expectations.

Cultural research

Cultural critique of feminism:

The current trend of feminism tends to emphasise the cohesiveness and commonality of women as a social group (Bulbeck, 1998). Whether basing the assumed unified experience of what it means to be a woman on biological determinism or social construction, they lay claim to an essential feminine experience in the fight against patriarchal power structures (hooks, 2000a). However, patriarchy does not exist independently of other power structures, such as those around race and class, which an essential womanhood does not account for (Weedon, 1987). Women of colour thus draw on race and class based oppressions to criticise the universalising way in which femininity is depicted in feminism (hooks, 2000b). For many women, it is these factors that are of primary significance, yet these are seldom acknowledged by Western feminisms (Bulbeck, 1998). Some women of colour view the concerns of feminism as relating to the privileged

position of the white middle class (Kimmel & Garko, 1995). For them, the problems associated with being a person of colour, working class or subjected to post-colonial exploitation are of more pressing concern, causing some to feel more affiliation with similarly placed men than white women (Bulbeck, 1998). An effective and sufficient feminism must take into account the oppressive powers that separate groups of women as well as those we have in common (Weedon, 1987).

In terms of feminist research, women of colour have traditionally been ignored here too, or are raised as footnotes and postscripts about potential differences, while the concentration remains on researcher and participant experiences of white and Western, educated, middle class women, who are predominantly of heterosexual orientation (Bulbeck, 1998; Kitzinger, 1990). 'White women' is generally read as 'women' and attention to culture is neglected (Landrine, Klonoff & Brown-Collins, 1995). This both renders the advantageous position of power associated with whiteness invisible and assumes that the issues white women speak to are also those of other women, in a way reminiscent of patriarchal society assuming the category of 'man' represents the category of 'human' in general (Landrine et al., 1995). The differences experienced by women in the West and East, and by those existing between them (immigrants and indigenous peoples), as well as other differences relating to nationality, religion, class, etc., are seldom focused upon (Landrine, 1995). Alongside this is the leaning towards seeing Western English language feminist scholarship as perhaps the only feminist scholarship (Bulbeck, 1998). Assumptions and meanings about what it means to be a woman should not be founded in the experiences of one fragment of the world's women (hooks, 1981). Women across the world may be allied in their experience of structural discrimination, as well as through some shared concepts and meanings (Landrine, 1995). However, the lives of women of colour may also be experienced and represented very differently, as the positions available to them may be unique to their cultural setting (Bulbeck, 1998). Womanhood itself may be defined very differently for women of colour and white English speaking women (hooks, 2000b).

When drawing conclusions about the meaning of gender, it is vital that we qualify this, based on our own racial, cultural, language and class backgrounds, as well as those of the women we are studying (Lott, 1995).

While a struggle may be created between concentrating on difference or cohesion among groups of women, cultural and women of colour psychologists stress the importance of recognising the diverse nature of womanhood through celebration of and inclusion of diverse groups of women in research (Reid, Haritos, Kelly, & Holland, 1995). Alongside this, feminist psychology needs to acknowledge that ethnicity and class differences create inequalities that may often be more impacting on the socialisation of women of colour than gender is (Coulson & Bhavani, 1990)

Although, more recently, research that integrates race, culture and class with gender has begun to occur, the majority of feminist texts still centre on white middle class women. Women of colour may make up a majority of the world's female population, yet their status is still marginalised in feminist research (Landrine, Klonoff & Brown-Collins, 1995).

Because of the obscured view of culture in feminism, some women of colour prefer not to be labelled as feminists at all, as they do not feel that this label represents them. Some have coined the term 'womanism' to represent their critique of feminism (hooks, 2000b; Kimmel & Garko, 1995; Landrine, 1995; McCaskill & Phillips, 1994). Womanism looks to challenge the social power structures that discriminate according to race, culture, class and gender, recognising that all groups of women have power imbalances and experiences of oppression to overcome, and, for many, other aspects of 'othering' play a more prominent role than gender (hooks, 1981; 2000a; 2000b; Kimmel & Garko, 1995; McCaskill & Phillips, 1994). As noted by Lott (1995), awareness and investigation of the variations between women will in turn aid discovery and understanding of that which we have in common. It is through this means that feminist work towards achieving equality can be designed and practised (Lott, 1995).

Researching 'other' – Critical cross-cultural theories:

In giving marginalised groups a voice through cultural research, feminist women of colour stress the importance of context in examining behaviour. Critical cross-cultural psychologists argue that any particular act does not have only one label (hooks, 2000; Landrine, 1995). Instead the label and meanings attributed to a behaviour hinge on the socio-cultural, historical and political context in which it occurs. Behaviours may appear the same, but as the meanings behind them are constructed and navigated in the social realm, in different contexts the behaviours have different definitions and consequences (Landrine et al., 1995). From this position, when ethnic minority groups behave in ways that seem superficially similar to behaviours carried out by the white majority group, we cannot assume these are the same behaviours (hooks, 2000a). To understand the behaviour of other cultural groups, it is necessary to investigate the socio-cultural environment in which they are situated and the meanings and consequences these individuals take into account when engaging in this behaviour. Only through this contextual information will it be possible to define the behaviour (Landrine et al., 1995). Rather than observing and speaking for the 'other', understanding why a behaviour occurs demands learning from the people and their location in society. Through contextualism, the influences and contingencies that produce and sustain the behaviour become clear, as do potential interventions that are culturally specific (Landrine, 1995).

Contextualising behaviour also promotes the conduct of ethical and critical science (hooks, 2000b). Traditional psychology has not ignored race, class and culture. However, it has tended to concentrate cultural diversity research on looking at how minorities are different and comparing them to what is considered the normative ideal base of white culture, thus constructing hierarchies that profit the dominant group (Morawski & Bayer, 1995). Research that simply investigates the surface features of behaviour can be abused in this way, by fitting racial and gender differences into politically preconceived ideas that maintain the hegemonic structure and

disadvantage the population under study (Landrine et al., 1995). By looking further into the social structures governing the behaviour, a contextual approach can instead challenge current socio-political arrangements (Landrine, 1995).

As the liberal-humanist outlook dominant in most research promotes the idea of the autonomous rational subject, it is no more helpful for oppressed racial groups than it is for oppressed women (Landrine et al., 1995). Such an approach masks the effects of social structures and material conditions that constrain individuals' (perceptions of) choices, including poverty, racial discrimination and the lack of external resources, by focusing instead on individual problems that assign blame and deficiency in the oppressed (Unger, 1995). As with the critiques of humanism for feminism, the use of static social categories, void of social dynamics, makes these problems appear natural and fixed, perpetuating biases against minority groups (Morawski & Bayer, 1995).

With a contextual approach in mind, critical cross-cultural research sits well with social constructionism and poststructuralism (Landrine, 1995). By instead viewing racial, class and cultural diversity in terms of distinct, complicated and dynamic socio-cultural histories, oppression can be seen as outside the traits of the individual and instead related to power structures involved in their connection with the social world (Morawski & Bayer, 1995). Examining the cultural scripts, meanings and subjectivities available within the discursive fields of a specific culture, it becomes possible to investigate how individuals construct and perform ethnicity, in the same ways we investigate how they perform gender (Unger, 1995).

Cultural critique of poststructuralism:

While poststructuralism is appealing for feminist women of colour and critical cross-cultural researchers in all the ways just mentioned, there are reasons why many of these women remain resistant (Landrine, 1995). Along with many other feminist groups, some cultural researchers are concerned

by poststructuralists' attention to language and relativism over a material reality (Landrine et al., 1995; Morawski & Bayer, 1995; Unger, 1995). By claiming that objective reality can never be known and that experiences are always socially constructed, some cultural and feminist researchers worry that poststructuralism undermines the truth behind claims from oppressed groups that they have been discriminated against or abused on the basis on race, class or gender (Bulbeck, 1998; Landrine, 1995). They argue that poststructuralists pay as much attention to discussions of the social construction of serious social issues, such as poverty, violence, exploitation and rape, as they do to the 'real' lived experiences of individuals victimised by these conditions (Bulbeck, 1998). In discussing the tension between materialism and relativism, Burman and Parker (1993; Parker, 1998) emphasise the position of critical realist for a political applied stance. Critical realism posits that some degree of reality exists outside of language and that poststructuralism cannot account for some larger material powers in society (Bulbeck, 1998; Parker, 1998). For example, for people living in extreme poverty, no amount of shifting their subjectivities will make certain choices more available to them, because the external resources are not there (Bulbeck, 1998).

Reflexivity when researching 'Others':

As with poststructuralism, critical cross-cultural researchers emphasise the need to locate one's research and oneself in the local cultural context (hooks, 2000b). While some may question the right of a member of the dominant ethnic group to research women of another ethnic group, Bulbeck (1998) argues that all women hold the right to address the issues of oppression and discrimination for women anywhere. In doing so though, such a researcher must be careful not to fall into the trap of assuming an essential womanhood, without regard for the demarcations of race and class. She must similarly take care not to assume difference without regard for the similarities in the experience of gender (Bulbeck, 1998). In these regards, the researcher is both 'other' and allied to the participants.

As a social scientist studying amongst another cultural group, self awareness is vital. This is because, as we make sense of the interpretation of reality presented to us by participants, each of us draws on our own pre-existing knowledge and interpretations of that reality (Morawski & Bayer, 1995). This influences how we understand and make conclusions from what is said in the research, as well as how and what we question about in the first place. The researcher is always inscribed in the text she creates (Gill & Walker, 1993). Even before this, the dynamics of the interview relate as much to the researcher herself and the relationship she establishes with the participant(s) as they do to the subjectivity of the participant(s) (Morawski & Bayer, 1995).

Reflexivity perhaps becomes even more important in cross-cultural work, because the researcher is placed in multiple positions of power over the participants, as it is the researcher who will comment on and disseminate the knowledge obtained from the study, and likely is a white person who stands in a relatively privileged location amongst a minority ethnic group (Bulbeck, 1998). It is her responsibility to the participants to critically assess her position and motives (Morawski & Bayer, 1995), while remembering the social power structures that tend to silence the voices of minorities beneath those of white speakers (Bulbeck, 1998).

Discourse analysis

My analysis of the women's accounts involves a discursive analysis founded in Foucauldian and feminist analyses of sexuality (Foucault, 1979b; Gavey, 2005; Weedon, 1987). This assumes that people draw on and are subjected to various culturally embedded discursive constructions as they carry out, interpret and talk about their lives (Tolman, 2002). In listening to their talk, the sexuality discourses and the related subjectivities they produce can be distinguished. It is then possible to investigate the choices, positions and social practices available to these individuals, and the contingencies and social and personal consequences of each (Ussher, 1997).

I am interested in how sexuality is constructed in the talk, and also what this means in terms of the women's actual sexual practices. Such an analysis puts me in a problematic theoretical position, as it requires me to see the women's talk both from a poststructuralist viewpoint, whereby language constructs an interpretation of reality (Harris, 2004), and sometimes from a critical realist viewpoint, whereby their report is seen (albeit through a critical lens) to describe real events in their lives (Parker, 2005). However, Gavey (2005) argues that a theoretical compromise of this nature is sometimes needed in the investigation of some pertinent social questions. By taking a purely relativist stance, feminist poststructuralist researchers studying sexuality sometimes run the risk of falling into the trap criticised by cultural researchers, by completing a linguistic study that fails to take into account the material practice of certain social issues, such as, in this case, safer sex (Gavey, 2005). By assuming some degree of reality and employing the wider definition of discourse that incorporates social practices, it is possible to elucidate and intervene with these important issues (Parker, 2002), thus maintaining the feminist intention of the research. This approach allows us to make sense of how discourse allows and constrains women's choices in sexual relationships (Gavey, 2005).

Making my theoretical position clear

In light of all these theories, I choose to position myself as a feminist/womanist poststructuralist, influenced by Foucauldian discourse theory (Blood, 2005; Bordo, 1989; Foucault, 1979b; Gavey, 2005). Endeavouring to give a voice to a group of young Filipino women, so that they might relay an account of their experiences, I recognise the power relations which may disadvantage them according to gender, race, culture, class and age. I acknowledge that the experiences they construct and my readings of their talk are but one of many possible interpretations and that these particular constructions are dependent on the context in which they are obtained and read. Going beyond the act of simply reporting these experiences, I put forward my intention to critically analyse the accounts, in order to understand these women's interpretations of themselves, their

sexualities and their worlds, in terms of how they are constructed and limited by the social power structures they live within. As just discussed, on occasion I concede to a critical realist understanding of experience in order to move towards a more applied purpose of my research (Parker, 2005), that of investigating the social practices around safe sex in heterosexual relationships.

Chapter Four:

General Method and Research Rationale

The intention of the research was to interview New Zealand Filipino women regarding their perceptions, meanings and experiences of female sexuality. Related to this were goals around investigating how immigrant women make sense of sexuality in the context of intimate relationships and the role that culture plays in their feminine sexual subjectivities and practices. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, I called on a feminist poststructuralist approach to the method, employing a mix of discursive and narrative research to enable these marginalised women's voices to be heard and explored.

A qualitative approach

Most of the published New Zealand data on adolescent sexuality is quantitative and problem-focused. Many postmodernist researchers state that conventional quantitative research methods are inappropriate for ethnic minorities, as they isolate single factors from their relative meaning and do not allow cultural or feminist expression (Josselson, 1995). Qualitative methods, such as focus group and narrative interviewing, allow a contextual study of people in relation to their social surroundings (Josselson, 1995) that is seen as crucial to the investigation of sensitive community issues, such as sexuality.

Qualitative research makes an effort to hear the perspectives of the participants themselves (Fischer, 2006). It then involves reflection, interpretation and reflexivity in making sense of people's experiences and behaviours, as obtained from the participants (Fischer, 2006). Qualitative methods allow a more holistic understanding or description of the subject matter from the perspective of participants' lived experience. An advantage is the ability to access rich material regarding personal and intimate

experiences and the meanings people have attributed to these experiences in making sense of themselves and their lives – aspects typically inaccessible to traditional quantitative research methods (Fischer, 2006).

Both traditional statistical / quantitative and qualitative methods of research involve an element of subjectivity on the part of the researcher, in terms of what, how and why the research is conducted, the standpoint of the researcher, and how the data is interpreted (Fischer, 2006). However, qualitative research both acknowledges this subjectivity and makes a point of studying subjectivity itself. In other words, qualitative research allows us to study lived experiences and meanings, bringing context into the equation (Fischer, 2006).

Quantitative statistical methods are useful for investigating frequencies and categories. However, they offer little in the way of understanding the detail, meaning and context behind behaviour (Fischer, 2006). Qualitative research tends to involve interviewing, observing, reviewing, reading and re-reading, reflecting, going back and forth between the literature and the research material, and reporting both the sense that has been made of the data and how this sense has come to be made (i.e. the experience of the study from both the participants' and the researcher's perspective; Fischer, 2006).

Within the area of qualitative research, there has been increasing emphasis on the study of discourses, particularly those identified in interviews, focus groups, and naturally occurring in conversations. Applying discursive methods, individuals' discourses are interpreted from a social constructionist perspective, whereby the self and one's discursive opinions are considered transient constructions that are dependent on the social context in which they occur (Edley & Wetherell, 1997). According to narrative analysis, the meanings and associations people place on significant aspects of their lives become apparent in the ways they construct and present their life stories through conversations with others (Josselson, 1995).

Qualitative interviewing methods have recently been used for effective studies of women's experiences of sexuality, as well as experiences of migration and acculturation (Espin, 1999; Gavey & McPhillips, 1999). Examining the culturally accepted beliefs that are engraved in individual participants' discourses draws attention away from individual blame (Marecek, 1999). This is useful when investigating adolescent sexuality, where individual adolescents are often seen as the problem, particularly in a small community. Narrative and focus group interviewing empower the research participants, decreasing the directive power of the interviewer and therefore avoiding the potential moulding of minority group responses to fit preconceived majority ideas (Wilkinson, 1999). Researchers have described a 'missing discourse of female desire', whereby proactive, positive portrayals of women's sexuality are largely absent from young women's talk (Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006). Women are positioned passively, as powerless over their own sexuality, and yet simultaneously responsible for their own and their partners' sexual actions (Phillips, 2000). In this way, there is a tendency among young women to lose their own voice and to mould their sexual identity to the expectations of others (Phillips, 2000). Open-ended interviewing helps to ensure young women's voices are heard.

The present research involved an integration of focus group and individual (narrative) interviewing to achieve a more holistic answer to relevant and related questions regarding young immigrant women's sexuality. Qualitative research makes a distinct methodological contribution, allowing the young participants to voice their ideas and concerns about sexuality in their own words (Ussher, 2005).

Focus group methods are particularly suited to exploratory studies (Wilkinson, 1999), and were used here to open up various topics for consideration, providing an opportunity to learn about participants' own language and conceptual formations, rather than forcing the researcher's vocabulary into the interviews (Wilkinson, 1999). Focus groups were also

appropriate because there has been limited research with this population on the topic of sexuality. Hence the research was approached with a mind open to possibilities and without initial hypotheses.

Focus groups were then followed by individual interviews, which are more appropriate for gathering detailed personal opinions about sensitive topics (Madriz, 2000). Individual interviews allow another level of involvement with the participants' stories, gathering a greater contextualized and fine-grained construction of lived experience.

The goal of the qualitative interviews was to explore how young Filipinas negotiate the often contradictory sexuality discourse of their own cultural community and the Pakeha culture. I investigated how young immigrant Filipina women utilise and make sense of discourses around sexuality and womanhood that get recycled within their family culture and in the larger New Zealand culture that surrounds them. Of particular interest was how they draw upon these discourses to construct their own ideas about sexuality, how they themselves are positioned within these constructions, how various sexuality discourses allow or restrict these young women's choices in making sexual decisions, and how they use these discourses to justify decisions made.

Just as quantitative methods have limitations, there are also constraints on qualitative research that are important to be aware of. Qualitative research places a high demand on time, in terms of carrying out, transcribing and revisiting the text material many times in order to grasp its richness and implications (Fischer, 2006). Qualitative research requires relatively few participants to generate an expansive amount of data, as each participant is studied in great depth. While it cannot be assumed that the participants used in a qualitative study are representative of the wider population, the pattern of responses obtained are at least indicative of the opinions and concerns of other young women in the target population (Walkerdine et al., 2001). However, given the relatively small number of participants involved in a

qualitative, and particularly discursive, study, generalisability to the larger population cannot be assumed. Findings and interpretations need to be viewed as local and specific to the participants involved and context in which the material was gathered (Fischer, 2006). Given that the population of research is relatively small to begin with, a small sample size also relates to access to the population, as well as the amount of detail obtained from each participant.

Sometimes the goals of research are specific to the sample population. However, even when our questions are broader, by carrying qualitative analysis out with rigour and attention to method and reflexivity, the findings are generally able to extend further than the specific population from which they were obtained (Fischer, 2006). As such, the current research can be seen as an in-depth study of a particular group in which I had a great interest and for which the specific community involved was eager to find a way forward. At the same time, the knowledge generated from the research may, to a point, be applicable to other immigrant populations in New Zealand and the Western world, and could be extended out to other groups with follow-up research.

Another point to keep in mind with qualitative research is that causation cannot be assumed between constructs captured by the study, although this may not be the focus of the research question. Qualitative research instead allows the researcher to obtain detailed information about what, how and in which circumstances participants see the various areas of interest as important and relevant (Fischer, 2006).

Validity in qualitative research

Qualitative research strays away from the idea that there is one knowable truth that is independent of the biases of the researcher (Parker, 2004). Instead, the knowledge generated here should be seen as an attempt to make sense of the young women's understandings, while recognising the role I play in the version of knowledge that is captured (Fischer, 2006). Issues of

validity and reliability are important (and often contentious) concepts for qualitative research (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002; Burman, 2003). Recognition of the subjective nature of qualitative and discursive research leads to greater attention to reflexivity throughout the research (Parker, 2004). What and how a researcher researches is influenced by their context, personal interests, motives and background (see Preface for discussion of my personal context and positioning). Reflexive disclosure of these aspects aids validity by making biases plain. Research material and the processes by which it was gathered (method) and interpreted (analysis) should be presented transparently, faithfully and backed with supporting evidence (Fischer, 2006; Parker, 2004). Methodological choices should be explained, so that the reasons for their choice are made explicit (Fischer, 2006).

There has been critical debate around research that falls short of discourse analysis (Antaki et al., 2002; Burman, 2003; Parker, 2004). Some studies have provided more of a descriptive summary of the research material, simplifying and removing context, rather than actual analysis (Antaki et al., 2002). Analysis should develop a position and increase understanding related to the research goals (Burman, 2003). Establishing the purpose and value of the research from the outset aids more sensitive selection and focus around what is gathered and what is analysed (Burman, 2003). Starting from a theoretical framework regarding discourse and discourse analysis builds a 'plan of attack' around goals and carrying out analysis that reduces the likelihood of mere description (Burman, 2003). Another critique involves allowing preconceived presumptions to prematurely block other interpretations, so that the researcher exclusively selects material to back their argument (Burman, 2003). It is important that conclusions are justified and grounded in evidence from the material, relevant literature and theory, to prevent making overly broad claims, based on an isolated example, or generalisations, by applying discursive material outside of its context (Antaki et al., 2002; Parker, 2004). The context in which the talk was produced and embedded should be made explicit, with attention to the

specificity of the sociocultural, historical, political, and temporal situation, the people involved, and the meanings attributed to the talk by the participants and researcher (Burman, 2003; Parker, 2004). At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged there are multiple, interwoven ways to read and understand a text, with several often contradictory discourses at play – it cannot be assumed there is one true reading of the text (Burman, 2003).

Explaining the research foci

For the current research, the New Zealand Filipino community was chosen as the population of study. As discussed earlier, there has been little research regarding the sexuality of Asian and/or immigrant women, despite their increasing presence in New Zealand. I planned to conduct in-depth study of one culture that could potentially later be broadened out to other groups. Informal discussions with members of the New Zealand Filipino community indicated that adolescent sexuality and pregnancy was seen as a problem area. I felt in a comfortable position to carry out the research, given my familiarity with, and interest in, the Filipino culture.

A decision to limit the study to girls and mothers related partially to my own feminist goals, regarding giving a voice to young women. In the New Zealand Asian community, women outnumber men, particularly in the Filipino community, where women make up 64 per cent of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Research demonstrates problematic constructions and controls placed on feminine sexuality across many cultures (Espin, 1999). The important role that boys and fathers play in the dynamics of sexual relationships and young women's identity formation is acknowledged. However, with a need to refine my focus of interest, the concentration on women was also due to recognition that women are often treated as the upholders of the home culture in immigrant communities (Espin, 2006). Young immigrant women's sexuality, gender roles and independence become key sites of community policing and conflict in parent-daughter relationships, in a way that tends not to occur with young immigrant men's sexuality (Espin, 1999; Espiritu, 2001). A focus on

mothers' and daughters' stories related to an interest in how messages and constructions of female sexuality are passed within families and how culture is transmitted through stories. Previous research notes a lack of study of mothers' roles in youth sexuality (Chung et al., 2007).

Ward (2007) defines first generation immigrant youth as those born overseas who came to New Zealand after age twelve, second generation immigrant youth as those born in New Zealand to parents born overseas, and those in between (born overseas and in New Zealand by age twelve) as the 1.5 generation. First (including the 1.5 generation) and second generation immigrants were focused on for the current study, because this is a group for which the tensions of acculturation versus cultural maintenance, and associated issues of autonomy and sexuality versus family restrictions and surveillance, are current and prominent, particularly during adolescence (Espiritu, 2001; Ward, 2007). Immigrant youth tend to maintain identification and affinity with their home culture, while increasingly building an identity oriented towards the dominant culture at a faster rate to that of their immigrant parents (Ward, 2007). The focus on the adolescent immigrant population aids recognition of how interwoven influences of sexuality, gender, culture, ethnicity, and marginalisation affect the formation of identities (Chung et al., 2007; Ward, 2007).

Adolescence involves a prominent process of identity development and separation of the self from family, with the identification with home and peer cultures at some sort of crossroads (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006). Adolescence is also a transition to adulthood and the development of sexual intimacy. Research suggests that, by age fifteen, the majority of white, middle class, Western teens have some experience with boyfriend / girlfriend relationships and sexuality (Feiring, 1996). The mid-late teen experience tends to include a transition from brief casual relationships to relatively more committed longer partnerships (Feiring, 1996). For these reasons, the 16-20 years age group was focused on in the current research, as it was likely to access participants with a range of degree of sexual

experience and engaged in intimate relationships at a range of stages of seriousness. The 16-20 age group was also chosen because adolescence has been noted as involving increased boundary testing and risk-taking; issues of relevance to investigation of sexual health and safety (Bleach, 1995). With 16 years the age of sexual consent in New Zealand and of voluntary participation in research without parental consent required, a focus on 16-20 year-olds was also convenient in terms of ethical approval and aiding confidentiality.

A focus on heterosexual relationships was chosen. One reason for this was a need to cut down the breadth of the study and a decision to concentrate on gender based positions and power dynamics that may influence unsafe sexual practices and unplanned pregnancy. It was also partially the women themselves who led this focus, as none spoke about personal homosexual experiences and all discussed heterosexual relationships when asked about romantic and sexual relationships. Some brief mention of homosexuality did occur in focus groups in the context of discussion around what sexuality means. However, there was little discussion on this topic and, as such, homosexuality was not focused on in the analytic chapters to follow. None of the participants identified themselves as homosexual in the focus groups or individual interviews, while all described heterosexual feelings and experiences. It is possible that homosexuality is an even greater taboo than sexuality in general and that some women did not feel comfortable or did not have the discursive resources available to discuss homosexuality. Also likely is that the way I carried out the research encouraged heterosexual participants and heterosexual discussion, for example asking about boyfriend / girlfriend relationships, and brochures provided to prospective participants that involved pictures depicting boy / girl relationships.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW METHOD

Setting up the research

Consistent with a philosophy of empowerment that is prominent in much qualitative research, before embarking on the research, I felt it was crucial that I first consult members of the New Zealand Filipino community and liaise with them through the research process. As I was primarily acquainted with the Wellington Filipino community, I consulted with teens, parents, and people involved with Wellington and Auckland Filipino community organisations about setting up the research and recruiting participants. In particular, I relied on the Wellington Filipino Sports Association, as a large number of Wellington-based Filipino youths attend these sporting events. I was able to informally explore issues of concern from a community perspective to help me develop the focus of my research, the nature of the questions I would ask, and how to proceed with the interviews. Out of cultural respect, I took this as an opportunity to obtain community support for the research with the endorsement of some respected elder members of the community. As a result of this process, I felt deep gratitude to the community, particularly the women involved in the research, for allowing me into their personal lives and sharing their stories with me.

Reflexivity and ethical issues in the research

Ethical approval for the studies was received from the Victoria University School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee. In preparation for the Human Ethics application, there were numerous issues that needed consideration.

The psychological researcher holds a position of power over research participants, who follow the researcher's directions, may well be asked to proffer personal details and experiences, and are not certain of how the information obtained from them will be used exactly. In the exploration of intimate and sensitive topics, such as the present study of sexuality, participants are asked to volunteer and reflect on intimate and emotive

aspects of their experiences and the meanings they have drawn from these experiences in making sense of themselves. It is important for qualitative research to be mindful of respecting and protecting participants and the information they provide. This was carried out by showing genuine respect and appreciation of their stories, preparing for the need for appropriate services regarding the disclosure of upsetting or risky situations, and debriefing with participants at the conclusion of interviews (Fischer, 2006). Several ethical issues in the research concerned cultural sensitivity.

Adjusting to the youth culture of New Zealand, while still maintaining a Filipino cultural identity, can make adolescent issues, such as sexuality, difficult and confusing for migrant adolescents. Some may feel that they have made wrong decisions, either in terms of their Filipino traditional values or in terms of their coping with the transition to New Zealand culture. Issues of guilt, embarrassment, or shame were likely to arise while discussing sexual decisions in the interviews. As participants may have felt anxious about the information they provided reaching their parents or being spread through the community, it was important to stress the completely confidential and voluntary nature of participation, when obtaining informed consent. It was explained that information raised in the focus group interviews must be kept private between the participants and researcher. This was of particular concern because of the strong emphasis on reputation in the community and the desire to avoid becoming the topic of community 'tsismis' (gossip), both as an individual and as a family. Also very relevant to confidentiality were the sensitive nature of the topic (for example, disclosures of breaking cultural expectations regarding virginity) and the small size of the population.

For individual interviews, where mothers and daughters may have been wary of intimate parts of their lives and beliefs becoming public knowledge, confidentiality was again emphasised. It was specifically stressed that it would be against my ethical code to share a mother or daughter's information with their daughter or mother during the other's interview.

As noted in the Preface of this thesis, I occupied the position of outsider in conducting the research. It was important to involve the participants throughout the research process in order to acknowledge the implicit power of the researcher in presenting what was discussed and reported. As the focus group interviews were focused on general perceptions, participants were told that they were not required to discuss personal experiences, although some girls still chose to. Participants were given the opportunity to censor the information they gave and to provide feedback after the interviews. No requests to veto comments were made after any of the interviews, although at the conclusion of one focus group interview I was asked not to include some personal information that had been disclosed after the end of the formal interview.

For individual interviews, if a participant became upset during the interview, or the researcher noticed signs of discomfort in the conversation, the participant was given the opportunity to stop the recording for a short break before continuing, at which point she could decide whether she wanted to continue or not. There were no cases of a participant deciding to withdraw from the study.

While individual interviews involved only the individual and the interviewer, focus groups added further social dynamics. As participants may feel pressured about following what they think the researcher or their peers expect of them, making the focus group environment a safe and stimulating place to share opinions was also vital to help to decrease participants' anxiety about discussing a subject that is taboo to many ethnic groups. It was for the purpose of making the experience less threatening that I made an effort to base groups on known friendships and precede the interview with a snack meal, as well as why I used a snowball recruitment method so that girls were initially approached by a familiar person (Madriz, 2000).

Due to my affiliation and social ties with the Wellington Filipino

community, some participants were familiar to me prior to the interviews. All such participants were aware of this when giving informed consent. As discussed earlier, I believe that it is because of my status as an “insider” to the community that I have had the support of the New Zealand Filipino community to carry out the study. This is also why many of the young participants have felt comfortable to talk to me. I therefore view my familiarity with the community as a benefit to my research and as ethically appropriate for researching this sensitive personal subject matter.

For the individual interviews, there was concern around participants’ comfort in disclosure to the interviewer. While the topics discussed were sensitive, it has been put forward that sensitive issues may be more easily told to a stranger sometimes, as there is less risk in terms of the relationship and emotional attachment (Muir, 2001). There also tends to be a perceived safety in talking to a researcher, given their presumed professionalism, interest in the topic, and previous experience with hearing similar experiences (Muir, 2001). My position as a researcher somewhere between inside and outside the community, and somewhere between the ages of the mothers and daughters, may well have aided my position as someone participants could trust with their stories.

A decision was made to conduct the research in English. English is one of the official languages of the Philippines and feedback from the participants and community was that English would be their language of choice or comfort for the subject matter (in 2001, 99 percent of New Zealand Filipinos could speak English (Statistics New Zealand, 2002)). For the majority of daughter participants, English was the language they were most fluent in. Based on her experience of interviewing immigrant women about sexuality, Espin (1999) concluded that immigrant women often feel more comfortable using English to discuss sexuality. Reasons given for this included that immigrant women often found it less taboo to discuss sexuality in a second language than in the intimacy of their home tongue; similarly, many of the women claimed to have not known how to express

themselves on the topic of sexuality in their first languages, having only experienced open discussion of sexuality upon entering the Western world (Espin, 1999).

Given that the topic of discussion was sexuality and that there was the possibility of disclosure of pregnancy, abuse and/or risky sexual behaviour, participants were given an information sheet with contacts and help lines at the conclusion of all interviews (Appendix A). Contact sources included health workers and relevant youth support and sexual health services, both within and outside of the Filipino community. At the conclusion of interviews in which participants had described unsafe sexual practices and regretted or abusive sexual experiences, the researcher encouraged distressed participants to seek guidance for dealing with the experience, referring to the contact sheet.

Participants

Thirty-three adolescent NZ Filipina women, aged 16-20 years, took part in six focus group interviews of 5-7 participants each. Participants all had Filipino mothers. All but three had Filipino fathers, with the other three having New Zealand Pakeha fathers. Participants had all lived in New Zealand for at least two years. Most had migrated to New Zealand from the Philippines in childhood or adolescence, except for the three with Pakeha fathers who had all been born in New Zealand. Participants were all from Wellington or Auckland (where two of the focus groups were conducted), the two largest cities in New Zealand, where the highest populations of Filipinos live (in 2001, 94 per cent of New Zealand Asians lived in the main urban areas of New Zealand) (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Two teenage mothers took part in the interviews.

I chose not to examine socioeconomic status in the groups. My experience with immigrant families has made me aware that distinguishing social class among immigrants on the basis of present socioeconomic status can be difficult. People's social and economic circumstances can change drastically

upon immigration, due to issues such as language barriers, unrecognisable qualifications and prejudice leading to difficulty finding appropriate work, or alternatively increased work and income opportunities meaning an upward movement (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Qin, 2005).

Recruitment

Recruitment began with a basketball championship game party held by the Wellington Filipino Sports Association. Basketball games are held every Saturday afternoon and are a major gathering for Filipino families and youths from around the city. The championship game is especially well attended, making it an ideal situation to target as many youths as possible. After the awards ceremony, when everyone was gathered together, I made a brief presentation about the research (having sought and received the approval of elders from the Wellington Filipino Sports Association), inviting girls to come and talk to me during the evening to get an information brochure about the study with my contact details (Appendix B). This led to discussions with multiple girls that night who took brochures for themselves and their friends.

Young women from the New Zealand Filipino communities in Auckland and Wellington were then recruited via a snowball method through Filipinos from the basketball evening as well as other Filipino friends and acquaintances. Girls approached other girls they knew about the study, encouraging them to either contact me or give permission for their contact details to be passed along to me, so that I would then contact them. Interested girls were then given or sent an information brochure and consent form (Appendix B & C). I then followed up the contact to confirm their participation and arrange an interview time.

The information sheet was designed in the form of a brochure to more appropriately target immigrant youth, as it appears more friendly and easy to read for those participants who may have poorer academic skills, and is more likely to keep their attention. I could thus be more certain that

participants understood what they were giving informed consent to and their rights to privacy. Members of the Filipino community had advised me that English is always used for formal documents in the Philippines, making it the most appropriate language to use for the forms. It should be noted that the images in the brochures could be seen as privileging heterosexuality and whiteness. While these biases were not intentional, the heterosexuality of the pictures, at least, fits with my narrowing of the project towards early heterosexual relationships. Regarding the whiteness of the images, it was difficult to find appropriate ethnic images in the clip art available to me. Another option would have been to hire someone to draw appropriate cartoon pictures. For time and financial reasons, this was not done. Filipinos are an ethnically diverse group and vary widely in appearance and features; it is hoped that this may have meant the images were less inappropriate than they may have been for some other Asian groups.

Group composition

Group interviews were arranged once there were enough people available at the same time to take part. Sometimes the organization took many follow-up calls to arrange an appropriate time for all group members. A strong emphasis was placed on trying to ensure participants had at least someone they knew in the group with them to make them feel more at ease in talking about personal and sensitive issues. When possible, groups were based around natural friendships and participants often arranged the group themselves. However, some groups involved mixing two friendship groups.

Interviews and interview guide

Interviews took place in a quiet, private, informal setting, where the girls could feel comfortable to talk openly. Wellington interviews took place in a small discussion room at the university, while the Auckland interviews were carried out in the lounge of a private home. As the sharing of food is an important part of Filipino culture, participants were offered various snacks and drinks to also help promote a friendly and informal social atmosphere. Interviews tended to be in the afternoons after school or in the evenings of a

weekend, taking between one and a half to three hours each. All interviews were conducted in English and audio recorded. Participants were given \$10 each as reimbursement for travel costs to and from the interview setting.

At the beginning of the interviews, the confidential and voluntary nature of the interviews was discussed before girls completed their consent forms. I then introduced myself and my own cultural background, explaining my connection to the Filipino community.

The focus group interviews were semi-structured, following a flexible open-ended question guide (Appendix D). Individual and cultural interpretations of intimate relationships, teen sexuality, romance, pregnancy, contraception, sexual education, and womanhood were discussed.

Participants were treated as expert cultural informants and commentators. Broad probe questions and scenarios were used to start the conversation (Madriz, 2000). Further questions were built around expanding and clarifying what the girls said, incorporating their language and ideas. Hence questions varied according to the responses obtained and the issues raised by participants. Groups were invited to raise relevant topics that were not part of the researcher's original agenda.

Facilitation involved encouraging all group members to participate in the discussion in order to explore the range of viewpoints. I worked to draw quieter young women into the conversation and avoid particular participants from dominating the conversation through the use of nonverbal cues and direct questioning.

Group dynamics

The interviews involved a lot of laughter as well as girls frequently finishing each others' sentences in a way that reflected normal informal conversation. This was substantiated by feedback from the girls, who time and again said that the session had felt more like a chat among good friends. General

comments among the girls were that the session had been an opportunity to discuss topics they had never talked about before, even amongst close friends. Many expressed pleasure and excitement at having had the opportunity and a desire to talk like this more often. As one girl said, “this was a rare chance to get things out in the open”.

Although alternative viewpoints were encouraged and girls were told there were no right or wrong answers, disagreement between girls within groups was not common. Particularly because groups were generally based on friendship groups, the high level of agreement could reflect girls wanting to fit in with their friends and not stand out as different to the majority, or a sign of true uniformity in views amongst friends. However, differences in views were found between groups and, even within interviews, girls sometimes contradicted themselves at different points in the process of the interview.

Despite attempts to prevent it (for example, trying to engage quiet speakers), some groups were still dominated by one or two people. This appeared to reflect the nature of their friendship group, with some girls appearing more submissive than others. Groups including a mix of friendship groups tended to be more reserved than groups of a single friendship group, as girls in the former situation were likely less at ease.

Given the topic of discussion was sexuality and two of the groups included a known teen mother, it is possible that this knowledge influenced what was said in the interviews. This potentially allowed further variation between focus groups.

Reflexivity

Prior to conducting the interviews, I had been aware that the way in which questions were framed could influence the responses obtained (for example, asking about differences between cultures implies that there are significant differences; asking about boyfriend / girlfriend relationships presupposes a

focus on heterosexual relationships). This was important to keep in mind after transcription and during analysis.

As discussed earlier, I was generally offered the position of 'being Pakeha, but not quite' by the participants. Although it is still possible some did not make the distinction and held back in what they said, many girls expressed a comfort in being able to talk to me about negative perceptions of New Zealand culture without feeling that they were offending me personally. Some young women said things against Pakeha that they may not have said had the facilitator been considered a typical New Zealand Pakeha. From my perspective, it was sometimes an odd position to be in, as I was placed somewhere between the 'them' and 'us' that was described and was thus offered many negative portrayals of a group that in most other circumstances I would be assumed to belong to. However, it was also a position I felt honoured to have been given, allowing me into participants' worlds in a manner I would otherwise not have been afforded. Overall, I felt privileged to have been trusted to share in intimate stories and conversations that the girls would seldom have raised in other circumstances.

Transcription

All sessions were recorded using Minidisc recording equipment. The interview sound data was then transferred to computer wave files and the interviews were transcribed, using pseudonyms, to allow a discursive analysis. Analysis focused on broad patterns of discourse, subjectivity, power and social context. In response and in line with the work of other poststructural discourse analysts, transcription focused on content, rather than mechanical elements of the conversation (Billig, 1999; Jackson, 2001; Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). Transcription involved replication of verbal material, and inclusion of nonverbal information if it was meaningful to the conversation (laughter, pauses, responsive sounds, such as Mm) (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Oliver et al., 2005). Transcription was relatively denaturalised, including as much punctuation as was practical to make reading of the transcripts as close to the original spoken talk as possible, in

order to capture the meaning, tone and verbal punctuation of the conversation (Oliver et al., 2005).

Analytic process and analytic focus

There is a dynamic relationship between reviewing literature and carrying out analysis. Reading and analysis of the interview material directs further investigation of the relevant literature, while the literature in turn guides the course of analysis (Parker & the Bolton Discourse Network, 1999). As such, analysis of the subject matter began with my initial investigation of the literature and was an ongoing process.

A discourse analysis approach was taken in keeping with a social constructionist framework (Burr, 1995; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Transcript analysis focused mainly on a top-down post-structural approach, with emphasis on the effects of the social processes and repertoires evident in the adolescents' discourses (Edley & Wetherell, 1997). Top-down discursive analysis focuses on a more global content-based level of the material, examining power, social practices, ideologies, and discourses in the talk, with attention to sociocultural, historical and political contexts (for example, Gavey, 1990; Hollway, 1989; Jackson, 2004). In contrast, a bottom-up conversation analysis concentrates on the structure and performance of the text fragments and a finer level analysis of the conversation (Burr, 1995; Wetherell, 1998). Using a critical discursive perspective, the self and one's opinions were deemed transient constructions that shift according to context (Edley & Wetherell, 1997).

Transcripts were read multiple times to identify major themes (for a similar thematic analysis, see Braun & Clarke, 2006). The talk was then further categorised according to recurrent patterns in the girls' constructions of sexuality, romance, culture and womanhood. These were closely read to pinpoint areas of agreement and conflict within and between participants' discourses. In re-reading material within these patterns, the cultural discourses of sexuality available to, and taken up by, adolescent Filipina

girls were identified. The subjectivities of women within these discourses and the positions they create for the girls, in terms of being a daughter, a girlfriend, and a young woman in the New Zealand Filipino community, was a point of focus.

While the general focus of analysis took a top-down approach, some attention to structural elements of the conversation occurred (for example, laughter and pauses) at times when these elements were particularly relevant to the content of the conversation. Using a mix of top-down and bottom-up approaches enabled investigation of how we both shape and are shaped by social discourse, facilitating a more comprehensive approach to discourse analysis (Wetherell, 1997).

Summaries of the themes that arose in the interviews were sent to participants once the analysis was complete, allowing them the opportunity to provide feedback to the researcher before the analysis was written up (Appendix E). Other members of the New Zealand Filipino community involved in the support of the research were also provided with a summary report of the main findings.

Chapter Five:

Focus Groups - Analysis and Discussion

Analysis of the young women's talk revealed many recurrent patterns in their constructions of sexuality and heterosexual relationships. Most prominent were the constructions of women woven into their talk about culture and sexuality, with some gendered discourses of sexuality, common in dominant Western society, becoming racialised in this context. It is these sexual subjectivities of women, the meanings they create for being a daughter, a girlfriend, and a young woman in the New Zealand Filipino community, and the implications of this for sexual health, that are the focus of the following analysis. Constructions are generally presented in the order of frequency with which they came up. While what follows is an analysis and discussion of the interview material, it should be remembered that mine is but one of many possible ways of reading and interpreting the text and cannot be considered the singular and absolute truth.

Filipino Virgins and New Zealand Skanks

A pattern saliently carried throughout the interviews was a distinction between 'clean' virginal girls and 'dirty' or 'skanky' girls, which strongly emulated the message of the 'good girl, bad girl discourse' or notion of 'angels' and 'sluts' (Lees, 1993). Within this discourse, women and girls who remain virginal and innocent are considered 'good girls', who will be treated with respect by their community and future husbands. The young women frequently spoke of their families stressing upon them the importance of virginity, which was to be regarded as a treasure to carefully hold onto. The degree to which the girls themselves endorsed this message varied considerably within and between interviews. As the following extract illustrates, it was apparent that this was a point of conflict in their lives.

Extract 1 (taken from Red Group):

- Aïyesha. What do young Filipinas think about sex before marriage?
Annie. Well, I, I obviously don't. (laughter)
Elise. They make you special. You're important to them. (Jhoy. Yeah.) Because you are, they're going to treat you well cos you are a virgin.
Jhoy. You're still a virgin, yeah.
Elise. You're special and they make it like "Oh this is my wife".
Annie. And they know that they are the only one.
Jhoy. Yeah. They are the only one.
Cindy. Yeah. The only one.
Annie. That makes them feel good.
Elise. Yeah. Cos always my mum said, "That is your present for your husband that you're protecting".
Cindy. Your virginity.
Elise. Yeah.
Aïyesha. Does that follow through? If the older generation are saying that, is that what the younger generation are thinking as well? (laughter)
Annie. Well no.
Elise. No.
Cindy. No.
Elise. No. Just the old ones, you know?
Annie. The older people, the older bunch. (laughter)
Cindy. The bunch of old ladies. (laughter)
Annie. The elders.
Elise. And nowadays, there's a difference. Because my friends here and my friends still back in the Philippines say it different. So which one is true? They said "Oh don't believe your mum. That's just stupid things." And then my mum said "That's not stupid! You have to do that." Oh my god! It's hard, eh?
Jhoy. You're confused, especially when you've got a step-dad as well who's not a Filipino.
Melanie. Mmm.
Elise. Yeah. See, what if I am going to fall in love with a guy and he wants to have sex and I want to, but it's really hard, I can't, so what am I going to do? So better not. (laughs) I don't know. I have no idea. (laughter)

Asked what young Filipino women think about premarital sex, Annie, a teen mother, states her disregard for the virginal 'good girl' position. Known as a teen mother, it is 'obvious', as she puts it, that she has already overstepped the parameters of the virgin. The laughter which follows this could be in agreement with her stating the obvious or could be a sign of discomfort for the other girls in discussing the importance of being a 'good girl', when she is noticeably and irretrievably outside of the ideal image.

Either way, Annie's declaration is quickly followed by a succession of statements that reinforce the importance of staying the 'good girl'. The woman who saves herself for marriage is spoken of as special. She and her virginity are positioned as precious gifts of which a future husband can be proud. This subjectivity, which Elise claims is endorsed by her mother, positions a woman's sexuality as fragile merchandise to be carefully locked away until being eventually given over to the future husband, who will have complete ownership, as "the only one". The virginity as a 'present' metaphor neatly fits within Gilfoyle, Wilson and Brown's (1993) idea of the 'pseudo-reciprocal gift', whereby young women 'give' themselves to their partner and, in exchange, the man gives the woman orgasmic pleasure, thus keeping with conventional gendered positions (men as active subjects and women as passive objects who are acted upon). The idea that this virginal status must be protected constructs a vulnerable woman who must maintain control and barricade herself from potentially sexual situations. Set within the 'male sex drive discourse', women are seen as the gatekeepers to sexual behaviour, the party responsible for preventing premarital sexual relations.

Although the original question referred to the views of young Filipino women, all initial responses, except Annie's, construct a view of young women through the eyes of others – husbands, parents, elders. It is not said that the girls will feel special within themselves for remaining a virgin, but that "*they* make you special" and "*they* know that *they* are the only one", where 'they' can be taken to mean their future husbands, as Elise adds in "they make it like "Oh this is my wife."" Framing women completely from a male or community perspective here, it seems that the responsibility for meeting these others' expectations is placed onto the women. 'Good girls' are positioned as pleasers, motivated to make men feel good and to conform to the restrictions set by parents. When asked whether the youth generation felt the same way about the importance of virginity, the answer is "No". At this point, the talk turns to resistance, as the girls distance themselves from the 'good girl' image, claiming that it is just "the older bunch" who thinks that way.

The rest of the extract describes the virginal 'good girl' as a site of great intergenerational conflict. It is possible that the resistance of the 'good girl' is due to not wanting to offend Annie, the teen mother, as it is she who is first to reject the opinion as belonging to the young generation. However, Elise then personalises the conflict, adding that friends present them with a different story that places the 'good girl discourse' as 'stupid'. Expressed by participants throughout the interviews, Jhoy and Elise convey a feeling of confusion that Elise puts down to being torn between the opinions of their peers versus their parents and community. Elise goes on to describe a situation in which she appears to fear falling in love. Returning to the subject position of the vulnerable female gatekeeper, she worries that loving a man may result in letting her precariously built defences down, making her vulnerable to wanting to please her man and vulnerable to her own sexual desires. Interestingly, Elise's scenario in which she may "want to" have sex is the first time in the extract that female desire is mentioned and immediately it is trodden down as something which she "can't" allow to happen. Afraid that such temptation may be too powerful to control, Elise decides she had "better not", although whether this is better not have sex, better not fall in love at all, or both is unclear. She thus positions her own sexuality as dangerous and uncontrollable, and separates her sexuality from herself as something to be resisted (Thompson, 1995; Vance, 1984).

All through the extract, and particularly in the discussion of virginity as being a special gift, the young women frequently complete each others' sentences and build a combined story together. They appear to have a shared understanding of the virginal 'good girl' and a shared appreciation for the pressure to conform to this subject position. This was found across the groups and demonstrates the significance of this message in their community.

Within the 'good girl, bad girl discourse', a fall from grace, such as being known to have engaged in sex outside of a committed relationship, or simply being associated with multiple boys, could lead to a young

unmarried woman being labelled a ‘bad girl’, ‘slut’ or ‘skank’.

As one participant said “The only thing that I’m pressured about when it comes to things with sex is the community sometimes. If you’re having sex, the *whole* community must know. You could be just walking down the street with a guy and they automatically think “Oh, that’s her new boyfriend!” And the next day, they see you with a different guy and they say “Oh what a slut!” ” (Linda, Wellington). As with Extract 1, this young woman sees the labelling of a girl’s reputation as set through the eyes of the community around her and simply by her publicly being seen with different boys on different days, even without substantiating evidence of sexual behaviour. As a result of this, she says, she feels “pressured”, in fear for her reputation.

Among the young women I interviewed, the ‘good girl, bad girl’ dichotomy had turned racial. Time and again, participants constructed the Filipino girl as clean, moral, virginal and conservative; someone who would only have sex within marriage or a committed relationship, and only for the reason of love. In contrast, the New Zealand girl was frequently cast as a carefree ‘bad girl’, engaging in promiscuous casual sex. Extracts 2 and 3 are examples of this talk. In Extract 2, Kate and Marie had raised the difficulty of being surrounded by different races in New Zealand, who have different expectations about sex in girlfriend/boyfriend relationships. I followed this up by asking what they thought was different about New Zealanders’ ideas.

Extract 2 (taken from Green Group):

- Kate. In the Philippines, they have to wait till when you get married. But in here, when you’ve got a boyfriend, after that, it’s sex, and then sex, sex, sex. (laughs)
- Marie. Yeah, cos it’s like there’s no meaning in it.
- Kelly. No meaning in it. Yeah.
- Marie. It’s not like if you’re in Philippines. I mean, for Filipinos, they have sex because they *love* the person, (Brigit, Lucy. Yeah.) but here, they just have sex because they *feel* like having sex.
- Brigit. Especially a New Zealander.

In Extract 2, Kate's initial statement presents people in the Philippines as staying moral and chaste 'good girls', waiting until marriage for sex. She strongly contrasts this with New Zealand girls, who she sees as readily having sex once they have a boyfriend and, as Marie adds, without any "meaning in it". Taking this construction further, Marie places Filipinos within a romantic discourse that resembles Hollway's (1989) 'have/hold discourse'. Within this framework, Filipinos are said to have sex for love and commitment, making it special sex. New Zealanders are again pushed into direct opposition, having "sex because they feel like having sex". Mixed with the emphasis on New Zealand relationships as meaningless "sex, sex, sex", this talk works to equate New Zealand girls with 'bad girls' who have frivolous sex void of emotion and romance. It would seem the New Zealander's idea of romance is simply physical sex. Such a negative depiction of New Zealanders positions Filipinos as morally superior. It provides a moral imperative, constructing New Zealand girls as a 'worst case scenario' against which Filipino girls are contrasted. This distinction serves to remind young Filipino women to stay in line, by casting a negative shadow on anyone within community who would choose the path of New Zealand 'bad girls'.

Extract 3 shows another example of the good romantic Filipino girl and the 'skanky' New Zealand girl constructions. Having asked the girls about what sex was and receiving the answer that it was intercourse, I wanted to find out about whether sex could mean anything other than coital intercourse to them.

Extract 3 (taken from Blue Group):

- Aïyesha. So when young people talk about sex and sexuality, what do you think they mean by that? I mean, is sex just intercourse or can it be other things as well?
- Jhenny. It can be a lot of things.
- Michelle. Yeah.
- Mia. Especially for Filipino women. It's like (pause) yeah. (laughter)

Michelle. Yeah! (laughter)
 Aïyesha. How do you think that is for Filipino women?
 Mia. Because for Pakeha people, mostly they just want to score. They think just like guys nowadays. "Oh yeah. I slept with that guy." "Yeah it was fun." Yadayadaya. But for us girls, "Oh when are we going to do it? Cos I really love him." It actually has lots of - We put lots of feelings into it.
 Aïyesha. And how does a young woman express her sexuality?
 Jhenny. Filipino women?
 Aïyesha. Mmmm.
 Jhenny. Discrete. We're very discrete. Me personally, we're quite discrete. We know what we are. As far as I'm concerned quite a lot of the Filipino women, well, the thing is, where I'm from, for my tradition and family background, we're very discrete about our sexuality.
 Amie. Yeah, sometimes.
 Jhenny. We know what we are, but we don't advertise it. Like I said before, we're very - We just meet through people, like through friends, but we won't just go out and meet someone.

Here, the girls agree that sex involves more than intercourse, “especially for Filipino women”, which they go on to say includes “lots of feelings”, love and romance. Initially though, talking much more about what sex means brings laughter and little response, which is probably a sign of discomfort in talking explicitly about sex. When I ask for more details about what sex means for Filipino women, Mia frames her answer by first talking about her opinion of what New Zealand Pakeha girls are like and then, by contrast, how Filipino girls are. Generating talk that speaks about New Zealanders as more sexual and Filipinos as more romantic seems to come more easily to her than immediately discussing what sex might be for Filipino women.

In ways similar to those in Extract 2, this conversation again constructs New Zealand girls within a ‘bad girl’ subject position, having shallow meaningless sex for the sake of fun, physical pleasure alone. Mia’s talk of New Zealand Pakeha women as simply “want[ing] to score” sex is reminiscent of a traditional discourse of conventional masculinity, where men are said to seek out casual sexual conquests to score as notches on their bedposts. In fact, rather than speaking about New Zealand women specifically, Mia talks about Pakeha “people” and lumps the women together with men by saying “They think just like guys nowadays.” Such

talk locates New Zealand women within Hollway's (1989) 'permissive discourse', which almost seems to place women alongside men in egalitarian freedom with sex. However, permissive women are caught in the bind of the sexual double standard, through social monitoring from both sexes (Jackson & Cram, 2003). While the male sex drive is generally justified as biological in nature, women who think like men are demoralised and negatively labelled as being sexually promiscuous 'bad girls', and this is where Mia's talk functions to place New Zealand girls (Jackson & Cram, 2003). The word "nowadays" perhaps adds further stress that New Zealand girls are too modern in their thinking, and is another separation from the more traditionally feminine Filipino woman she goes on to depict within a discourse of romance. Using the words "us" and "we", Mia demonstrates personal and group identification with the romantic Filipino woman, who she positions as thoughtful, serious and emotionally-oriented by basing sexual decisions around feelings of love. Interestingly, she uses the phrase "when are we going to do it?" rather than 'if' or 'whether'. Although she may be referring to when she is married, the "when" suggests a possibility of having sex outside of marriage, as long as it is for what is seen as a justifiable reason, that of love. Such descriptions again fit nicely into Hollway's (1989) 'have/hold discourse'.

By next asking how young women express their sexuality, which Jhenny takes to mean young Filipino women specifically, my question prompts considering Filipino women as potential sexual beings. Jhenny's response shows some acceptance of Filipino women as having a sexual identity when she says "We know what we are", but she quickly and clearly differentiates this from the earlier depiction of 'skanky' young New Zealand women, who openly sleep around with guys, through repeated emphatic statements of Filipinos' discretion. By claiming Filipino girls "don't advertise" or flaunt their sexuality in the way that New Zealanders are said to blatantly do, she pushes herself and her cultural peers further away from New Zealand girls and into the superior position of the moral 'good girl'. Weaving a lot of personal identification into her talk and drawing on the traditions of her own

family grounds her as an expert and as a self-professed member of the moral elite. Her speech is resolute with words such as “don’t” and “won’t” that leave little allowance for deviation or disagreement. What is possibly a slight rebuttal from Amie (“Yeah, sometimes”) is dismissed by Jhenny, as she continues to separate Filipino ‘good girls’ from New Zealanders.

These racialised distinctions act to empower the Filipino community, raising their virtue through the moral integrity of their young women and effectively demoralising the behaviour of the dominant New Zealand population they live among. The generation of such talk unites their marginalised community as morally superior and, at least within the community, functions as a strong counter to the sexualised image of Asian, particularly Filipino, women depicted by Western society (Espiritu, 2001). Such culturally-specific discourse creates some space for empowerment among an otherwise disempowered minority community

However, a sense of superiority, that is dependent on the moral virtues of the community’s women, places a heavy burden on the shoulders of the daughters who become enmeshed in upholding the reputation of the ‘good girl’ (Espiritu, 2001). The pressure to be good is not only for the sake of one’s own morality, but also comes with the fear of shaming the family and the whole community.

Not surprisingly then, being a ‘good girl’, or at least maintaining a ‘good girl’ reputation, was considered important amongst the interviewed girls – an image they would fight to uphold. As can be seen in Extract 4, this was once more contrasted with New Zealand girls who were viewed as indifferent to their reputation. Leading into the extract, we had been discussing talking with friends about sex and I had asked about New Zealand friends, to which Pia had replied that they would rarely talk to New Zealand girl friends about sex.

Extract 4 (taken from Purple Group):

- Pia. In reality for some of the girls that, for some of the girls that we went to school with, it doesn't matter anymore. What you know about them, they won't try and prove themselves different to you. For what you see in them, that's it. They'll just let it go. If they're a skank, they're a skank. They don't -
- Sofia. They don't deny it.
- Pia. They don't deny either. They don't battle for it. Like us, "Hell. I ain't no skank!" (laughter) You know? You'll fight for it. But some of them - I rarely find Kiwi girls open up about it. And when they do, very rarely do I find girls that will be very um -
- Fe. Open to accept?
- Pia. No. No. There's a word for it and you just used it before. What are Filipino girls again? About sex?
- Fe. Conservative?
- Pia. Yeah. Conservative. Kiwi girls, I haven't actually seen *one* of them that's conservative. Because they just get into it.

As with the previous extracts, Pia constructs a polarised view of New Zealand Filipinas versus New Zealand Pakeha girls. New Zealand girls' apparent disregard for receiving a skanky reputation and their lack of conservative discretion about sexual relationships yet again fits them into the 'bad girl' role and places them in opposition to Filipino girls who are said to fight vehemently for their reputation. The contrast seems to be so salient to Pia, that when looking for a word to describe Pakeha girls, she asks her group mates for the word they had used to describe Filipinos in order to stress that this is what Pakeha girls are not.

When put alongside the idea that a young woman's reputation may be vital to maintaining her community's moral integrity, it becomes obvious why the girls would prize the fight for reputation so highly. Filipino women stepping outside of the 'good girl' image, whether it be due to having multiple boyfriends, flirting, wearing revealing clothing, having casual sex, or merely being called by undeserved slurs, risk more than a 'bad girl' label. As representatives of their cultural community, they risk bringing shame that reaches much further than themselves (Enriquez, 1993; Espiritu, 2001). Perhaps also they risk being shunned by their community, with the embarrassing reputation of being too Westernised (Espin, 2006; Espiritu,

2001).

Unfortunately, while fighting for one's reputation was seen as important in upholding a position of dignity, in effect the battle for a clean reputation can reinforce patriarchal power over feminine sexuality, by prompting self-monitoring of behaviour among women (Lees, 1993). Thus, the very thing they are proud of is a reinforcer of their own oppression.

Staying a 'good girl' comes with other problems too. Apparent through its lack of appearance in the talk of 'good girls' is what Fine (1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006) describes as the 'missing discourse of desire'. While New Zealand 'bad girls' are given a degree of desire by wanting sex and finding it fun, sex in relation to Filipino women mentions only love and commitment. There seems to be no allowance for positive discussion of female desire. As stated by Fine (1988), only 'bad girls' are sexually desiring. 'Good girls' should not desire sex or at least should not show desire, leaving little room for positive sexual experiences for the girls within this discourse. As shall be discussed in the following two sections, female sexuality was constructed as relating to making women desirable rather than desiring, and sex was talked about as male-initiated and led, with women being swept along in the process.

The Filipino Lady

Another pattern in the girls' talk was a more traditional Filipino discourse of the 'Filipino Lady'. The Filipino Lady was constructed as the ideally feminine 'good girl' with a cultural variation. Rather than sit passively within the confines of conventional femininity, the Lady was more complexly presented as having learnt to play on these qualities. Reflecting Butler's (2004) idea of gender as performative, the Lady has perfected the art of appearing coy and pure, while using her feminine charms to her advantage in relationships with men.

'Playing hard to get' was described, across many of the interviews, as a tactic of the Lady. Girls explained the Filipino saying 'easy to get, easy to forget' as meaning that a girl, who does not present herself as prudish and says yes to a boy's advances too eagerly, could be considered cheap by onlookers and maybe also by the young man who has asked her. In other words, a quick acceptance of a boyfriend may mean she is readily discarded and being easy with the boys will move her towards the 'bad girl' image. Alternatively, acting disinterested or unavailable to suitors, so that they must work hard at their romantic pursuit, would lead a young woman to a more favourable reputation. This portrayal of 'playing hard to get' was another point on which participants separated themselves from New Zealand girls.

Extract 5 (taken from Maroon Group):

- Aïyesha. And do you think that romance has the same meaning for a Filipino relationship as it does for a New Zealand relationship?
- Cora. Well, from what I think a Filipino relationship is like - it takes time, whereas the New Zealander people, they're just like - you have to be straightforward and they want to know the answer now (Yeah.) They're not so - they're not like playing hard to get and stuff, so they're more direct you know? But us Filipinos, oh we're like, we wanna be rude. (laughter) Ya, give us flowers! And stuff like that.
- Aïyesha. Is that what you mean by playing hard to get?
- Nita. Yeah.
- Cora. Well yeah, it's still on.
- Ella. That whole kinda like prude image of a Lady, like not have sex before getting married. (laughter) Why are you laughing? (laughs)
- Cora. Oh right.
- Ella. What do you mean? (laughter)
- Aïyesha. So is the idea of a Filipina Lady quite different to what young people expect of a New Zealand girlfriend?
- Nita. Yeah.
- Ella. Yeah.
- Maryanne. Yeah.
- Aïyesha. How is she different?
- Ella. She's prudish. She's um -
- Nita. She's conservative.
- Ella. Yup.
- Maryanne. And they don't go for one night stands.
- Ella. Yes!
- Cora. They don't? (laughter)
- Maryanne. / don't.

Ella. They're not sexually, they're not on a sexual wave.
 Maryanne. Well i don't! But -
 Nita. The Lady doesn't.
 Cora. Oh the Lady!
 Nita. Yeah, more in for long term relationships.
 Ella. Yeah, they get into relationships for more of a long term kind of thing, (Yeah) not just for -
 Nita. A few months or a few days or a week.
 Ella. Yeah.
 Cora. So they wanna stay with the relationship.

By asking whether romance has the same meaning for Filipinos as it does for New Zealanders and later asking more about the differences the girls raised, I set up a conversation that focussed on differences. However, the theme of New Zealanders approaching relationships in a direct and speedy manner, while Filipinos expect the slow and gradual development of a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship, was a common pattern throughout the group interviews. As with the earlier 'good girl, bad girl' construction, Cora effectively constructs New Zealand girls as less moral and chaste when it comes to sex, due to their willingness to enter straight into relationships without the drawn out courting period of "playing hard to get" that is claimed as the norm for "prudish" and "conservative" Filipinos. While in the West, labels such as 'prudish' and 'conservative' can have negative connotations, in the present context, Filipino prudishness and conservatism is seen in a positive light as representative of the Filipino Lady.

Owning the statement and universalising it to all Filipinas with her "us Filipinos" comment, Cora explains "we wanna be rude". Although rudeness may seem an odd trait to take pride in, it also came up in other focus groups when talking about the Filipino Lady as the "good old-fashioned way for a relationship" along with to "deprive them yeah" (Focus group, Auckland). As with 'playing hard to get', being "rude" appears to imply that a Lady should portray prudish disinterest (whether genuine or feigned) in a young man's advances and withhold intimacy. The expectation is that the young man will work hard to win the Lady over, by "giv[ing] us flowers" and other such romantic gestures.

Constructing Filipino courtship in this way presents a romance reminiscent of fairy-tales, whereby the prince must prove himself worthy by overcoming obstacles to finally win his bride (Tolman, 1994). Rather than passively waiting for her prince though, the Lady's behaviour appears to be more of an active performance of passivity, with the intention of stringing the young man along to see how far he is willing to go for the girl. The extent to which the young man will go not only validates his worth as a boyfriend, but also demonstrates the worth he places on the woman. Thus, by holding out for more acts of romance, a Lady effectively manages to increase her standing and maintain a prudish reputation. While this role gives some degree of power through manipulation to young women, that power lasts only so long as the Lady is dismissive and restrictive of sexual relationships. As Ella points out, this subject position involves the "prude image of a Lady, like not have sex before getting married."

Interestingly, this comment is met with laughter. While "playing hard to get" and being "rude" are explained as "still on" in today's world, the laughter after Ella's no sex comment and the talk that ensues suggest that, realistically, the no sex rule may have been bent. Instead, modern Ladies appear to sit within Hollway's (1989) 'have/hold sexual discourse', having some allowance for sex, as long as it is within the boundaries of a long-term relationship. Ella defines the Lady as not caught in a "wave" of sexual freedom, making it clear that sex, for the Lady, requires commitment.

Also noteworthy is the change from "we" to "she" and "they" in the description of the Lady. This may be an act of depersonalisation and separation from the Lady coinciding with the reaction to Ella's comment that Ladies do not have sex before marriage or likely it may have been inadvertently established by my question of "How is she different?" Either way, the last section of the extract shows a conflict of opinions on modern Lady sexual behaviour. Cora humorously and defiantly questions the possibility of ladies having one night stands. With her next statement, "Oh the Lady", she then insinuates that she herself does not fit within such

expectations. Maryanne, on the other hand, piously identifies herself as a Lady, with the repeated claim of “I don’t [go for one night stands]!” Such conflict suggests that this is a site of change in the world of New Zealand Filipino youth.

While the boundaries are contended, it can be said that the Lady subject position offers allowance for women as sexual beings in a way not possible in the ‘good girl discourse’. Leading into Extract 6, we had been talking about the meaning of sex and whether being sexual could encompass more than, as Milette said, “sexual would be just like intercourse.” My question of whether there are other ways that someone can be sexual was met with a long pause and laughter, eventually followed by Cynthia raising the possibility of foreplay.

Extract 6 (taken from Dark Blue Group):

- Cynthia. Well no, I guess you can do foreplay. (laughter)
Eve. That’s you, ha!
Cynthia. How come you know? (laughs)
Sharlene. I guess another way like a woman can be sexual is how she carries herself and sort of sends out her charisma. (laughter)
Yeah I guess if guys pick up on it, they go after her and that’s it. (laughter) Without actually flaunting anything, but just being herself and like sexy.
Cynthia. Being confident, like she knows what she’s doing with someone.
Sharlene. Yeah, confident.
Eve. Yeah.
Milette. Desirable to a guy without having totally been provocative or anything.
Cynthia. Showing them all what you’ve got. (laughter)

The laughter and teasing that resulted from my question of other aspects of sexuality and Cynthia’s foreplay comment may be explained by the girls’ discomfort in talking explicitly about sex, particularly outside of the heterosexual coital imperative (McPhillips, Braun, & Gavey, 2001) – something that was rarely done throughout the interviews. It may also be due to discomfort in talking about sex in terms of pleasure and desire. As shall be seen in the next section, sex was generally put down to pressure

from boyfriends and being 'caught in the moment' without mention of arousal and foreplay.

By asking them to think about the possibility of being sexual, I led the girls to frame another aspect of the Lady, one which opens a space for women's sexuality between the good and the bad girl. Sharlene portrays the Lady with a degree of sexual agency. Rather than an innocent and naïve 'good girl', she is "confident" and "sexy". The Lady is positioned as carrying wisdom about her own sexuality and how to get around it. Her sexuality itself is constructed as a natural part of her, a charisma she "sends out" or the way "she carries herself."

Her behaviour, however, is undeniably restricted to acting discretely and not "flaunting anything". She appears to only be an active participant in the courtship process through sexual allurements that provoke a man to action without being "provocative" herself. The Lady has made an art form of being sexual but holding back, a position as limiting as it is empowering. One is left with the impression of an actively passive sexual object once again.

Also outstanding in the extract is that a woman's power over sexuality is framed only in relation to raising desire in men. Women are spoken of as sexual in that they are desirable, rather than desiring. The Lady's sexual properties are set by her ability to entice. Meanwhile, the concept of women having their own feelings of sexual desire is not acknowledged. It may be that such desires are not recognised by the girls from lack of experience. Also likely is that breaking the norm of silence around women's desire (Fine, 1988) is too uncomfortable in a group setting, as admitting desire places one outside the realm of the 'good girl'.

In Extract 7, the Lady's subjectivity is discussed in relation to negotiating the often contradictory sexual discourses of the Filipino cultural community and the New Zealand culture around them.

Extract 7 (taken from Maroon Group):

- Aïyesha. Are migrant New Zealand Filipino youths' viewpoints more similar to Filipinos in the Philippines or New Zealanders here?
- Carla. Filipinos in the Philippines. Despite the fact that we want to say we're more open now that we've been exposed to New Zealand culture, there's still a part of us that we think a girl carrying a condom in her wallet is slutty. (Mmhmm) Even though we know that it's the responsible way to go about being safe in a sexual relationship. For a girl to carry a condom around is still going to be something that we don't approve of.
- Imelda. Mmm yep.
- Aïyesha. What role do you think your culture and religion has played in your views and decision? What role does your culture play in your sexuality?
- Carla. Oh blah blah, here we go again. Me and the Catholic Church. (laughter) Yeah well um, despite the things I feel about the Catholic Church, I believe that religion and my family has sort of helped form the foundation and the basis for my identification of my sexuality .
- Aïyesha. How has it done that?
- Carla. As in like, religion and my family has helped me realise that I'm a Lady. (laughter) That I've got um a sexual, my sexual properties. (laughter) That I am a sexual person. As well that I have the gift of giving birth, and being able to realise what right and wrong is, and forming my principles and not having one night stands. That kind of thing. Being responsible, taking care of myself. That kind of thing, forming that foundation and basis for me to grow older and mature and to be whatever I'm gonna be. Yeah, but yeah, the Catholic Church and me - (laughter) you know how it is.
- Juliet. I don't know. (laughs)
- Aïyesha. What about anyone else? What role does culture play in the sexuality of young Filipinas here?
- Juliet. Well, it does play a big part in your decisions, because you can't just do it and without thinking about the consequence and the other opinions of everybody (laughs) and your close friends and your family and stuff, so yeah, it's kinda like your conscience really. You know? Whether you, a youth like of vigour, just wanna do it (laughs) and then there's this conscience of yours, like your family, religion, saying "Gotta take it slow, you are a Lady, you have to play hard to get". (laughter)
- Carla. Yeah.
- Imelda. You go girl!

The girls had previously been talking about how coming to New Zealand had influenced them to be more educated about sex, so that they now know there are “ways to get around with it.” They had spoken from a position of

being informed, sexually open and confident in safe sex messages. However, aligning herself more closely with a Filipino cultural identity, Carla seems torn as she goes back and forth between positioning women who carry condoms as prepared, safe and responsible, then taking up a moralistic discourse that positions these women as “slutty” bad girls, implying that such preparation means an intention or expectation of sex. The conscious decision to be sexually prepared can be seen as the conscious decision to have sex, something not befitting of a virginal ‘good girl’ within the moral discourse Carla associates with her Filipino culture, nor the romantic discourse which positions sex as spontaneous and passionate.

This change to a moralistic standpoint may have been the result of me asking the girls to place themselves alongside one group or the other. The struggle of the Lady caught between sexual awareness and empowerment versus a moralistic gatekeeper role wove through the interviews many times, helping to substantiate that this is a weighty conflict the girls see themselves as facing as they form their own meanings of being a young Filipino woman in New Zealand.

When I ask further about their culture and religion’s role in their sexual decision-making, Carla revisits her earlier protests against the Catholic Church’s negative views on contraception and premarital sex. Her statement of “me and the Catholic Church” seems to set them up together as perhaps old enemies or old friends in an intimate love-hate relationship. The group laughter that follows appears to function as a slightly mocking answer to her “here we go again”, as Carla has raised the topic frequently already. Despite her significant frustration, Carla explains how her family and Catholicism have shaped her feminine identity, twice using a building metaphor of forming “the foundation and basis” for her sexuality. The metaphor connotes that, while this foundation can be built on as Carla matures, the cultural elements to her beliefs are solid and fundamental (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Changing her views of carrying condoms as “slutty” would therefore involve more than an awareness of safe sex messages. It may

require a fundamental change in her perception of women's roles.

At this point though, Carla's elaboration on the definition of the Lady subject position is more empowering than that of conventional femininity. Personalising the Lady, she identifies herself as special, in control and, most prominently, "a sexual person" with "sexual properties". Her speech, full of "I"s, seems proud and autonomous. She recognises herself as someone with choices and abilities, having sexual wisdom rather than naivety. She deems herself privileged by her potential to create life and give birth, using the metaphor of a "gift", similar to Elise's use of "present" in relation to virginity in Extract 1. While not necessarily reciprocal, a woman's ability to procreate can be seen as something that is given (Gilfoyle et al., 1993). As Carla had just been talking about religion, it is also possible to interpret her "gift of giving birth" as a Godly gift. Tying in with her theme of moral goodness, the sacredness of this gift implies it should be treasured and protected. Hence the gift offers plural meanings, empowering women with a special power, while also bestowing on them the gravity of upholding a feminine moral integrity.

In fact, a moral discourse of sexuality is at the core of the extract. Carla positions herself as a responsible self-monitor. While in her first utterance, she spoke of responsibility in terms of safe sex, now she speaks of a sense of responsibility to maintain culturally defined appropriate Lady behaviour.

Carla's discussion of being sexual as knowing the boundaries of "right and wrong" and "being responsible" occurs after the group's surprised laughter at her direct statement of being sexual. It is possible that Carla's concentration on the moralistic aspects of the Lady is a reaction to realising she had stepped outside the limits of the sexually innocent Filipino virgin, cued by the laughter's attempt to lower the tension she caused. One could wonder what she might have said had there been no laughter.

Juliet carries the mention of women's sexual desire, a discourse that is so

often missing from young women's talk (Fine & McClelland, 2006), further by speaking of girls as being full "of vigour" and wanting to "do it". However, the flair of sexual agency evident in her words, and encouraged by Imelda's statement "you go girl!", is again staggered with restrictions. Juliet's talk again illustrates the overriding pressure on young women to conform to the constructed norms of the "Lady", who must always think about the consequences and reputation risks involved in being sexually active. She labels this vigilance as "kinda like your conscience really". Rather than an individual conscience though, this is a culturally specific communal conscience, tying in with the girls' recurrent talk of family shame taking precedence over the self. Instead of following the adolescent sexual desires they may have, ultimately they must consider the dictates of their family and religion as to what they "gotta" do. The same sense of communal conscience is apparent in Carla's earlier collective statement of condom carrying as "something that *we* don't approve of." It is this "conscience" that reminds Juliet that Ladies should not be so easily and vigorously approaching sex ("Gotta take it slow"). They should not be the pursuer, who acts on desire, but instead take a more passive role as the pursued. In line with romantic discourse and conventional femininity, even as the pursued, they should strategically hold back as long as possible before being caught ("you have to play hard to get") (Wetherell, 1995).

Another angle of the Lady's performance of 'playing hard to get' involved a role reversal of conventional gender roles, with women constructed as acting emotionally tough and men being shown from a weaker side.

Extract 8 (taken from Blue Group):

Aïyesha.	Who would you go to with any concerns?
Lorilyn.	Friends.
Kay.	Yeah.
Beth.	Mmm.
Lorilyn.	I wouldn't ask my parents about it, cos they'd say, "Oh just leave him then." (laughter) "You don't like him, then go!" Especially if they don't like the guy. "Go on! Leave then! Don't know why you're sticking around!" (laughter) Yeah. Don't ask

your parents (laughs) *Honestly*, don't ask your parents eh?
 Beth. Yeah, true. They always say "Oh, you can find a better one."
 As if there are billions of guys out there.
 Lorilyn. "Go ahead and leave." And you're not even fighting about
 breaking up. You're not even talking about breaking up or
 anything. "I'm having a problem because of such and such."
 "Well, break up then." (laughter) And I'm thinking "No! We just
 had a fight."
 Beth. My mum always tells me like "Don't chase him along. Don't
 give him a big head." And stuff like that. "Let him go to you.
 Try to be tough."
 Lorilyn. Don't make him cry too. (laughs) Don't make him cry.
 Beth. No, no. She's fine with that. She said "If a guy cries for you,
 that means he really loves you."
 Lorilyn. Oh that's good eh? That's good.
 Beth. And I was like "Really?" And she always tells me to be tough
 and to be the dominant one in the relationship. Sometimes it's
 not really good. Yeah.
 Aïyesha. Do you think that she's following that, cos she did that herself
 or she's just wanting you to do that?
 Beth. I don't know. I think, yeah, she did that before with my dad,
 but she knows what the limits are. You can't be dominant all
 the time, because guys are always dominant (Lorilyn. Yeah.)
 in a relationship. Sometimes you can be, if the guy really loves
 you. But she's just telling me "Be tough, be strong. Don't run
 after the guy, cos there's millions and billions of guys out
 there and you can meet better guys than him." That sort of
 thing. It affects my thinking, but once when you're with that
 guy and then you've started talking and started feeling that
 sparkling, whatever, (laughter) you change your mind again
 and you think "Ohh OK." (laughter)
 Lorilyn. [Beth] likes the sparkles. (laughter)
 Kay. I guess mothers don't want to see their daughters -
 Beth. Crying.
 Lorilyn. Yeah crying, being stepped on by guys.
 Beth. Being hurt. Yeah, yeah. I sort of reckon as well.
 Lorilyn. Yeah that's why you never tell your parents. (laughter) Never
 tell your parents.
 Beth. Cos if I'm going to be a mum, that's what I'm going to tell to
 my daughter as well.
 Kay. Yeah
 Beth. "Oh leave!" *Honestly*. "He's not worth it!" Yeah.
 Lorilyn. Yeah yeah. "Don't bother with it!"

In a discussion about relationship concerns, girls' initial responses that they would talk to friends and definitely not parents became a discussion of what parents, particularly mothers, tell their daughters about how to act towards their boyfriends. Owning her statement and later generalising it to all the girls, Lorilyn constructs her parents as unable or unwilling to understand her

position and as someone she would not feel comfortable to go to for advice. She describes her parents as uncompromisingly quick to pressure her to end a relationship, not wanting their daughter to get attached to a serious relationship. Beth agrees with Lorilyn's distaste for parental advice, using the extreme case formulation "as if there are billions of guys out there" to demonstrate their parents' ideas as absurd and far removed from their own. Many of Lorilyn's claimed imitations of her parents' speech are met with laughter, perhaps because of the unexpected severity of what the parents say, but put alongside Beth's agreement and the extended story of parents built up between the two girls, it seems more likely that the laughter is due to the other girls personally relating to what could be seen as frustrating parental statements that become amusing with hindsight and distance.

Beth's next utterance, "my mum always tells me", serves as a story starter for the almost narrative structure that ensues over much of the rest of the extract, where Beth explains her mother's messages on being tough in a relationship. The use of reported speech and extreme case formulation "*always* tells me" establishes her story as believable and unable to be discounted by the other girls or readers because it is told by someone else, her mother. The subjectivity Beth builds from her mother's teachings is a variation on the Filipino Lady's power over men.

Parents are said to construct boyfriends as unworthy and a waste of time. In a remarkable gender role reversal, mothers direct girls into a traditionally masculine role of being "tough", "dominant" and agentic. In a variant form of 'playing hard to get', girls are taught to act "hard" and avoid vulnerability by not giving too much emotionally and, presumably, sexually. Love is portrayed as having a softening effect that disempowers men and perhaps empowers women when men are in love with them because it makes men weak, allowing women to be the dominant ones in the relationship. Thus gender becomes performative (Butler, 2004), with girls constructed as knowing how to play on boys' vulnerabilities to get them to fall in love and therefore take on weaker feminine qualities of love and crying. The image is

one of girls stringing boys along like a fish on a hook, using feminine sexuality as a desirable but unobtainable bait to destabilise male power.

In one sense, the messages of toughness and that there are plenty more fish in the sea liberates girls from the confines of the committed 'good girl' subject position. In a way generally associated with boys, girls are given permission to date around and not have to devote themselves exclusively to avoid a 'bad girl' reputation. However, being tough is a false liberation, essentially made up of guidelines that promote being agentic through being passive ("Let him go to you", "Don't chase him along"). This is not true agency either. Rather than being free to be themselves, the girls are taught to restrict their own emotions, perhaps out of fear of what feelings of love might make them vulnerable to. The notion of 'be loved but do not risk loving' echoes with another aspect of the Lady's sexuality, that of being desirable but not desiring. In effect, what remains is an agency versus passivity paradox that both challenges and yet reinforces traditional male and female gender roles.

Ultimately, the tough pretence is limited. Women's dominance is hedged by the statement that, in the end, "guys are always dominant", a claim which goes unchallenged and seems to be taken for granted. A girlfriend's illusory power is contingent on how much her boyfriend is willing to relent, whether it be intentionally because he loves her and wants to make her happy or unintentionally because he is weakened by love.

After initially rejecting parents as a source of advice, by the conclusion of her narrative, Beth admits an understanding of her mother's viewpoint as reasonable, saying that "It affects my thinking" and "that's what I'm going to tell my daughter as well." Kay acknowledges that mothers promote being tough to protect their daughters from being hurt by letting their guard down. The construction of romantic love leading to vulnerability is considered positive on the part of men. For women though, this softening of emotions is a dangerous intrusion, perhaps because it weakens what little resistance

and control they have over men, rendering them submissive and powerless in the relationship.

When it comes to putting her mother's lessons into practice however, Beth says she finds it much harder to be strong. Once a girl feels "that sparkling" of love, she says, "you change you mind again", an image that fits snugly into the construction of love as signalling a loss of control that the tough Lady subjectivity warns against.

In terms of sexual health, being tough has potentially positive consequences for allowing a girl's voice for contraception or abstinence to be heard. Within this context, a boy who loves his girlfriend should be willing to give her that control. However, love can easily become a point of conflict for safe sex. If the girl also loves her boyfriend, as was the most common justification given for girls saying yes to sex, the likelihood of safe sex is lowered. Sex now becomes tied to being swept up in the sparkling feeling of love, where women change their minds and permissively decide "Ohh OK", a scenario which allows little room for women's control and preparation (Jackson, 1993; Modelski, 1982; Thompson, 1995).

The Vulnerable Woman

In contrast with the content of the Filipino Lady, the vulnerable woman involved a more passive construction of womanhood. Surrounded by the theme of romantic love as dangerously disempowering, the vulnerable woman sits in fear amidst a discourse of sexual victimisation. This subjectivity was frequently presented when I asked girls about expectations, pressures and concerns about girlfriend / boyfriend relationships.

Extract 9 (taken from Maroon Group):

- Aïyesha. What do young people worry about when it comes to having sex or entering a relationship?
Rita. Okay, trust, trust and commitment, that's the two.

Sarah. Oh well for me, just getting pregnant. That's the main worry for me.

Aïyesha. That's the key risk factor?

Sarah. Yeah yeah.

Aïyesha. What other risks might there be?

Rita. Getting hurt.

Sarah. Yeah getting hurt.

Mae. Especially *after*.

Bri. Dumping you after you have sex with him.

Sarah. Yeah.

Mae. And the community knowing about it. you know? They love to gossip.

Aïyesha. Other people knowing about it is a risk too?

Mae. Yeah I guess, cos like somehow we –

Rita. Some boys kiss and tell, and they tell everyone.

Mae. Yeah and we want to have a reputation that's clean. (laughs)
We don't want to have a bad reputation because, yeah, it seems like in the Filipino community, like when you did something, they know it all on the next day and it doesn't just shame you, it also shames the family, especially if they didn't know.

Rita, Sarah and Mae itemise the principal risks of entering a sexual relationship that girls considered throughout the interviews. The risk of STIs was seldom articulated. Instead the concentration was on the fear of pregnancy and the negative emotional consequences of being betrayed by boyfriends. Even in talk of pregnancy, the emphasis was commonly on the shameful reputation and the emotional effects of being left along with the responsibility of raising the child when the boyfriend left. Unifying all these fears is the belief that men cannot be trusted and that women lack the control to influence their circumstances. Women are spoken of as having things happen to them, while all sense of action is on the part of men. Girls “get pregnant” and “get hurt”, while boys are the ones who actively do the dumping and ruining of girls’ reputations. This resignation to passive helplessness is the essence of the vulnerable woman.

Mae and Rita express a fear for reputation. This is again a fear of betrayal, as an indiscrete word from a boyfriend to the Filipino community could strike a girl from the ranks of “clean” Filipino virgins to the position of ‘bad girl’ or ‘skank’. As Mae states, it is not only the reputation of the individual

girl that will be called into question. She refers to a collective reputation, linked to the communal conscience spoken of in the discussion of the Lady. Framed within the discourse of the sexual double standard, girls carry the burden of the reputation of their whole family with little control other than to abstain, while boys appear to share none of the responsibility but all of the control.

Even before their vulnerability to the potentially negative consequences of sex becomes an issue, women are also constructed as vulnerable to male pressure to have sex in the first place. Abstaining from sex to protect one's family from shame is not as simple as inhibiting one's own desire, when sex is seen to be a basic expectation of a relationship.

Extract 10 (taken from Red Group):

Aïyesha. What does it mean to be in a girlfriend boyfriend relationship? What would you expect from a girlfriend boyfriend relationship?

Jean. The number one thing is sex. You know, between a boyfriend and girlfriend,

Terese. Yeah, sex. That makes us scared.

Terese. Especially, you know, especially us. We're brought up in a country that we're really serious and if a guy tells us "You don't love me because", you know, because they want us to give our virginity and all that. But for us, we're scared. Especially Filipino girls, yeah, it's really scary.

Aïyesha. So that sounds like a pretty big issue.

Jean. Yeah.

Terese. Yeah. It's a big issue in relationships.

Jean. I remember mum going "No hanky panky" and stuff. "No sex before marriage." Because it's a real big major thing (laughs) yeah.

Eliana. Yeah. That's the one.

Terese. Yeah.

[Interruption of interview]

Aïyesha. Okay. So what else would you expect from a girlfriend boyfriend relationship?

Terese. Yeah. The number one thing is the sex, eh. That's the number one. That's the number one. And ah number two is they can't live with just you. They have to cheat.

Aïyesha. They have to cheat? (laughter)

Eliana. Oh my God! That is so true.

Terese. Yeah. They have to cheat on you.

Eliana. No one understands! (laughter)

Terese. They have to cheat.
 Jean. Yeah
 Aïyesha. So is that sort of taken for granted that that's going to happen?
 Terese. Mm yeah.
 Aïyesha. Really?
 Eliana. Yeah.
 Jean. Yeah. You really expect it.

Terese and Jean construct themselves as vulnerable 'good girls', afraid of being trapped by the pressure for sex that they have come to associate with boyfriends. Their statements that "the number one thing is sex" and "that makes us scared" suggest sex is considered an inevitable expectation, or even requirement, of being in a relationship. Completely lacking a sense of desire or volition, their portrayal of sexual relationships is filled with danger, angst and dread. Seeming to base sexual decisions around pleasing others rather than themselves, the girls demonstrate a distinct absence of choice or agency in their talk. Caught between their mothers' pressure to stay within the confines of the Filipino virgin subjectivity and their boyfriends' demands to "give" their virginity as proof of love, young Filipino women are placed in a difficult predicament. On one hand, the position of the Filipino virgin commands that girls must keep control of the situation, being responsible gatekeepers who turn down male sexual advances. On the other hand, from the sexual double standard discourse, a 'pleasing woman' lacks control and submissively takes care of her man, privileging male sexual desires and demands over her own needs (Jackson & Cram, 2003). Terese speaks of boyfriends as playing on the 'pleasing woman' position with claims of "You don't love me," if girls withhold sex. Calling on the romantic 'have/hold discourse' (Hollway, 1989) that equates love, trust and commitment with sexual compliance, girls find it even more troublesome to say no.

After a small interruption of the interview, Terese offers another definitive expectation of relationships – boyfriends "have to cheat". The matter-of-fact way in which the group agrees with the statement ("That is so true", "You

really expect it”), and their laughter at my surprised check that I understood correctly, indicate a degree of cultural acceptance around male cheating.

By using the words “They have to” and “they can’t”, Terese dismisses cheating with a ‘boys will be boys’ outlook framed within the ‘male sex drive discourse’ (Hollway, 1989). This functions to make cheating seem biologically driven, something outside of the boyfriend’s control. Perhaps by removing blame from the boyfriend, the girls find it easier to integrate this betrayal into an image of a boyfriend they can still love.

In what is perhaps a similar attempt to distance the vulnerability to betrayal from themselves, the girls change to a more generalised ‘you’ frame of reference (“They have to cheat on *you*”), after consistently having used the unifying and personalising identification of “we” and “us” throughout their talk of the pressure to have sex.

Extract 11 (taken from Dark Blue Group):

- Aïyesha. So what would be the usual reasons for a young woman to go into a sexual relationship?
- Cherrie. Probably they were forced, like they feel peer pressure from the guy. The guy says “Oh I love you. I love you. Let’s do this” and probably the girl just feels “Okay, why the hell not?” Like “Okay fine”. You know?
- Jay. “Okay”.
- Cherrie. “Oh might as well give it to him.” If the girl’s stupid enough to believe him, meaning you know if they’ve only been going out for about a month and the guy says “Oh I love you. Let’s make love” and the girl says “Yes.” But some of the Filipinos I know, they actually go out with a girl and they get what they want and they split. So if you’re gonna do it, do it with someone that you really know and you know that they’re gonna be there whatever happens.
- Jay. Afterwards.

As in the previous extract, the girls discuss boyfriends’ pressure to have sex and girlfriends’ perceived lack of control. When asked why young women enter sexual relationships, there is no talk of female desire, likely reflecting avoidance of responses that would thrust them into a ‘bad girl’ image

(Lees,1993). Instead 'good girl' sex is excused with the supposition that "they were forced", alarmingly connoting a norm of male coercion. However, Cherrie goes on to qualify this less strongly as "peer pressure" to which the girl is constructed as naively succumbing ("Oh might as well give it to him"), resigned to her obligation as a compliant 'pleasing woman'.

Again, men are characterised as manipulatively using love as the reason for sex to exploit a romantic discourse and sweep women into submission (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 2003; Jackson, 1984). These professions of love are framed as insincere attempts to dupe unsuspecting female victims, who will be dumped after being used. Men are hence constructed as dangerous, having sex for the sake of sex alone within the biological 'male sex drive discourse' (Hollway, 1989). Yet despite the portrayal of a passive and gullible woman, the blame and responsibility is still partly put on her shoulders when she is described as "stupid" for believing. While boys will be boys, the message is that girls should know better, staying within Hollway's (1989) 'have/hold discourse' and only "do[ing] it with someone that you really know and you know that they're gonna be there whatever happens."

Leading into Extract 12, Lisa had been discussing her strong fear of pregnancy due to contraceptives not being 100 per cent effective. Because of this, she states her belief in the need for trust before sex in a relationship.

Extract 12 (taken from Purple Group):

- Lisa. So for me, my perception of having sex is you've got to really know that guy. Otherwise there's just, there's just no point. Because once you've made a mistake, it will be your mistake. It won't be the guy's mistake (laughs) cos boys will be boys. They'll do whatever they want and it's up to you to say no. And if you don't say no, you can't just blame the guy, because it's your fault as well. Because guys don't get pregnant. It's harder for us. Because if they get a little score, then they can just walk out and forget it. But you, you have to monitor when your next period is going to come. Do you know what I mean?
- Rose. Mmm.

Lisa. And they don't have a single worry about that. And once you miss your period and you find out that you're pregnant, then you're all alone. Especially if you don't know the guy. And even if you know the guy, if he doesn't want a baby, he'll leave you. So it's, so for me, it took a really long time to accept getting into a serious relationship, but at least I know. You know, you have to know. You have to take care. You have to use your brains as well when you're doing that kind of stuff.

Acutely aware of the injustice of the sexual double standard of responsibility (see Jackson, 2005), Lisa laughs in apparent frustration as she warns the group “it will be your mistake, it won't be the guy's mistake.” She supports this with “boys will be boys”, a phrase well-known to her, having earlier relayed its common use by her parents to justify different treatment of sons and daughters. She elaborates that men have the entitlement to do as they please to fulfill their biological sex drive (Hollway, 1989), and are nevertheless considered unaccountable for the consequences of their actions. Meanwhile, she paints a picture of the aftermath of the victimized ‘vulnerable woman’, pregnant, alone, and solely responsible for the results of a sexual encounter.

While showing her disdain for the constructions, her sober account simultaneously reinforces it as her accepted truth. The statements “it's up to you to say no” and “You have to use your brains” offer some sense of agency to women to take charge of their futures. What is promoted yet again is the position of sexual gatekeeper, whereby women are constructed as individually responsible for maintaining control over sex and its consequences. The fault is cast as her's if she is subjected to any hurt.

Preparation Means Expectation

From the position of the ‘Filipino virgin’, participants described sex as only appropriate within marriage and committed relationships, otherwise labelling it emotionless nothing sex. Yet, in the talk of the ‘vulnerable woman’, it became apparent that girls are frequently exposed to an

expectation of sex in today's girlfriend / boyfriend relationships.

Young women experimenting with adult sex roles and relationships are thus caught in a tricky space. They are left with the options of upholding the morals of their community, by denying their own desires and manoeuvring carefully around boyfriends for relationship control, or taking up the shame of being a 'bad girl' or 'skank'. As 'keepers of the culture' (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001), women are given the responsibility of upholding the values, traditions and reputation of the whole minority community. Having 'bad girl' sex would not only mean shame to the self, but also a betrayal of their cultural reputation. They may risk a worse label, that of a traitorous 'skank', who is overly influenced by New Zealand ways. If they try to find somewhere in between, they must take great care, as one step in the wrong direction could seem a betrayal of their role as virtuous 'Filipino virgins'. Hence the construction of sex as being 'caught in the moment' seems to have developed as a justifiable excuse for 'good girl' sex and an attempt to fit the mould to please both sides.

Extract 13 (taken from Maroon Group):

- Aïyesha. Okay how would a young women decide about having sex?
How would she know when she's ready for a sexual
relationship? (..)
- Gina. Hmm (laughter)
- Josie. Ah I think for most people, you - it's like you don't - well you
think about it before you do it, but when you get to that
moment, it's kinda just like hormones and you're just caught
up in the passion (laughs)
- Gina. An instinct. Yeah, it's an instinct thing, yeah ,you just, you just
know.
- Kathy. Yeah hormones. (laughs)
- Clara. And your whole instinct.s (laughs)
- Gina. Yeah, you don't really go through this whole psychological
thing. You know? If you know when you're ready, then you're
ready.
- Clara. Well, it happens when it happens. (laughs)
- Kathy. Mhmm.
- Paula. Yeah.
- Kathy. The whole getting caught up in the moment thing.

Extract 14 (taken from Green Group):

Aïyesha. How do boyfriends and girlfriends talk about sex? Do they talk about sex?
Alice. I don't think they do. It just happens.
Letitia. Yeah i think it just happens. You get caught in the moment, you know? First it's kissy kissy, then, the next thing you know, the hand goes, you know? (laughter)
Layla. Oh my God! Where are you going?!
Alice. Where are my clothes?! (laughter)

The girls in Extract 13 and 14 frame sex as not talked about and not planned. My questions in Extract 13, asking about young women's decision-making about sex, are met with silence and laughter. The questions imply agency and control, things deemed outside the realm of their construction of sexual initiation. Instead Josie reframes sex as unanticipated. Drawing on a biological discourse (Ussher, 1997; Willig, 1998), she and her group mates explain sexual desire as due to "hormones" and "instinct", taking away any sense of choice and therefore blame on their part. Sex is just something that "happens when it happens."

A romantic discourse of sex as spontaneous and passionate (Hollway, 1989) is employed alongside that of adolescent biology, as the girls describe being "caught up in the passion." This again stresses a lack of conscious thought and control, protecting them as vulnerable but essentially 'good girls', who have been caught off guard and swept along in the process. In Extract 14, Alice, Letitia and Layla also construct sex as romantically spontaneous and unprepared, using a very similar script of "caught in the moment" and "it just happens", suggesting these are commonly used and recycled justifications in their community.

Using humour, laughter and the 'caught in the moment' explanation of sex, both groups of girls are more comfortably able to talk about the risqué topic of arousal and sex, while still maintaining silence around their own potential desires and sexual intentions. As with the pressured 'pleasing woman' subjectivity, highlighted in the 'vulnerable woman' extracts, being 'caught

in the moment' offers a space in which 'good girl' sexual behaviour can be discretely swept under the rug without too much blame.

The construction of sex as unplanned has obvious sexual health implications. Taking responsibility for safe sex and asking boyfriends to wear condoms are unlikely in this context, as being prepared would destroy the claims that sex was male-led with 'vulnerable women' overpowered and uncontrollably 'caught in the moment'. This becomes evident in Extract 15. We had been discussing a scenario of young woman thinking ahead and being prepared for the possibility of sex in her relationship by carrying a condom in her wallet or going on the contraceptive pill.

Extract 15 (taken from Purple Group):

- Aïyesha. How do you think being prepared reflects on her?
Sally. At least she cares about that kinda stuff.
Lily. Yeah, about stuff that could happen to her.
Aïyesha. So she's being responsible?
Janette. But for some girls, it's like "Why are you on the Pill? Do you sleep around heaps or something?" (Mm) Especially if you're not in a serious relationship with someone. (Mmhmm)
Lily. So, it's easy for you to be judged if you're just a young girl and you're on contraception, (Mmhmm) in the wider Filipino community anyway.

Initially, being prepared for safe sex was met positively as the responsible thing to do, with participants showing signs of exposure to a discourse of sexual safety. However, Janette raises the issue of reputation and the potentially negative ways in which a girl could be construed for taking initiative towards safe sex, by returning to the essence of the 'good girl / bad girl discourse' (virgins and 'skanks').

Condoms and contraception are regarded as inappropriate 'good girl' accessories, as they represent preparation and therefore expectation prior to the act of sex, something a 'good girl' should not be anticipating. If found out by the Filipino community, who are constructed as judgmental and

oppressive monitors of female behaviour, girls risk being labelled bad girl 'skanks', with all of the community gossip and family shame that accompanies it. This is asserted as particularly risky for girls who are not in serious relationships, presumably because they then lack even the security of being able to excuse themselves as vulnerable and pleasing women who have sex as a sign of submission and commitment to a boyfriend.

An additional quote from a girl in another group acknowledges a religious discourse as a part of community condemnation of being prepared. When asked about the Filipino community's views on contraception, Emma states "Yeah it just drives you back to religion, as a dirty kind of thing. Sex before marriage is dirty to Catholic communities so taking contraceptives is like acknowledging, yeah, acknowledging the fact that you're having sex even without that commitment." (Dark Blue Group). Twice using the metaphor of "dirty" to describe sex before marriage, Emma also draws on the construction of the bad girl 'skank', but by casting a religious element, contraceptive use is further sullied as morally unclean and repugnant, and is equated with the dirtiness of sex itself.

Some young women spoke of deciding to use contraception as worse 'bad girl' behaviour than just having sex. As in Extract 16, it was linked to an intention to have sex more than "just once or twice".

Extract 16 (taken from Maroon Group):

- Aïyesha. Okay, what do young Filipinas think about contraception?
Anita. That's a *big* big step to take but... it kinda lessens the risk of you know yeah
Jessica. It's not – Yeah, it's not something you can ask your parents to take you to FPA (Anita. Mm.) to get a prescription, cos it's just something that you don't talk about with your parents, cos first of all, they do expect you not to have sexual relationships before you get married. (Anita. Mm.) Yeah so it's a bit uncomfortable. So yeah, it is a big step to take.
Aïyesha. Which becomes the bigger step then? Having sex, deciding to have sex, or contraception?
Anita. Contrac – contraception. I think it's a bigger step than the act of having sex.

Jessica. Yeah, contraception, comes before sex yeah.
 Anita. Because if you do take contraceptives that means you're more responsible. That means you -
 Jessica. It's like, having sex is just doing it.
 Anita. Just doing it.
 Jessica. Intercourse, and -
 Anita. Yeah.
 Jessica. And taking contraceptives kind of states that "Yeah, I'll be -"
 Anita. "I'll be doing it more (laughs) than just once".
 Jessica. Yeah. Yeah, um "from now on I'll be having sex", not just -
 Anita. Yeah, not just once or twice, but I'll be, you know, and it's a more mature and responsible decision.

Anita immediately constructs contraception as "a big big step to take", despite her minor admission that "it ... lessens the risks". Jessica explains part of the reason that contraception is a big step as being that it steps outside the restrictions of the 'Filipino virgin', as discussed in Extract 7. Safe sex is once again placed as a 'bad girl' behaviour, as it entails preparation for non-marital sex. Thus obtaining contraception takes on the image of an uncomfortable covert operation in Jessica's words, as she describes not being able to talk to parents due to knowingly disobeying their expectations.

In the conversation that ensues, prompted by my question of which is the bigger step – sex or contraception (a reaction to the "big big step" response), Anita and Jessica claim contraception as the bigger step down the path to the 'bad girl' position. While having sex is posited as "just doing it", the decision to use contraception means being "responsible" and planning to have sex. In this context, "responsible" and "mature" do not have the positive connotations of being educated and prepared within a discourse of sexual safety. Instead 'responsibility' represents accountability and female agency over the decision to have sex. Being an agentic woman is framed negatively because it effectively counters any claim of being 'caught in the moment' or being the unsuspecting victim of boyfriend pressure for sex. Any chance of remaining a vulnerable 'good girl' is destroyed.

Planning to have sex "more than just once" is similarly problematic because

again it entails an active decision on the part of the woman to continue having sex past the limits of what are constructed as unforeseen sexual encounters where she is overpowered and therefore less accountable. In terms of present sexual health concerns, the passage implies that girls may not be having a safe sexual initiation, as participants associated the decision to use contraception with having recurrent sexual relations.

The dilemma of preparation meaning expectation of sex is that sexually active young women are placed in a double bind. While having discrete sex within the parameters of a committed relationship may be permissible, enforcing safe sex would position them as ‘bad girls’, who have power and therefore could have said no to sex altogether. Simply being caught with contraception may be enough to damage a ‘good girl’ reputation even without sex actually occurring. However, by forgoing safe sex, girls risk STIs and pregnancy, which would destroy their ‘good girl’ image anyway and damage the reputation of the chaste community they have constructed, by making their sins public. Safe or unsafe, girls’ sexual choices are a gamble of reputation. For those that choose the path of discrete sex rather than innocence, vigilant self-monitoring and potentially risky sexual practices often become a way of life, as they perpetually walk the line between good and bad.

These extracts act as a reminder that putting safe sex into practice is not as simple as informing youths about the dangers of unsafe sex. Sexual decision-making is influenced by a socio-cultural context and a “responsible” prepared girl can still fear being portrayed in a harsh light by those around her. While safe sex may be recognised as the mature and reasonable thing to do, community disapproval fuelled by religious doctrine can make actual contraceptive use difficult. To close the knowledge-practice gap, discussion of the social climate that is keeping young women from putting their knowledge of safe sex into practice is necessary.

The New Filipino Girl

“Yeah a lot of Filipino guys are like that. They complain about having wives that are not virgins anymore, and I’m just like “Well, are you guys virgins?” And they say “No, we’re not.” And it’s like, “Well what the hell are you complaining for?” Yeah.” (Terri, Wellington.)

The ‘New Filipino Girl’ perhaps best exemplifies a bridging of Filipino and New Zealand constructions of women and sexuality, blurring the boundaries of the ‘good’ and ‘bad girl’. In Terri’s quote, she personifies the New Filipino Girl, acknowledging and resisting the sexual double standard. Positioned as more confident and knowing than any of the previous subjectivities, the New Filipino Girl is competent in managing sex and has allowance for occasional talk of female desire and independence.

Extract 17 (taken from Dark Blue Group):

Aïyesha. How do you think migrating to New Zealand then has affected how young Filipinas think about sexuality and sexual relationships?

Lani. It’s opened up a lot of doors. Cos you know, when I was back there - I went back there when I was 13, 14, so I guess that was when it’s your time to grow up and stuff. And um yeah, my mates had no idea what was going on, what was sex all about and stuff. And then I had come from Australia before that, and then I, sort of, I had an idea cos, you know, if you do this, you get pregnant, that’s why you need condoms and stuff. And some of them, they weren’t even familiar with condoms! (laughs) Which kind of shocked me. And um, and then the guys talk about sex without a care and as if it’s no big deal and it kind of grossed me out. (laughs)

Aïyesha. How has that been different having migrated here? Do you think it’s changed for you?

Lani. Yeah, I’ve become more aware. Greater awareness about consequences, like consequences, the risks, and how to go about as to prevent those risks and consequences from happening, lessen the effects and stuff yeah.

Aïyesha. How do you feel about that? Has it been helpful for you or - ?

Lani. Yeah, it’s like a privilege almost. (laughs) Yeah, it’s like a life saver I reckon.

Tina. It’s better to be informed about it, rather than if you do make a mistake and you don’t know what you’re going to do.

Lani. Yeah, it’s like crawling in the dark to me.

Aïyesha. How do you feel about your viewpoints as New Zealand-living Filipinas in comparison to other Filipinas in the Philippines or New Zealand youth here? How might New Zealand Filipinas’

viewpoints fit in with those other groups?
Lani. Probably my viewpoints and my kiwi mate counterparts are much more similar rather than my Filipino Filipina sisters and stuff. Cos, i dunno, I feel like the Filipino Filipinas, like Filipina chicks in the Philippines are secluded and probably don't know what they really should know and I could actually help them in many ways, more than just one. Yeah, I guess by living here, it has allowed me to know about these things, so as to not make huge life-altering mistakes or anything like that. Yeah, I guess yeah, it's a fear of making mistakes as well. That's why, I guess, that's what stops me from going out there and just sort of getting, you know. (laughter) Yeah, a fear of making mistakes and yeah I guess that stops me from going out there, just going getting out there and just getting laid (laughter)

Constructions previously discussed framed being a woman in a sexual relationship as problematic and full of dangers. Migrating to New Zealand was also constructed as problematic, by separating girls from like-minded people and exposing them to confusion over the role of women in their new environment, leading to subsequent intergenerational conflict and inner turmoil. Extract 17 takes a different position, seeing the migration as a positive experience that has led to knowledge and empowerment through sexual education. As Lani puts it, "It's opened a lot of doors", a metaphor that suggests a sense of liberation and opportunities opening to her. She contrasts this with her friends back in the Philippines, who she constructs as naïve and unaware of sexual risks and choices. Her laughter at their lack of knowledge seems to signal both amusement and shock. There is also a degree of pity, which carries through her speech. Prizing sexual awareness and the ability to make informed decisions over sexual innocence and naivety, she resists conventional discourses of femininity and sees herself now as somewhat of an expert, adding that she "could actually help [Filipinos in the Philippines] in many ways." She proudly grasps the power and responsibility over her life and body, aspects of feminine control that were denied or shied away from in the 'vulnerable woman' and 'preparation means expectation' extracts.

From her construction of her current advantaged position, she reflects on

how experimenting with adult sex roles would otherwise be “like crawling in the dark”. Through this simile, she paints a picture of young people, unaware of sexual risks and options, stumbling around blindly with a continual fear of bumping into unexpected obstacles, like pregnancy and STIs. By comparison, she sees her sexual education as a “privilege” and “life saver”, seating herself firmly within the ‘new sexuality discourse’ (Jackson, 2005) as a sexually independent and knowing woman. Tied to this and throughout her dialogue is a strong current of discourse around sexual safety (Jackson, 2005). Lani’s principal construction of sex is still one of danger, as she talks repeatedly about “risks”, “consequences” and prevention. There remains a great sense of women as potential victims. When fully aware of the risks and able to make their own choices, they are perhaps even more responsible for the consequences of their sexual decisions. This role still leaves little space for recognition of desire and the fun side of sex. As Lani says, “know[ing] about these things” and the subsequent “fear of making mistakes” stop her “from going out there and just getting laid”. While knowledge brings liberation, it also limits her sexual behaviour with fears.

Extract 18 goes on to discuss the choices girls now see themselves as having from the position of empowered New Filipino Girls. I had asked the group how migrating to New Zealand might have changed how they think about relationships and how they see relationships as being for Filipino women back in the Philippines.

Extract 18 (taken from Red Group):

- Grace. Most of them [Filipinas in the Philippines] follow their brains.
 Aïyesha. So their education comes first?
 Grace. Most of them want a guy that is stable. They don’t -
 Giselle. They usually use this (points to head) instead of this. (points to heart)
 Grace. Instead of this, yeah. And I believe, I believe for once, that it just won’t be a happy family if you don’t have this. (points to heart)
 Aïyesha. Do you think that’s because you’ve come here?
 Grace. Because I’ve got the opportunity to pick who I want. Because

in the Philippines, what you want is something who can take care of you. Not someone who will initially love you or have that romantic thing. Cos that can come on later on. Your priorities are, when you look for a man, is someone who has a job, someone who can take care of you, someone who has a lot of money, someone you can depend on when you're in trouble. Here, that doesn't even count sometimes.

Lisette. Yeah, more like, here is more you use your heart here. But in the Philippines, you think about "Oh yeah. He's stable. I want to go with him." And then the love, the feeling, comes later.

Penny. Comes later.

Grace. You can fall in love with him later on.

Lisette. Yeah. (laughter)

Diana. Which is quite unfair.

Grace. It's quite hard.

Lisette. (laughs) Or you just get a divorce if you don't like him.

Grace. Cos I specifically don't care if a man, if my man can't afford to buy me house. As long as he works hard. As long as my man works hard, then I can feed myself. I don't need a man to pay my way. Cos if ever something goes wrong, if we ever break up for instance, I have nothing else to lose. Cos I've got myself and I can take care of myself. And that's what, I think, being here has taught me. It's Cos we're more independent and we can turn around and say "Well screw you! I'm not, I'm not the one who's losing out here. You are." So I don't have anything to lose. In the Philippines, when you're a girl, and you look for someone like that, you have *everything* to lose.

When Grace spoke of Filipino women in the Philippines as following their brains, I initially made the assumption she was talking about getting an education before focusing on relationships. However, she then clarifies that, in the Philippines, women think sensibly when choosing a man, prioritizing financial stability and emotional dependability over love and romance. Setting head and heart against each other, she contrasts the Filipino outlook with life in New Zealand, where she constructs women as more focused, and able to focus, on finding love and romance, a priority she personally prefers.

The positioning of New Zealand women as romantic and Filipino women as not is a contradiction of the construction of the 'Filipino virgin' who has sex for love and the New Zealand 'skank' who has sex void of meaning and love, an image Grace had previously defended ardently. She partially mends this discrepancy, by explaining that Filipino women in the Philippines

cannot afford to concentrate on love. She constructs them as ‘vulnerable women’ with “everything to lose,” lacking control of their material circumstances and therefore dependent on men to take care of them. In turn, she portrays romance as a luxury that New Zealand women can afford to have and identifies herself as a member of this group, saying “I’ve got the opportunity to pick who I want.”

Grace constructs herself as a confident New Filipino Girl. Financially and emotionally independent, she has no need to rely on a man. Having power over her life empowers her to also have an assertive voice in a relationship. Rejecting the position of a vulnerable dependent woman, she says she has “nothing else to lose” and no need to stand for a sexual double standard by submissively working to please a man and keep him committed. She presents herself as bravely able to say “I’m not the one who’s losing out here” to any man who tries to rob her of her control.

In Extract 19, girls discussed their perception of intergenerational changes in women’s sexual agency that were also likely related to a change in cultural context. We had been exploring the messages of sexuality they had received from their parents.

Extract 19 (taken from Purple Group):

- Aiyesha. And do you think that young women get those opportunities? You were saying you wouldn’t be able to talk to your mum about that stuff?
- Victoria. No not really
- Amelia. I guess you can always - like your mum - like my mum at least thinks like if you go out with a guy, you’re just like holding hands with him (laughter) and maybe you kiss him at the end of the night. (laughter)
- Carmen. No no, do you know what my mum said? She goes “No, you can’t hold hands because that leads to sex”, (laughter) and I was like “No it doesn’t, Mum”, and she’s like “Yes.” (laughter) “First it starts with holding hands and then kissing.” (laughter) I was like “No” and she goes “Oh when I was in the Philippines, I was so scared because I was holding this guy’s hand” (laughter) and she goes “And I was scared that I was going to get pregnant.” (laughter) Like she was scared she was going

to have sex with him and get pregnant! (laughter)

Vera. Oh my God!

Aïyesha. She didn't think she'd be able to influence that decision? Like be able to stop it?

Carmen. Yeah, that's what I was thinking! (laughter)

Vera. I don't think they do. Cos from my mother's generation anyway, they just said "We don't really know what we were doing." (laughter) You know? It just happened and it wasn't like you could say "Nah I don't want to do that" or "Let's stop now". I don't know. For them, it was just the guys taking over kinda thing.

Carmen. Maybe they didn't know how to say no like in New Zealand.

Amelia. Mmm.

Victoria. Mmm, maybe they weren't taught about it.

Carmen. They teach you. (Mmm) They teach you how to say no at school. "No! No!" (laughs)

Sylvia. "No!" (laughs)

Carmen. Maybe they weren't taught that.

Vera. It was like sex to women was kinda like they had to do it, cos it was part of their duties for the men, (Yep mm.) like cooking and washing their clothes and ironing. (laughter) I think that was how you did it in the olden days eh? (Mmhmm)

Aïyesha. Do you think that's changed now?

Amelia. Yeah.

Aïyesha. So it's more okay to say no to the guy now?

Carmen. Yeah.

Sylvia. Yeah.

Vera. Yeah.

Victoria. Yeah, and if he doesn't like it -

Carmen. / say no all the time. (laughter)

Victoria. Oh God!

Amelia's report of her mother as outdated and naïve of typical teenage sexual behaviour today is met with laughter that continues all through the extract, as the girls cooperatively build a construction of their mothers' generation's sexual subjectivity. Their laughter demonstrates a mix of amusement and surprise over aspects of their mothers' explanations that seem ridiculous to them, signalling an intergenerational shift in women's sexual roles.

Their mothers' stories, told through the daughters' eyes, are riddled with archetypal constructions of passive women and active men. Carmen's

mother is depicted in her youth from the position of a virtuous 'Filipino virgin', innocently uneducated in the basics of sex, and as a 'vulnerable woman', fearful of the dangers of sex, men and her inability to say no. In telling her hand holding story to her daughter, Carmen's mother sends a message of caution that relationships lead down a slippery slope towards sex and women have little control as to the destination. However, Carmen rejects the possibility that this lack of control could apply to her in the modern world, laughing at her mother's perceived foolishness and deciding that "maybe they didn't know how to say no like in New Zealand."

Vera expands on the vulnerabilities of the women of their mothers' generation, calling on the position of the 'pleasing woman' who must submit dutifully to her man's demands, whether it be for sex or for "cooking and washing their clothes." Evidently Vera considers this subjectivity obsolete, as she adds "I think that was how you did it in the olden days." Resisting the position of the 'vulnerable women', the girls present themselves as assertive New Filipino Girls, empowered by a sexual education that has given them confidence in their ability to negotiate sexual relationships. As Carmen proudly states, "I say no all the time." Noteworthy though is that their self-assurance lies in being able to say no and thus maintain a virginal status rather than succumb to a man. They are not necessarily more able to say yes to sex and to their desire, around which a silence continues. From this perspective, they remain the vigilant gatekeepers of the beginning of the chapter.

Leading up to Extract 20, the girls had been discussing the merits of contraception, regurgitating multiple safe sex mottos, such as "you've got to have it on or it's not on" and "no glove, no love!" (Andrea and Rosa). I then asked the girls about their perceptions of a young woman being prepared for sex by carrying a condom. The subject position of the New Filipino Girl brought a substantially different response to that discussed from the position of 'preparation means expectation'.

Extract 20:

- Aïyesha. What do you think about being prepared for sex? How does that reflect on a young woman? If she and her boyfriend haven't had sex, but she thought it was getting to that stage, how would it look for her to be prepared by carrying a condom?
- Rosa. Yeah, carry condoms, or if you think that you're going to get it on soon, you should go to Family Planning and then they tell you what's available here for you. They give you pills, they give you condoms, they give you everything that you want. Just to avoid the risk, they'll give you anything.
- Andrea. I think you should really prepare cos you don't actually know what's going to happen. Maybe now you're sober and you're like "Oh sex p-lease, ew!" But later on, you might be going out, having some fun, and like every guy you see is an Enrique Iglesias. (laughter) You know? So, or maybe you're just caught up with the moment.
- Belinda. Yeah like that.
- Andrea. So like being prepared is really good.
- Helena. Yeah being responsible really.
- Odine. Yeah.
- Aïyesha. And is that how other people would see it as well?
- Odine. Probably not. They'd probably think "Slut! Whore!" You know? (laughter)
- Helena. Yeah right.
- Andrea. You're having a good time and they're "Look at that slut over there!" (laughter)
- Odine. Yeah, but still, it really comes down to the person, cos they're the ones who are gonna suffer the consequences anyway, not the people around them.

In direct contrast to 'preparation means expectation' extracts, the participants positively construct being prepared by taking responsibility for sexual safety as "really good." Positing herself as a sexual health expert, Rosa recycles messages of the discourse of sexual safety and forms her answer into instruction on how to access contraceptives. While still framing sex as dangerous, she speaks with the poise of a New Filipino Girl who knows how to responsibly get around sex and "avoid the risk." In her words lies an assumption of a woman's right to choose to have sex and to choose to protect herself by preparing for sex.

Furthermore, Andrea's employment of a 'new sexuality discourse' (Jackson, 2005) frames women as sexually active and independent, able to go out and

have fun outside the self-monitoring constraints of the 'Filipino virgin'. Breaking the silence on female desire (Fine & McClelland, 2006), she suggests that meeting attractive men on a night out may lead to casual sex, possibly even at the initiation of the woman herself. Her statement resists both the construction of 'Filipino virgins', who lack desire, and the 'have/hold discourse' they are framed within, whereby sex is understood as part of a committed relationship (Hollway, 1989).

The girls were quick to acknowledge that other people may well be less accepting of the agentic and sexually prepared New Filipino Girl, stating that she will be easily judged a bad girl 'skank' or 'slut'. However, as Oline daringly states, "[young women are] the ones who are gonna suffer the consequences, not the people around them." From the position of a New Filipino Girl, her comment is one of the few to privilege women's personal health and safety over their public face and reputation, a hopeful stance.

Discussion

The analysis presented above describes several feminine subjectivities relevant to Filipino sexuality. These included: 'Filipino virgins and New Zealand skanks' with a racialised take on gendered constructions of 'angels and sluts' (Lees, 1993); the 'Filipino Lady', who, while performing the role of an ideal traditional woman, holds some agency in her power (of constraint) over men's desires; the 'Vulnerable woman' as disempowered and vulnerable to the 'dangers of sex', such as male desire, passion, damaged reputation, pregnancy and disease; 'Preparation means expectation', whereby young women are caught between awareness of a discourse of sexual safety and cultural discourses which associate women's initiative in regards to sexual safety with 'bad girl' behaviour; and the 'New Filipino Girl' position, which opened some space for resistance to the sexual double standard (Jackson & Cram, 2003) and sexual confidence for young women moving between Western and Filipino sexual discourses.

Together these functioned as an interwoven set of discursive resources for

young immigrant women to draw on in making and justifying decisions about sexual relationships. Although girls could recite New Zealand safe sex messages, their talk suggests that a range of gendered and racialised constructions of sexuality and womanhood within their cultural context affect whether these messages are put into practice. This supports the well documented knowledge-practice gap in sexual health education research (Allen, 2001; Ministry of Health, 2005; Thomson & Holland, 1994).

Alongside a general silence around sex as meeting desire for women, a heterosexual male-led coital imperative remained undisputed through the interviews. A presumption of female responsibility also carried extensively through the various sexual subjectivities, despite a lack of perceived control on the part of women. As young immigrants, somewhat naïve of the cultural complexities of their parental homeland, girls often rely on parental and community depictions to understand what was expected of them as decent Filipinas and to protect their cultural traditions from being lost (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001). Daughters must also find their way as young women in their new cultural setting. Conflicting and restrictive positions available within their home culture and the New Zealand culture around them may make negotiating sexual subjectivity difficult. In particular, with the main justification for sex being “caught in the moment” and the common fear being shame rather than health, the implications for safe sexual practices are concerning.

Romantic discourse and conventional forms of femininity were heavily woven through the girls’ talk, implying ease of accessibility within the context of their Filipino and New Zealand cultures (Jackson & Scott, 1996; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993). However, with the move to discussion of ‘actual’ sex, their language took on more elements of biological and hormonally driven sex and an almost ‘matter-of-fact’ approach (Allen, 2005; Holland et al., 1994). With sex constructed as a taboo subject in the home culture, it is likely young immigrant Filipino women are lacking in cultural discursive resources to discuss the physicality of sex (Espin, 1999).

At these times in their talk, they turn to more direct and possibly agentic sexual messages that may signal a context of New Zealand media, peers, and sexual education. New sexual subjectivities, such as the New Filipino Girl, that bridge a space between expectations of the home culture and those of the adopted culture, may offer hope for more empowered and healthy sexual choices.

Chapter Six:

Narrative Theory and Method

The analysis of the focus groups in the previous chapter focused on cultural subjectivities available to and recycled by the young New Zealand Filipino women in their discussions of heterosexual relationships. The analysis also examined the more local discursive properties relating to the interactions between group members. The following analysis, instead, concentrates on individual accounts of sexual selves in sexual stories taken from individual narrative interviews conducted with some of the young women. Before I go into this in more detail however, I start the chapter with a discussion of various narrative approaches, focusing on why I have chosen a narrative analysis and a particular interpretation of narrative, at that.

Narrative theories and practices

Narrative is the process by which people create and recount a story and narrative analysis involves the investigation of such stories (Denzin, 2000). Narrative theory and analysis has come into style, as part of the larger turn to language and discourse across the social sciences that has been discussed in an earlier theoretical chapter (Plummer, 1995; Riessman, 1993; Squire, 2004). Alongside this has been the promotion of personal experience as a valid and valuable source of individual and social information. While not all narrative researchers do so, for the sake of the current study, I limit the focus of study to people's oral narratives of their lived experiences (Riessman, 1993).

It has been posited that our world is made up of a conglomeration of narratives that sort the way we think, observe, act and interact in society (Plummer, 1995; Sarbin, 1986). From very early life, stories surround us, initially in the form of recounted family histories and fairy tales, and later via other people's stories, books, films and other media (Gergen, 1993). It has been put forward that narrative is one of the first skills learned as a child

and that it develops further right through into adolescence (Bruner, 1991). As we carry out our lives, our acts are accompanied by the formation of a story of our experiences, an autobiographical story which is practised and edited over and over again (Plummer, 1995). In this sense, Bruner (1991), and also Gergen (1993), argues that people learn to understand themselves and their relationships through narrative, organising their experiences and memories of events through a narrative process to create descriptions, explanations, plans and desires in story form. The use and structuring of narrative is believed to be so normative to our cultural make-up that telling stories is argued by some to be fundamental to our human nature (Bruner, 1991; Plummer, 1995).

The study of narrative involves a theoretical position as well as a way of carrying out and analysing data, which is generally conducted through interviews. However, there is no one unified narrative theory. A narrative approach can take many forms, as the study of narrative is carried out and theorised from a range of disciplines and epistemological standpoints, including sociology, psychology, linguistics, anthropology, history and literature (Gergen, 1993; Labov, 1997; Plummer, 1995; Riessman, 1993). One's narrative stance and manner of analysis depends on the theoretical foundation from which the study is positioned. Narrative research investigates the form or structure, the content and meaning, context, voice and perspective, and the function of the stories people tell, with some researchers focusing on particular aspects more than others, depending on their theoretical stance (Plummer, 1995; Riessman, 1993).

Defining narrative:

Not all talk is seen as narrative (Labov, 1997; Riessman, 1993). Various theoretical approaches to narrative employ varying definitions of what constitutes narrative and therefore what to focus on in analysis. At a basic level, a common ground can be found though. A narrative refers to a story with a beginning, middle and end, sometimes alternatively thought of as a past, present and future (Crossley, 2000). Narratives usually involve a

central character and other significant characters, with the narrative tending to revolve around the social relationships constructed between them (Gergen, 1993; Parker, 2005; Riessman, 1993). Narrative involves a particular perspective, set through the voice of the narrator (Bruner, 1990).

So that a narrative is coherent and meaningful to the listener, the teller must attend to cultural norms about how and what is told (Gergen, 1993). This applies to its structure or form, and its suitability to the context in which it is told as well as set. Using a broad definition then, narrative is seen as a form of language constructed into a story that offers an organised plot of selected life events structured into some sort of sequence (Crossley, 2000; Gergen, 1993; Labov, 1997; Polkinghorne, 1996). From this definition, narrative can be seen as having a few specific elements. Firstly, narrative involves a plot with characters that creates a coherent meaning around the significant events recounted in the story. This is how the point of the story is explained (Ricoeur, 1988). Next, there is a sequence to the story with a beginning, middle and end, so that the pieces of the story obtain meaning by coming together as a sequential whole (Bruner, 1990). Narrative generally also involves a temporal structure around the plot (Bruner, 1990; Gergen, 1993; Riessman, 1993).

With a less structurally oriented perspective that I favour for my research, Jackson (1998) defines narratives simply as stories, a common way of relating our memories of our experiences (Plummer, 1995, does similarly). She describes the sharing and interpretation of these stories as a social practice and recognises the interpersonal element of narrative. While narratives enable us to reflect upon our identities, she recognises that the particular construction of the identities we create in our narratives is the result of our social interaction with others (Jackson, 1998).

Narratives come in different genres, as with other types of story. Some commonly known genres include tragedy, satire, romance and comedy (Bruner, 1991). Genres can be viewed as providing standard forms of

narratives that people can easily recognise as demonstrating typical (and often predictable) human situations and dilemmas (Bruner, 1991). By implementing established genres, the manner in which we approach and think about the story can be influenced.

My particular focus is on the personal life story narrative. Life story narratives represent a particular type or broad genre of narrative, focused on one's autobiographical construction (Crossley, 2000; Riessman, 1993). They reflect and construct the narrator's sense of self, organising her interpretation of past and present experiences, and future intentions, and imparting a way of understanding and negotiating the world. The life story, or autobiography, can be considered to be constantly and forever under revision, so that, at any time, the narrator constructs an incomplete and changing version of their life story (Bruner, 1991). In recounting a life story, the narrator makes choices about which characters, events, and plotlines or themes to include and which subjectivities to situate herself within. She also makes choices about which aspects to be silent on (Gergen, 1993). Thus, there are potentially an infinite number of ways the story could be told, rather than one fixed and absolute autobiography (Bruner, 1991). Plus, aside from the information expressed in the told story, the manner in which it is comprehended depends on the cultural understandings available to the narrator and her audience, and the interaction between them (Bruner, 1991).

Understandings of the self and the reality of experience:

As already alluded to, as we remember and construct events and experiences of our pasts, we bring meaning and understanding to these experiences for ourselves and for others. As this occurs as part of a social interaction, the meaning that is constructed is a shared one (Riessman, 1993). The narratives we tell offer the structure and meaning with which to make sense of our life experiences, so that through our stories, we and those we tell come to understand us, our sense of self and our interpretation of the world (Polkinghorne, 1988). Narrative provides the opportunity to define and explain the self in terms of a current construction of the self, as well as past

and future selves (Crossley, 2000). Taking this further than some, Ricoeur (1988) speaks of a 'narrative identity', positing that it is only through the course of recounting one's life narrative that the self takes form.

Because it is impossible for the researcher to obtain direct access to people's raw experiences and their immediate interpretation of these experiences, researching people's life narratives is considered a useful means by which to analyse how people establish and make sense of themselves in light of their experiences and socio-cultural environment (Denzin, 2000; Jackson, 1998; Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 1993). The degree to which the self is actually created by the narrative itself versus the self being a pre-existing entity that is merely described by the narrative is debated among narrative theorists however (Gergen, 1993). A major distinction between much narrative research revolves around whether there is a reality existing outside of language, and whether the life stories put forth in the interviews can be seen as reflecting this reality and a source of information about a person's actual life (Riessman, 1993).

For example, a narrative approach is used in conventional social sciences research with an empirical foundation. Here, the narratives obtained are assumed to provide access to reality and reality-based experiences (Labov, 1997; Ricoeur, 1988). Such researchers within psychology assume that narratives can provide information on people's psychological realities and inner states (Gergen, 1993).

Feminist narrative research, often spoken of as women's life history research, similarly tends to be based in humanistic realism (Riessman, 1993). Predicated on the socio-political belief that women's voices need to be heard and privileged if we are to disrupt the masculine hegemony seen in science and the structure of society, studying women's life stories is viewed as empowering women to describe and put meaning to their experiences themselves (Jackson, 1998; Josselson & Lieblich, 2001). However, by seeing language as transparent, conventional feminist work still tends to

assume that it is possible to access women's raw experiences (Jackson, 1998).

Crossley (2000) takes a middle ground between this and the alternative constructionist perspective. Crossley (2000) understands people's narratives as expressing a reality of their lives, rather than only a constructed story, while also acknowledging the social influence. In her research on how people re-establish themselves and their lives after a breakdown in the expected life course, she assumes that what people have to say about their lives bears some relationship to both a psychological and social reality (Crossley, 2000).

Opposing the idea that what is obtained in narrative reflects objective truth is the social constructionist view, which proposes that there is no reality to be obtained from the stories, as the experiences detailed in narrative are discursive constructions contingent on their social and historical period in time (Gergen, 1993). Some social constructionist narrative researchers describe these constructed experiences as offering one of many possible contextually-dependent versions of reality (Bruner, 1991). According to Bruner (1991), narrative not only describes reality, but also creates people's realities, moulding our experiences and the ways we interpret them.

Jackson (1998), for example, states that it is not possible to access the reality of experienced events in narratives or otherwise, as experiences and our recounting of them are always constructed and bound to systems of meaning. This ties us back to the previous theory chapter on discourse. Discourse moulds our experience of reality, defining and limiting our knowledge of the world and the expression of this knowledge in our stories (Jackson, 1998). Within discourses, various subject positions are constructed and made available to individuals, who can draw on them in order to shape their subjectivities in certain ways at certain times and to achieve certain goals. Discourses and the subject positions they create are not fixed. Instead, their meanings vary between socio-cultural contexts and

the historical periods of time they are linked to (Blood, 2005). From a social constructionist and discursive perspective then, our narratives reflect the discursive resources that are available to us, so that the nature and form of the stories we tell and the ways that we define ourselves shift across time and location (Blood, 2005; Jackson, 1998).

Applying narrative to the present research

Why a narrative approach:

The current study involved narrative interviews with New Zealand Filipino women regarding their sexuality. The principal objective was to investigate how the young women construct their sexual stories and stories of self, drawing on the cultural discourses available to them. There was a focus on the construction of self and their gendered relationships with others, in the hope of understanding how these young women negotiate their sexual subjectivities to frame, interpret and explain their sexual experiences and interactions. I was interested in the meanings of these stories for the women in terms of their heterosexual relationships, as well as the role of such stories in the broader socio-cultural world (Blood, 2005; Plummer, 1995).

In these endeavours, a narrative approach seemed key to exploring people's life experiences through the stories they tell. More so than other forms of qualitative investigation, narrative research entails a focus on the individual and their subjectivity, as well as the negotiation of personal relationships (Gergen, 1993; Riessman, 1993). As discussed, narrative involves constructing and imparting one's sense of self and the world to others. A narrative approach allows us to explore the identities taken up by the narrator, through the meaning they attach to their experiences, to themselves and to their relationships, while recognising the socio-cultural and historical influences on what and how they make sense of their selves (Gergen, 1993). In this way, narrative offers a connection between the social and individual perspectives (Bamberg, 1997). Narrative enables me to attend to the personal and intimate sexual story, and also to the wider discursive backdrop to the young women's experiences (Plummer, 1995). It draws

attention to how language, discourse and social processes shape one's sense of self and the world, while still leaving room for individuals to be reflexive and agentic in framing their lives (Gergen, 1993; Riessman, 1993).

Reinforcing the decision to use narrative to investigate the young women's sexual stories was the work of feminist researcher Carol Gilligan. Gilligan (1982) suggests that women's self concept is particularly developed through their relationships and interactions with others, highlighting the connectedness of individuals in a complex socio-cultural realm. Gilligan (1982) challenges the individualism of traditional psychological approaches to identity formation, expressing the need to attend to relationships in people's life narratives and the relationship context of the interview process. Attending to how young women position themselves in relation to their sexual partners appeared important to understanding their explanations of their sexual selves, and a narrative approach allowed for this.

A narrative approach also pays heed to the feminist goal of researching women's interpretations of the world and giving women a voice through qualitative research (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson & Lieblich, 2001). A narrative construction is acknowledged as a joint production, involving collaboration between the researcher and participant in the interaction, but reducing the directive power of the researcher and encouraging the participant to take the lead (Gilligan, 1982). In this way, narrative gives voice to the other, while admitting the researcher's role in its production. Unlike more humanistic feminist research that problematically assumes a coherent and cohesive individual isolated from her socio-cultural context, a (social constructionist) narrative study comprehends people's narratives as located in a discursive and interactional context, with the self that is put forth perceived as complex, multilayered, and constantly being revised (Parker, 2005). This allows the research to relate unique individual stories, yet also investigate broad cultural stories.

My narrative approach:

Taking a social constructionist perspective to narrative in the present study, I see the women's sexual stories as interpretations and reinterpretations of their life experiences (Jackson, 1998; Riessman, 1993). I anticipate that their accounts of their experiences and the meanings they attribute to them will vary across settings (Jackson, 1998). I recognise the importance of the socio-cultural and historical influences in the construction of narrative. I also acknowledge that participants hold a degree of agency in constituting their stories, so they can make certain points and position themselves and the other characters of the narrative in certain ways (Riessman, 1993). Following on from the previous theoretical chapter, I assume subjectivity to be constructed or performed, rather than owned as a fixed part of the self, the way that identity is traditionally viewed in psychology (Blood, 2005). As a result, I see the formation of a self in talk as dependent on the context in which it is constituted, both locally in terms of the specific talk interaction whereby the individual draws on particular subjectivities to accomplish a specific function, and more broadly in terms of the wider socio-cultural context of the speaker and the discourses they have available to them (Blood, 2005). This enables the investigation of the inconsistencies and contradictions, fluidity, changes and complexities in individuals' accounts of themselves and their experiences (Blood, 2005).

There is one point on which I depart from a purely social constructionist approach, perhaps placing me better as a critical realist (Parker, 1998). While Crossley (2000) takes a social constructionist approach to narrative, she posits that a degree of realism about the link between narratives and people's life experiences is important for researching topics in applied psychology, such as serious illness, rape and abuse stories, to take into account the physical element to these stories. A similar consideration would be prudently applied to stories of sexual initiation. While acknowledging the social construction of meaning attached to sex, bodies and the self, there is a concern that absolute relativism may be seen as taking away agency, as discussed in an earlier chapter (Crossley, 2000; Gavey, 2005; Parker, 1998;

Plummer, 1995). Critical realism recognises some degree of an external world independent of language, but holds that all our experience, knowledge and understanding of this reality is shaped by discourse and our socio-cultural context (Crotty, 1998; Parker, 2002; Williams, 1999). The meanings we construct and implement thus remain dependent on language from this standpoint and critical realists are critical of empirical psychology theory and methodology (Parker, 2002). Individuals may still locate themselves differently across contexts and periods of time, constructing different realities, or interpretations of reality.

Approaches to narrative analysis

As with the theories behind it, the term narrative analysis covers a number of different approaches. What is common again is a focus on analysing lived experiences (Bamberg, 1997). Below are a range of approaches that I deliberated on in developing my stance on narrative analysis. While I am separating these approaches out here, it should be understood that there is overlap between them, that most of the researchers mentioned do not volunteer prescriptive methods of analysis, and that their approaches may have evolved over time (e.g. Labov & Waletzky, 1967 vs Labov, 1997). Also in my brief review, I am greatly simplifying their approaches and the complexities of their theories and the distinctions between them. Despite this, I have chosen this manner of presentation to document how I have arrived at my own analytic approach to the interview study.

Labov and the sociolinguistic approach:

Labov's (1997; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) sociolinguistic approach to narrative analysis is significant in that it is considered the first major piece of literature on the systematic study of narrative and the approach continues to be employed by narrative researchers today (Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 1993). By recognising that narrative construction occurs within a social interaction, Labov and Waletzky (1967) establish the social nature of the narrative. Focusing on an analysis of structure, Labov and Waletzky (1967) have a highly specific view of what constitutes a narrative. They posit that a

narrative contains six parts, some appearing in a particular structural order. First is the abstract, an optional summary of the narrative. Second is the orientation, containing details about the time, place, characters and situation of the narrative. Next come the complicating action clauses of the narrative, describing the sequence of events. The resolution tells what happened in the end, and the coda, again optional, returns the story to the present tense and signals an end has been reached. The evaluation can be presented anywhere in the story. It demonstrates the purpose or point of the story and is thought to be the most noteworthy aspect of the narrative in terms of the interaction with the audience, as this is where the narrator must negotiate how her story will be interpreted, how her character will be perceived, and why the story is significant enough to be told in the first place (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). With the inclusion of the evaluation, Labov and Waletzky (1967) draw attention to the interpretive quality of narrative and offer insight into how the telling of a story influences how it is received and understood. Labov and Waletzky's (1967) approach is limited, however, by its heavy focus on the structural linguistic elements of narrative and relative neglect of narrative's function in making sense of the world. From this perspective, narratives are seen as reflecting raw experience (Riessman, 1993). Favouring an approach that focuses on the meanings constructed in the young women's narratives and on the cultural discourses they draw upon, rather than the structural components of their stories, I chose not to adopt a sociolinguistic approach.

Mishler:

Mishler (1986) challenges conventional survey interviewing methods, acknowledging that meanings and understandings of the world are located in discourse. He puts forward narrative interviews as a source of the construction of meaning. Mishler's (1986) analysis sees narrative as a process of interpretation and focuses on surmising a core narrative or point from the narrative as a whole. However, as his analytic approach remains founded in Labov and Waletzky's (1967) sociolinguistic analysis, it was not employed for the current study.

Riessman and a sociological approach:

Riessman (1993) again utilises an analysis based on Labov and Waletzky's (1967) and Mishler's (1986) approaches, concentrating on structure by detecting Labov's properties of the narrative. However, she expands from Labov and Waletzky's (1967) analysis by determining the core narrative of the story (as with Mishler's (1986) work) and then drawing on a linguistic analysis to examine what she identifies as a poetic structure in the narrative (Riessman, 1993). Relevant to the current research, Riessman (1993) more fully acknowledges the narrative as constructed in the context of the interview interaction between the researcher and participant. She asserts that we are unable to access the actual raw experience of the narrator. As researchers, we instead work with an interpreted and re-interpreted version of the experience. Riessman (1993) explicitly details how the narrative involves multiple stages of interpretation before it arrives in the manner in which it is presented as a work of research. These include the narrator attending to experiences in the world, the narrator telling an interpretation of the experience, transcribing the account in a particular way, the researcher analysing the transcript, and the reader reading the final report. Riessman's analysis was considered useful for the current study because of its attention to narrative as an interpreted and joint construction between the narrator (participant) and the listener (researcher). However, Riessman still focuses more on the structural elements of the narrative than the wider social and discursive processes.

Gilligan and the voice centred relational method:

Gilligan's (1982) feminist research around listening to women's stories of their lived experiences is grounded in a woman-centred approach to psychology and views narrative as a collaborative production between researcher and participant. Rather than coding and separating extracts into categories, the voice-centred relational method (VCRM) was developed with the goal of giving a voice to women who are often denied one (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). It focuses on establishing the narrative from the perspective of the narrator, then examining the meaning and interpretation

of the narrative from various perspectives or voices that come through in the talk and within the social context of the narrative. The VCRM acknowledges the interactive process of constructing a narrative (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). One of the aims of my study was to give minority women, who are generally silenced, an opportunity to be heard. However, I was also focused on investigating cultural discourses, and the societal power structures they are linked to, that make certain stories more accessible and more readily taken up. For these reasons, I turned to the work of Plummer (1995) and Gergen (1993).

Gergen and Gergen and a social constructionist approach:

Rather than revealing a pre-existing reality, Gergen and Gergen (1986; Gergen, 1993) see narratives as producing a sense of reality that is dependent on socio-cultural context. They position narrative accounts of the self as forms of social discourse, whereby narratives act as cultural resources on which individuals draw to shape and interpret their lives (Jackson, 1998, uses a similar approach). Gergen (1993) states that an individual's narrative of the self is then attained and subject to ongoing revision through social interaction. Focusing their analytic attention on the selection and temporal organisation of events in narratives, Gergen and Gergen (1986) suggest three basic narrative forms or genres, relating to the progression towards a goal over the course of the story. The stability narrative is one in which the central character remains unchanged in the distance to achieving the goal. The progressive narrative involves an advancement towards the goal by the conclusion of the narrative, while the regressive narrative involves the central character ending up further away from the goal.

Plummer and telling sexual stories:

While in recent history talk of sexuality has tended to be silenced, Plummer (1995) postulates that contemporary Western society is overrun with stories of sex and sexuality, spurred on by the media. Defining sexual stories as personal "narratives of the intimate life, focused especially around the

erotic, the gendered and the relational” (p.5), Plummer locates these narratives as entrenched within the discursive realm and societal power structures. Thus taking a social constructionist viewpoint and situating narrative in its socio-cultural and historic context, Plummer (1995) posits that sexual stories do not provide a conclusive truth about people’s sexual experiences and sexual natures. Leading into his analysis of some specific story genres, including coming out stories, rape stories and recovery stories, Plummer (1995) talks about four levels of narrative analysis. These include the nature of the narrative (such as structural aspects, genres, plots and metaphors in the language of the narrative); the social and interactive processes behind the construction and interpretation of the narrative (such as how particular stories come to be told and heard, and where they come from); the social role of the narrative (its function in individuals’ lives and society as a whole in maintaining or resisting discourses); and finally, the narrative’s relationship to the socio-historical world and the possibility of change (such as the contextual contingencies that led a particular narrative to be told at this time). Plummer (1995) takes up all aspects of analysis to a degree, focusing on the social aspects like how particular kinds of sexual stories develop, what they mean for the narrator’s sense of self and sense of the world, and their functional role in the individual’s life and in modern society in general. Plummer (1995) positions stories as defining both the self and the other, and creating order and understanding and boundaries around the social world. He also theorises narrative as a route to political change, through the telling of alternative stories that have the potential to disrupt the status quo.

Aside from the obvious sexual subject matter, Plummer’s (1995) approach is useful because alongside an examination of the form and content of the stories, he also attends to the voices of the narrators and the social power processes and discourses involved in telling the stories the way they are. Within this, he suggests a space for resistance too. Also relevant to the current study is Plummer’s (1995) perspective on the nature of the stories and reality. While considering sexual stories as socially constructed versions

of experience that are collaborated on in an interpersonal interaction, Plummer (1995) also looks past the text and language to see the constructed stories as created by real flesh and blood people, experiencing and interpreting the world they inhabit. As mentioned already, while otherwise locating myself in a social constructionist standpoint, I agree with Plummer's perspective on the importance of valuing the physical embodied experiences of participants when dealing with an applied health research topic, particularly one as sensitive as the sexual initiation of adolescent women.

For all these reasons, I have adopted a social constructionist approach to narrative, analytically grounded in the work of Plummer (1995). Narrative is typically defined to include an account of past events and experiences, with the inclusion of a plot, a setting and characters, organised around a temporal sequence. However, echoing the views of Plummer (1995), the present study is focused less on the identification and analysis of these structural elements of narrative and more on the social aspects, including how the story is constructed and heard, and its function, both for the individual in her construction of self, significant others and the world, and for its meaning in the larger social world. I am primarily interested in the stories the young women have constructed around sexual relationships and particularly first sex. I thus employ Plummer's (1995) definition of 'sexual stories' (already mentioned) to constitute narrative in the current research. I also draw on the analytic approaches of Gergen (1993), Jackson (1998) and Blood (2005). Overall, I view narrative as constructing meaningful stories, based in discourse and in the process of the interview interaction.

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW METHOD

Participants

Fifteen adolescent New Zealand Filipino women, aged 16-20 years, and eleven of their Filipino mothers (36-60 years), who had immigrated to New Zealand, took part in an individual interview. The discrepancy in numbers

was due to four daughters being interviewed before it became apparent that a convenient interview time for their mothers was not going to occur. Participants in the adolescent group all had a Filipino mother. All except one had a Filipino father. Participants in the mother group were required to have a daughter in the aforementioned age group. Participants had lived in New Zealand for at least two years.

Recruitment

At the conclusion of the focus group interviews, participants were given a brief letter, acting as the initial stage of recruitment for the second study (Appendix F). The letter invited participants to leave their contact details if they were interested in hearing more about these further interviews. All except one participant expressed interest in the individual interviews and so attempts were made to contact them via the contact details they provided. They were told about the individual interview study and offered an information brochure and consent form (Appendix G). The researcher then offered to contact them again to follow-up on whether they would like to take part. Otherwise, they could contact the researcher themselves for further information and to confirm their participation. When a young woman expressed interest, the researcher asked to speak to her mother about the study. Mothers were introduced to the study and also offered an information brochure and consent form (Appendix H). Once an interview was accepted, the time and place for each of the mother and daughter interviews was arranged at the follow-up call.

At the research's outset, it was anticipated that ten mothers and daughters would take part, in order to provide a range of stories. In the end, the number of positive responses exceeded this number. The main difficulty in recruitment involved finding suitable appointment times and some girls were unable to take part due to busy schedules that included university or school as well as part-time jobs and hobbies. The final participants were therefore chosen according to which mothers and daughters were most readily available, until sufficient interviews had been carried out.

Interviews and interview guide

Twenty-six individual interviews were conducted in total, with mothers and daughters interviewed separately. Interviews lasted between 1.5 and 4.5 hours. Most were carried out in the participants' homes at a time when others would not be home or where there was a private room in the home where other family members would not overhear the conversation. Some were conducted in a clinical psychology student interview room at Victoria University of Wellington or at the researcher's family's home in Auckland. The researcher again brought food along to each interview to promote a friendly and informal social atmosphere. All interviews were conducted in English. Participants were given \$10 each as reimbursement for their time.

At the beginning of the interviews, the confidential and voluntary nature of the interviews was discussed before participants completed their consent forms (Appendix I). As I had not met the mothers in person before, I then introduced myself and my own cultural background, explaining my connection to the Filipino community.

The individual interviews involved a more in-depth and specific focus on personal life experiences of negotiating sexuality and womanhood. At this point, the focus group data had not yet been analysed in detail, but I had an idea of the main themes and patterns the girls had discussed. It was therefore possible to explore these in more detail. Language and concepts that had been discussed in the focus groups were brought up in the individual interviews in terms of what these issues meant to the participant.

In narrative methodology, it is important not to use prescribed questions. Rather the purpose is to elicit a person's story beginning with an invitation to relate some aspect of their life. However, to ensure that the narratives covered the objectives of my research, a series of key prompts in the form of a flexible narrative interview guide was used to guide the progression of the interview (Appendix J). Each participant was encouraged to provide a narrative of her own life history in regards to personal experiences and

decisions about sexuality and intimacy. They were asked about their own experiences and understandings of sexuality, as well as how they believe their mothers/daughters perceive these issues. Participants were also asked what their mothers told them about sexuality and what they had told or planned to tell their own children. Specific prompts included romance, expectations of and experiences in intimate relationships, gender roles, sexual education, knowledge and beliefs about contraception, pregnancy and motherhood (for those who were already mothers), and the relationship of these things to their migration to New Zealand (if participants did not mention these topics themselves). Other prompts varied widely depending on the stories participants shared. These questions were mainly used to expand and clarify participants' responses. At the conclusion of the main interview, participants were asked a few demographic details.

Reflexivity

Many of the reflexivity issues described for the focus group interviews are pertinent for these interviews as well. It is important to acknowledge my role in the interviews as a co-constructor, in terms of the effects this would have had both in carrying out the interviews and in my later analysis (Blood, 2005).

In choosing the particular individual interviews I concentrated on for finer analysis, I looked to multiple factors. These included the degree to which the selected women spoke across the broad range of the issues raised by participants, their stories' typicality, my own subjective views on these women's ability to develop a strong sense of narrative, and particular areas of resistance or challenge in the women's stories that I felt a desire to put forth.

Transcription

All sessions were recorded using Minidisc recording equipment. The interview sound data was then transferred to computer wave files and the interviews were transcribed, using pseudonyms.

Analytic process and focus

A top-down post-structural discursive and narrative analysis was carried out on the transcripts, with the stories the women told seen as presenting versions of the self. Analysis involved multiple readings of the transcripts, examining the elements of each woman's personal story and seeing it as constructed within the Filipino and New Zealand cultural contexts in which she lived. Each story was also seen as having been produced within the particular context of the interview between the woman and the researcher. It cannot therefore be understood as the one truth, as the story may be told and interpreted differently in other contexts. Similarly, the researcher's analysis of the transcripts is always influenced by one's own standpoints and experiences and, as such, is only one of many possible interpretations of the talk.

While focus groups emphasised the role of the young women as informants and commentators on their culture, the individual interviews focused on how individual participants dealt with and constructed a sense of self. Of particular interest were the ways in which young women and their mothers position themselves in relation to wider cultural narratives of sexuality and romance, and how they draw on these to make and explain sexual decisions. Different identities available to the participants as young women, as daughters and mothers, as girlfriends and wives, as members of their Filipino community, as peers of non-Filipino teens, and as members of their wider New Zealand community were examined.

Daughter Interviews

Stage One: Thematic analysis

A thematic discourse analysis was carried out across the transcripts, looking for patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ussher, 2005; Ussher, Mooney-Sommers, 2000; Woollett, Marshall & Stenner, 1998). Firstly, the recorded interviews were listened to multiple times and their transcripts were read and reread until I was very familiar with the talk. I then went through the transcripts again, highlighting and coding sections of the talk.

Broad themes, such as boyfriend / girlfriend relationships in New Zealand and the Philippines, talking about sex with parents, sexual experiences, sexual education, and future plans regarding relationships, sex and motherhood, were created based on the major topics that arose from coding and the initial questions from the interviews. Relevant pieces of talk were pulled out and filed under these themes across all the young women's interviews. The broad theme of first sex was of particular interest to me, because of its relation to the original aims of the research and because of the rich narratives the young women created in their talk of their experiences of sexual initiation. All of the transcript material around first sex experiences and expectations was examined in further detail and coded to identify recurring patterns in talk of first sex within and across the interviews. From this, the first sex data was categorised into more specific key themes, which were again separated into files. A data map of the key themes and sub-themes was developed and refined to account for all the major patterns in the young women's talk of first sex. These themes are discussed in the following chapter.

Stage Two: Narrative analysis

The young women's talk of their expectations, values and experiences regarding first sex tended to be represented as stories, stories of sexuality and stories of selves. To enable the voice of the young women to be heard, it was important to me to keep such stories intact. For obvious reasons of time and space, however, it was not possible to present an extensive narrative account and analysis of each young woman's story. Instead I focused my analytic attention on the narrative of one young woman, Luisa, following her constructed story through from her experience of a first boyfriend / girlfriend relationship to her sexual initiation and her reaction to this, and finally through to how she positions her sexual and cultural selves at the time of the interview. By centring the more detailed analysis on a case study, it is possible to understand Luisa's account as her unique lived experience, alongside a discussion of the meanings and experiences she shares with the other young women.

Luisa's story was chosen in part because her talk provided illustrations of the majority of the first sex themes found throughout the young women's interviews. However, Luisa's story was chosen for other reasons too. I found myself particularly moved by Luisa's narrative, both as the researcher (and therefore co-constructor) of her interview and as a reader of her narrative transcript. I also found Luisa to be a great story-teller, a young woman able to skillfully articulate and weave together a story that was both particularly hers and yet also the story of a number of the women interviewed to a greater or lesser degree. I therefore returned to Luisa's recorded interview and transcript to listen and read again. From her transcript, I chose specific extracts that were at once good examples of narrative, representative of character development and key themes identified around first sex, and able to construct a coherent picture of Luisa's sexual story with a beginning, a middle and an end that loops back to Luisa's beginning. The extracts were found in this same order in Luisa's original transcript, although of course with further talk between most of the extracts.

The extracts were then analysed around the key themes of the first sex topic, using a social constructionist narrative approach (Gergen, 1993; Plummer, 1995) that investigated the form, meaning and function of Luisa's constructed sexual story. This occurred alongside an eclectic (following Wetherell, 1997; see also Blood, 2005) discourse analytic approach that examined the discourses present in Luisa's talk, the subject positions made available in these discourses, and how Luisa positions herself and others.

Mother Interviews

For the mother interviews, following a brief thematic analysis, I chose to focus on three mothers' stories for the analysis presented in this thesis. Focus was on how the women framed themselves and their development as sexual subjects across their narratives, with three extracts chosen from each of the women's stories to exemplify this. Drawing on a narrative discursive analytic approach, the presented stories have been analysed and displayed in such a way as to show how these women built up their sense of identity

through their stories of learning about sex, experiencing sex, and teaching their own daughters about sex and relationships.

In particular, I looked at the theme and the role or purpose of the story each woman tells, how she constructs her sense of self and subjectivity through the story, and how she works through each story to make sense of her experience. On a broader level, the focus question was what she was saying about herself (Bamberg, 1997; Gergen, 1993; Plummer, 1995).

Following analysis, all participants (mothers and daughters) were sent a feedback letter of the main research findings, unless they stated a preference not to, allowing them the opportunity to provide feedback to the researcher before the analysis was written up (Appendix E).

Chapter Seven:

Thematic Analysis of the Daughter Interviews

Key themes in the young women's talk of first sex

Individual interviews discussed the young women's experience of their migration and growing up in the Philippines and New Zealand, their sexual education, their family, peer and cultural expectations regarding sexuality, and their past, present and future intentions for (hetero)sexual relationships. In these interviews, the young women wove multiple, and often contradictory, discursive themes of heterosexuality, gendered relationships and sexual initiation into coherent and complex life narratives. Of particular interest, they recounted extensive and detailed stories of their first romantic relationships and their early sexual encounters - stories that both recycled and resisted conventional romantic tales of femininity and masculinity.

Fitting with the objectives of the study and the way in which I had structured the questions, a narrative structure was apparent in the interviews. As reported by Amuchastegui (1999) in her study of Mexican constructions of virginity, narratives were particularly prominent in the young women's stories of sexual initiation and this is where I focused my analytic attention. The stories of sexual initiation, or 'first sex', tended to display a typical sequential organisation structured around the development of a boyfriend / girlfriend relationship (a beginning), the progression to sexual initiation (a middle), and the consequences of this for the young woman and the relationship (an ending). It seemed important not to cut the young women's narratives into fragmented extracts for the sake of presenting a thematic analysis across the interviews, as this would lose the story that threaded through. Instead, I wanted to be able to tell a more complete and comprehensive story, all the while understanding that the stories told are never truly complete and absolute, as what it told is dependent upon the interaction in which it took place (Jackson, 1998; Parker, 2005). For this

reason, as already mentioned in the Method of Analysis section, I chose to focus on the story of Luisa.

Before elaborating on Luisa's story however, the following section sets the scene of the narrative analysis, by first describing and briefly discussing the key themes around first sex elucidated through a thematic analysis across the young women's interviews. Many of the themes reflected similar content to what had come through in the focus group interviews. Discussions around first sex also held much in common with the work of Holland et al. (1998) and Thompson (1990; 1995). As such, the focus on themes is relatively brief, with attention to cultural aspects that separate the current work from Holland et al.'s (1998). The study becomes distinct from Holland's from then on, in that the main concentration of the analysis revolves around the sexual narrative of one young woman.

Key themes in the young women's talk of first sex

Sex was defined by the young women according to a heterosexual convention and coital imperative (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 1984; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993; Stewart, 1999; Ussher, 2005). While occasional talk of other types of sex occurred, including oral sex and touching of genitals, these were not generally considered 'sex' itself, but foreplay. As such, penile penetration of the vagina was seen as the essence of losing one's virginity and this is what was taken to represent 'first sex' here.

Four key areas were identified around the young women's talk of first sex, within which there were various patterns or sub-themes. The key themes included 'justifying first sex', where girls defined various meanings of sex and the contexts in which they considered sex appropriate; 'experiencing first sex', where girls constructed the experience of first sex, including the manner in which sex had occurred (or should occur for those who were still virgins) and the emotions and consequences attached to it; 'being prepared', where girls established sex as potentially risky and talked about avoidance of risk; and 'the men', where girls constructed the 'other', the boys that

were (or would ideally be) their sexual partners. Throughout these constructions, the young women put together and made sense of their sexual selves and their own sexual behaviour.

It should be understood that the young women's descriptions and explanations of their early sexual encounters cannot be seen as the ultimate truth behind these experiences (Jackson, 1998). As already discussed in the theoretical chapter, their accounts can instead be viewed as constructed versions of their experiences, created in a particular social context and in hindsight of the actual experience (Gergen, 1993; Plummer, 1995). Similarly, girls frequently drew on multiple contradictory themes and discourse in their stories, speaking from different positions depending on the context of the talk and the point they were making.

Justifying first sex

Premarital sex is a no-no:

Common to the interviews of the young women who had not yet engaged in sexual intercourse, and to many of those who had, was the idea that premarital sex is inappropriate. Virginity was constructed as sacred or as a gift (Amachastegui, 1999; Carpenter, 2002; Gilfoyle et al., 1993; Wilson & Brown, 1993), the value of which offered young women an element of agency in intimate relationships, until it was given up (Holland et al., 1996). Drawing on a religious or moral discourse (Amachastegui, 1999; Holland et al., 1996) and the 'good girl / bad girl' (Lees, 1993) or 'Filipino virgins and New Zealand skanks' (see Chapter Five) dichotomy, the young women spoke of sex before marriage as "wrong" or "bad" and the girls who engage in such behaviour as morally reprehensible and sinful in the Catholic faith. As in the focus groups, young women spoke of parents (particularly mothers) warning them against such behaviour. In fact, many young women stated that a 'protective discourse' (Thomson & Holland, 1994) centred on saying no to sex was the most common or only message they had received from parents regarding sexuality. There appeared to be an understanding of the vulnerability of young women to obtaining a 'bad girl' reputation (Lees,

1993; Phillips, 2000), which could bring shame to a girl and her family, as a betrayal of cultural mores, especially in the context of the Filipino community (Espiritu, 2001). Tied to this was a privileging of female virginity, with young women proud to still be virgins.

Among the young women who were no longer virgins but who still positioned their beliefs and their mothers' teachings within this moral discourse, there was often a sense of guilt or regret over not having waited for marriage or, at least, for a committed long term relationship. Some conveyed a feeling of having let down their parents by engaging in premarital sex, with some girls saying that they were sure their parents were unaware of their situation, that parents would greatly disapprove and that they felt unable to ever discuss sexual concerns with parents.

Sex in a meaningful relationship is okay:

In tune with a discourse of conventional femininity and a romantic discourse sometimes referred to as a 'happily ever after discourse' (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 2001; Stewart, 1999), most of the young women spoke about sex as being appropriate in the context of a serious relationship involving an emotional attachment, with virginity preferably being lost to a young man they loved and could depend upon - the hero of their story. As in the focus groups, many young women constructed New Zealand girls as more sexually promiscuous than Filipino girls, who were generally constructed as still abiding by cultural morals and only having sex within committed relationships.

Often girls stated an assumption that most other young people in the Filipino community were keeping their virginity for marriage. However, for themselves personally, they said that this was difficult to maintain living in their New Zealand context and under the influence of New Zealand peers. From this position, a couple of girls mentioned "it's better to wait [to have sex] but not forever". The defence of love was constructed as able to save a girl from a 'bad girl' reputation (Amachastegui, 1999; Lees, 1993;

Thompson, 1984). Constructing their sexual encounters as occurring within the confines of loving steady relationships and the 'have/hold discourse' (Hollway, 1989), premarital sex for young Filipino women remained a meaningful expression and sign of love, trust and intimacy. The young women were thus able to position themselves as 'good girls' (Lees, 1993), if not wholly 'Filipino virgins', and maintain the image of a respectable reputation for themselves. The length of time they had spent in the relationship before having sex was generally made explicit to further demonstrate they had waited long enough, although what was considered long enough varied from girl to girl.

From this discourse, young women positioned their parents' speech of waiting until marriage as outdated and not fitting with the times or their cultural context. While some explained that parents may not understand or agree, they positioned themselves as normal and still 'good' as long as sex was for love and not casual.

Being ready for sex:

Many of the young women talked about readiness for sex and implied a natural progression to sex in line with a maturational discourse (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 2000). Readiness was discussed in regard to the physical and emotional maturity of the individual to handle the complexities of a sexual relationship and the potential consequences that came with it, such as contraception, pregnancy, rejection, and STIs. Readiness was also raised in relation to the young women's sense of physical readiness and desire in the immediate circumstance of the sexual encounter. Outright articulation of desire or "being horny" was occasional and often absent from the interviews, in line with other findings of an absence of discussion of desire and pleasure in young women's sexual talk and the 'missing discourse of female desire' (Allen, 2003; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Holland et al., 2000). Instead, ambiguous phrases, such as "it felt right", were sometimes elaborated on in terms of desire when I asked for clarification.

Thirdly, readiness referred to the progressive development of physical intimacy in the relationship (Holland et al., 2000); the appropriate rate of which varied from girl to girl and relationship to relationship. Being able to trust the boy was spoken of as playing a major role in whether the relationship was ready for sex. This is not surprising when taking into account the gendered risks young women associated with sex, including damage to their reputation, getting used by men who “just want sex”, victimisation, and pregnancy (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1998). Some women may have wanted sex, but not wanted these potential consequences (Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2005). It was thus important to many of the young women to know their boyfriend was not going to leave once they had sex; in other words, that he would be willing to hold up his end of the ‘have/hold discourse’ (Hollway, 1989) by being committed in exchange for the gift of virginity (Carpenter, 2002; Gilfoyle et al., 1993). It was generally assumed that it was up to the young women to decide when to allow sex, something that boyfriends should accept. A boyfriend could prove himself worthy of sex by respecting a girlfriend’s wishes and waiting until she decided she was ready. This was seen as showing he cared about her feelings and that sex was not his only agenda.

Deciding when the relationship was ready for sex was one respect in which young women appeared to have a sense of agency over sexual matters, even if only in her ability to consent or not and only until she gave her virginity to someone (Holland et al., 1998). Behind this, though, stood the double standard of the ‘male sex drive discourse’ (Hollway, 1989), with the assumption that boyfriends would always be keen to have sex, that controlling this urge was difficult for them, and that it was up to girlfriends, presumably with less sexual urges and more ability to control such urges, to be the sexual gatekeepers. Also, putting the responsibility of control over the progression towards sex into the hands of a young woman assumes that she has the power to make sexual decisions in the relationship - a notion that does not fit well with the unequal power dynamics of conventional heterosexuality (Holland et al., 2000). In illustration of this, as young

women went on to recount their first experiences of sex, many spoke of being ill-prepared and undesiring but feeling unable to say no.

Those who felt they had waited until they were ready usually described more positive experiences of sex and of the relationship post-sex. Boys who were constructed as overstepping the boundaries of what was considered acceptable by not waiting until a girl felt ready were described as disrespectful and were often mentioned with regret.

Sex is just a physical act:

Situating themselves within a 'permissive discourse' (Hollway, 1989) or the more contemporary position of 'girl power' (Allen, 2003), some of the young women constructed themselves as desiring sexual actors and sex as an enjoyable physical act that could be casual and not necessitate an emotional commitment. Casual sex was constituted as a norm in modern New Zealand youth culture. In the context of fitting in with New Zealand friends and thus resisting the sexual double standard (Allen, 2003; Lees, 1993), sex was considered acceptable and "no big deal", as long as one was sexually responsible, in terms of safety and understanding of the situation for both partners.

Resonating with a more masculine approach to virginity, some of the young women constructed virginity as a hindrance to getting on with adult life and something to get rid of rather than to treasure as a sacred gift (Holland, 2000; Thompson, 1990). Comparing sexual initiation to a learner driver licence, one girl's reference to "getting rid of the 'V' plates" as a rite of passage challenges the norms of femininity and the 'have/hold discourse' (Hollway, 1989) and places the loss of virginity in a maturational discourse of adolescent development (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999). The degree to which casual sex was endorsed by girls speaking from this position varied, with some sanctioning sex without the need for love and commitment, but still requiring a boyfriend / girlfriend relationship context, and others being more permissive of one night stands.

Some girls also associated this stance with a change in values surrounding marriage in modern times, particularly in New Zealand as opposed to the Philippines. While young women in the Philippines were constructed as likely to marry earlier and to stay married, many of the young women stated that, with growing up in New Zealand, this was no longer a focus for them. Looking ahead to careers and independence, they spoke about not planning to marry for a long time and it being unrealistic to wait for sex for that long. Justifying this perspective further, they added that modern (New Zealand) marriages often did not last, and there was no point in saving their virginity for a marriage that no longer carried a stable everlasting quality.

The 'sex is just a physical act' perspective tended to offer girls a more active and agentic vantage point in terms of the actual sexual encounter (Stewart, 1999) that resisted the passive, pleasing nature of conventional femininity (Allen, 2003; Holland, & Ramazanoglu, 1994; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984). Young women speaking from this position narrated stories of more consistent condom use and tended to construct safe sex as an expectation or requirement of sex, although this was still not guaranteed for actual experiences of first sex.

Many young women still assumed that other Filipino girls were leading their lives as virtuous 'Filipino virgins'. As one girl put it, "I act like a New Zealander now, but other Filipinos are good". Beneath the expression of sexual liberation and empowerment among New Zealand friends then, there often remained a fear for reputation, at least within the Filipino community. Often they maintained a silence regarding their sexual behaviour within the Filipino community, out of shame or a sense of isolation from other Filipino friends, who they felt would not understand their lifestyle. Some felt they had been morally judged and/or isolated from members of the community, who, through gossip, had assumed them to be living such a lifestyle.

For a few girls who talked of 'sex as just a physical act', this was linked to a discrepancy between their expectations and actual experience of first sex.

These girls constructed their virginal expectations as having been in line with notions of sex as being special and as being shared in a meaningful long term relationship. When this had not worked out in practice, they talked about how, now that they had lost their virginity, it was impossible to go back (perhaps to either their virginal status or their virginal expectations of a ‘happily ever after’ ending; see Jackson, 2001). Within this subset of narratives, there was a strong sense of ambiguity and indifference about sex. Girls talked about conceding that they “might as well continue” having sex outside of love, not necessarily in relation to a personal desire to have sex, but because it was too late for them and they no longer cared now that their virginity was gone.

Experiencing first sex

First sex as special:

Related to the theme of ‘sex in a meaningful relationship is okay’ was the notion that sex, and particularly first sex, is special. This discursive theme frequently formed part of a romantic discourse (Lichtenstein, 2000) drawn on by girls as they talked about their sexual expectations prior to first sex occurring. While recognising that the way the media portrayed sex as two people caught up in a passionate and orgasmic moment was unrealistic “movie sex” and the stuff of fairy tales, girls still constructed past or present hopes that first sex would be taken seriously and planned for between two lovingly devoted and mutually desiring partners. First sex was presumed to be “nice”, “special”, “beautiful”, and both emotionally and physically pleasurable. While experiences of first sex most commonly did not live up to these expectations, ‘first sex as special’ and the media’s “fireworks” sex remained in the young women’s talk of how sex ideally *should* be.

The young women who expressed the most satisfaction and least regret regarding their first sex experience tended to be those whose stories most closely resembling the ‘sex as special’ theme. This was particularly so with girls who, by anticipating and preparing for the sexual encounter prior to its occurrence, had partially resisted the romantic discourse that constructs sex

as spontaneous and had instead fit it in with a sense of readiness (see also Stewart, 1999 for similar observations). This was generally in the context of a serious relationship, where the young women appeared more comfortable to communicate and negotiate sexual agency and expectations with their partner, having developed trust and intimacy. The present interviews offer support to Mitchell and Wellings' (1998) suggestion that communication and planning within a relationship led to people constructing more positive accounts of first sex, while spontaneity tended to be associated with silence and ambiguity.

Alongside the notion of sex being special was the common expectation that, as an ultimate expression of the love shared between a couple, "sex should bring us closer together." Many girls described surprise and disappointment in finding their relationship left unchanged or even deteriorated after the experience of first sex. Despite this, they talked about "holding onto the first" boyfriend they had sex with in an attempt to hold onto the idea that sex had been special and that this had been the 'right' time with the 'right' guy, even if he was proving not to be (Jackson, 2001). Staying with the relationship seemed to validate the first sex decision, because staying together meant it really was a committed relationship and potentially "the one and only". Counter to their expectations though, a number of the participants recounted a break up not long after a sexual relationship was commenced with the boyfriend, destroying the 'happily ever after' ending to the story and creating disillusionment about whether it really had been love and, if not, whether it had been the wrong decision.

First sex as wanted/desired:

Some girls demonstrated a voice of sexual desire, framing their experience of first sex as something they had wanted and, less commonly, talking of sex as fun and pleasurable. Two constructions of 'first sex as wanted' were apparent. Sex that was wanted in terms of anticipation in the time leading up to the first sex encounter was generally situated alongside discourses of 'being ready for sex' and 'sex as special'. Sex that was wanted in terms of

sexual desire in the immediate context of the sexual encounter tended to be stated more vaguely and was not commonly elaborated upon in the young women's discussions of first sex, even when sex had been expected. This likely reflects the silencing of female desire within the conventions of femininity (Fine & McClelland, 2006; Holland et al 2000), and the more common locating of sex for women within the 'have/hold discourse' as a sign of love and commitment (Hollway, 1989; Lees, 1993; Thompson, 1984). Instead the young men in the stories tended to hold the focus as subjects of desire, with the young women themselves being objects of this (Holland et al., 1996). While a few girls explicated a physical "craving" or feeling "horny", what was more typically referred to was being "caught up in the moment". By and large, female sexual desire, if mentioned at all, was not framed as enough reason for sex alone, or as the main reason for sex (Thompson, 1990).

It just happened:

The majority of the young women's first sex narratives had an essence of ambiguity around what led to their decision to have sex (or whether there was a conscious decision involved at all) and their feelings towards the experience. The most frequent explanation was "it just happened", with girls constructing sex within a romantic discourse of naturalness and spontaneity (Stewart, 1999; Thompson, 1990). A couple of girls stated that the progression to sex had been very fast and had come as a complete shock. More often, they constructed themselves as not having anticipated that sex would eventuate and being swept along in the male-initiated and male-centred process (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 2003).

As found by Mitchell and Wellings (1998), unexpected sex tended to coincide with a silence around sex and partners' expectations. While the young woman had not said no to sex, she had not explicitly said yes either. Although such a position offers little in the way of agency and empowerment, it was likely appealing to many of the young women in that it left them little in the way of moral responsibility too. By constructing

herself as not “thinking straight” and being unsure of whether to regret the experience, a young woman is less likely to be held accountable as a desiring (read “skanky” or slutty) sexual agent. Instead she is represented within the ‘male sex drive discourse’ (Hollway, 1989) as passively submitting to sex to please her man and within a romantic discourse as the unsuspecting victim of an unstoppable passion brought on by the “fireworks” of love (Holland et al., 2003; Mitchell & Wellings, 1998; Thomson & Holland, 1994). Both of these roles are more fitting of a conventionally feminine woman attempting to remain a ‘good girl’ (Lees, 1993).

Perhaps of most concern with this position is its link to unprotected sex. If sex is not expected and not spoken about, it is less likely that it will be prepared for. Secondly, by constructing her role as one of submissive femininity, a young woman is unlikely to feel able to negotiate or enforce condoms, as this implies sexual knowledge and control which would be hazardous to her reputation (Thomson & Holland, 1994). Similarly, by making sense of sex as something one is uncontrollably caught up in rather than actively choosing, taking responsibility for sexual safety at all is improbable. From this angle, the negotiation of safe sex is seen as interfering with the romance and passion (Holland et al., 1998; Lowe, 2005).

First sex as unwanted but consensual - going along with the guy:

Sometimes linked to the idea of ‘it just happened’ was a more extreme form of feminine passivity in the sexual encounter, whereby young women stated that not only did they not expect sex, they did not want sex. Yet, rather than trying to stop sex from occurring, young women speaking from this position ambivalently said it had felt easier to “go along with” the young man’s wishes (coercion?) than to say no. Similar findings related to prioritising male sexual expectations, in line with the ‘male sex drive discourse’ (Hollway, 1989) and a ‘missing discourse of ambivalence’ among women (Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2005), have also been noted in recent studies

(also Mitchell & Wellings, 1998). Reasons for consenting (however ambiguously) included placing the boyfriend's pleasure as paramount, fear of losing him, feeling responsible for having led him on to the point of arousal, lacking a voice to resist or reject the advances, and the pressure of not wanting to look "stupid" and get a reputation as a "tease", a "priss", a "lesbian" or "frigid" (all terms used in interviews). This was particularly the case when the guy was seen as older and more experienced, and girls did not want to seem naïve and foolish. There was also an expectation that, as he was more experienced, he knew what he was doing and it was up to her to follow his lead wherever that might take her. As with the 'it just happened' perspective, unwanted but consensual sex was linked to unprotected sex. When a young woman feels unable to say no to sex, it is improbable that she will feel able to negotiate safe sex unless it is the male who initiates this (Thomson & Holland, 1994).

Linked to Holland et al's (1996) recognition that the potential for force is ever present in relation to female sexuality, perhaps some girls sensed that if they had said 'no' and sex had occurred regardless, it would have been more traumatic to deal with being a victim of rape than to make sense of an ambiguous experience where they could partially blame themselves for not having said anything or for having got themselves into a precarious situation with the wrong guy. Allowing sex to happen may have allowed them to maintain the romantic discourse framework around their experience (Jackson, 2001).

First sex as disappointment:

The majority of young women talked about how they expected sex to be special, but that in practice it had not lived up to their expectations, instead leaving them with disappointment or ambivalence around the experience. As in Holland et al's (1998) and Thompson's (1990) research, rather than being a ground-moving and pleasurable experience, most girls spoke of first coitus as physically uncomfortable, painful, awkward, or simply a let-down, even when they had felt desire leading into the sexual encounter (also

Lichtenstein, 2000). One girl repeated her initial reaction over and over, “Is that it? Is that it?” The experience as a whole, in terms of the discrepancy between the romantic discourse of how sex should occur and what it would mean for their relationship and the actual lived experience, was also frequently recounted with disappointment (Carpenter, 2002; Holland et al., 2000; Ussher, 1997). Many girls were disillusioned that first sex had not taken place in the context they had envisioned, as well as by the awareness that it had not changed the relationship nor changed them as an individual. Rather than experiencing closeness and intimacy, they had often felt embarrassed, anxious or scared in not knowing what to expect. In some cases, the lack of a fairy tale ending was uttered with regret, as relationships frequently broke up soon after first sex, despite their hopes and initiatives to stay together.

First sex as a mistake:

When the pain of regret involved with outcomes of first sex weighed heavier than just a disappointment, girls spoke of ‘first sex as a mistake’. While some regret was common around the physical experience of sex, a more profound regret was connected with disappointments relating to the relationship context and disillusionment with the expected ‘sex as special’ romantic discourse (similar findings by Lichtenstein, 2000; Thompson, 1990; Ussher, 1997). Girls, who narrated first sex stories in which they had not felt ready for sex (either in the relationship or within themselves) or had felt used and badly treated by the boy, spoke of first sex as a mistake. Particularly when first sex had been experienced ambiguously, such as in experiences of unwanted but consensual sex, and a break up had eventuated soon after, girls seriously questioned whether they had made the right decision to have sex.

On a more empowering note, this was sometimes associated with girls making a plan not to have penetrative sex again anytime soon, and a couple of cases where the girls had decided relationships in general were too much effort for the time being and so decided to stay single. From this

perspective, these girls could be seen as choosing to prioritise their own pleasure and/or other pursuits over the desires of/for a boyfriend (Stewart, 1999).

Taking on moral or religious discourse (Gavey, 2005) and constructing other young Filipino women and their own mothers as being morally chaste, other young women experienced a sense of shame or guilt about having acted against the wishes of their parents, culture and faith. These young women described being torn between wanting a sexual relationship with their boyfriend and seeing it as “wrong”, “bad” or “dirty”. Some hid their sexual experience from their parents out of fear of disappointing them.

Being prepared

Sex as risk:

In common with the focus group discussions and dominant discourse around sexual education, sex was constructed as risk, particularly for young women (Allen, 2003; Fine, 1988; Holland et al., 2000). Girls positioned themselves within a sexual health discourse (Fine, 1988), at risk to the dangers of pregnancy and STIs. In line with a discourse of victimisation (Fine, 1988; Phillips, 2000; Vance, 1984), they also felt vulnerable to the potential to be used for sex and left hurt by men who were only interested in one thing.

Being responsible:

Drawing on sexual health and sexual education discourses (Fine, 1988; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993), the young women stressed the importance of safe sex in avoiding health risks. In principle, sexual safety was constructed as ‘being responsible’ and often as an expectation and requirement of modern sexual encounters. In practice, however, the use of condoms was at best inconsistent for the majority of the sexually active girls. Personal fears of the consequences of sex revolved considerably more around pregnancy. Safe sex was frequently constituted as the responsibility of the men. The guy was generally expected to provide the condom. Similarly, reasons for not using condoms typically revolved around him too, such as his dislike or

refusal to use condoms and the young women's lack of power to demand use from a position of gender inequality in the relationship and in terms of societal surveillance of female behaviour and reputation (Thomson & Holland, 1994).

Unprepared and unprotected:

Sex, let alone safe sex, tended not to be talked about or prepared for ahead of time, especially when sex was constructed as just happening, unexpected or unwanted (Mitchell & Wellings, 1998). Even for girls who talked about generally being safe, most spoke of times when they had not used condoms, sometimes out of curiosity or lack of preparation. "Caught up in the moment" and, preferably, caught up in love, the young women's narratives frequently had the sense of 'trusting to love' that everything will work out okay, as discussed by Willig (1998) (also Holland et al., 2003). Inherent in this was a trust in the integrity of the beloved boyfriend. Included here was a trust that he spoke the truth when he said she can't get pregnant / he hasn't got diseases / he is always faithful; trust that he would protect her and not hurt her; trust that the relationship would last; and trust that if something did go wrong, he would be there for her to depend on. Most prominent was the degree of trust or expectation the young women put in older, more experienced boyfriends to take the initiative, both in terms of how the encounter would be carried out and in terms of knowing what to do for safety. With the power differential usually double fold, due to gender and sexual experience, young women were positioned in a particularly vulnerable and passive role, where they did not feel nor did they want to appear sexually confident.

When linked to the positioning of Filipino women as virtuous and sexually pure, the desire to not seem sexually agentic is made even clearer in relation to cultural reputation. The likelihood of condom negotiation becomes highly unlikely in this context, as girls felt a need to follow the boyfriend and passively 'trust to love' (Willig, 1998). Therefore if he stated a dislike or unwillingness to use condoms, girls often put his pleasure ahead of their

own safety, despite later acknowledging this as foolish in their stories. Stopping to negotiate condom use was also seen as a hassle and spoiling the moment, according to romantic discourse (Allen, 2003). All these discursive factors led to a discrepancy between the young women's intellectual knowledge and sense of empowerment regarding safe sex (as witnessed in the focus groups and individual interviews when talking generally) and their (in)consistent carrying out of this knowledge with respect to their behaviour in sexual relationships (as constructed in their life narratives) (Holland et al., 1998).

The men

Always after sex:

Employing the 'male sex drive discourse' (Hollway, 1989), boyfriends and young men in general were constructed as always intent on sex with the potential to take advantage of young women. As a girlfriend, many of the young women felt a pressure or even expectation of sex coming from boyfriends. Their stories of first sex were located in complementary discourses of powerful and desiring masculinity and vulnerable and objectified femininity (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984). The young men were always constructed actively as the initiators of sex, while young women were typically depicted as passively following the male lead that is privileged in normative heterosexuality (Holland et al., 2000). One of the main ways in which young women had any agency was in their responsibility as gatekeepers, setting the limits of and rate of progression for sexual interaction, while still focusing on pleasing their men (Holland et al., 1998). Girls who situated themselves in the discursive theme of 'premarital sex is a no-no' expressed their exercise of control through refusal of sex with pride and a sense of agency. However, little space was available to explore agency in regards to positive and desiring female sexuality (Holland et al., 2000).

Nice guys versus losers:

While all men were expected to be after sex (Hollway, 1989), a distinction

was made between 'nice guys', who were conscientious of women's feelings and pleasure in the sexual encounter, and 'losers', who were not. 'Nice guys' were idealised as part of the package of a romantic discourse (Jackson, 2001; Ussher, 1997), for their communication about intimacy with their girlfriends prior to and post-sex, their patience until the girl felt ready for sex, and their care for whether the girl was comfortable (and sometimes enjoying herself also) during sex. Even with 'nice guys' though, there remained an expectation that sex was male-led and that no guy would say no to sex. 'Losers' were cast in direct opposition to 'nice guys' for treating women disrespectfully, taking sex for granted, focusing exclusively on their own pleasure, and cheating. Whereas 'nice guys' figured centrally in the expectations of 'first sex as special', in practice, at least as many young women spoke of encountering 'losers', although they were often oblivious to their maltreatment until after the relationship was over (Jackson, 2001). When first sex experiences dramatically departed from a young woman's expectations of 'first sex as special', a 'loser guy' was sometimes held largely accountable for the discrepancy, due to his oblivion to the emotional aspects of a relationship.

From a cultural perspective, young Filipino men were often constructed as the 'nice guys', who were more romantic, sincere and conscientious towards girlfriends (although some girls found these traits to be too soppy and suffocating). Young New Zealand men were contradictorily depicted as more interested in casual sex. This portrayal echoed with the polarisation of 'Filipino virgins' and 'New Zealand skanks'. Again, in practice, the male characters featuring in the young women's first sex experiences did not necessarily hold true to this representation.

Another construction of 'nice guys' was as safe guys - young men who come prepared and willing to practise safe sex, expecting that it is their responsibility to bring a condom. 'Loser guys' were presented as privileging their right to pleasure over their partner's right to protection, by being unwilling to use a condom. A guy could also be considered a 'loser' in some

circles if he left the responsibility of providing a condom to women, thus also leaving her in the fraught position of trying to negotiate safe sex from her relative disempowered and passive location, meaning that safe sex was less likely to occur.

Older and more experienced:

The most common portrayal of the male partners involved in the young women's sexual initiation was as older and more sexually experienced. As such, the young men were expected to be more knowledgeable and to take the lead. In comparison, the women constructed themselves as naïve and inexperienced, often reporting a lack of explicit awareness that sex was going to take place or, when they did know, feeling obligated to follow through on the boyfriend's expectations as opposed to their own desires.

Being swept along by experienced boyfriends did not allow young women much of a sense of power in the dynamics of the sexual relationship, greatly reducing the possibility for them to control whether sex occurred and to enforce safe sex (Lichtenstein, 2000; Thomson & Holland, 1994). At the same time, attributing much of the responsibility for how the sexual story unfolded and whether safe sex transpired to boyfriends effectively excused the young women from even trying to negotiate sexual safety, as they could be positioned as naively accommodating their clued-up boyfriends. The same argument could shield young women's 'good girl' reputation (Lees, 1993), by asserting that she submitted to sex rather than being actively desiring of it. This sometimes left a young woman having to choose between sexual health and safety versus reputation as set by conventional femininity, because assertive negotiation of condoms both presumed and made public her power in the relationship (Holland et al., 2000). Lichtenstein's (2000) claim that young women are not likely to demand condom use with older, more experienced partners was demonstrated in many of the narratives.

Interim Summary

Significant cultural distinctions were drawn between the constructed images of typical Filipino and New Zealand women in the focus groups and interviews. However, as can be seen by the above themes, when young women talked about their own private and personal experiences, to a great extent their sexual stories mirrored Holland et al.'s (1998) and Thompson's (1990) research with Western girls. The discursive themes of their stories resounded with the universally problematic power differentials of conventional heterosexuality discourse (Gavey, 1993). On top of this though, as the young women positioned themselves in relation to these sexual discourses, they also constructed larger cultural subjectivities and an understanding of their sexuality in relation to their family and wider cultural identities. My analysis becomes distinct from Holland's at this point in that I have chosen to focus on the sexual narrative of one young woman, so that I might examine the complexities of a more complete and contextualised sexual story and further investigate the intersections of sexuality and culture in the narrative and discursive construction of self.

Chapter Eight:

Narrative Analysis of the Daughter Interviews - Luisa's Story

Many of the young women recounted detailed stories of their first romantic relationships and their early sexual encounters, through which themes of heterosexuality and gendered relationships were woven into coherent stories. The interviews demonstrated sequential organisation and similar structural elements of narrative across the stories (Riessman, 1993). Not wanting to cut the stories into fragmented extracts and lose the storyline that threaded through them for the sake of presenting a thematic analysis across the interviews, I chose to tell a more complete and comprehensive story of one young woman's constructed experiences (while understanding that the stories told are never truly complete and are dependent on the context and dynamics of the interaction in which they are told).

Luisa's story is taken from the transcript of her individual interview, with extracts appearing here in the order in which they were narrated by Luisa. This is the story of a young New Zealand Filipino woman's experiences of sexuality, with attention to both the content of Luisa's story and the way she tells it. Analysis focused on Luisa's constructions of self and other, the meanings attached to first sex, and the implications of her discursive world for young women's sexual practices.

Luisa, aged 16 years at the time of the interview, came to New Zealand from the Philippines when she was three, because of her father's work. She is an only child, living with her Filipino parents in a suburban house. She attends a girls' high school in a large New Zealand city, and has a mixed cultural group of New Zealand Pakeha, Maori and Asian girl friends, including another Filipino.

Luisa took part in a three hour individual interview with me, in a small room that formed part of the university's clinical suite in the university, one day after school. I had met Luisa once previously when she took part in a focus group. I did not otherwise know Luisa, although we worked out that we had mutual acquaintances within the Filipino community.

Luisa appeared to settle in easily and I found her to be a fluent storyteller. She impressed me as a friendly, intelligent and straight talking young woman. She told me about multiple extracurricular activities she was involved in through school, as well as a few ambitious career options she was exploring for when she would be going on to university in a year's time. In both the focus group and individual interviews, she often took on a 'New Filipino Girl' subject position, resisting the gendered double standard (Allen, 2003; Lees, 1993) in her general talk and positioning herself, and to a more limited degree her family, as living somewhere between the social worlds of their Filipino and New Zealand cultural communities.

Taken as a set, the following selected extracts present Luisa's story, as constructed by her in the context of the interview and chosen and re-interpreted by me in the analysis (Riessman, 1993) where I focused attention on her story of sexual initiation. Across Luisa's sexual narrative was a sense of beginning, middle and end, or past to present and future (Bruner, 1990; Crossley, 2000), which I have tried to depict here. There were also stories within the story, with many of the extracts presenting a smaller piece of narrative from within Luisa's sexual story as a whole.

Reviewing her narrative as a whole, after setting the scene in the first extract, Luisa begins to develop the major plot of her story, through her talk of an early boyfriend / girlfriend relationship that fitted with Luisa's expectations of how a relationship should be. She talks of finding herself in a very different type of relationship when her good relationship ends; one that is unequal, where she lacks voice and feels maltreated. Luisa constructs a regressive narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986) stemming from this 'turning

point' or twist in her plot when her experience of 'first sex' is placed as far from meeting her expectations and she is faced with how to deal with and make sense of this. A somewhat progressive narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986) is then related in regards to the development of Luisa's sexuality since sexual initiation. Luisa takes me, as her audience, from the conclusion of the 'first sex' story to where she now positions herself as being more aligned with her earlier depiction of a sexually independent (although not necessarily empowered) young woman. Most notable are the sexual subjectivities produced in the telling of the story. In my analysis of how Luisa produces self and other in different ways throughout her narrative, I examine how she meshes together her positions as a member of her Filipino and New Zealand cultures and as a young woman who is both a daughter and a girlfriend, in order to understand herself and her sexuality.

In terms of a storyboard, Extracts 1 and 2 could be seen as a beginning, where Luisa frames her family and heterosexual relationship identities. Extracts 3 through 7 constitute the middle, involving a 'turning point' or crisis in Luisa's story and her comprehension of her 'first sex' experience. Extracts 7 through 9 could be said to be the aftermath of Luisa's initiation into the domain of heterosex and where she has come to since dealing with the crisis. Extracts 11 and 12 stand as an epilogue, returning Luisa's story home to her place in her Filipino cultural community and family, looping her back to where she started her story.

Extract 1: "can't exactly be sitting at home waiting ... for Mr. Dreamboat"
- setting the scene

Luisa. You also find that you know with church and stuff and you're always meant to be good and people always expect you to be good to your parents and you know? Like being catholic and being Filipino is like two nearly the same things. (laughs) Yeah it's sort of like the same things are expected for you, yeah! And with relationships and stuff, mm my parents are always like "It's so yuck when girls ask guys out!", but that's what happens these days, like you can't exactly be sitting at home waiting for the phone to ring, waiting for Mr. Dreamboat boy to be like "Oh do you want to go out this Friday night?" You've

gotta ring up and say "What are you doing on Friday? Let's go see a movie". My parents don't like me going out with guys. They think it's a waste of time. They think that you know like there's better things to be doing with life and they also think like they think that sixteen is too young to be dating, which is crazy! (laughs) because you know sixteen is the age where you sort of really start getting into relationships and stuff. (Aïyesha. Mm) I mean personally, I haven't gone out with someone for a full year though, because my parents hate it so much and because it's just too much of a stress to keep it all a big secret.

As a whole, Extract 1 sets the scene for Luisa's story with what could be seen as an 'abstract' (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) or a summary of the theme of conflict she constructs throughout her story around sexuality, womanhood and culture. Here, she locates herself in relation to her family and cultural identity regarding women in heterosexual relationships. Discussing cultural expectations of how a "good" Filipina (in line with the 'Filipino virgin') is supposed to be and the social surveillance around girls fitting into this, Luisa positions herself and her parents in opposition. Equating living by Catholic doctrine with being Filipino, Luisa draws on a religious discourse of good womanhood (Amachastegui, 1999; Espiritu, 2001) as a part of dominant Filipino cultural discourse. Being "good" is taken to include respect for parents, and part of this is linked to respecting parents' rules in taking up the 'good girl' subject position of being conventionally feminine. Luisa narrates her Filipino parents as teaching that stepping outside of conventional femininity (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984) is "yuck" and can refer to things such as dating at the (young) age of sixteen, and asking boys out rather than waiting to be pursued. It was generally within this view that the theme of 'premarital sex is a no-no' arose across the young women's interviews.

Luisa constructs these expectations regarding acceptable or normative female sexuality in terms of a cultural and generational gap, placing her parents as teaching a traditional cultural model, while she positions herself in line with the sexual autonomy that was ascribed to young New Zealand

women throughout the focus groups and interviews. Luisa's story resonates with both Espin's (1997) and Espiritu's (2001) findings that young women's independence and sexuality are often sites of struggle between immigrant parents and daughters over respecting or betraying cultural values.

Luisa resists her parental discourse of conventional femininity (Holland et al., 1994) as "crazy", instead taking on an agentic 'girl power' subject position, in which modern Western young women expect to actively pursue boys (Allen, 2003). She places this in contrast to the conventionally passive young woman of traditional romantic narrative, who waits to be rescued by her prince (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984). Labelling the prince as "Mr. Dreamboat", Luisa highlights the implausibility and idealisation of gender-differentiated courting behaviour in dominant heterosexual discourse (Holland et al., 2000). In this way, she sets up two opposing heroines for her narrative; the first being that asserted by her parents of the traditional Filipino woman, passive and waiting; the second, which Luisa advocates, of a modern and empowered young woman who takes the lead, makes her own way, and does not look at traditional romance through rose-tinted glasses. She suggests that it is up to the modern romance heroine to go on her own quest to find herself a 'guy'. Luisa's taking up of the modern heroine subject position is heartening, in feminist terms, in that her assertion of the need to take charge of her own romantic life, rather than waiting for someone else to do it, suggests the promotion and appropriation of sexual agency.

However, in the final sentence, Luisa goes on to add that it is "too much of a stress" to go against the traditional parental discourse in practice and as a result she is no longer dating. Implicit here is the idea that if she does go against her parents, she does so secretly ("a stress to keep it all a big secret"). Thus, while she is able to resist the validity of a discourse of conventional femininity (Holland et al., 1994), it is not so easy for Luisa to publicly reject it, perhaps out of fear of hurting her parents through disloyalty to cultural expectations ("because my parents hate it so much"),

or lack of ability to openly go against them, since at her age, she is still under their care and control.

Extract 2: “he'd be a gentleman about it” - how sex is supposed to be

Luisa. The first guy i ever went out with, it had to be a secret, cos i was fourteen, and my parents would've been like "Hell no! You're not going out with that guy!" You know? So we snuck around for ages and ages, but after a while, my mum sort of got used to it. This is the guy with the strict mum (Aïyesha. Oh okay.) and the strict mum still hasn't gotten over it. (laughter) She still hates me. (..) It was sort of strange for both of us, cos there was lots of sneaking around and not being able to see each other for long periods of time, but yeah (..) I met him at a school dance. Yeah it's funny the sort of people you meet at school dances. Yeah I met him at a school dance and oh well there was a first [her school] dance and I went and I met him there. (Aïyesha. Mm.) I got his number, but I never rung him, cos I just felt stupid you know and then I met him at the other, at the next [her school] dance. It was like a term later and then we started going out straight after. (Aïyesha. Mm.) So yeah we went out for like five months. It was a long time. (laughter). The same person. And yeah, and then I dunno. I broke up with him because it was just too secretive like (Aïyesha. Yeah.) we always had to be lying and it was just so annoying and stuff. Yeah it would've been better if his mum was just like cool about it and then you know we could have worked it out. (Aïyesha. Yeah) But nah it just, it was just too much. (..) He was very very nice. He was so sweet and he was a bit like full of himself like - Oh yeah cos he was like a runner and an athlete and stuff. (Aïyesha. Yeah.) He was always very body conscious. Yeah, but he was a nice person. Yeah. I'm still friends with him now. He's still exactly the same. (Aïyesha. Yeah.) So, but he's really nice. If it wasn't such a hassle to go out with him, I might be still going out with him now. It was just too much.

Aïyesha. Would you have wanted to have a sexual relationship?

Luisa. Yeah. I really liked him. I mean, he was the first guy I ever dated seriously, so what would I have really known, but I thought that this was the sort of guy that I'd like to have sex with.

Aïyesha. What made you feel that way?

Luisa. Just that he was a very nice person and I know that he wouldn't be bragging about it or he wouldn't be expecting it all the time if we did it. He'd be cool about it afterwards. He'd ask me if this was okay, "Is this what you want?" and while we'd be doing it, he'd probably be like "Am I hurting you?" or whatever. He'd be nice about it. He'd be a gentleman about it. I think that's probably the main reason why I thought it would be nice to have sex with him.

Luisa's telling of Extract 2 starts shortly after where the previous extract concluded - with a statement of the need for discretion and parental deception when it comes to relationships because of the conflict over sexuality. Aside from this generational divide though, the narrative in this extract establishes Luisa's relationship identity within what she constructs as a positive reciprocal relationship context.

It is possible to look at this piece of narrative in terms of the structural elements discussed by Labov (1997; Labov & Waletzky, 1967), as well as Riessman (1993), or what Plummer (1995) defines as the nature of the narrative. I will refer to these aspects here as an example of how Luisa's interview displayed structural patterns of narrative. However, my concentration for this and further extracts will be on examining the discursive resources, subject positions and socio-cultural assumptions Luisa employs, and the function and meaning behind telling the story in the particular way it is told (Plummer, 1995).

Luisa's opening phrase of "The first guy I ever went out with" acts as a title for the ensuing text. Her first sentence could be described as an 'abstract' (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), summarising the difficult dynamics of Luisa's first relationship of secrecy and forbidden love. Following this is the 'orientation' (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), where Luisa sets the scene with details of what the story is about. This incorporates discussion of the situation and time in Luisa's life, where she draws on a maturational discourse (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999), saying that her parents would have thought her too young to date at fourteen. Also included are details of the characters involved. Luisa specifies that "This is the guy with the strict mum" who she had previously referred to. She makes it apparent from early on that the characters featuring in this relationship were not only her and the boyfriend. In her talk of the need for secrecy and "not being able to see each other for long periods of time", parents are constructed as being heavily involved in defining the boundaries of the relationship, even when the parents themselves were not yet aware of it.

From here, Luisa constructs a story of her first romantic relationship in a series of ‘complicating action clauses’ (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) to describe the sequence of events. Starting with “I met him at a school dance”, she relates the formation of the relationship through to the ‘resolution’ (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) or ending - the break up when it became too hard to keep sneaking around.

Within this portion of the narrative, Luisa constructs the development of the relationship within the confines of the traditional romance narrative (Holland et al., 2000). She draws on traditionally distinct gender roles, making it clear that she had not been the pursuer, having “never rung him” when she had his number because this would have made her feel “stupid”. Despite Luisa’s statement in Extract 1 that the conventionally passive role for women in courtship is “crazy”, she conforms with these cultural mores around what a ‘good girl’ is supposed to do when positioning herself in her first relationship, by waiting for the male lead in the expression of interest (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984). When he did so presumably at the second dance, they went out “straight after”.

Also in line with a romantic narrative, Luisa emphasises her idealised construction of her first boyfriend as a ‘prince’ (Jackson, 2001) or, in Luisa’s words, a “gentleman”. Not only does she describe him as sweet, but “so sweet” and “very very nice”. His masculine physicality is also affirmed in her talk of him as a “body conscious” “athlete”.

Luisa’s statement “I’m still friends with him now. He’s still exactly the same” acts structurally as a ‘coda’ (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), returning her story to the present and showing that the end of this story comes with the end of the relationship. This and many other statements through the narrative hint at the ‘evaluation’ (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) or how the story is supposed to be interpreted, which is made more obvious with the evaluative clauses “If it wasn’t such a hassle to go out with him, I might be still going out with him now. It was just too much”. The statements

explicate a major story thread or ‘core narrative’ (Riessman, 1993) of the extract; one concentrated on justifying why the relationship was doomed to failure despite their care for each other and despite him being so “nice”. By placing fault in the realm of the other (parental involvement) and the pressure of the situation (sneaking around), Luisa manages to explain why a ‘happily ever after’ ending (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 2001; Stewart, 1999) was not found, while protecting herself and the idealised boyfriend from being to blame, thus allowing the positioning of the boyfriend as gentlemanly ‘prince’ to remain. Enacting traditional romantic narrative, right from the beginning of the story, a genre of romantic tragedy reminiscent of the Romeo and Juliet story is developed, as Luisa sets up a context of parental disapproval in a world against these two young people’s “secretive” relationship (Gergen & Gergen, 1986). The boyfriend’s mother, who Luisa elsewhere labels as “nuts”, “nasty” and “a cow”, is constructed as particularly problematic to their romance, while Luisa’s own mother is positioned less negatively because she “sort of got used to it” over time. Luisa’s statement that they “went out for like five months” despite these obstacles provides evidence that their bond must have been strong to endure (if not ultimately overcome) the hardship for that long, privileging it as a serious long term relationship.

When I then initiated discussion of whether Luisa would have wanted this to have become a sexual relationship, she replied in the positive. Resisting the ‘Filipino virgin’ position of waiting until marriage or at least until full blown love, Luisa still suggests strong emotion attachment as important for ‘first sex’ (‘have/hold discourse’ in Hollway, 1989; Lees, 1993) when she explains she “really liked him” and they “dated seriously”. In this way, her talk is illustrative of the broader set of interviews, where limiting sex to a committed relationship worked to make it acceptable despite cultural norms.

When pressed as to why she would want sex with this boyfriend, Luisa draws on the princely image of the “gentleman” she has constructed him to be. Casting him in a ‘nice guy’ position, Luisa’s first boyfriend is reaffirmed

as “very nice”, someone who conscientiously considers her feelings and reputation by not bragging, not being demanding or expectant, and checking on her physical and emotional feelings about the experience. Her statement that “He’d be cool about it afterwards” suggests a view that he would continue to treat her well after sex, unlike a ‘loser’ who is ‘always and only after sex’. Her talk throughout this paragraph implies a sense of open communication and comfort between them, with an impression that this would be ‘special’ sex, linking to the romantic discourse discussed in the thematic analysis.

That these characteristics of respect and conscientiousness make the boyfriend out of the ordinary and a “gentleman” indicates that Luisa does not expect most guys to be this way. Luisa appears vigilant to the female victimisation discourse and the potential risks of being used or hurt by other men (Fine, 1988; Phillips, 2000; Vance, 1984). Throughout, Luisa’s reasons for sex resonate with the ‘male sex drive discourse’ (Hollway, 1989), in the sense that sex is more for the boyfriend (Holland et al., 2003). The ‘niceness’ of not “expecting it all the time” suggests a norm of men as ‘always after sex’, even if a ‘good’ man considers her feelings too. Plus, while there is a sense that young women want sex too (“Is this what you want?”), it seems that the main reason for sex for Luisa revolves more around whether the boyfriend is worth it and not going to hurt her, rather than her own desire for sex. In this way, Luisa appears to position herself as wanting to have sex for *his* good if he is good enough. In this apparently reciprocal relationship then, Luisa’s construction of her virginal expectations of ‘first sex’ continue to orbit around a prioritisation of masculinity in heterosexuality that dismantles the egalitarian ideal (Holland et al., 1998; Holland et al., 2000).

Overall, Extract 2 locates Luisa’s expectations for first sex and boyfriend / girlfriend relationships in a romantic discourse, where ‘sex is special’ and practised with a special ‘guy’ (Lees, 1993; Lichtenstein, 2000; Thompson, 1984). While Luisa was not overly caught up in romantic ideals of love and

sex being fused, the essence of this remained apparent in her narrative of a serious relationship where they “really liked” each other and treated each other well. The following few extracts, however, show Luisa’s effort to make sense of her actual experience of ‘first sex’ when it does not fit with her expectations.

Extract 3: “that's not how it's meant to work” - when first sex goes off track

- Luisa. [talking about her first boyfriend:] We were planning on doing it towards like after 4 or 5 months, and I’m pretty sure we were going to. I would have done it. But then we broke up so we didn’t, yeah. But the way, like with sex and stuff, like when I started having sex, it was completely the wrong time and with the wrong person. You know, if I could take it back now, I would. (Aïyesha. Mm.) But then I say that and then I think of the times, you know, but then who would be the right person for me and when would be the right time? Like okay if I didn’t have sex with that guy that I first had sex with, then who? It would have been some other random guy at a party or something, and then that would have been even worse, you know? (Aïyesha. Mm.) But I guess, yeah, no matter what would have happened, I would have ended up with someone some loser so (laughter) there’s no use regretting it because the next person along would have just been equally as bad so (laughter) yeah. Um he was a lot older than me and I don’t think that, like, I just wasn’t ready. We hung out a lot and then after about a week, it just happened (Aïyesha. Mm.) and then (Aïyesha. Mm.) it just didn’t feel like - Cos with the other guy that I first went out with, it took us ages to even start talking about it. (Aïyesha. Mm.) But then with this guy, we went out for a week and then all of a sudden, we were doing it (Aïyesha. Mm.) and it was just, it just didn’t feel right. (Aïyesha. Mm.) Like that’s not how it’s meant to work sort of thing. (Aïyesha. Mm.) Yeah. We only went out for about a month and we slept with each other a couple of times during that month and then he broke up with me and I was like “Oh!” You know, you’d think that having sex with a person makes you closer, instead of like pushing you away from them. Like, we didn’t usually really talk. We just sort of slept with each other and stuff (Aïyesha. Mm.) and that was stupid. I would have preferred having someone who I didn’t have sex with, but who I just talked to a lot, and then after a while we planned it and then it happened and then it was beautiful and (Aïyesha. Mm.) mm I’m pretty sure my first time would have been beautiful anyway, but (..) yeah.
- Aïyesha. Like that first guy you went out with?
- Luisa. Yeah, it would have been a lot better. I don’t know where we would have found the time or the place or anything like that. (laughter) But yeah if we could work out the logistics, I think it would have been, it would have been something special.

Extract 3 further presents Luisa's expectations of how first sex is supposed to be. Her depiction of her first relationship and the sex that would have occurred within it fit into a romantic 'sex as special' narrative ("it would have been something special") (Jackson & Cram, 2003; Lees, 1993; Thompson, 1984). A level of intimate communication and trust between the couple is presumed in her talk. Sex is spoken of as something that is anticipated, planned and prepared for. Luisa's narrative of her first relationship, and how she would have "preferred" sex to take place, implies a natural progression towards sexual intimacy that is built up over time (in Luisa's case, "after 4 or 5 months") to the point that she would feel 'ready' for sex. Drawing on romantic and maturational discourses (Carpenter, 2002; Lees, 1993; Stewart, 1999), Luisa starts and finishes this piece of talk by making the point that waiting for the "right time" and planning with the "right person" could lead to "beautiful" 'first sex'.

Throughout the extract, Luisa avoids the 'Filipino virgin' subject position. Not expecting to wait for marriage, Luisa appears to have separated herself from the 'premarital sex is a no-no' theme that some of the young women called upon as their reason for remaining virginal. However, Luisa's talk of expecting sex to occur in her first relationship that she had described in Extract 1 as "serious", and her positioning of 'sex as special' suggest that, prior to her experience of 'first sex', Luisa positioned herself in line with the 'have/hold discourse' (Hollway, 1989; Lees, 1993; Thompson, 1984). In contrast to Holland et al.'s (2003) work in which young women spoke of sex as something that was done to them or something they were swept along in, Luisa constructs sex as something she "would have done" when positively reflecting on her first relationship. Her words imply that, in the context of a serious relationship where sex was talked about and planned for, Luisa felt a sense of agency and power over her sexuality. In this context, Luisa draws on the 'first sex as wanted' theme. Across the young women's narratives, the sense of expectation, preparation and power in the

sexual relationship described by Luisa tended to be associated with the practice of safer sex and a more positive construction of the experience (Mitchell & Wellings, 1998).

A twist occurs in Luisa's story. The clause "but then we broke up" introduces the turning point (Bruner, 1990; 1991) with an end to her first romance that leaves her romantic narrative without its happy ending (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 2001; Stewart, 1999). A second "but" soon follows, as the twist is exacerbated by the creation of a new sexual story that does not fit the romance at all. "But then we broke up" signals the onset of a regressive narrative for Luisa's sexual story (Gergen, 1993; Gergen & Gergen, 1986) and a decline in her sense of sexual agency. Luisa's construction of her actual experience of 'first sex' in no way lives up to her expectations of 'first sex as special' (similar findings by Thompson, 1990; Ussher, 1997; also Lichtenstein, 2000) and her story appears to go 'wrong' from here. As Luisa pertinently puts it, "when I started having sex, it was *completely* the wrong time and with the wrong person" (emphasis added). Her statement lays out her narrative of 'first sex as a mistake' in direct opposition to what she has already established as the right time and person, i.e. as part of the natural course of a long term relationship with a 'nice guy' or "gentleman".

From here on, the storyline that threads through the extract seems to be one of Luisa making sense of her 'first sex' encounter, how and why it did not fit her original construction of 'first sex', and what this means for her sense of sexual self. It is in this area that Luisa shows particular signs of conflict around her interpretation of her story. While she speaks of wishing she could change the point at which her sexual story left the path she had expected ("if I could take it back now, I would"), she quickly takes this evaluation of the experience back, saying "there's no use regretting it". As with her story of the inevitability of the breakup of her first relationship, her story of 'first sex' takes on a sense of unavoidable doom here also. Questioning how else her experience could have eventuated, she puts forward that "no matter what would have happened, I would have ended up

with ... some loser". Such a re-evaluation could be seen as the work of Luisa trying to make sense of her own position within her story and why she had allowed sex to happen in what she constructs as such "wrong" circumstances - a narrative thread that continues throughout the rest of her story of sexual initiation. Establishing that 'first sex' could have been even worse and that it was going to be bad and with a "loser" "no matter what" helps to extinguish the sense that Luisa herself did something wrong or that she is a victim of an especially awful 'first sex' experience. Instead she normalises her awful encounter as part and parcel of the usual experience of 'first sex', positing that "the next person along would have just been equally as bad". In fact, 'first sex as disappointment' and regret was a common theme across most of the interviews and the experience rarely lived up to expectations (similar findings by Carpenter, 2002; Holland et al., 2000; Ussher, 1997). However, Luisa's presumption that she would always have attracted a "loser" also casts her as deficient or undeserving of finding better, or as a victim of circumstance without control or agency over who comes into her sexual story.

Luisa's sense-making carries on as she then discusses why her sexual story took the path it did in more local terms, regarding the dynamics of the relationship. Speaking of her boyfriend as "a lot older" functions to set up a structural power differential and perhaps helps Luisa to remove herself from a position of blame and accountability (Phillips, 2000). The positioning of power is emphasised when Luisa draws on a discourse of readiness in her next statement, "I just wasn't ready" (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999). With the boyfriend presumably more sexually knowing and expectant with his more mature age (an idea added to in further extracts), Luisa produces herself as vulnerable and potentially taken advantage of by an older and more experienced male (Lichtenstein, 2000; Thomson & Holland, 1994).

It is in relation to this second boyfriend then that Luisa's story resembles stories of young women in Holland et al.'s (2000; 2003) work, where young women and men's talk constructed women's bodies as passive objects

which were acted upon by men. Luisa's next statement of "it just happened", a phrase so common in other participants' talk of 'first sex', draws on a romantic discourse around the spontaneity of sexual passion, while also further suggesting a power differential and her lack of awareness and responsibility at the time (Thompson, 1990). Luisa positions sex as just happening to her, while actively done by the boyfriend. Constructing sex as unexpected and ill-prepared for, yet occurring despite this, Luisa's own character in the narrative loses the sense of agency she expressed concerning her first boyfriend / girlfriend relationship.

By stressing that sex occurred after only "about a week", as opposed to the "ages" spent talking and planning for sex with the first boyfriend, Luisa again draws on the readiness discourse and the idea that the 'natural progression' of the relationship (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999) was not respected by the boyfriend she had sex with. Instead Luisa constructs herself as having been caught off guard "all of a sudden" by a 'loser guy'. The phrases "didn't feel right" and "that's not how it's meant to work" signal the distance between Luisa's 'first sex' experience and the romantic narrative (Allen, 2003; Thompson, 1990; Ussher, 1997) from which she had predicted sex to occur with the earlier boyfriend. That she acknowledges that it "didn't feel right" to her, yet sex still occurred, further illustrates Luisa's construction of herself as lacking the power to have decided whether and under what terms sex was going to take place. While her construction can be read as built from the resource of a readiness discourse (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999), "it just didn't feel right" could also link to Luisa's sense of physical embodiment and relate to a lack of sexual desire or pleasure; not how she had imagined 'special' sex to feel.

Overall, despite earlier resistance to the passivity of conventional femininity (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984) and an initial relationship that was constructed as sharing some degree of equality and communication, when it came to 'first sex', Luisa constructs an account that positions her largely within a discourse of female victimisation (Fine,

1988; Phillips, 2000) and a traditional heterosexual discourse that privileges masculinity (Holland et al., 2000). Even when it did not “feel right” to her, Luisa speaks of having continued to have sex with her boyfriend “a couple of times”. In this context, sex for Luisa appears to relate to a sense of obligation and ‘going along with the guy’. Intertwined with this obligation is a distinct lack of a sexually desiring voice and a lack of power to say no or to say yes according to a sense of her own desire.

Luisa expresses a negative surprise that the boyfriend broke up with her not long after she had sex with him. Across the interviews, breaking up soon after ‘first sex’ was a common account and, as with Luisa, accompanied by hurt and bewilderment that sex had not changed the relationship for the better. Having previously situated herself within the romantic discourse of ‘sex as special’ with the notion that ‘sex should bring us closer’ by adding intimacy and signifying commitment (Holland et al., 2003; Hollway, 1989; Lees, 1993), Luisa constructs herself as confused and angry when she was instead rejected and let down by her romantic expectations of sex. While Luisa had acted in line with her ‘have/hold’ role of pleasing her man by giving him sex, her boyfriend had not followed through on his end by offering commitment and care in exchange. Most of all though, Luisa’s confusion seems to relate to her questioning of herself again, as she wonders why, if he had been the “loser”, she had not been the one to leave him instead. As with her attempt to make sense of the sex itself, Luisa appears to be trying to understand why she had put up with her poor treatment, both within the relationship and at the end of it as well.

Labelling the experience as “stupid” and going on to resist the need for sex in a relationship, Luisa posits that she “would have preferred having someone who I didn’t have sex with, but who I just talked to a lot”. Constructing herself again within romantic ‘sex as special’ and readiness discourses (Lees, 1993; Thompson, 1984), she returns to how sex should be - “planned” and “beautiful”. Her claim that she’s pretty sure that under these conditions her “first time would have been beautiful anyway” conflicts with

her earlier statement that, no matter what, it would have been with “some loser”. While, when talking about “some loser”, she had been attempting to justify her actions, by the end of the extract, Luisa is focused on her disappointment over the incident. “I’m pretty sure my first time would have been beautiful” draws attention to her portrayal of the boyfriend as exhibiting appalling behaviour in perhaps almost cheating her of how sex ‘should have been’, which, with my prompting, she constructs as how she perceives it would have been with the first guy. Backing this with “I don’t know where we would have found the time or the place”, however, Luisa explains that while this would have been ideal, it was also next to impossible. This may function to justify Luisa’s actual ‘first sex’ experience as possibly inevitable, if far from ideal.

Extract 4: “He was just a dick” - framing the self and the other

- Luisa. The first guy I had sex with. Ohh! That was terrible as well. (laughter) And he treated me like an absolute, like a rubbish bag or something! Like he took it for granted that I’d have sex with him. Like in front of his friends and stuff, he’d just be like “Oh yeah this is Luisa”. He wouldn’t be like “This is my girlfriend”, you know? He wouldn’t, you know? He was just such a retard! He just didn’t know how to treat anyone. (Aïyesha. Mm.) It was stupid. So we went out for like a month, which is like a really short amount of time and then (..) yeah we broke up and I haven’t dated anyone since then.
- Aïyesha. You broke up?
- Luisa. Yeah, he broke up with me, which was really weird! Cos, you know, he was the one who was treating me like crap. But I sort of held onto going out with him because he was the first guy I had sex with and I thought, you know, “Maybe we can make this work, because we’ve had sex and it’s going to make us close and this is going to happen, you know. He’ll respect me more now”, but it just never happened. (Aïyesha. Mm.) Yeah.
- Aïyesha. What did happen?
- Luisa. When we were just friends, he was really nice, but then it’s like, you know, like I turned into his bitch or something (laughs) because he just became really mean and like an evil sort of person, you know, like he was so not - he wasn’t kind-spirited or anything. He wasn’t like anything that I’m really expecting a guy to be. (Aïyesha. Yep.) He was just terrible. He was just a terrible person. (Aïyesha. Yeah.) Then yeah, he just expected more than I was ready to give. I don’t really get along with his friends either and he didn’t get along with my friends. He told me that all the time. “I don’t like your friends. I

don't like hanging out with them, so don't make me." And it was so ohh! I think it was because he was a lot older. Not a lot. He wasn't like 20 something or anything.

Aïyesha. How old was he?

Luisa. When I was fifteen, he was eighteen. (Aïyesha. Right.) So it was a lot different. He probably would have gone through a lot more than me and, you know?

Aïyesha. Mm. Had he finished school?

Luisa. Yeah. He'd finished high school. So it was weird that way. He didn't go to university. He's like a bartender (Aïyesha. Mm.) So yeah, it was really strange. (..) He was just like a real dick. Yeah, like you don't expect it, but you sort of do, if you're going out with someone, then they'll at least be nice to you. They'll be, well not romantic, but just like nice, treat you like a person, and be like "Oh are you alright?" and stuff. But he just wasn't like that. He was just a dick.

Aïyesha. He treated you -

Luisa. Like crap. He just expected all this stuff and if I didn't want to do things, he'd be like "Oh fine! What's your problem? Are you frigid?" and it's just like, you know, ohh!

With her story of victimization already signaled in the previous extract, Luisa builds further on her self characterization as a degraded victim in Extract 4, as she develops a more detailed story of her relationship with the first boy she had sex with. As with Extract 2, Luisa's opening phrase, "The first guy I had sex with. Ohh! That was terrible as well", acts as a form of title and summarising 'abstract' for the narrative (Labov, 1997). Starting by constructing the relationship as terrible and the boyfriend as the "evil" anti-hero, Luisa speaks of how the experience has disenchanted her to the point that she has not "dated anyone since". Her construction of how sex should be and was not comes through here again, as she reiterates that they only went out for "a really short time", suggesting that she expects 'first sex' to both take place in a serious relationship and to enhance the longevity of the relationship by drawing them closer together (Hollway, 1989; Lees, 1993; Thompson, 1984).

Throughout the extract is the story thread again of Luisa trying to make sense of her story and of herself - why her story took this path and why she allowed herself to be treated this way. As she works through this dilemma, the manner in which she constructs herself and her boyfriend is particularly

interesting in this piece of narrative. The boyfriend, who is never named in the entirety of the interview, is labelled derogatively all through the extract as “retard”, “dick”, “terrible”, “mean” and “evil”. Much of this piece of narrative centres around framing him as the ‘loser guy’, mainly in relation to his inconsiderate treatment of her, including expecting sex from her without consideration of her feelings and not acknowledging her status as a girlfriend to others.

Luisa draws on very emotive metaphors to describe her maltreatment. Her description of herself as being treated “like a rubbish bag” conjures up an image of something worthless and degraded, unworthy of love, care or attention, to be disregarded and then discarded. A rubbish bag is also something that one dumps rubbish into and then discards; a metaphor movingly fitting of Luisa’s construction of how she was treated sexually, used for sex and then dumped. Her later metaphor of being treated “like crap” invokes a similar picture, as does talk of being “turned into his bitch”, which depersonalizes and degrades Luisa to the level of an animal, a “bitch” on heat.

By putting his ill-treatment of her down to his lack of ability to “know how to treat anyone” and his oblivion to the idea that he was expecting too much of her, Luisa attributes blame to a deficiency in the ‘loser’ boyfriend, rather than anything specifically about her. In this way, Luisa avoids positioning herself as either a victim or at fault and responsible for what went wrong. Instead she reasons that he is just “a real [clueless] dick”. Relating this to Jackson’s (2001) research with young women in abusive relationships, Luisa’s ability to label her boyfriend as a ‘loser’ or ‘toad’ (Jackson, 2001) and avoid positioning herself as a victim can be viewed as a strength. In this piece of narrative, Luisa demonstrates glimmers of a modern femininity that has moved on from the traditional heterosexual discourse of coercive sex for women. By not framing herself as a victim of rape, Luisa perhaps manages to maintain some sense of control over her experience and possibly her hopes for how potential future sexual encounters could play out. It could be

said that she is better off with him as the “dick” than her.

In much the same way as sex was passively constructed as “it just happened” in the previous extract, the after-effects and the lack of fit with her romantic expectations are similarly constructed with passivity and lack of comprehension as “it just never happened”. Once more, Luisa expresses her confusion as to why he was the one to end the relationship, when it was he who had treated her badly, not the other way around. In fact, Luisa speaks of having gone out of her way to keep him, having sex that he expected but she did not want, despite his maltreatment of her. Her efforts to comprehend her compliant behaviour lead her again to confront a reality of sex that did not fit her original romantic ‘sex as special’ narrative. She constructs her expectation that sex would catalyse a change in their relationship and bring them closer as guiding her towards ‘holding on to the first’ in an attempt to make the relationship live up to her expectations (Jackson, 2001).

My question “What did happen?” pushes Luisa to explore the sense she has made of the relationship further. Presenting a great role transformation pre- and post-sex regarding how the boyfriend was to her and how he expected her to be (“I turned into his bitch”) helps Luisa to establish why she, as a reasonable person, had entered the relationship in the first place (“When we were just friends, he was really nice”). By adding that he was quite a lot older and at a different stage in his life, she further justifies her perceived inability to change the dynamics of the relationship once she was in it. It is here that Luisa draws on a discourse of victimisation (Fine, 1988; Phillips, 2000). He is constructed as the one with the power, being ‘older and more experienced’, while she, younger and inexperienced, is positioned vulnerably as feeling a need to go along with his expectations of a sexual relationship. In line with the feminine passivity and masculine domination written into heterosexual discourse, he is the active one, while she is submissively positioned, perhaps overwhelmed and overpowered, as the one to whom he does both sex and meanness (Holland et al., 2000; Lichtenstein,

2000; Thomson & Holland, 1994). While Luisa tends not to construct herself within the 'good girl' (Lees, 1993) or 'Filipino virgin' subjectivities, the vulnerable place from which she speaks here was drawn on by many of the other young women as part of a moral retention of the 'good girl' position, by explaining how they were caught off guard and unable to do anything to stop 'first sex'. Although Luisa does not appear to be working from a position of sexual morality (Holland et al., 1996), her depiction of her boyfriend as having "expected more than I was ready to give" similarly assigns fault to him, leaving a sense of exploitation of Luisa's weaker position in the relationship.

Luisa's narrative also speaks of a gender differentiated care for reputation (Lees, 1993; Phillips, 2000). Within Luisa's construction, her boyfriend appears to have little regard for her feelings or her impression of him, while she is amply concerned with his impression of her, having 'unwanted but consensual' sex and feeling the pressure of his questions as to whether she is frigid. That he employs such questions to pressure her in the first place demonstrates knowledge that his beliefs about her will affect her greatly. As with young women in the focus group interviews, Luisa is caught between being positioned as "frigid" or a 'slut'. However, while in the focus groups, young women spoke at length about their fear of being seen as 'bad girls' (Lees, 1993) in their wider cultural community, in the immediate context of the relationship, the impressions and feelings of the boyfriend take precedence over those of the community (and the self), so that Luisa has sex she "didn't want to do".

Extract 4, as well as some of the other extracts where Luisa discusses her story of 'first sex', can be seen as a co-constructed story between Luisa and me. Looking back on Luisa's and some of the other young women's narratives, I was able to reflect on how my role sometimes involved more speaking than I may have expected in terms of it being a story of *her* life. At some points, it appeared to be *our* story of her life, as I encouraged elaboration, at times shaping what was talked about next. The young women

often said that they had never talked about their sexual issues, let alone their story of 'first sex', before. As such, the stories were not well-rehearsed and many of the girls, including Luisa, often gave a slight pause, as if waiting for me to direct them. It seems likely that they were unsure what to divulge when and where to go next. I, in turn, fell into this by sometimes asking questions instead of waiting for a continuation. At other times, the building of the story and its direction more closely resembled a chat. As in Extract 4 (Aïyesha. "He treated you - " / Luisa. "Like crap"), there were many times when the young women and I would finish each other's sentences, both seeming to know what the story was and where it was going. This perhaps represents how the stories were often well known and common narratives of heterosexual 'first sex' that we both knew and had heard before in one form or another.

It is important to remember that the story told in this, or any other setting, is a version of a story and is dependent upon the context and interaction within which it is told (Plummer, 1995). That many similar narrative themes came from a group of different girls with different but culturally related histories allows me some confidence that these themes are valid in their significance to the young women's experiences of 'first sex'.

Extract 5: "that's not gonna happen ... but i guess it sort of did" - unwanted consensual sex

- Luisa. The first time I went to his house, he was like "Oh come on, come to the bedroom and blah blah blah". I was like "Hmm okay, I've known you for like a month, you know. That's not gonna happen." (laughs) But I guess it sort of did. Like I just sort of went along with it because, you know, I didn't want to be like "Oh no, I'm not into it". You know? Cos I really liked him at the time, (Aïyesha. Mm.) so I didn't want to appear, like, to be the dick. Like you know, "Oh no, I'm not into it. I don't want to have sex with you. I want to wait until we're ready and stuff", cos he'd probably already had it, being 18 and stuff. So I just sort of went along with it. I was like "Okay", you know, cos, I thought that would work out okay. (Aïyesha. Yeah.) But at the end of the day, that was a stupid idea.
- Aïyesha. Had you talked about sex with him? Had you talked about whether he had had sex before and things like that?

Luisa. No. It just sort of just happened, like you know, and you couldn't, I couldn't exactly just be like "Oh stop stop. I don't want to go any further." Cos, you know, it would just be stupid. So yeah, he never really talked about his past relationships or whatever, so I don't really feel like asking.

Aïyesha. Did you want to go that far at the time?

Luisa. At the time, not really. Like I kind of wanted to because I liked him so much, but then I kind of didn't because we'd only known each other for such a short amount of time. Maybe if we'd gone out for ages, then I would have thought, yeah, you know, it feels like the sort of time.

Aïyesha. So how did the occasion happen?

Luisa. Um, a group of us went to his house, cos he was flatting. He'd moved out of home. It was him and four of his friends. We went over and we had sort of like drinks and stuff there (Aïyesha. Mm.) and then um all my friends went home and I was just left there. It was late at night, so I stayed the night there. But I told my parents I was going to be at [friend's name]'s or something. I can't even remember it now, but - and then yeah he just, it just started with kissing and then, it just yeah (laughs) slowly and slowly got out of control and like what can you do? I guess you can be like "Oh no", but you know, you just don't want to feel like you're such a priss and stuff, like you're not into it and (..) I know that he'd be real stink about it. He'd be like "Oh what's your problem?" You know? "Are you lesbian or something?" Something stupid like that. (laughter) But I just, you know, didn't want to have to go through that. (..) It just happened. We just went from - (..) Cos we'd gone out for a week and then at the end of that week, that's when I stayed the night at his house and it was, it just happened like so unbelievably fast.

As with earlier extracts, Luisa signals the beginning of the piece of narrative and its topic in her first phrase, "The first time I went to his house". In talking about her boyfriend's attempts to initiate sexual activity and her thinking of this as ridiculous and "not gonna happen", Luisa's initial sentences portray an assertive and resolute young woman, drawing on themes of readiness and the development of intimacy over time to reason out why she did not want sex (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999). Her laughter at this point, which punctuates the moment, could represent amusement at the absurdity of her boyfriend's sexual request at such an early stage in their relationship. It could also signal her discomfort leading into the very next sentence where she directly contradicts her resolution to steer clear of sex. A further sign of this discomfort comes in the ambivalent nature of the

contradictory statements, “But I guess it sort of did” and “I just sort of went along with it”. Such ambivalence, as to the sex and her role in it, appears part of Luisa’s attempt to make sense of her actions at that time. Ambivalence may reduce Luisa’s sense of responsibility for the sex. As in previous extracts, Luisa positions herself as passively ‘going along with the guy’ (Holland et al., 2003). The ambivalence produced in Luisa’s story likely signals her incapacity to grasp how she let the encounter occur against her better judgment and how else it could have gone. The statement resonates with her more general ambiguity towards the experience as a whole. Unsure of how she feels about an experience that did not at all fit her expectations of ‘first sex’ or of that night, her narrative is full of “sort of”s, “kind of”s and “just happened”s. Her talk echoes of Muehlenhard and Peterson’s (2005) work around the meaning of consent and young women’s common ambivalence during attempts to reconcile their identities and actions and resolve whether sex was wanted or not wanted on their parts.

The sexual story that Luisa narrates here has much in common with the broader cultural story of (hetero)sexual initiation as an induction into a male-centred heterosexuality for men and women alike (Holland et al., 2003). Luisa’s story shows no prominent signs of a positive female sexuality. Rather, her construction of ‘first sex’ hinges on male action, male pleasure, and herself in the male gaze (Holland et al., 2000), with a ‘core narrative’ thread (Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 1993) around the theme of ‘first sex as unwanted but consensual’ (Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2005).

Luisa affords her boyfriend, as both the male and the older, more experienced one, the position of power in the relationship (Lichtenstein, 2000; Thomson & Holland et al., 1994). Not planning on having sex and not really wanting to, Luisa still constructs herself as consenting to fit in with his expectation of sex. Even when asked directly whether she had wanted to have sex, she largely negates this (“At the time, not really”), while adding that any desire she did have to have sex related to liking him “so much”. Rather than a sexual desire, this seems to correspond more to ideals of

conventional femininity (Holland et al., 1994) and an emotional desire to please her man because she cared so much for him (Holland et al., 2000).

As well as a story based in dominant cultural perceptions of heterosexuality, Luisa also interweaves strands of the traditional romantic narrative through her story. In her construction of the lead up to sex (“he just, it just started with kissing”), Luisa again starts with a sense of male initiation and action. When “he just” changes to “*it* just started with kissing” [emphasis added] though, her story appears to be reframed as something beyond control. The shift to ‘it’ makes it harder to tell whether this means out of her control or out of anyone’s control (in line with romantic discourse of being passionately caught in the moment (Thompson, 1990) and the theme of ‘it just happened’). Her account of it happening “unbelievably fast” builds on a romantic narrative of being swept away without warning (Holland et al., 2003; Mitchell & Wellings, 1998; Thomson & Holland, 1994).

However, Luisa’s statement about not feeling able to say no because “he’d be real stink about it” and she would be labelled a “priss” infers that he is still very much in control of the situation and her place within it. The lack of control then seems to be her’s, with the issue of consent becoming prominent, alongside Luisa’s concerns around what not consenting might mean about her. In making a point of repeating that she stayed the night, it is possible that her lack of ability to say no was enhanced by a sense of responsibility for unintentionally leading him on and the need to follow through once male desire has been provoked (the ‘male sex drive discourse’, Hollway, 1989; also Holland et al., 2003).

Throughout the narrative threads a strong concern with how she appears to him; a concern that surpasses her own feelings and agency over her own body (male gaze discussed in Holland et al., 2003). Wanting him to think well of her and not wanting to appear prudish or like a “priss” by letting her lack of experience or sexual interest be known, Luisa constructs it as easier to consent to (likely unwanted) sex than to “have to go through” the

alternative of speaking up and allowing him to lay judgment upon her (Muehlenhard and Peterson, 2005). Giving up her own rights and desires (such as to say no) enables her to assign blame to her boyfriend and label him the “dick” for taking advantage of her. If she had alternatively resisted his desires, Luisa construes herself as risking the label of “dick” herself (“I didn't want to appear like to be the dick”). Also, permissively going along with unwanted sex may have been seen as less difficult or threatening than “hav[ing] to go through” the unknown that might have come with resistance (Muehlenhard and Peterson, 2005).

In her focus group interview, Luisa and her friends spoke of the cultural pressure to maintain a ‘good girl’ (Lees, 1993) or ‘Filipino virgin’ reputation for the sake of themselves and their families. However, relevant pressures and priorities change across circumstances, and in constructing her individual sexual story, Luisa reflects on a very different fear for her sexual reputation and image when in the role of girlfriend as opposed to Filipino daughter. As she narrates here, the criteria of being ‘good’ appear to flip when it comes to following her part in a heterosexual relationship. While having sex is construed as risking her the label of ‘bad’ (a ‘slut’) in her Filipino community, in the context of her relationship, not having sex would be just as ‘bad’ (rending titles such as a “priss” or a “lesbian”).

Extract 6: “i was like euuww!” - disillusionment and (dis)empowerment

- Luisa. I guess. I mean, yeah, you do want it physically and stuff. But ohh! The first time I had sex, it was terrible. It was sore and I just like "Oh! I don't want this." Once you actually get into it, it wasn't something pleasant. You know when you watch in the movies and it's like amazing and the women are like "Oh wow! This is the best time of my life." But that's not what it's like. After a while, it gets a bit better, but it's not exactly like fireworks.
- Aïyesha. So what was it like the first time?
- Luisa. It was uncomfortable and the guy was just ohh! He was just a jerk-off. He wasn't even like "Are you okay?" He just went for himself and then when he was done, he was like "Oh yep" and then he was finished. I was just like "Hmm oh okay." (laughs) He didn't think about me at *all*, so that was what i really hated.

- Aïyesha. Did he know that that was your first time?
 Luisa. I don't think so. I think he just assumed that I'd slept with people before, because why else would a girl want to stay at a guy's house after a week, you know? Maybe he just thought that that's the way that things happen for her. (...) When I woke up in the morning, I was like "Euuww!" I was like "I've got to get out of this place!" and I left straight away. But I guess we did it again like during the month, during that time that we went out, because it's just what he was into and stuff. And I just didn't really have enough common sense to be like "Nah, I don't want this."
 Aïyesha. How did you feel about continuing with it once you had had sex?
 Luisa. Yeah yeah. It was sort of like once you've already lost your virginity, what's the point of waiting for somebody else? Like why don't you just go for it with any guy, sort of thing yeah.

Leading up to Extract 6, we had been talking about whether sex was something that Luisa wanted physically, either with the earlier boyfriend she had had or with the boyfriend she had first had sex with. Luisa acknowledges sexual desire, admitting “you do want it physically and stuff”, but she does not delve further than this. Other research has found a similar lack of elaboration on desire (Tolman, 1994, 2002). Luisa’s positive statement of physical desire is one of only a few throughout the interviews, which in general displayed what Fine (1988) has termed the ‘missing discourse of female desire’.

Luisa then concentrates her talk around negative aspects of the physicality of sex instead, elaborating on the notion of first sex as a disappointment in her description of sex as “sore”, “terrible”, and “uncomfortable” (Carpenter, 2002; Holland et al., 2000; Holland et al., 1998; Thompson, 1990; Ussher, 1997). While her construction here suggests female desire leading into sex, the actual experience of her first sexual intercourse is framed as “unpleasant” and full of pain and disillusionment. ‘First sex’ did not live up to how she constructs sex as fictitiously framed by media images of empowered modern women enjoying “amazing” heterosexual coitus. Even for later experiences of sex, Luisa counters a romantic notion of wild, passionate and orgasmic sex, saying sex is “not exactly fireworks”

(Lichtenstein, 2000; Thompson, 1990; Ussher, 1997, 2005). At this point, Luisa's characterization of herself seems to shift from naïve virgin to a more savvy and aware, yet disillusioned, sexual woman. Despite the readily available romanticised media portrayals of sensational sex, none of the young women expressed much physical enjoyment from 'first sex', even when the experience as a whole was more positive than that recounted by Luisa. The dominant romantic narratives available to them were generally represented as a mismatch to their lived experiences, leaving Luisa and the other young women confused and often wondering if it was 'just them'.

Luisa constructs her's as a particularly bad experience because of the guy involved, who she refers to (perhaps both literally and figuratively) as a "jerk-off", due to his exclusive focus on his own sexual pleasure and lack of concern for Luisa's. She positions him negatively within the 'male sex drive discourse' (Hollway, 1989) for his treatment of her merely as the vessel for the attainment of his sexual pleasure. While Luisa's disdain at his lack of reciprocation for her enjoyment may be read simply as disdain for her sexual partner ("He didn't think about me at *all*, so that was what I really hated"), her words may also position her as a more sexually agentic 'New Filipino Girl', entitled to 'good sex' and having her sexual needs and pleasure attended to.

On the other hand, the progression of Luisa's narrative re-positions her within the cultural story of the sexual double standard (Jackson & Cram, 2003). With the words "why else would a girl want to stay at a guy's house after a week", Luisa conveys awareness of how others, especially a male, may position her as responsible for leading her boyfriend on by staying the night. Luisa constructs herself as lacking the ability to abstain from sex, even when she had put herself in this sexual situation unknowingly (Phillips, 2000). That unwanted sex occurred is framed as a severe case of miscommunication, with the absence of a blatant 'no' from Luisa constructed as a signal of consent by the boyfriend (Kitzinger & Frith, 1999).

In constructing her realisation of her predicament the next morning, Luisa's exclamation " "Euuww!" I was like "I've got to get out of this place!" " rejects the notion of victimhood and ties to her positioning of the boyfriend as a 'loser'. As if awakening from the fairytale (however unwanted and disappointing it was) to reality, Luisa builds a picture of waking up next to the 'loser' (Jackson's 'toad', 2001) instead of the prince. With it comes a sense of acknowledgement of her right to something better than this and a strong feeling of independence and agency - the ability to "get out" and away.

Nonetheless, the next clause returns to ambiguity ("I guess we did it again"), as Luisa positions herself once again as a submissive participant in unwanted sex "because it's just what he was into". Her explanation that she just "didn't have enough common sense" to say "Nah, I don't want this" positions her as naive and unsophisticated in this sexual world she has stepped into.

In Luisa's subsequent reflections on what came after first sex, returning to celibacy, in the absence of her own desire, does not appear to occur to her in the course of the extract. Her summing up of her return to the boyfriend, "once you've already lost your virginity, what's the point of waiting for somebody else?", resonated with other girls' stories that had constructed 'sex (and virginity) as special' and then described 'first sex as a mistake'. These stories used the idea of virginity as a gift or as sacred (Amachastegui, 1999; Carpenter, 2002; Gilfoyle et al., 1993; Holland et al., 1996); once lost, it was constructed as too late for a girl to go back. Such a viewpoint is problematic for Luisa and other young women because once her sexuality has lost such high value, it is positioned almost as worthless, leaving her with no excuses anymore and hence even less voice to say no to sex.

Extract 7: “it's just a waste of time” - the end

Luisa. Um I don't really talk to him anymore. I see him around sometimes. Sometimes we'll go out and have a coffee and a chat and he's always like "Do you want to come back to my house?" and I'm like "No!" (laughs) But we're not friends at all anymore. I don't talk to him on the phone. Sometimes he'll ring me, but it's only if he wants something. I don't really like talking to him. He just makes me feel uncomfortable. He's just a stupid person to talk to as well. Yeah, he's just a loser. Yeah. I think that was all he was really interested in in the first place, not really in going out with me. (..) I haven't had another boyfriend, but ohh, well, I slept with two other guys since then. That wasn't really anything romantic or anything. It was just randomly. Like, you meet a guy and that's just what it leads to. But I haven't been really interested in guys at the moment. I'm thinking it's just a waste of time, cos I'm just so busy with everything. I'd like to have a boyfriend. It's always nice when you see your friends and they're with their boyfriends, it's like oh that would be nice to have. But it's also nice to be single and to go to a party and be able to just meet any guy and talk to him and not have somebody thinking "What is she doing?" You know? No one's approval or anything. It's just you.

Extract 7 brings a conclusion to Luisa's story of her first sexual relationship, returning the narrative to the present tense in a manner resembling an extended 'coda' (Labov, 1997). It also indicates the beginning of a progressive narrative from here (Gergen & Gergen, 1986) that could be described as the 'Happily Never After' point in her sexual story (Jackson, 2001). While Luisa no longer has much contact with the boyfriend, she positions herself as a confident agent when she does see him, able to say no to his sexual advances and maintain a distance. She resolves her story of him by repeating her overall 'evaluation' (Labov, 1997) of him as “he's just a loser”. She goes on to situate him within conventional masculinity (Holland et al., 1998) and the 'male sex drive discourse' (Hollway, 1989), as only interested in sex, rather than in a relationship with her, allowing her space to no longer feel a need to please him.

With this end comes a new beginning in Luisa's story, with a positive shift towards female sexual agency and independence. At this point in time, Luisa no longer defines herself in terms of boy / girl relationships. Resisting

romantic discourse and the 'good girl' subject position, Luisa situates herself within a construction of 'sex as just a physical act', stating that she has since had two other sexual partners, both casually, without an expectation of romance or a serious relationship (Stewart, 1999). While enjoying the idea of a boyfriend, her construction of herself as having been too busy with other elements of her life to bother with relationships resists conventional femininity's typical romance genre of a defenceless young woman waiting to be pursued and rescued by a prince on whom she can depend (Stewart, 1999; Walkerdine, 1984). Luisa constructs herself as no longer looking for a man to solve her problems. She is busy getting her life together by herself. As a further rejection of the confines of a monogamous heterosexual relationship, she claims "it's also nice to be single". Moving beyond the need for social approval as the 'good girl' whose limits are set in relation to a commitment to one boy (Lees, 1993), Luisa employs an active and autonomous voice, "It's just you."

Following on from the previous extract and moving into Extract 8, Luisa and I had been talking in further detail about her more recent experiences of "hooking up with a guy" or having sex at parties.

Extract 8: "It's just that night" - resolution

Luisa. That's just standard. When you go out, you hook up with a guy and you don't really expect to go out with him afterwards. It's just you're there and it's that time, it's that place, sort of thing. A guy starts chatting you up. He's like "Do you want to go talk outside for a while?" and you're like "Yeah. Why not?" Then you hook up with him, or in some cases, you end up doing a little more. (laughs) But that's just how it is I guess. (..) The guy after that, I still see him around sometimes, the last guy I had sex with. But I don't really talk to him. I feel like a bit of an idiot talking to him. I don't know. If I saw him in the street, I wouldn't be like "Hi! How are you?" Cos what if he didn't want to talk to me or whatever. Then he'd be like "Oh look at this loser trying to be my friend." You know? So I don't really talk to him if I see him. It's just that night. I was never expecting it to go any further. It would be nice if it did, I guess. Sometimes I guess that could happen. But I wasn't really expecting him to be like "I'll call you tomorrow. We'll go out next week." I wasn't expecting that. I guess that's just what happens. (pause)

Yeah. That time was okay. He was nice and he was like "Are you alright? Does this hurt you?" He was nice about it and stuff. He wasn't like "Yeah, I'm finished. Let's go." You know? He was a cool guy.

Moving beyond her 'first sex' story and into a story of her present, Luisa normalises casual sex. Drawing on the theme of 'sex is just a physical act' and separating herself from her virginal expectations of 'sex as special', she resists the 'good girl' (Lees, 1993) or 'Filipino virgin' and the 'Filipino Lady' positions prominent within dominant Filipino discourse and aligns herself with a 'permissive discourse' (Hollway, 1989; Stewart, 1999).

Looking closer though, Extract 8 lacks the sexual agency of the previous extract. Luisa still constructs sex as male initiated, and a degree of female passivity (Holland et al., 1998) lingers in her response "Yeah. Why not?", as though she has no reason to decline sex, rather than an active desire for sex, or the ability to say no or be the initiator. Behind what is constructed as a progressive narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986) towards the achievement of sexual empowerment, ambiguity about sex and great concern for the boy's opinion of her continues in her talk. Despite having shared the physical intimacy of sex, Luisa describes feeling unable to approach her most recent casual sexual partner on the street to say hello, concerned that he might mistake this for her trying to be closer to him. Her fear of being labelled the "dick", or in this case the "loser", remains significant. While previous concern around such a label related to being recognised as sexually inexperienced or undesiring (a "priss"), since her 'first sex' experience, Luisa now also appears careful not to assume or expect any romantic strings to come attached to her sexual encounters.

Hollway (1989) addresses how, beneath the guise of sexual equality, the introduction of the 'permissive discourse' in the 1970s left young women amidst a masculine depiction of heterosexuality, less able to say no to sex and without the power to demand commitment as in the earlier 'have / hold discourse'. While Luisa appears to speak from the position of the 'New

Filipino Girl', one is left with the impression that the double standard described by Hollway (1989) is lodged in Luisa's talk. Alongside her statement of 'sex is just a physical act', she contemplates that perhaps "it would be nice if it did" go further than a one night stand. However, returning to the passive phrase "I guess that's just what happens", Luisa returns to a construction of herself as having little control over the outcome of her sexual experiences.

A similar example of the double standard behind the 'permissive discourse' (Hollway, 1989) can be found shortly after, in Luisa's construction of her most recent sexual partner as a "nice" guy for his conscientiousness in checking she was alright. Here, she explains his "nice"-ness as relating to his concern for her comfort and feelings. Any mention of her actual desire or pleasure is still lacking. Whether this is because of a lack of discursive resources and positive subject positions for women as sexual agents, or a lack of any notable pleasure on her part, is unclear (Fine, 1988; Holland et al., 2000).

Extract 9: "you feel like a bit of a geek" - fitting in with (New Zealand) friends

Luisa. It's more common to go to parties and just kiss guys and like with the whole BJ [blow job] thing, even though I hate doing those. Yeah, stuff like that. But I don't know. I don't really like doing stuff like that, but I guess it just happens. Sometimes I get a kick out of it, but most of the time, I'm just drunk and I just don't even care. But not because I want it or because I'm planning that tonight I'm going to meet this guy and this is going to happen. Nothing like that. But as for doing stuff for me, I don't know. I'm into it and it's better that way if the guy is like "Oh yeah. Let's do this first" and it's something that I benefit from. But, in a way, I don't really mind. You just don't care anymore after a while. Maybe when I'm older, I'll know what I want and stuff. But right now, I just want to have fun and want to experience things and want to do stuff. Cos (laughs) you feel like a bit of a geek if your friends are like "This is what happened to me this weekend. What did you do?" I'm like "Oh I worked all weekend" or "I stayed home and I did this." "I went out with my dad." And people are like "Oh." Or if we go to a party and let's say I get split up from my friends and then we meet up later, and they're like "So what

happened?" and I'm like [sarcastically:] "Well, we talked." You know? It just seems like well, what a loser. You can't even get a guy, a drunk guy at a party. So it's just like a natural thing to do. Yeah. All my friends are sort of the same. Like go out and drink and then go to parties and then have sex with guys and then not really hear from them ever again. Like, hook up with heaps of different guys. You know, that's just part of your colourful past.

As Extract 9 begins, Luisa had been discussing going out with New Zealand friends. We had been talking about the possibility of other types of sex and whether Luisa herself gets enjoyment from her sexual encounters. Here, a more minor twist from the progressive narrative is taken, as Luisa draws on multiple and conflicting positions in locating her recent sexual encounters.

At various points throughout this piece of narrative, Luisa constructs casual sex as something "fun", "natural", and something she can "get a kick out of". Her portrayal offers a sense of agency through sexual exploration and experimentation, trying out different things which may or may not be experienced positively.

Constructing her involvement in oral sex (and possibly any sex?) as because "it just happens" and because she is "just drunk", she shifts somewhat from a sense of empowerment, by implying that sexual encounters do not necessarily reflect her desire to have sex (sex is something she does not "really mind" rather than wants). While acknowledging the potential for obtaining sexual pleasure from what is ambiguously referred to as "doing stuff for me", her construction suggests that this only occurs when initiated by guys. It is not something she would openly voice a desire for, not something she finds to be a central part of sex. The phrase "let's do this first" also suggests that non-coital sexual activities done to please her would merely be seen as a lead up to the main act, with the coital imperative in strong operation (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 1984; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993; Stewart, 1999; Ussher, 2005).

Luisa constructs herself as just not caring anymore, although whether this is in regards to her own pleasure or perhaps the 'special'-ness of sex is uncertain. The meaning Luisa constructs around sex appears to relate to a sense of belonging in her peer group. The notion of not wanting to look like a "loser" or "a bit of a geek" resurfaces, this time in relation to predominantly female peer pressure to have sex. In this part of her story, Luisa prioritises looking good to friends, which entails being sexually desirable and able to "get a guy", over experiencing sex and the sexual self positively. In this context, naturalising "hook[ing] up with heaps of different guys" ("it's just like a natural thing to do") and euphemising this as "just part of your colourful past" offers Luisa an alternative position to both the 'Filipino virgin' and 'New Zealand slut' (even if, in the constructed eyes of the Filipino community, this position would be synonymous with that of the 'slut'). From a position that includes space for casual fun sex, Luisa constructs a positive feeling of group identity in her non-Filipino peer group, illustrating that pressures to conform to social norms and attend to sexual reputation may well be working in opposing directions from her New Zealand and Filipino communities respectively.

Extract 10: "Nah, I haven't really done anything like that" - epilogue: fitting in with Filipino friends

Luisa. If it was a friend of the same nature who was a Filipino, you wouldn't exactly say exactly everything you did. You'd just be like "I met a guy and we talked a little bit and yeah." I don't know. I just don't think that they would really understand. They might think "What a dirty little slut, sleeps around with guys and stuff." Cos maybe that was not the way that they were brought up to think about sex. If they found out that I was having sex and stuff, they'd be like, "Maybe we shouldn't hang out with her because she's like that." So you feel that you don't really want to talk to them about it because they don't really understand and they don't know where you're coming from and they wouldn't have the same experience as you. So, whether they'd be really curious or they'd just be like "Euw!".
(..) You know that if you started openly seeing a guy and people in the Filipino community knew about it, then they'd sort of look down on you. They'd think, "That chick, what's wrong? What's up with her? Her parents didn't bring her up right. You know, she's probably a bad influence. She probably

does drugs." They'd just think stupid things like that, just because you're a forward and open person. I think it's wrong. If that's the way that you are going to be as a person, then people should be able to talk about it with people from their own community. Be able to say "I'm having sex and I want to talk to someone about it." At least, have that option there. But I wouldn't really tell any Filipino kids what I've been up to. If it came up in conversation, I'd be like "Nah, I haven't really done anything like that."

After aligning herself with her New Zealand peers in her construction of premarital sex, and even casual sex, as acceptable and normal in Extract 9, Luisa concludes her sexual story by attempting to find a space for the sexual subjectivity she has created back in the Filipino community. As an immigrant woman and member of a more traditional cultural community, Luisa's story further separates her from those of many Western women, for Luisa sits astride two cultures. In the context of her Filipino peers, she now constitutes herself differently. Having presented her sexual behaviour as something to be openly and matter-of-factly discussed among New Zealand school peers, even as a point of bonding and way of gaining social status, Luisa now speaks of keeping quiet about her sexual experience "If it was a friend of the same nature who was a Filipino".

Luisa assumes her Filipino friends to be sexually naive and she doubts their ability to understand her lifestyle, fearing automatic labelling as a 'bad girl', "a dirty little slut", if they were to find out (Lees, 1993). Concerned about potential consequences of 'being outed' amongst her Filipino peers and the wider New Zealand Filipino community, including being gossiped about, looked down upon, and rejected, Luisa explains herself as making a prudent decision not to expose the permissively sexual side of herself. As in the focus groups, her fear for reputation appears to incorporate not only her own community standing but also that of her parents, which is portrayed as partially dependent on her conduct ("her parents didn't bring her up right") (Espiritu, 2001).

While Luisa disagrees with what she constructs as Filipino perceptions of

young women's sexuality ("it's wrong"), defying them in much of her New Zealand lifestyle, she feels unable to reject them outright for fear of being shunned by her community. Despite previous talk that resisted the 'Filipino virgin' and a belief in the potential value of people in the community being more open about sexual matters, within the context of her home culture and her cultural responsibility to her parents, Luisa describes being unable to reject the 'good girl' and conventional femininity completely (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994; Jackson, 2001; Lees, 1993; Vance, 1984). Vigilant to community social surveillance and feeling unable to talk to or receive counsel from people in her cultural community, Luisa reiterates that she would deny her sexual self in the Filipino context ("If it came up in conversation, I'd be like "Nah, I haven't really done anything like that".").

Extract 11: "she'd probably be like "Yeah, my daughter's a virgin." – coming home, returning to the start

Luisa. If you asked my mum, she'd probably be like "Yeah, my daughter's a virgin. Definitely." She just wouldn't know and she'd expect that that's the way it is. But even if you're open with your parents about your relationships with guys, you probably wouldn't include that fact. "Oh yeah, and we're sleeping together." (laughs) They'd probably have a heart attack or something. They wouldn't take it very well. Cos my mum's very hard-out about waiting until you're married and waiting to find somebody who's right for you blah blah. So she wouldn't take it very well. She'd be like "What?!" She probably wouldn't let me out of the house ever again. I don't think my dad would particularly like it either. Cos they think it's unattractive for a girl to want to do stuff like that and to want to pursue guys and not to want the whole *ligawan* [courtship] and that stuff. Fair enough. But that's just how it is these days.

In the final extract, Luisa circles back to where she started her story, again distinguishing between her and her parents' views of young women's sexuality. Her construction gives a sense of coming home, after her journey through her early sexual experiences and outside of her immediate cultural identity. Constructing her mother strictly within the 'premarital sex is a no-no' theme, Luisa positions her mother as oblivious to her daughter's sexual behaviour ("she'd probably be like "Yeah, my daughter's a virgin.

Definitely.””) and expectant that she should treat her virginity as sacred until marriage (Amachastegui, 1999; Carpenter, 2002; Gilfoyle et al., 1993). Luisa constitutes her parents’ teachings, of conventional femininity as sexually passive and undesiring (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994; Jackson, 2001), as “fair enough”, but not for her. Recognising that her parents would not be as accepting of her own ‘New Filipina Girl’ position, Luisa maintains a silence regarding her sexual practices around her parents and Filipino community, justifying this with the statement that her mother “probably wouldn’t let me out of the house ever again”. Despite her secrecy on the topic at home though, Luisa normalises active female sexuality as “just how it is these days”.

Conclusions

Looking at Luisa’s story, one might be struck by the universality of many elements of her story. Similar themes came through in many of the interviews. Much of Luisa’s story also corresponds to contradictory discourses faced by young women across the (Western) world in their induction into the male-privileged realm of heterosexuality (Holland et al., 1998). However, what makes Luisa’s story and the stories of the other young women I interviewed more specifically cultural is the deepening dilemma Luisa finds herself in, as she takes modern Western discourses back to her family and cultural community. In attempting to mesh the different parts of her subjectivity together, the unique struggles of a young immigrant woman become prominent. Luisa’s story depicts a split in her sexual self that she has not yet found a way to integrate.

Luisa’s story underlies the importance of understanding the self from the perspective of multiple contradictory subjectivities, as opposed to the presumption of a coherent and cohesive sense of identity. The distinctive roles of being Filipinos and New Zealanders, daughters and girlfriends, that the young women constructed in the focus groups, are made even clearer in the personal story of one young woman as she works to understand herself and her sexuality. Only with a sense of the conflicting positions and

meanings available to young people is it possible to make sense of what may often appear to be illogical sexual decisions.

The individual narrative interviews also highlighted the value of examining a research question through multiple methods. Consistent with Luisa's story, many of the young women's constructions of 'first sex' did not fit with what was presumed to be the typical story of a young Filipino woman as discussed in the focus groups. That different stories were obtained from different methods and settings with the same girls illustrates the effects of context and local interaction on an individual's presentation of their self and their understanding of their world. It also indicates a disparity between the young women's experience of their own lives (which they may see as peculiar) and the passed down cultural story they may assume others to fit (potentially leaving them feeling isolated from peers and culture when they do not fit).

Different constructions of the self and sex, that were drawn on in various settings and pieces of narrative, will have differing effects on the way the young women carry out and experience their sexual lives. In the context of focus group participants' talk of mingling with friends of the same Filipino cultural background, constructions of the Filipina as virtuous, virginal and ladylike were emphasised. These images remained prominent in Luisa's narrative when talking about fitting in with her Filipino peers, and are likely at the forefront for the young women when amidst their families and cultural community. Yet, when faced with the 'reality' of relationships, where immediate social pressures emanate predominantly from the boyfriend / girlfriend interaction and sometimes the demands of fitting in with New Zealand friends, Luisa and many of the other young women constructed themselves as conducting active sexual lives that they kept hidden from their Filipino community. The potential here for negative effects to sexual health is obvious. If young women only feel able to talk to other girls and only in secrecy, the opportunity to obtain useful and healthy sexual information from family members is lost. If the help they seek is

exclusively from outside their cultural community, a source of possibly rich cultural knowledge, and shared cultural empathy for the dilemmas they may be facing, is lost also. On top of this is a potentially negative effect on the young women's self regard, if they feel different and therefore isolated from either or both cultural groups.

Similarly, a noticeable discrepancy can be seen between Luisa's theoretical reasoning and her sexual relationship practices, reflecting the knowledge-practice gap detailed in sexual education research (Allen, 2001). In the focus groups and even in parts of their individual interviews, girls such as Luisa articulated and advocated messages of strictly safe sex, girl power, and a voice of sexual desire and liberation. However, the power of knowledge did not commonly translate into a depiction of functional power and knowledge of sexual negotiation in their relationships. In many of the same girls' stories, they represented themselves as lacking the voice to request and enforce condom use, to say no to unwanted sex, or to do more than just say yes or no to their initiating partner. As exemplified by Luisa, the focus stayed instead on male pleasure and male control in the relationship. As these less empowered experiences were far less frequently raised in the group setting than in the individual interviews, it is likely that these risky behaviours are generally cloaked in secrecy; perhaps out of shame over not doing what they have been taught is the right thing.

Chapter Nine:

Narrative Analysis of the Mother Interviews

The narrative interviews with the Filipino mothers of the daughters I had already spoken with added another dimension to my analysis of sexual storytelling, bringing about recognition of the passing down of culture in story form through the generations. Narratives are potent sources of culture, enabling us to make sense of ourselves and our lives (Gergen, 1993). With daughters subject to both New Zealand and Filipino cultural narratives, I was interested in how the daughters' sexual selves fit together with their mothers' narrative constructions of sexuality, womanhood, and self. Mothers spoke of having been instructed in the art of femininity from their own mothers and grandmothers and then of passing on this knowledge to their daughters. Cultural storytelling from family and community is a particularly important method of learning one's culture for immigrant children growing up in a foreign culture and potentially split off from other means of cultural continuation (Enriquez, 1993; Espin, 1999). As these mothers showed me, cultural storytelling was also an important part of their own upbringing, a way for older generations to implicitly instil in the young generation what was expected of them as women. It was these stories of developing a sexual self, of growing up, discovering and teaching, which my attention was drawn to in analysing the mothers' interviews.

The individual mothers' interviews lasted between two and four hours. Interviews discussed the women's experiences of growing up in the Philippines, their sexual education, their early experiences of courtship, their initiation into sexuality, their past (hetero)sexual relationships, their experiences of marriage, pregnancy, and motherhood, their migration to New Zealand and what that had meant in terms of their relationships to their husbands, children and their own (sexual) identities, their family and cultural expectations regarding sexuality, and what they had or planned to

teach their daughters regarding sexuality and womanhood.

As I came to analyse their interviews, I became aware of a degree of commonality across the mothers' narratives. While each woman had her own life story, a number of ingredients to a common cultural story pattern or script stood out in their telling of learning and experiencing sexuality. To begin with, there was the sense of a beginning, middle and end embedded in their sexual stories, and it was around this that I based the narrative analysis part of this chapter. The mothers' beginnings set the scene around their own growing up and learning about sexuality and culturally appropriate femininity. The middles developed a complicating sequence of events with stories of courtship, first boyfriend / girlfriend relationships, early experiences of sex, and the progression onto marriage. Conclusions and resolutions came with motherhood, leading the women into the present and the future, and discussions of teaching their daughters about sexuality.

Upon closer examination, acknowledging that mine is but one of many possible readings of the narrative, I noticed another noteworthy story thread lying beneath and within these beginnings, middles and ends - a story of passivity and dependence playing against one of power and autonomy. The women's beginning narratives of youth tended to construct innocent and naïve selves, vulnerable and lacking control. They spoke of being taught early on that a woman's power comes through virginity and feminine reputation, and as such there was a need to work to protect themselves against that which would work to bring them down (men and sex). The middles of their stories, which told of their courting years, portrayed a struggle for power, commonly with the woman eventually letting down her guard in the context of a romantic relationship and romantic discourse (Jackson, 1993; Walkerdine, 1990). At this point, the story thread typically equated commitment with sex and a continuation onto pregnancy (either before or after marriage). The move into a sexual relationship was, by and large, associated with power going to the man, both in terms of gendered subjectivities equating masculinity with agency and femininity with

passivity (Holland et al 2000; McRobbie, 1991; Wetherell, 1995), and in terms of cultural expectations giving the man who takes a woman's virginity a position of power over whether her reputation is upheld (Espiritu, 2001; Phillips, 2000). He was constructed as having the power to cast her as a fallen woman and to leave the relationship once he obtained sex from her (Thompson, 1995). As the women moved on to the ends of their stories, a progressive narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986) frequently became apparent. With motherhood came a sense of identity resolution (Labov, 1997). In becoming a mother, many of the women seemed to reclaim their sense of power, positioning themselves as having become the wiser, stronger protector and nurturer of the naïve young.

As with the daughters' interviews, before moving on to discuss some of the mothers' narratives in more detail, the following section involves a brief discussion of key themes that came out of a thematic analysis of the mothers' interviews.

KEY THEMES IN THE MOTHERS' SEXUAL STORIES

Four key narrative areas were apparent in the mothers' stories and shall be discussed here. These revolved around meanings of sexual education and knowledge, meanings of femininity, meanings of sex, and meanings of marriage and pregnancy.

Stories of sexual learning and knowledge:

Silence and naivety:

The most common story told by the mothers was one of silence and naivety regarding sex while growing up in the Philippines. They constructed a picture of sex as a taboo subject, elucidating that as such they had lacked any sort of formal, explicit education about sex. Many women spoke of having no sexual education until university, work, or a marriage preparation class, when they had received a basic family planning or health class. Between this lack of education and the associated moral perspective that sex

should be after marriage only (Fine, 1988; Gavey, 2005), they spoke of premarital sex as being shrouded in secrecy and a need for discretion. The women's narratives of sexual learning tended to construct sex as something abruptly learnt about through experience with their boyfriend or husband.

Many women depicted similar expectations of sex for their daughters. While a number of mothers had spoken to their children about sexuality, many had maintained silence on this subject. A common justificatory statement was "they're still babies", positioning teenage daughters within a maturational discourse as still naïve and not developmentally ready for sexual activity (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999), thus not yet requiring explicit education around sex. Such a statement was sometimes backed up by the argument that whatever daughters might need to know, they received from schools anyway, an education that was positioned as being able to offer daughters more information than they could. As literature on sexual education at school suggests that the focus remains on the biology and dangers of sex, reliance on school-based education may correspond to daughters missing out on discussion of the emotional and relationship aspects of sexuality (Fine & McClelland, 2006; Haag, 2000).

No!:

In terms of the messages that were received about sex and sexuality in their youth, the main one reflected on by the mothers involved a protective discourse asserting to not have sex, not use contraception and not get pregnant (Thomson & Holland, 1994). Some mothers commented on teaching a similar message to their daughters now. Mothers spoke of having grown up in a cultural environment of restraint for female sexuality, where premarital sex went against accepted mores for femininity and was considered shameful (Espin, 1997; Espiritu, 2001; Lees, 1993). This depiction was added to by the teaching that premarital sex and contraception went against their religious conscience. Mothers frequently spoke of no access to contraception until marriage, explaining that they had little knowledge of contraception prior to this and that asking for contraception as

an unmarried woman was outside their considered possibilities, as it implied one had stepped out of the expected position of virgin (Holland et al., 2000; Lees, 1993). As pregnancy, (the alternative consequence of sex), would also be a visible sign of disgracefully stepping away from the virgin, the mothers spoke of developing a fear of the sexual, something which had the potential to destroy their youthful reputations.

Learning through myths and metaphors:

Many mothers spoke of having learnt about sex and appropriate feminine sexuality through myths, metaphors and old wives tales. Some mothers did not label this as a sexual education, likely due to its difference to the Western style of explicit fact-based education. However, their stories were littered with subtle lessons learnt in childhood via stories and advice with hidden meanings, which were handed down to them from the older generations of women, often the grandmothers who raised them. While explicit discussion of sex was portrayed as generally being left unspoken, superstitious instructions to keep their legs together whether sitting or sleeping, to not let someone step over them while they slept, and to hang their underwear privately, lest the devil make them pregnant, implicitly provided them with culturally dominant 'good girl' discursive resources, teaching them the value of feminine discretion and the dangers of female vulnerability if they were not careful to avoid tempting a man (Gavey, 2005; Holland et al., 2003; Jackson, 2005; Lees, 1993).

Indirect sexual learning was also constructed as having occurred through listening to older women gossiping and joking together about sexual matters in front of children. These conversations appeared to offer valuable exposure to more positive aspects of sex and female sexuality, even if there was a lack of comprehension of the women's jokes at the time. While frequently focusing on the rules and restrictions put upon them as young women then, the mothers' growing up narratives also displayed a positive culture of openness around sexuality among women and an understanding of the strength of female togetherness.

Times are changing:

Some mothers framed stories of recognition and acceptance that their daughters had been immersed in New Zealand youth culture and the different cultural constructions of sexuality that went with it. They expressed acknowledgement in their talk that virginity was less prized in New Zealand. While they hoped it would not happen, they positioned themselves progressively as having come to accept that their own daughters may have a sexual relationship before marriage, particularly as many related their own stories of premarital sex. As one mother put it, "In Rome, do as the Romans do". Around this progressive narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986), they placed a number of conditions. Aspiring to maintain their daughters within the confines of conventional femininity (Allen, 2003; Jackson, 2005; Vance, 1984) and a 'have / hold discourse' (Hollway, 1989; Lees, 1993), mothers spoke of wanting daughters to not have multiple sexual partners, to make sure their partner was "special" and the relationship lasting, to base sex around love, not only physical desire, and, in line with a discourse of responsibility (Gavey, 2005; Holland et al., 1996), to say yes to contraception and safe sex. At the same time, however, the majority of mothers spoke of having remained relatively silent regarding discussion of this with their daughter, tending to still overtly teach no to sex.

Protection versus education:

In stories of raising their own daughters, many mothers constructed difficulty in finding a balance between protection and openness about sexuality. The women spoke of not wanting their daughters to be as naïve as they had felt at their own sexual initiation. However, they expressed conflict in their talk around what and how much their daughters should know. They spoke of either fear or experience of being too strict and restrictive as resulting in daughters, who are exposed to New Zealand ways, rebelling. Simultaneously, they worried that too much education may encourage sexual experimentation.

Many constructed school as the place of learning rather than home,

something that appeared to be a point of struggle. Mothers spoke positively of sexual education programmes as valuably preparing their daughters with information they had lacked in their own upbringing. Interwoven with this though was a fear based in moral discourse, that sexual education in schools may encourage sex and expose daughters to values outside of their own culture and religion (Fine, 1988).

Joking around:

Some mothers spoke of gauging where their daughters were at regarding sex, and hinting about their own viewpoints, through the subtle use of humour. They spoke, for instance, of making jokes with their children about condoms and safe sex while watching the media or hearing about other people's situations. It seems likely that this implicit method of guidance fits more comfortably with the myths and metaphors style of sexual education mothers grew up with in their home culture.

Stories of being a woman:

Being a Lady:

As with their daughters' talk, the mothers' stories of growing up were filled with references to the Filipino Lady construction from the focus groups. Guidelines for appropriate behaviour for young Filipino Ladies were offered in the old wives tales already mentioned, as well as through direct instructions (from parents, grandparents and other concerned relatives) about how to carry oneself, such as sitting with one's legs together at all times, not wearing shorts outside, and generally behaving in a "prim, proper, polite" manner - messages requiring a 'good girl' subjectivity and grounded in the idea that young women's bodies, as sexual objects, should be constrained (Bordo, 1989; Gavey, 1993; Lees, 1993; Phillips, 2000). Dating was positioned as a lead up to marriage for Filipino women and this was held in contrast to New Zealand women, for whom dating was constructed as leading to sex. Talk of "respecting yourself" as a young woman was associated with the 'good girl' position of upholding virginity, having sex with one man alone, and an expectation of "marrying your first" sexual

partner if sex discretely occurred prior to wedlock, so as to preserve the representation of sex as special (Carpenter, 2002; Jackson, 2005).

The crystal ball:

In line with Gilfoyle et al.'s (1993) work, in many of the stories, the women spoke of womanhood and virginity as having been depicted for them as a gift or a crystal ball when they were young. Such a metaphor illustrates the 'vulnerable woman' (Phillips, 2000) and evokes an image of virginity as something precious, irreparable and in need of close protection, due to the ease with which it is broken. Many of the myths and old wives tales recounted in the women's stories revolved around this protection. Frequent warnings that "the devil will make you pregnant" for any digression from appropriate Lady behaviour reminded the women of a need to be constantly vigilant to potential dangers, particularly the danger of provoking, and thus being responsible for, uncontrollable male sexuality (Gavey, 2005; Hollway, 1989).

A related portrayal was that of the "fallen woman", who, having lost her virginity before marriage and thus fallen from grace, sat within the 'bad girl' subjectivity (Lees, 1993). Some women spoke of the fear they had held as a "fallen woman", having lost their sense of power and being stuck in their relationship with a boyfriend regardless of how he treated them, because he could ruin their reputation by letting out word that they were a "fallen woman" (Thompson, 1995).

Women as self sacrificing:

The women also spoke of early lessons of emphasised femininity (Connell, 1987; Walkerdine, 1990), that wives were expected to respect their husbands regardless of husband's behaviour, a custom often first modelled to them by their own mothers and later played out in their stories of their own marriages. A number of the women depicted fathers and/or husbands as having been cheaters, with conservative, religious families expecting women to be self sacrificing and devote themselves to family, marriage and

children despite this. Divorce was constructed as immoral in their families of origin. Some interviewees described being poorly treated by those close to them, when they resisted the nurturer position expected of women and prioritised their own needs by leaving an unfaithful husband (Connell, 1987; Jackson, 1993; McRobbie, 1991). Interestingly, women who remained with their cheating husbands, and stayed within the confines of dominant discourse, were frequently constructed as strong and resilient to be able to put aside their feelings and carry on (Connell, 1987).

Restraining women:

Throughout the stories, an image that kept recurring was the importance of restraint in the behaviour and emotions of women. Many recalled the saying “easy to get, easy to forget” told to them as they entered the stage of courting, a saying that taught them to act as gatekeepers to the relationship, not giving into a man’s attempts to woo them too quickly, even if they liked him (Espiritu, 2001; Hollway, 1989). Common pieces of romantic narrative constructed how husbands-to-be had worked hard to gain the acceptance of the woman (Walkerdine, 1990). Such constructions seemed to function to show a woman’s worth, through her ability to stay restrained and virginal for as long as possible, and through his willingness to work hard for her.

Being tough:

Another portrait of restraint was apparent in the woman’s talk of being “tough” with feelings. Many mothers told stories of being taught (and now teaching their daughters) not to be overly forthcoming with their emotions for boyfriends. Messages included “don’t show interest”, “don’t fall in love”, and “don’t commit” yourself to a boyfriend, with advice to simply be friends. Visible in their talk of courtship was a fear of the trap of romantic narrative (Holland et al., 2003; Jackson, 2001; Lees, 1993), as feeling or expressing love was seen as creating vulnerability on the part of the woman, a vulnerability that was equated with a progression towards the loss of virginity and the downfall of women’s power in the relationship. Such a demise was exacerbated by the constructed likelihood that sex would

inevitably lead to pregnancy and getting tied up in the role of wife too early. One woman spoke of purposefully choosing boyfriends she had no feelings for over a boy she felt strongly for. She positioned loving a boyfriend as dangerous, due to the potential for her to be naively blinded by love and have sex, leading her further away from the life and independence she wanted should she become pregnant. For some then, boyfriends during youth were constructed as accessories, providers, or escorts, rather than someone to be particularly emotionally attached to, as they instead put effort into prioritising their own pursuits (Stewart, 1999).

Being tough with feelings was not only for courtship. The women developed stories around the need for women to be emotionally strong, as they endure many hardships in relationships and life. In constructing the resilient Filipino woman, they spoke of learning and teaching their daughters that education is key to being a strong independent woman. That way, if a man turned out to be unfit, either in financial provision or through infidelity, a woman would be able to support herself rather than being forced to rely exclusively on him. Some, particularly those who spoke of their experiences with cheating husbands, stressed the importance of trust in a marriage over the alternative perspective of marrying for security, which they had often been raised with. Some narrated teaching themselves and their daughters the value of being able to tell a husband she could live without him. While still generally expecting to take on the submissive role of conventional femininity in their marriage (Wetherell, 1995), they simultaneously prized the maintenance of female power and independence in the relationship.

Stories of sex

Sexual passivity:

Across the women, there appeared a lack of agency in their talk of first intercourse, and often of sex in general, which was defined as a male-centred practice (Holland et al., 2003). Premarital sex, and the pregnancy that was frequently associated with it, were commonly constructed with

traditional female passivity and a lack of being a knowing participant (Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984). Whether this functioned to rid women of responsibility for an act that stepped outside of the moral discourse they had been raised with, or was due to a lack of available discourse of feminine desire for these older women, or was simply a representation of their naivety and lack of power in the sexual encounter, cannot be known with certainty (Fine, 1988; Holland et al., 1996; Phillips, 2000). Their stories mirrored the romantic narrative of many of their daughters' stories though, with talk of "it just happened" and positioning themselves as unaware, not knowing what to expect, and following the lead of their boyfriend in an event that came unexpectedly (Stewart, 1999; Thompson, 1995).

Explaining first sex:

There was a mixture of constructions of the experience of 'first sex'. For a few, 'first sex' was constructed as enjoyable, a depiction that was often associated with planned first sex. Some spoke of telling their daughters to put sex off as long as they could; as once they started, it would be hard to stop. For others, sex was narrated as giving into him, with a construction of the man's need for sex that drew directly from the 'male sex drive discourse' (Holland et al., 1998; Hollway, 1989).

Typically though, the women depicted a scene that was lacking in pleasure. In line with the research of Holland et al. (1998) and Thompson (1990), they narrated stories of pain, being scared, and a lack of comprehension of what they were supposed to do or what was going on. They sometimes spoke of a soreness afterwards that felt closer to having been raped.

Stemming from the taboo they constructed as surrounding sex and contraception in their youths, and a frequent lack of exposure to men until university or work, a majority of women spoke of naivety at premarital sex that commonly led to pregnancy. This in turn was generally associated with marriage soon after, in order to be saved from the shame that accompanied the unmarried mother (Espiritu, 2001).

Fear of all things sexual:

Built into stories of naivety and family myths strongly warning against sexual activity, many women narrated a youthful fear of the sexual. They spoke of fearing that any sexual contact, including kissing, would result in pregnancy, whether through a lack of understanding of what it took to become pregnant or a sense of inevitability that any sexual behaviour would lead further. Their stories involved early lessons based in discourses of female vulnerability and sex as dangerous (Fine, 1988; Haag, 2000; Moore & Rosenthal, 1998), telling them to be careful around boys and to consider boys, hormones and touching dangerous - lessons they had since passed onto daughters. As such, it was common for the women to tell stories of no sexual contact of any kind until university or their working years.

Stories of marriage and pregnancy

Pregnancy means marriage:

As already mentioned, a common chain of events in the women's stories involved naivety at premarital sex and a lack of contraception leading to pregnancy and marriage. The convention of appropriate femininity to 'marry your first', and the threat of family shame and parental disownment for taking the path of unwed mother, left the women with few discursive resources for living outside of this expectation (Espiritu, 2001; Holland et al., 1996; Jackson, 2001). In talking of their current lives with daughters of their own, some of the women constructed their daughter's pregnancy (whether real or an imagined future) as a women's burden or even doom, associating pregnancy with giving up one's own aspirations for the well trod path of emphasised femininity and dedicating oneself to a husband and family (Connell, 1987; Walkerdine, 1990). Some spoke of resisting dominant cultural discourse in their later years, purposefully teaching daughters differently that pregnancy need not mean marriage and recognising that marriage does not necessarily secure a relationship.

Security versus love:

Many women constructed security and stability as often placed above love

in the stories of their own upbringing and marriage. This echoes Giles (1995) research that showed working class women to be more drawn to economically practical marriages than romantic discourse and may relate to both the class and cultural background of the mothers, given that the Philippines is both an Eastern and Third World country. The women spoke of parental pressure to marry to secure a profitable future when a choice of man was available and pressure to marry to secure reputation when pregnant. Choosing a husband sensibly was also linked to being tough with feelings, as love was often constructed as having resulted in a regrettable marriage, either due to getting pregnant or due to rose-tinted glasses leading to setting one's sights on either a cheater or a man with little in the way of financial prospects. In teaching their own daughters to be careful in choosing husbands though, the women spoke of hoping they would find both love and security, a resolution reached both from looking back on their own lives and in drawing on a mix of Eastern and Western discourse.

Developing intimacy in New Zealand:

Finally, another theme common to many of the women's narratives was the construction of intimacy and sexual exploration in their marriages as having been developed during their time in New Zealand. Attributing this to less stress, more time, more space from relatives and more allowance for expression of feminine sexuality, they frequently spoke of having more fun in their relationships now.

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

The second half of this chapter is dedicated to a narrative analysis of three of the mothers' stories. As with Luisa's story in the daughter interviews, I wanted to be able to take my analysis and portrayal of the narratives a step further than looking at themes across all of the interviews. It was important to provide a comprehensive picture of how the women were able to make sense of themselves through the telling of their story and the taking up of the narrative resources available to them (Plummer, 1995). As such, I chose

three mothers' stories for a more detailed analysis, picking for each three extracts that represented a beginning, middle and end to their stories, a reflection on their pasts and a glimpse into their futures. Fitting into the common story ingredients mentioned at the start of the chapter, each mother's section starts with growing up and learning about sex, moving through to their courtship and/or experiencing of first sex, and resolving with their depictions of motherhood and teaching about sex. For each extract, I looked at the main theme or 'core narrative' purpose of the woman's talk at this point in her story (Mischler, 1986; Riessman, 1993) and how she positioned herself within this to build understanding around her life (Plummer, 1995). In choosing the three mothers, I looked for women who gave a good sense of storytelling, as well as whose stories were at once common to many of the others and uniquely fascinating within themselves.

Lida

Lida was a mother in her late forties, who had immigrated to New Zealand after her marriage broke down. She had children in their teens and twenties. She was well educated and career-oriented, and at one stage had worked in a role aimed towards improving the lives of women in the Philippines. Despite this, she spoke of having been cast in a negative light, by peers and family alike, when she finally left her husband over his infidelity. Lida's story echoed with the same themes as many other women I had interviewed. It was her well-spoken and insightful manner and her story's mix of empowerment and repression that led me to choose her narrative for the chapter. In the first extract, Lida had been discussing her and her siblings' growing up years.

Extract 1: "my grandmother used to say ..." – growing up

Lida. We [Lida and siblings] grew up stronger, at least the first six of us, because there was our grandmother who was guiding us, showing us the way. She was very strict, but she actually instilled in us the values that we have now. Because my grandmother used to say, "Look, you have to study hard, be

qualified, get as much education as you can, because if you marry and if that husband of yours is not good enough, then you could always support yourself. If anything happens, you can stand up on your own two feet.” and she said “You don’t have to put up with a hard life“. So, it is my grandmother and my sisters would say the same thing. I believe we skipped one generation. In Philippines, you always skip one generation. You don’t grow up with your parents because there is an extended family. So my generation is my grandmother’s. My thinking, my beliefs is my grandmother, not my mother’s.

Aïyesha. Do you remember what you were taught by your grandmother about boys and relationships?

Lida. Oh yes, a very interesting growing up years. I know I was seven years old. My grandmother’s very open. She has her sisters visiting us and we would play, us children, and they would join us. Their talk was a joke. They’re very open and I love them for that. They would say, I don’t know if I could translate it quite clearly, my other grandmother, who is my grandmother’s older sister said, “Hey [grandmother’s name]” - Her name is [grandmother’s name] and then they’ve got another sister there. The three of them talking amongst us and we were listening. She would say “Hey [grandmother’s name], do you realize, can you imagine”, she says, “if every time a couple makes love and of course the climax could create a sound, then it would be like New Year every night.” (laughs) We would laugh. We didn’t understand. I didn’t understand, but I know it was funny and so I would laugh along with them. And what was that they say? No, what they would say is, “When you’re in front of any boys, you should sit properly. Legs together. Don’t ever sit with your legs apart because a snake would come in.” (laughs) That’s how they, it’s always like you may call it an analogy, I don’t know how to term that. So we were told not to open our legs when we sit. We should sit properly and we should hang our undies privately without being seen by anyone. “Don’t leave it outside on the clothes line because the devil will make you pregnant” (laughs) That sort of thing. (laughs) Oh, when I first told them I think I had my first period, they made me jump so many steps on the stairway. Partly that’s superstition. (laughs) You have to do that so you will grow taller. I don’t know what else, and my grandmother used to say we should be very careful with our womanhood because that’s very precious. It’s like a crystal ball. Once it is broken, you’ll never be able to put it back. So if that happens to you, they said you have to marry the person. Whoever did it to you first, you should marry that one. Otherwise you’re a fallen woman.

Lida’s narrative demonstrates a common theme in her talk, that of openness versus repression regarding female sexuality. She sets the scene by positioning herself and the women in her family as “strong” and guided by a

strict and wise matriarch, her grandmother, who drew on a progressive discourse (Phillips, 2000) and promoted education and independence for women as a solution to being downtrodden by men. Lida speaks of being encouraged and empowered by her grandmother to stand on her own two feet, so as to not need to rely on a husband in the future. She goes on to build an uplifting image of a close-knit community of women in the family; women who speak openly about sex and have shared understandings and jokes around an otherwise sensitive, taboo subject matter. While publicly promoting conventional femininity (Allen, 2003; Holland et al., 1994), amongst themselves these women make explicit humorous reference to (female?) sexual pleasure.

Despite the silence around sexuality and sexual education stated in most of the women's interviews, stories like Lida's suggest a great deal of sexual storytelling within the circle of women, particularly among older married women, but often overheard by young, even very young, women. Lida's story posits that, while she did not receive the explicit sexual education typical in the West, she was exposed to a more culturally traditional and implicit education, through the use of metaphors and stories that taught lessons about gender and sexuality. Positioning herself as initially lacking comprehension of these jokes and stories, she draws on a maturational narrative of adolescence and shows herself as coming to understand later as she matured and was ready for the teachings she had heard (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999).

Lida's story is simultaneously woven with talk of repression and vulnerability. As Lida elaborates elsewhere, her story constructs growing up in an environment where there was little to no space for explicit discussion of sex with young women, who were not given information about safe sex because, in accordance with a moral discourse, it was expected that they should not be engaging in sex outside of marriage (Amachastegui, 1999; Holland et al., 1996). Even in the implicit sexual messages, which she discusses here, her grandmother's lessons are in many ways restrictive,

presenting to the young women that they are surrounded by threat and are vulnerable (Phillips, 2000). Her grandmother's words draw on a discourse of female victimisation and the dangers of sexuality (Fine, 1988; Haag, 2000; Phillips, 2000). While amongst other women there may be openness then, at least in public there remains a warning to be conventionally feminine and demure so as not to provoke male sexuality (Gavey, 2005; Vance, 1984).

Looking in more detail at what Lida's grandmother's metaphors imply about gendered identities, the messages appear to have a strong religious basis, with Christian references to the snake, the devil and the fallen woman. Such talk conjures up images of Eve as being vulnerable to the perils of temptation and in turn bringing about the destruction of Adam (men) as the temptress. Lida's grandmother's cautionary messages for Lida to keep her legs together and hang her underwear privately preach the importance of feminine discretion and vigilance, so as not to become the temptress to uncontrollable male sexuality (Hollway, 1989). By indicating that doing otherwise would lead to the threat of sex, rape, or pregnancy, such metaphors imply these outcomes would be a woman's own fault if she was not discrete (Hollway, 1989).

Another image, that of the chaste 'good girl', is also presented here through the crystal ball metaphor. While elsewhere the crystal ball was used to refer more specifically to virginity, here it is equated with womanhood. With the two used interchangeably at times, it appears that womanhood functions as a euphemism for virginity, demonstrating the degree to which feminine subjectivity and bodies are considered equivalent with female sexuality and chasteness (Bordo, 1989; Gavey, 2005). The crystal ball metaphor stems from conventional femininity (Holland et al., 2000) and positions women as fragile, delicate and precious, but only so long as they remain intact and chaste. Stressing the utmost importance for women to maintain virginity, the meaning behind a broken crystal ball emphasises the inability for young women to return to their precious state once they have had sex, rendering

them useless and without value (Amachastegui, 1999; Carpenter, 2002). With so many hazards threatening the crystal ball's purity, the metaphor also reminds young women of the 'female victimisation discourse' and the need for vigilant self-protection, shielding themselves by shielding their virginity and their reputation (Phillips, 2000). It seems up to the young woman to arm herself as gatekeeper to sex (Hollway, 1989), to overcome, avoid, and take care in all her actions, even in regards to how she sits. Such messages are at once agentic and oppressive, teaching young women to actively repress their sexuality or any signs of it that may tempt male sexuality, a phenomenon considered natural, uncontrollable and up to the woman to prevent, in accordance with the 'male sex drive discourse' (Gavey, 1993; Hollway, 1989).

Lida's grandmother's metaphors are also laden with messages of masculinity. References to the snake, which not so subtly represents the penis, can be seen as providing Lida with an early education that men can be dangerous, slithering predators, meaning a need for women to be cautious so as not to be caught off guard and preyed upon (Phillips, 2000). Similar constructions are apparent with the devil metaphor, which suggests a looming threat, waiting to prey upon women who sin. While men are positioned as dangerous, women are maintained in a position of responsibility; it is up to women to guard against and control men who are easily consumed with sexual desire (Gavey, 1993; Hollway, 1989). Even Lida's grandmother's promotion of education as the way for a woman to arm herself long term, in case "that husband of yours is not good enough", implies that men may well fail you and cannot be relied upon.

It is important to note, as we progress onto Extract 2, that within Filipino family hierarchies, being the first born son or daughter is considered a privileged position (Enriquez, 1993). According to cultural traditions, younger siblings are expected to offer respect to their older siblings, following what they say and do. At the same time, great responsibility comes with the role, as the first born son and daughter are expected to act as

a model for their younger siblings. Otherwise, the straying behaviour of younger siblings in the future may be blamed on the older sibling's poor example (Enriquez, 1993; Espiritu, 2001). It is in relation to these cultural customs that Lida speaks here.

Extract 2: “what I wasn’t able to do for myself, I could only tell them” – experiencing

Lida. I always believed what they said. Because I am the eldest, I have to be the model. I have to be a role model for everyone. And they set a very high standard that I should be measuring up with, I should be doing, following. And I think that messed me up. Because probably I should have married somebody else, as I should have thought - You know, because when you are young, you don't think about the future. Whoever got you first, you have to marry this and that. And I did the opposite with my kids. And even with my younger sisters, I said “Look, if something had happened to you” – Because that happened to my younger sister. I noticed she was losing weight and all that, and what was happening was she thought she is a fallen woman already because she made love to her boyfriend, and her boyfriend was actually playing up. And she said “Oh he's running away!” because he'd already taken her virginity. And I couldn't tell her that that had happened to me and therefore I couldn't get away from that relationship because my worry was “Oh God, he would talk. He would tell everybody.” You know? “He will gossip about me and about what we did.” And I told my other sister, I said “Look, don't worry about it. Just be happy that you know at this point in time what kind of a person he is. Just move on.” And she did. She's very successful. So ah yeah, they're luckier, because what I wasn't able to do for myself, I could only tell them, but I cannot say it directly, that “Hey, listen to me, because it happen to me.” I can't tell them that, because I still have my pride. And I cannot tell my parents either, because when they found out that I was going out with [daughter name]'s Dad, you know my ex-husband, they thought yeah, I am a loose woman, a fallen woman. And they didn't like my ex-husband and I had a tough time. They never explained to me, nobody did. Nobody said to me what I should be doing, what I shouldn't be doing.

Lida's narrative in Extract 2 revolves around reputation, displaying a theme of powerlessness and entrapment within the confines of feminine reputation. Lida establishes her position early on as having the arduous responsibility of being role model to her younger siblings. She sets up this role as placing her

in an especially vulnerable position. Drawing on her younger sister's experience confirms Lida's argument that others fall from the 'good girl' position too (Lees, 1993), but that if she falls, the fall is harder from the higher position of respectability she is burdened with maintaining.

Lida's story is one of struggle over the ideal image she is supposed to be portraying of how to act and who to be, and her perceived need to hide the self she identifies with, as this self does not live up to the expectations put upon her. She constructs the fear for her own reputation as having moulded key events in her life story, particularly the decision to 'marry her first' despite recognition that he was not a good choice, as she felt unable to step out of the path set for her. Recognising that not marrying would have damaged her reputation and left her a 'fallen woman' (publicly so, as she was already pregnant), Lida's statement "therefore I couldn't get away from that relationship" functions to position her as being without a choice, having lost all power in the relationship to the man, once her virginity was lost (Thompson, 1990).

The quintessential passive woman (Wetherell, 1995), Lida conveys a sense of powerlessness to change her own path. Supposed to be a model, she constructs herself as the 'victimised woman' (Phillips, 2000), trapped within the identities that have been placed upon her by others: victim of being the eldest and carrying her parents' hopes of setting a perfect example, victim of her husband's maltreatment and threat to her reputation, with little choice but to endure her shameful position given her status as a 'fallen woman', and victim to the lack of provision of a sexual education and lack of instruction that there are other possibilities to that of 'marrying your first'. Perhaps the powerlessness taken on in her talk absolves her of responsibility for a marriage she spoke of with a fair amount of regret.

Lida constructs herself as caught in a further dilemma also, the fear for her own reputation versus protection of her sister from meeting the same end. Lida positions herself as having considered using her own life of being

trapped in an unhappy marriage as a lesson for her sister. Ultimately though, uncovering her own shame of being outside the boundaries of acceptable femininity would also mean being outside the boundaries of the role model she is meant to be representing, and Lida constructs herself as unable to divulge this information (Espiritu, 2001).

Lida speaks of still managing to save her sister though. After staking a powerless youthful position, resolution to Lida's story comes in taking back some power through educating others to prevent them a similar fate. Her declaration, "I did the opposite with my kids", and her pride in her sister's success after Lida's advice to move on from her boyfriend, show her movement in subjectivity from trapped and helpless to strength and wisdom. Here, Lida resists the dominant cultural narrative thread of 'marry your first' in her teachings to her own sister and daughters, opening up a space for change and empowerment for women (Western discourse around 'holding onto the first' described in Jackson, 2001).

As a mother, Lida tended to position herself as having prepared well in educating her children about sexuality. Earlier in the interview, she spoke of teaching her elder children (not mentioned here) about puberty and sexuality herself, responsibly positioning education and awareness as key in building a positive future (Gavey, 2005; Holland et al., 2003). Speaking from a place of sexual empowerment through sexual education, her talk is reminiscent of her own early experiences of her grandmother encouraging women's empowerment through education. Leading into the present extract, Lida had been speaking about her next oldest daughter as not being open to her regarding sexuality.

Extract 3: "it was too late" – teaching

Lida. What I did was when [next older daughter's name] had her first period, the onset of menstruation, I took her to our GP and I said "Look, if you're not comfortable of me talking to you, you can speak to our GP, and ah feel comfortable, because she is a very trusted GP. She will not discuss what you would

talk to her about with me.” And I did that to [next older daughter’s name]. Unfortunately with [youngest daughter’s name], it was too late, because I thought she was still a baby. She’s the youngest. She’s so protected. We would always take her to school or to any activities that she had. She’s very focused with her studies and she’s not very interested with boys. But one Saturday morning, her brother and sister pick her up and she was taken to a basketball game, and of course [youngest daughter’s boyfriend’s name] saw her there. (laugh) And unfortunately, I failed in that aspect because, before I could take her to the doctor for medical advice, consultation, what to do - [Doctor’s name] was very good when I took my [next older daughter’s name] there. She would explain in very simple language what the body does, how the hormones - And its funny, because she said “You have so many gremlins that want you. It just runs around your body. When you see some boys, you’ll feel funny.” And that unfortunately did not take place or wasn’t done with [youngest daughter’s name] cos it was too late. She fell pregnant. And we didn’t even know that she was pregnant.

Encountering an obstacle in her approach to sexuality education, Lida constructs herself as resourcefully adapting her strategy to involve the GP for her second daughter. Lida positively frames the GP’s style of education in much the same way as she did her own upbringing with her grandmother; education through humour and metaphors. She demonstrates a sense of achievement in arming her children with education that she felt she lacked from her own parents (“Nobody said to me what I should be doing”, Extract 2).

Yet alongside and woven into this success, Lida carries a sense of failure in not having prepared her youngest daughter before she became pregnant. Portraying a theme around the need for constant vigilance, this time from the perspective of motherhood, Lida positions herself as caught off guard and unprepared when threat arrived (Phillips, 2000). She expresses guilt and disappointment around having let her guard down, now in protecting her daughter, rather than herself.

As in her previous extract, Lida appears conflicted between her sense of responsibility and her sense of powerlessness. Drawing on a maturity

discourse of readiness (Stewart, 1999) and constructing her daughter as “still a baby”, “protected”, and “not interested in boys” helps to assert that there was a lack of signs that there was a need for education and that her daughter had not yet seemed ready for a mature relationship. In this way, Lida appears able to manage her underlying feelings of accountability and failure as assigned protector of her younger daughter. She creates a solid foundation around her inability to prevent the situation, as she introduces the lead up to pregnancy as a twist in her narrative of preparedness with “But one Saturday morning...and of course [he] saw her there”. Lida’s laughter at this point perhaps signals the presumed shared knowledge of the inevitability of the situation once boy meets girls in the dominant narrative of romance, and the inescapable feminine vulnerability and entrapment that accompanies it (Jackson, 1993; Thompson, 1984; Walkerdine, 1990).

Further resolution in the story Lida presents comes with the evaluation that “it was too late” and “we didn’t even know”, returning Lida to the victim position of Extract 2, that without knowledge and forewarning she was incapable of preventing the situation. A certain sense of irony is apparent in Lida’s talk of being a strong woman who proactively prevents negative sexual consequences for her sister and likely her older daughters, but who revisits the position of vulnerable woman warned against by her grandmother, this time through her younger daughter, at a moment of reduced vigilance (Phillips, 2000).

Rowena

Rowena was also a mother in her forties, who had immigrated to New Zealand with children, to follow her husband. She had both primary school and secondary school aged children. Now staying home to care for her children, she had previously worked and struggled in the Philippines while her husband was overseas. Rowena’s vivid portrayals of her experiences and her talk of moving from a naïve youth to a self-assured woman and mother helped me to choose her narrative for the chapter.

Extract 4: “sweet sixteen and never been touched” – growing up

- Aïyesha. Did your mum or your grandma tell you things about a woman is supposed to act?
- Rowena. Oh yeah. But my grandma did not really teach me that sort of thing, but she always said "As a woman, you need to be careful! Especially when you already have your period, because you will get pregnant! Do not let a man kiss you, because you will be pregnant!" and I was thinking "Oh really?! Oh okay." (laughter) That is what she put in my mind, so I was really scared of men. If men will touch me or kiss me, according to my grandma, I will be pregnant, so I don't like men to touch me or kiss me, because I don't know. Sex education in the Philippines is a thing that a family sees as really not a good thing to discuss. No, it's not. Even my mother. That is something yucky.
- Aïyesha. So where would a young person receive education about sex?
- Rowena. (pause) I don't know actually, because even schools are not teaching that. (laughs) I really don't know. I had lots of boyfriends. I had lots of suitors. I don't really love them. I don't allow them to touch me or kiss me, because I said "I will get pregnant." I was already ah sixteen. You know, they have the saying 'sweet sixteen and never been touched, never been kissed'. (laughs) I was like that. Because I don't. I don't go for that. Because I'm scared. That is what they put in my mind.

In this extract of growing up, Rowena constructs herself within a theme of innocence through naivety and fear of the sexual. As she orients her story, her description of sexual education coming in the form of lessons from her grandmother presents a similar picture to that of Lida, albeit lacking in the positive female togetherness Lida spoke of. Sex and sexual education are constructed as taboo in traditional Filipino culture (Espiritu, 2001). Rowena positions herself as naïve, with the elders around her drawing on a 'sex as dangerous' discourse, avoiding sexual matters and instilling in her a fear of all things sexual, to the point of misleading her (Fine, 1988; Haag, 2000). Her grandmother's teachings draw on a discourse of women as vulnerable and needing to be vigilant sexual gatekeepers, so as not to be taken advantage of by men (Hollway, 1989; Phillips, 2000).

As Rowena goes on to discuss her teenage courting years, she emphasises her own naivety and innocence further. She talks of avoiding sexual contact of any kind with boyfriends and suitors, in reaction to the fear placed upon

her by family warnings of pregnancy. Pregnancy is constructed throughout as something particularly horrifying, perhaps both because, as Rowena discusses elsewhere, pregnancy signals an end to a woman's aspirations and independence, and because pregnancy acts as undeniable public evidence of 'bad girl' sexual behaviour (Lees, 1993; Walkerdine, 1990).

Drawing on the saying "sweet sixteen and ... never been kissed", Rowena sets herself as far away from the 'bad girl' as linguistically possible, establishing herself in her growing up years as an exemplary 'good girl' (Lees, 1993). Perhaps mentioning that she had lots of suitors emphasises her virtuous integrity further, by indicating she had several opportunities to stray, but held fast to the expectations of the 'good girl' role.

Both Walkerdine (1984; 1990) and Thompson (1995) discuss the manner in which heterosexual relationships are constructed as coming with an expectation that women exchange their autonomy for a sense of safety and security. Just as marrying out of love raises fears of becoming trapped in a less than ideal relationship, pregnancy is construed as shortcutting this same process, capturing women in commitment and marriage in the same way as romantic love (Jackson, 1993). Rowena talks more about her fear of love elsewhere but in Extract 4 her focus is on pregnancy.

Leading into Extract 5, I had asked Rowena about her first experience of sex, to which Rowena had narrated an extensive story of running away from her family after an argument and eventually ending up staying with the family of her suitor, who was also a good friend. Assumed by his family to have eloped, the two of them were put together in a bedroom.

Extract 5: "I wish I was in my right senses" - experiencing

Rowena. (laughs) I don't want to think about that. (laughs) I was really scared. Yeah. That was the first time. I was really really scared, you know? And he thought that I have my menstruation, because I was bleeding. I was really bleeding. I thought "Did I get my menstruation?" But the next day, it

- stopped. Yeah. That's when I learned that I lost my virginity. He was scared too! (laughter) He was also scared. But I didn't know what that was, what had happened. But I just feel something breaks inside. I was really really scared.
- Aïyesha. Was that his first time as well?
- Rowena. I don't know. (laughs) I did not ask. I did not ask. He thought that I was not a virgin anymore because, before I married him, there were lots of bad rumours around. When I started working, I had lots of suitors from my work coming to the house and I'm always with different men, and they thought that I'm giving myself to them. So he also believed that I'd become a playgirl. They said that I'm a playgirl and I'm a gold-digger. They said that to me. So they thought I'm not a virgin anymore. And he was asking me if I have my menstruation. I didn't know. I was scared too, because I thought I'm sick, because I got that suddenly. It's like when you open a faucet of a tap. The blood was really really flowing on to me. I was shocked. I was trembling, you know? I was really trembling because the blood is just dripping. I went to the bathroom to wash myself, but I did not know what that was. I didn't know. I just heard after I had all my children, because from then, I had my own family now, so I was mixing with his friends. His friends, they were telling stories like that. That's how I came to know about it.
- Aïyesha. So at the time, you had no idea?
- Rowena. I didn't know. It just happened. I really don't know. It's painful! Painful and scary and I'm trembling, you know? I'm really trembling. Because we were not ready for that. And we're not married. We're not married yet. But we just - (..) It was just like that. (laughs) I really don't know what happened to me. I wish I knew. I wish I was in my right senses, so that I would know what to do. But I really didn't know what to do. I wasn't used to problems, so I easily felt like I had a black out, because I wasn't used to dealing with that. Now I'm learning my lesson the hard way. So I became tough. Now I know what to do, which is good, because I have children. I have a big family and I can protect them now.

As much as her first extract worked to place her within the confines of the 'good girl' subject position, the current extract works to remove Rowena from the 'bad girl' position that she was taught to associate with girls who have sex before marriage - a position that does not connect with her lived experience of 'first sex' (Lees, 1993).

Rowena constructs her sexual initiation very negatively, positioning herself as a victim, naïve, shocked, confused and taken advantage of (similar to the research of Holland et al. (1998) and Thompson (1990)). Her talk of pain,

fear and trembling echoes the theme of many of the women's narratives of painful, awkward or dreadful 'first sex' encounters, as does her expression of feeling unready and unprepared. She omits any mention of desire in the lead up to 'first sex', whether out of a lack of positive feelings at the time or a lack of available discursive resources around female sexual desire (Fine & McClelland, 2006). The repetition of her naivety multiple times through the extract, with many "I didn't know"s, functions to remove all sense of culpability for having stepped outside of the 'good girl' identity she constructed for herself in the previous extract (Thompson, 1995). Positioning herself as not knowing what was happening, she moves from being caught out as a 'bad girl' to being caught off guard as a 'vulnerable girl' (Holland et al., 2000). Stating that the next day was "when I learned that I lost my virginity" highlights this further. Evaluating herself as not even in her right mind at the time of first sex ("I wish I was in my right senses") acts to further suggest a lack of responsibility for her actions (or lack of action as gatekeeper), as she was not thinking and thus could not be seen as making a decision.

In the middle of her story, Rowena speaks of having been subject to unfounded 'bad girl' rumours that marred her reputation (Lees, 1993), even with the man she lost her virginity to. Her position of utmost naivety and shock at the time of first sex also works to aid her resistance to these previous unwelcome constructions applied to her by others.

The sense of naivety Rowena narrated in Extract 4 is continued here to what appears to be the point of victimisation (Phillips, 2000). However, while framing herself so vulnerably, she also carefully works to frame the boy (who was her friend and soon after became her husband) as similarly scared and naïve, ridding him of potentially being seen as the bad guy who took advantage and victimised her. Instead, her talk of "we were not ready for that" functions to frame them both as vulnerable and inexperienced, in a situation which overtook and overwhelmed them.

That Rowena at one point changes to a present tense in her narration, as if she were back in the experience, suggests that this piece of story is a vivid, perhaps traumatic, memory for her (Hellawell & Brewin, 2003). Concluding her story of first sex with a transition towards knowledge and a framing of herself as now strong and capable seems to bring resolution to Rowena's story. This could be said to be a progressive narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986), in which Rowena moves on from being the naïve vulnerable victim who follows her man, and blossoms into a tough woman who has learnt a valuable lesson and is able to protect her children. Finding purpose and leadership in her role as mother, she constructs herself as a shield of protection for other potentially vulnerable young women.

Extract 6: "they will know what to do" - teaching

Rowena. Now with my children, we have this [religious] article about sex education, so I discussed it with them, because I don't want them to learn it outside, where they will get the wrong information. So it's like, it's acceptable with my family, with the young ones now. Now we're talking about sex education. I should tell the children, so that they will know what to do. I don't want them to be like me. Well, in some ways, I would like them to be like me. Because of the conservative ways in which I was brought up, I reserved myself for that time. So, in some ways, there were good things also in the way I was brought up. Now that I have learned things from New Zealand, I can think about whether it is good for them or not. Then, if it is good, then I tell them. When we talked about the sex education, when I looked at them, it seemed that their reaction is just normal. Yeah, but at first (laughs) they were looking like "What is this?!" (laughter) and they hid their eyes. They covered their eyes. But later on, because I kept on telling them, so it became normal. Before, they didn't want to hear, but it's come to a point where it's accepted as that, it's normal, it's something that's acceptable to talk about (laughs) which is good. And I said to them "Don't let them touch your body." You know? "You are now having a period. You need to be careful, because once you engage in sex, then you will get pregnant." And they were okay with that. And also because I need to base my life according to what the bible says and teach my children according to what the bible says when it comes to that area also. They might get wrong information outside. Like they might ask their classmate what is this, what is that. I'm always watching my children, so if they will do something, even a small thing, I will not let them pass. I always check what it is. They know. I explained to them what

the bible says. Like, "Children, when are you going to have sex?" (laughs) My daughter knows about that. "When you are already married, Mum." "And to whom?" "Only to your husband."

Founded in her own experiences and history of sexual naivety, Rowena locates herself as at once open and fearful, vigilant in the protection of her own children regarding sexuality. Possibly expecting her children to be in the same naive position she framed herself within during her youth, Extract 6 can be seen as continuing on from the end of her prior extract, with Rowena now positioning herself as a protector and in possession of power. Having overcome her own trials, she portrays herself as taking an active role with the next generation in terms of sexual education, while also closely monitoring their behaviour and the information they receive. While, on one hand, Rowena describes herself as having become more open about sexuality and gaining a sense of empowerment and awareness through coming to New Zealand, she also demonstrates conflict over how much of this novel approach to sexuality she needs to filter out for her children. Perhaps fearing they may become too Westernised and step too far from the cultural boundaries of femininity within which she was raised (Espiritu, 2001), she positions herself as working hard to find a balance between the two cultures in educating her children.

Returning to the teachings of female chastity from her grandmother, Rowena continues to give a precautionary tale of premarital sex as dangerous and immoral (Fine, 1988; Phillips, 2000), basing her teachings in the religious discourse that takes a central place in Filipino culture (Espiritu, 2001). However, she finds a slightly modern twist by offering her children information over silence and moving from "Do not let a man kiss you, because you will be pregnant" (Extract 4) to the more fact-based "once you engage in sex, then you will get pregnant".

Bianca

Now around age forty, Bianca had immigrated to New Zealand with her

husband many years ago. All her children, who had an age spread from primary school to university, had been brought up in New Zealand, as Bianca left the Philippines not long after the birth of her first child. University-educated but having taken on the role of stay-at-home mother since her arrival in New Zealand, Bianca spoke of the strain of having raised her young family in a new country without the support of her family close by. Her good humour and the way in which her story again typified many of the narrative threads common across the mother interviews were among my reasons for choosing her narrative for the chapter.

Extract 7: “I was still a child” – growing up

- Aïyesha. So had you had any sexual education at school or by parents or - ?
- Bianca. No, in that time, not, no. Cos when I had my period and I had my pubic hair and everything, I was still playing like a child, you know, skipping rope and hopscotch. (laughs) So I was still a child, even though I was already developing. I still played like a child, you know? I was surprised, cos - what happened then? I think I was at a dress-maker and she was just um sewing and she ring me. Oh, there was some stain in my pants. So I went home. I took a shower. Also I knew what to do, about the pads and everything. I think, was it my mum or my sister? I just saw them with that. I told them. Actually I was really ashamed to tell (laughs) that I was already a lady because I was still playing like a child. (laughs) I was like a tomboy. I would climb trees and you know, so. (laughter)
- Aïyesha. Did you realise then that that meant you could get pregnant?
- Bianca. No, no, nothing. I think I only realised when I was already in college or sixteen, seventeen years old. That's it, yeah. Through my friends. Cos, um, I've got classmates who have got pregnant also. (laughs) So yeah. [interruption of interview] Yeah so when we had sex, I didn't realise that I was going to get pregnant (laughter) cos, um yeah I really didn't know anything about when you're fertile or you know. They never taught us that at school and I never learnt it on my own, even when I was already old. So really I'm just so glad that, you know, my children, how they know that, you know? They're taught about um when they have their period, you know, about the opposite sex. Yeah, I didn't. It's funny! I didn't even know that. I thought that the man's organs were always erect. (laughs)
- Aïyesha. When did you find out?
- Bianca. It was, um yeah, from experience. "Oh that's what?!" (laughs) "Something's wrong!" "What happened?!" (laughter) But really I didn't know that, so I had to find that out by myself.

Threaded through Bianca's story of innocence and naivety is a sense of the struggle between her physical and emotional self. Lacking a sexual education, Bianca constructs herself as unaware of what was happening to her physically during puberty, with even less comprehension around sex and fertility.

Making a comparison between her physical body and her sense of self, she positions her physically matured body complete with sexual characteristics of pubic hair and menses, as at odds with her emotional experience of herself as an innocent, oblivious child, not ready to grow up and not even thinking about sex yet. Bianca goes on to speak of shame about her physical maturation and the onset of menstruation, a shame that appears to reflect her lack of fit with the culturally dominant gendered subject position, and her recognition that what this physical self was supposed to represent, (i.e. a "Lady" and all that the Lady entails), was incompatible with her identity as a child. While permissible for a child, her "tomboy" behaviour of climbing trees and running around was not appropriate behaviour for a reserved and demure Lady.

As with Lida and Rowena, Bianca's story illustrates the subtle learning of gender and sexuality in Filipino culture. While describing herself as deficient in sexual knowledge, Bianca appears to have implicitly known what was expected of her in developing into a young woman. Similarly, without having been instructed about puberty and what that meant for her explicitly, Bianca positions herself as having known "what to do, about the pads and everything" from having observed her mother or sister's behaviour.

Reflecting at the end of the story that, being left to her own devices, she learnt about sexuality through experience and mistakes, Bianca's is similar to the other mothers' stories in recognising the value of sexual responsibility in the modern world (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993, 2006), constructing her children as better off for having a more explicit sexual education.

Extract 8: “when he came along” - experiencing

- Bianca. I went to a single sex school. I was only exposed when I started working. Yeah and that's where I met him. (laughs) It was just a fast one cos - I don't know what happened with him! (laughs) Ah when he was courting me, I was telling myself "Oh what is this?" I was uncomfortable through the courtship and everything. I wasn't used to it. Not that I hated men or anything, but I did not like them really. (laughs) I was not comfortable with men around, yeah, so, because I hadn't been exposed. I was from the girls' school to there. And I wasn't really close to my brothers cos they were a bit older, and yeah, my relationship with my dad was not really very close.
- Aïyesha. How did he start trying to court you?
- Bianca. Oh he started with letters and chocolates. (laughs) Yeah, and then we started going out, yeah. He would come to me at my desk. "Oh would you like to have lunch?" "Okay". And then we'd have lunch together and then after work, we'd go out, eat dinner, watch a movie. (laughter) I liked what he was doing, but I was still afraid. Like, should I commit myself or not. Like, he's a kind person. He's nice to be with. He's funny and everything. But I was afraid to commit myself, because [husband's name] back then, he had vices as well so, oh if I will commit to him, then I have to commit to his vices as well. So, and I didn't like it. When I was younger, I said, "Oh I don't think I'm going to get married." (laughs) cos. um I was going to be a nun. I said "Oh I will not have any (laughs) relationship with any man or whatever cos I want to be a nun." (laughter) If not a nun, I was going, I was considering to be an old maid. (laughter) Well, I really did not want to have anything to do with men. (Aïyesha. Yeah.) Yeah. Until he came, so yeah. Oh when he came along, oh, it was different. So, it was something new to me, yeah so, (laughter) yeah. I didn't want even to look for any other man. I couldn't compare him with anybody else. (Aïyesha. Mmm.) Like I said, even if he's skinny, and - cos when he was younger, he was so skinny and he really really didn't look good. (laughter). But, but you know, his inside is true and it, yeah so that's what I, I just looked at the inside of him. I don't care if he's really skinny. (laughter)

In this extract, Bianca narrates the typical courtship story of a young Filipino man working to win the affections of his chosen young woman. As was common among the mothers' stories, going out with a suitor was not constructed as a 'committed' relationship until the time that she officially accepts him as such. Throughout her portrayal of her courtship with her husband, Bianca locates herself passively, taking on a conventionally feminine subject position within a romantic narrative, with the courtship

happening to her and her following the man's lead (McRobbie, 1991). Meanwhile, she casts her husband-to-be as the active pursuer (Wetherell, 1995), a depiction that I feed into as well by asking "How did *he* start trying to court you?" (emphasis added).

Constructing herself as naïve about men, Bianca's story lacks any sense of her own desire (for the relationship or for sex). More than just passive, she portrays herself as uninterested and indifferent to men and the potential for a heterosexual relationship to the point of being "uncomfortable" and "afraid". In reading the extract, one gets the sense that she felt pressured to fulfil the prescribed woman's role by entering into a courtship, instead of fulfilling her own ambition of becoming a nun.

Bianca's narration of not wanting "to have anything to do with men... until he came" could be read in multiple ways. Possibly this phrase may signal a change of heart, drawing on a romantic discourse of meeting him as opening her up to the world of love and desire (Allen, 2005; Jackson, 2001; Walkerdine, 1990). Given Bianca's positioning of herself as continuing to be uncomfortable through the courtship though, it also seems possible that "until he came" signals that once she was actively pursued by a man, she was pushed along the well trod pathway expected of her as a woman - to become involved and wrapped up in a heterosexual relationship, regardless of what prior goals she may have set out for herself (Jackson, 2001; Thompson, 1995; Walkerdine, 1984). In this way, Bianca narrates a loss of herself as she crosses into marriage and the traditional nurturing role of pleasing woman (Connell, 1987; Phillips, 2000; Walkerdine, 1990).

A third take on "until he came" is as a way to dismiss suggestion that Bianca was active in pursuing the relationship, particularly given that the time before sex, pregnancy and marriage was short, "a fast one". With this dismissal, she maintains herself as the 'good girl', an innocent who "hadn't been exposed" (Lees, 1993). Rather than a young woman who was 'easy to get', Bianca presents herself simply as a young woman who was clueless

and went along with the man, as conventional femininity dictated she do (Holland et al., 2003; Jackson, 2001; Vance, 1984).

Adding to this interpretation, Bianca goes so far as to say that she wasn't even physically attracted to him ("he really really didn't look good"). However, having fit herself along the expected road of being invested in a heterosexual relationship, resolution comes for Bianca in drawing on a romantic discourse to explain that, even if she had not been looking and had not even wanted to look, her prince had come looking for her (Walkerdine, 1990). That he was a prince beyond compare, whose "inside is true", appears to work to justify her being swept along in a "fast" courtship (Holland et al., 2003).

Extract 9: "I still see them as babies" – teaching

- Aïyesha. What have you taught your children growing up about relationships and sexuality? Have you spoken to them about that?
- Bianca. Um yeah, yeah. I've talked to them. I've talked to my other one, my second one. Actually, with [oldest teenage daughter's name], not much. I wasn't able to cos she grew up so fast. I mean, cos she's already, (laughs) cos I don't even see it. Not that she's a man-hater or what, but I mean I don't see her having a relationship with a man yet. Although I'm sure she did. She told me she did. (laughter) And she broke it off, cos it was interfering with her studies. I know she gets attracted to some boys. She likes some boys, yeah. But to commit to them, I don't think she would yet. And I told also my other daughter, "Just be friends with the other sex". You know? "It's good to be friends with them. But no commitment. Cos you'll get tied up and you won't be able to do things you would want to do, because here's this guy telling you not to do it." You know? Things like that. I didn't teach them about the details, you know, about intercourse and everything. (laughs) No, no i did not tell them. I did not talk to them yet. (laughs) I still think, I still think that they're still babies, (laughter) that they shouldn't know about it yet. But I know I should, cos. yeah they're already starting in school teaching them about it. But then I still see them as babies. I think it's still icky or something like that. (laughter). At intermediate, I think they were taught it. So I think that's okay. It's okay with me. I guess right now they just need a follow-up from us. But sometimes I still see them as little children, (laughter) so I think it's not yet the right time.

In the final extract, Bianca's narrative is filled with contradiction as she talks about her daughter. With her daughter having left for university fairly recently, it seems likely that Bianca is still working through the change in position for her daughter and for their relationship with each other, from protecting her young one to guiding a young woman.

While Bianca concedes that her daughter has been attracted to boys and has had relationships with boyfriends, she maintains a narrow vision on the possibility that her daughter could yet be engaging in a sexual relationship. Appearing torn over sexual education as precautionary versus uncomfortable, Bianca also draws elsewhere on a moral discourse, fearing that sexual education may encourage sexual exploration (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; 2006). She defends her position (to herself or to me?) of not having spoken to her daughter about sex, by constructing her as still a baby. Drawing on a maturational argument (Carpenter, 2002; Stewart, 1999), Bianca positions her adolescent daughter as not yet developmentally ready for sex, implying also that she is therefore not needing a sexual education either. That Bianca goes back and forward on her decision that "it's not yet the right time" indicates that she is processing this for herself, maybe recognising and trying to mend the contradiction in her own narration or otherwise trying to convince at least herself of her stance. This piece of text provides an example of how talk operates to develop our impression of what is true and possible in making sense of ourselves (Plummer, 1995).

Alongside the discussion of sexual education is a parallel story thread of the meaning of commitment. After acknowledging her daughter's history of boyfriend / girlfriend relationships, Bianca puts forwards that she doesn't think her daughter would be "commit[ting herself] to them" yet. As mentioned in the thematic analysis, for many of the mothers interviewed, there was a tying or equating of commitment with sex. Bianca's talk here derives at once from a 'have / hold discourse', that views sex as only occurring within committed relationships, and a 'pleasing woman /

vulnerable woman discourse', that within committed relationships it is difficult to avoid sex, as giving in to boyfriends is part of a 'good' woman's role (Holland et al., 2003; Hollway, 1989; Vance, 1984). In teaching her daughters to choose friendship, rather than commitment, Bianca attempts to keep her daughters from the sexual pressures of a committed relationship. She also portrays commitment to her daughters as leading to being "tied up" and losing their freedom and independence (Thompson, 1995; Walkerdine, 1990). Having positioned herself, in Extract 8, as giving up her own goals once in a relationship to instead quickly become a mother and wife, she now constructs this as the expected storyline for her daughters' futures also and warns them not to take this turn from career to carer too early.

Conclusions

On the whole, mothers spoke of a desire for their daughters to follow and maintain the cultural traditions they were raised with themselves. This was a point of contention for some mothers though. Even while drawing on Filipino cultural discourses around feminine sexuality, some simultaneously constructed these traditions as having led to disempowerment and strife in their sexual stories. These women narrated efforts to teach their daughters new stories, imparting knowledge of feminine strength and diminishing the silence around sexual education. With a shift to the position of mother, many of the women developed a progressive turn in their narratives, as their self constructions moved from naivety and passivity to empowered nurturers.

However, it seems immigrant Filipino daughters may only be receiving parts of the new story. Those growing up in New Zealand likely miss exposure to older women's shared sexual stories (see Lida). With some mothers fearful that discussion of positive sexuality may encourage sex, and some leaving sexual education to biology-focused school education, sexual stories told to daughters continue to emphasise the dangers of sex.

Chapter Ten:

Endpiece

This thesis presented two main studies; the first, an analysis of six focus groups with young Filipino women; and the second based on two groups of interviews with Filipino daughters and mothers. Discussions focused on gendered and racialised constructions of sexuality and womanhood within the Filipino and New Zealand cultures in which the women lived. Participants drew upon an interwoven set of discourses when making and making sense of decisions about sexual relationships.

Across the research, it was apparent that immigrant Filipino women are frequently caught between cultures and contradictory messages of constraint and autonomy in forming their sexual identities. The most striking findings of the focus group study revolved around various portrayals of feminine subjectivities in relation to sexuality. Alongside heterosexual and coital imperatives, constructions of feminine sexuality characteristic of conventional femininity in the West were further distinguished by ethnicity in the girls' talk. Participants typically described young Filipino women as romantic chaste 'good girls', while New Zealand women were placed more closely alongside men and a 'bad girl' subject position (Lees, 1993), as hedonistic and desiring of casual sexual relationships.

Of note, in focus groups and individual narratives, was culturally specific talk of the Filipino Lady, a position that provided a sense of agency to women and sexual power over men. Filipino Ladies were constructed as emotionally tough and resilient, obtaining respect through their ability to string men along and toy with male emotions through the subtle use of their sexuality, while staying dignified and virtuous themselves. However, the power of the Lady was closely tied to the highly valued feminine virginity

and associated qualities of restraint and restriction. Loss of virginity was equated with giving over all power to the man, who then had control over, not only the woman's physical body, but also her reputation and future. For many of the young women, maintaining virginity was presented as a priority. There was seldom any talk of one's own desires, with sexual selves often constructed as focused on resisting boys' desires. Younger and older women frequently expressed fear of sex and associated male power. Included were fears for their and their family's reputations, and fear of pregnancy. With love and romantic spontaneity common explanations for sex occurring, mothers' messages conveyed the importance of staying emotionally detached from male suitors and boyfriends. More serious girlfriend / boyfriend relationships were constructed as distracting girls from 'waiting for marriage', as love was feared as stripping girls of power and control, causing them to let their guard down and increasing the likelihood that they would go along with the sexual drive of the object of their affection. In their messages to daughters, and their own constructed life experiences, mothers commonly conveyed a straightforward progression from boyfriend to sex to pregnancy, so that 'committed relationships' (i.e. sexual) were best avoided. Particularly for mothers, sex, commitment and marriage were likened to giving up independence and ambition in exchange for security (financial, reputational, and shielding from other men's advances), and thus being permanently tied to a man who may or may not be as committed as his woman. Leaving regretted relationships was generally not an appropriate avenue for consideration, due to the same fears for reputation alongside a religious discourse around marriage, so that choosing the one and only partner wisely was a grave female responsibility, and subsequent wifely sacrifice and resilience were commended over asserting one's own needs.

In focus groups, the young women often resisted their mothers' talk of boyfriends automatically leading to sex, pregnancy and doom, opening a space for young women to have some control over relationship dynamics and sexual situations (principally through the ability to say no to sex).

However, in individual interviews, girls spoke less of feminine power and options, with sex commonly explained in a romantic discourse of being ‘caught in the moment’, ‘just happened’, and as a duty to please boyfriends. ‘First sex’ was often narrated with female ambivalence, passivity and a lack of desire (consistent with Holland, 2003, and Thompson, 1990).

Central to the sexuality messages from both home and dominant cultures was an emphasis on female responsibility alongside vulnerability. For both mothers and daughters, women were narrated as the gatekeepers to sexual behaviour. In discourse around safe sex, conventional heterosexual roles for women, and even in young women’s talk of increased sexual knowledge and liberation in New Zealand, cautions of sexual dangers were rife, with young women positioned as responsible for provoking male desire, the occurrence of sex, contraception and safety, and sexual consequences, such as pregnancy, health and reputation.

For immigrant daughters, who have done much of their growing up in New Zealand and may sometimes be naïve of the nuances of their home culture, the development of cultural and feminine identity often relies heavily on stories from family (Espin, 1995; Espiritu, 2001). In adolescence, a period already plagued with identity conflict, immigrant Filipino girls face additional clashes around remaining true to their home culture’s lessons of traditional chaste Filipino Ladies, while attempting to fit in with New Zealand peers’ expectations of sexual freedom. With a focus on pleasing others as a woman’s role, young women constructed themselves as often going along with sex to fulfil a boyfriend’s expectations, regardless of whether sex was wanted by the girl herself.

Ways in which marginalised communities construct the dominant culture is an area lacking in research (Bulbeck, 1998). Alongside peer pressures to have sex was a concurrent and contradictory pressure to uphold the Filipino community’s construction of a reputation involving Filipino women as having higher morals and virtues than in the West – a gender-based cultural

discourse that appeared to offer a sense of power and supremacy to an otherwise marginalised community (in line with the findings of Espin, 1999 and Espiritu, 2001). The young women discussed a feeling of being cultural traitors if they stepped outside traditionally accepted Filipino woman subjectivities by no longer being virginal, risking being labelled immoral and moving closer to the Western 'bad girl'. With little space for a middle ground, immigrant daughters spoke of experiences of being 'other' to their new socio-cultural environment or 'other' to their parents and community.

Perhaps stronger than the angst of stepping outside the boundaries of appropriate femininity was the fear of such a transgression being found out by the community. The importance placed on a cohesive Filipino family identity meant that fear was not only for disgrace to one's own reputation, but also for that of the family as a whole. Within the focus groups and interviews, New Zealand families were often construed as lacking in respect and intimacy, while the Filipino family was constructed as close, dedicated and respectful. This portrayal of the home culture, however, was a double-edged sword, with related depictions of invasive restriction, repression, and parental policing of daughters' sexuality and independence.

Despite premarital sex and contraception being commonly cast from cultural and religious discourses as sinful, exposure to New Zealand youth culture was explained as meaning that sexual relationships often eventuated regardless of values. With reputation acting as a paramount behavioural control, negotiating safe and positive sexual subjectivities was portrayed as particularly difficult for immigrant Filipino girls, who worked to uphold a public face of virtuosity even if their private world of sexual experience was counter to cultural expectations.

With fear focused on shame rather than health, and the main justification for sex being 'caught in the moment' and pleasing boyfriends rather than an agentic female sexuality, the implications for safe sex and empowerment are gloomy. Girls were able to reiterate safe sex mottos learnt in New Zealand.

Yet, in efforts to respect family and avoid the community condemnation of a tainted reputation, they spoke of remaining silent and secretive about sexual relationships, not seeking out sexual advice, and sometimes foregoing safe sexual practices. Pregnancy was feared for exposing girls as non-virgins, while also forcing girls into adulthood early. However, safe sex was constructed as placing young women in a double bind. While reducing the risks of pregnancy and STIs, carrying a condom or taking contraception signalled preparation for sex (that could be seen publicly as slutty behaviour), and enforcing condom use signified female power in the sexual situation. Sexual safety was therefore perceived as a danger to reputation, as it limited positioning oneself within more culturally acceptable constructions of feminine sexuality that involved passive Filipino ‘good girls’ swept along in unexpected and ‘caught in the moment’ male-led sex. Additionally, with sex and contraception both against religious discourse, deciding not to use contraception was sometimes constructed as an effort to lessen the degree of actual sin as well as intentionality behind the sin. Similarly, some young women explained teen abortion as the result of fear of shaming family and being outcast as a Westernised ‘bad girl’.

The older generation of immigrant Filipino women also narrated a struggle around what aspects of their home culture to instil in daughters and the degree to which they felt it acceptable to take on elements of the new culture in their own behaviour and in raising their children. Prominent in the mothers’ talk was the construction of sexuality as traditionally a taboo topic and their young selves as sexually unaware and bewildered leading up to, and past, sexual initiation. A sense of power came with motherhood. Focused on empowerment and prevention of what they saw as naively made mistakes in their own sexual history, mothers spoke of striving to provide daughters with greater awareness of their bodies, sexualities, and ability to assert themselves. Many mothers acknowledged that they no longer expected daughters to stay virginal until marriage, as long as pregnancy and shame were avoided. Such talk was often alongside a positioning of coming to New Zealand as allowing a sense of liberation, in terms of both their

sexuality and their children's access to sexual education. However, talk of liberating sexual knowledge sat at odds with a frequently expressed fear of their daughters being exposed to too much sexual freedom in the West. This fear related partially to a concern regarding loss of traditional Filipino culture in the next generation and partially to talk of female vulnerability and the 'dangers of sex' - discourse that was presented as the principal, if not only, message about sex that many of the mothers recalled being exposed to in their growing up years. With a proclaimed expectation that adolescent daughters would not yet be having sex, (likely rooted in their own stories of sexual naivety until adulthood), mothers often voiced a lack of need for sexual education at this point in their daughters' lives and concern that open discussion may encourage sex. Mothers' concerns around the dangers of sexuality tended to mean that, despite stated intentions otherwise, messages to daughters remained focused on silence, fears and restrictions for female sexuality.

Although sex was portrayed as explicitly silenced in the traditional Filipino culture, mothers constructed a sisterhood amongst mature Filipino women in the Philippines that allowed for more open discussion of sex, and exposed young Filipino girls to implicit sexual messages. While most messages revolved around female vulnerability and the need for restraint and vigilance, mothers spoke of some subtle exposure to talk of desire and pleasure when, as girls, they were in the context of the extended family setting where married women would share talk of sex. These more open metaphorical depictions of female sexuality are likely absent for New Zealand Filipino daughters, due to the lack of extended family that results from emigration. Despite the perception of increased exposure and expectation of sex in the New Zealand context, that is supported by many of the daughters' narratives of adolescence-initiated sex, daughters appear frequently under-equipped to negotiate the social aspects of safe sexual relationships, when their main sexual message at home remains no to sex.

In constructing their sexual stories, adolescent New Zealand Filipino

women are exposed to, take up, challenge, and manoeuvre between a complex composition of discursive resources regarding gender, culture, (hetero)sexuality, and adulthood. Western / New Zealand sexuality discourses of 'good and bad girls', passive, pleasing, asexual women versus modern sexually agentic women, vigilance to the dangers of sex, and an unstoppable male sex drive alongside a lack of male responsibility, compete with Filipino culture-specific discourses regarding strong albeit restrained Filipino Ladies, the importance of family loyalty and cultural continuity, patriarchal and religious constrictions placed around female sexuality. Concurrent negotiations surround the movement from adolescence to adulthood, with positive portrayals of this transition being ones of self-assertion, achievement and autonomy in the West versus a valuing of collective identity, reputation and success in the Filipino culture (Enriquez, 1993; Espiritu, 2001). Adding to this the social prejudices around being a female immigrant and the pressures from partners (who may or may not be of the same cultural background with similar discursive clashes), it is easy to see how incongruous subject positions make the constructions of multiple yet cohesive sexual selves somewhat of an obstacle course in the sense-making of personal narrative and the negotiation of sexual experiences. Supporting the conclusions of Phillips (2000), young women's stories of sexual initiation revealed more ambivalence and uncertainty than focus group portrayals of informed young women who can 'just say no' would suggest. Young women's efforts to find a position that conforms to the expectations of both cultural contexts, and associated power structures, produce a high level of self-monitoring of sexual behaviour, with a related loss of autonomy and personal voice, and a division between the sexually objectified female body and a young woman's sense of self (Fine, 1988).

Together, the present studies imply that the meanings, practices and experiences attached to sexuality are deeply entrenched in context, as related to culture, gender, history, and location. Culture is obviously important in young women's sexual decision-making, yet there is still a neglect of cultural consideration in the psychology of sexuality. With an

attention to context, the current findings help to challenge public depictions of adolescent pregnancy and sexual health issues as the fault and responsibility of the individual or their family. It is clear there is a need to address sexual health and agency on a sociocultural level to induce change.

The current research provides yet more evidence of the knowledge-practice gap regarding young people's sexual safety that has been recognised in Western research (Allen, 2001). The young Filipino women interviewed here have a degree of knowledge of safe sex that they are frequently not putting to use, at least partially because of sociocultural practices that encourage feminine passivity and discourage condom use. Elements of reputation, gendered and racialised discrepancies of power in relationships, and the accessibility and acceptability of particular feminine and masculine subject positions all play a role in youth sexuality (Woollet et al., 1998). Closing the knowledge-practice gap will entail recognition and attention to the complicated social settings that sex occurs in, which can help or hinder young women when negotiating sexually safe choices (Woollett et al., 1998). This shift needs to take place on the level of the young women themselves, as well as with their families and those services involved in sexual health education. In regards to sexuality education, there is a demand for a change in focus, from primarily biology and risks, towards exploration of the cultural and social aspects of sex. For example, religious discourse and concern for reputation can make condoms undesirable representations of 'bad girl' behaviour by symbolising expectation and preparation for sex. At the same time, condoms curb access to romantic talk of being 'caught in the moment'. Add into this, a construction of loving relationships meaning trust and commitment (Flood, 2003; Willig, 1998), and condoms can seem superfluous. A useful aspect of education would be exploring what else condoms can represent in regards to romance, culture and womanhood, rather than presuming that knowledge of their meaning of sexual safety and responsibility is sufficient to lead to their use. Following on from this, increased emphasis on *how* to negotiate sexual situations in intimate relationships is highly recommended for school-based sexual health

programmes.

Some young participants spoke of feminine sexual empowerment exclusively through the ability to say no to sex. The continued accentuation of the dangers of sex, female restraint and vulnerability, and the coital imperative reserves minimal space in the girls' talk for the intricacies and multiplicities of sexual discourse, including alternative ways of expressing sexuality and exploration of female sexual pleasure and agency (Jackson, 2005). Encouragement of more positive, active and varied sexual subjectivities for young women should be a central part of a sexuality education that would help enable girls to negotiate (hetero)sex effectively (Gavey, 2005). There is a need for discursive resources around how to say yes to some aspects of sexuality, with it still being conceivable and acceptable to say no to others (Fine, 1988).

Given the documented elevated sexual health risks for marginalised groups (Ministry of Health, 2001, 2003), there is a need to engage minority populations, such as immigrant communities, in the promotion of sexual health, likely through school and immigrant education programmes. It is apparent that additional factors of cultural identity are at play in the negotiation of sexuality for youths of a minority group cultural background. As messages of sexual agency taught and recycled within the New Zealand school and peer settings are commonly inconsistent with the cultural, family and religious home environment of immigrant women, sexual education programmes targeting marginalised populations need to work on negotiating a space in-between culture-based subject positions, in a manner that both acknowledges and tries to minimise intergenerational and intercultural rifts. The resistance of some girls to being forced to choose between their new sociocultural environment and their cultural community would be an appropriate starting point to build upon. Exploring new feminine sexual subjectivities, such as the New Filipino Girl, potentially makes room for increased empowerment over their young sexual experiences. More culturally applicable sexuality education could offer girls the opportunity to

hold onto elements of Filipino womanhood that are important to them, while working from a foundation that sex plays a normative role in New Zealand youth culture and is something to be acknowledged, explored and prepared for.

The young women who took part in the current research spoke of a lack of home-based sexual education and frequently a lack of desire for sexual education from parents. However, their portrayals of New Zealanders tended to assume a lack of ability to comprehend specific cultural pressures and values. While both of these positionings of the 'other' are potentially topics to be examined and modified, and the awareness and access of sexual health, school and peer-based sexual education services should be promoted, another avenue for engagement in sexual education and discussion is likely to be via in-culture peer support groups. From the focus group discussions, it was apparent that young immigrant Filipino women can question, encourage, challenge and work together to construct an understanding of sexual situations and the factors involved in their sexual decisions. At the same time, girls mentioned that discussions around sexuality rarely, if ever, occur amongst their cultural peer groups. Group-based discussions of cultural identity, sexuality, womanhood, and the dynamics of sexual relationships and safety would be beneficial.

Overall, a gain from the present research comes in building on the modest New Zealand research literature regarding youth sexuality (Collins, 2005; Jackson, 2004; Ministry of Health, 2003). New Zealand sexuality education programmes have tended to be based around American studies, for which the cultural generalisability is uncertain (Collins, 2005; Franklin & Corcoran, 2000). Regardless of mounting documentation of a knowledge-practice gap in youth sexual behaviour, adolescent sexuality studies persist with a narrow focus on adolescents' familiarity with biological aspects of sexual education and/or the detrimental outcomes of adolescent sexuality (teen pregnancy, STIs), rather than exploring the complex sociocultural influences to adolescent sexuality (Allen, 2001; Ministry of Health, 2003).

Significant information is gathered by looking at the effects of family, friends, and the wider cultural milieu on young women's perceptions and identities in sexual relationships (Feiring, 1996). The sociocultural analysis developed in the current research facilitates more appropriate implementation of sexual education, health and support programmes, by investigating and contextualising the discursive resources drawn on in explaining sexual behaviour, so as to better grasp key barriers to safe and positive experiences of sex.

Little psychological research around sexuality has concentrated on those outside of Western cultures (Bulbeck, 1998). This is despite elevated adolescent pregnancy rates among ethnic minorities in New Zealand and other Western countries. The present research furthers knowledge about the relationships between culture, sexuality and womanhood for women in the margins.

The opportunity to access and conduct studies with a little-researched minority ethnic population was a great privilege and advantage to my research. The lack of sexuality research with Asian women has previously been noted (Tolman & Szalacha, 1999). My location, somewhat within while still outside of the New Zealand Filipino community, allowed me to feel in a more ethically sound position to carry out sensitive research with this community. Similarly, my location likely afforded me a degree of acceptance within the community, and amongst the participants, that made them comfortable enough to discuss personal experiences on a topic which is not only culturally sensitive, but normally kept silenced. Another strength of the research was the attention paid to conducting the research with cultural sensitivity. For example, elders of the community were consulted before starting out, food was offered to all participants before and during the interviews, in keeping with Filipino hospitality, and the advice contact list given at the conclusion of interviews included both Filipino and non-Filipino supports, taking into account that various participants may prefer in- or out-group help in terms of comfort and reputation concerns.

Research focused on a specific cultural community, such as that of this thesis, enables a greater understanding of the contextual world of different cultures, rather than a crude comparison of minority groups with what is commonly accepted as the White norm. In the use of qualitative discursive methods, the current research attends to diversity within groups, not only between groups. It does so through the recognition of the varying perspectives and experiences put forward by participants, and even by one participant at different points in her story.

By grounding the research in women's stories of everyday relationships and experiences, it was possible to gather richer insight into the complexities of sexuality and culture. A discursive approach and the use of open-ended questions enabled the voices and constructed experiences of the women to be heard, with care taken to minimise the shaping of responses to the expectations and prejudices of the dominant New Zealand culture. Emphasis on the participants' perspectives enhances understanding of the meanings, reasons, and contexts surrounding particular sexual practices and cultural standpoints; creating a local knowledge base. The current research can inform the development of appropriate interventions regarding sexuality education in the local Filipino community setting. It also improves understanding of the generalisability of previous Western sexuality research, and the applicability of sexuality education programmes presently used, to other minority cultural groups. This helps to move the mainstream away from trying to fit specific minority communities to preconceived ideas and models of intervention.

The community of study has numerous frames of reference in regards to being part of a minority subculture (being immigrant, Asian, adolescent women), as well as experiences of significant sociocultural disruption through migration. This put me in a rare position to look at how multiple aspects of social marginalisation influence life experiences and weave together in the making sense of self. With an acknowledgement and consideration of multiple identities, a qualitative discursive approach to the

research enabled a sensitive exploration of the various cultural and subcultural worlds to which these women are exposed and live within.

Through the use of multiple methodological and analytical approaches, it was possible to examine the research questions from a range of angles. Research supports the notion that the influence of peer groups is strong in young women's development, progression and interpretation of sexual relationships (Feiring, 1996). With peer groups considered a normal place for discussion around relationships, it was logical to use focus groups as a starting point for researching adolescents' sense making around sexuality. Drawing on the exploratory and descriptive potential of focus groups, it was possible to give the young women an opportunity to voice ideas and perspectives in their own words, as opposed to forcing categories and others' views upon them. Groups allowed participants to both challenge and expand on each others' ideas. This created a chance to hear multiple contradictory arguments and social dynamics within the groups that are likely to be similar to those taking place outside of the interview room. Groups also facilitated somewhat of a displacement of the researcher as the dominant power in the interview, with girls encouraging each other and, to a point, working together to develop and direct the interview (Woollett et al., 1998). The creation of a more natural environment for discussion of the negotiation of sexuality brings the potential to better inform sexuality programmes.

Gathering women's stories, told in their own voices, and on a usually unmentionable topic, the narrative study offered related but different benefits. Simultaneous recognition of individuals as agentic in the construction of their experiences, and yet of the considerable roles that society and culture play in the constructed experiences of the individual, makes room for individuals to effect movement in discourse and lived experiences without assigning all responsibility and blame to the individual, who cannot exist free of their sociocultural world (Kitzinger & Frith, 1999; Landrine, 1995).

An additional plus in the narrative study is expansion of knowledge regarding the part mothers play in the sexuality of young women – an area seldom researched (Chung et al., 2007). Interviewing mothers and daughters allowed a degree of examination of the recycling and evolution of discourses between generations. In particular, there has been limited previous narrative research with mothers and daughters of immigrant communities, with Espin (1999) one of the few exceptions. While Espin's (1995, 1999) work has mainly focused on adult women, the current research concentrated on adolescent women, who are at an age when sexuality, identity and independence are in a particularly turbulent state of development and are of prime importance.

The research showed advantages and disadvantages in the volume of raw material gathered. Six focus groups and twenty six individual interviews produced over ninety hours of recorded material, offering expansive analysis opportunities. However, transcription, reading, re-reading, and analysis were time-consuming and difficult to condense for analysis.

The research interviews themselves could be seen as a vehicle for change. Discourse theory posits that while discourses create us, we in turn create and alter discourses (Parker, 2002). The position that shifts are made possible through the construction and awareness of self that comes with talk and narrative fits with the comments of many participants (mothers and daughters), who spoke of the interviews as a positive experience and often said this was the first time they had had an opportunity to reflect and talk about their romantic and sexual experiences. Some mothers spoke of recognition, during the interview, of a need or desire to talk with their daughters about sexuality and to gauge where their children were at in terms of their need for knowledge, rather than sticking to their previous assumption that they were "still babies". In focus groups, many of the young women commented on the benefit of being able to discuss sexuality and sexual issues in the comfort of a supportive friend group. Some spoke of an eagerness to have further friend group discussions around sexuality –

something they said had not occurred before.

A potential limitation of the current research stems from the cultural acceptability of the topic. The degree of comfort the women had in discussing their sexual experiences with an 'other', and their concerns over reputation and the desirability of their actions, likely affected their openness and the way they told their stories. However, the purpose of study was to explore their constructions and make sense of the sociocultural influences on their sexualities, rather than attempt to discover a one and whole truth (a position inconsistent with poststructuralist theory).

Instead, the study's discursive approach emphasises the value of reflexivity regarding both the research and the researcher (Wetherell, 1995). I was a co-creator of the talk, especially in the creation of the narratives, influencing the focus of the stories and how they were constructed. It cannot be assumed that the talk would be consistent across other settings. Self reflection on my own role and position, reflection on the research process, and recognition of how my interests and sociocultural background affect what and how I researched, and how I interpreted the research material, all help keep the reader and myself aware of the subjectivity of the knowledge created. My analysis is but one of many possible analyses and based on talk told within a specific setting. The appropriateness of a New Zealand Pakeha investigator can also be questioned. However, this has been acknowledged from the outset, and my unique position on the edge of the New Zealand Filipino community likely facilitated access and ethical conduct of the research. A community 'insider' may have been just as problematic regarding confidentiality and reputation.

In regards to the focus group study, another limitation involves the difficulty of raising and arguing opinions that stand in contrast with other group members, especially if they counter the majority opinion. This makes it problematic to know the degree to which everyone's views are expressed and the degree to which those that are expressed are opinions shared by

others in the group, especially when group dynamics show some girls as more dominant than others.

Other limitations related to the focus of the study. The generalisability and applicability of the sexual health implications to other populations is uncertain, as findings are based on one immigrant community and are limited to a specific location and time. By focusing on heterosexuality and boyfriend / girlfriend relationships, (for instance, brochures had pictures of heterosexual relationships), the research may have denied the experiences of some participants. However, focus groups allowed some space for the mention of homosexuality by asking about sexuality in general, while individual interviews asked about sexual relationships before becoming more specific about boyfriend / girlfriend relationships. All participants spoke about heterosexual relationships.

The use of English for interviews may have affected the ease of communication for some mothers. However, the decision to use English was not taken lightly. Based on comments from participants, community members, and other researchers (e.g. Espin, 1999), English seemed the most appropriate choice and all participants displayed verbal fluency and comprehension during interviews. Espin (1999) noted that immigrant women often prefer using English to discuss sexuality. This could relate to an increased sense of taboo in talking about sexuality in the home language, or a lack of a sexual lexicon outside of English, due to sexual education and experience occurring primarily in the new culture or being silenced in the home culture (Espin, 1999).

The research exclusively involved woman participants. Obviously adolescent boys, as well as fathers and other male role models, play an important role in the expectations and positioning of feminine sexuality and in actual sexual relationships and outcomes. The focus on women related to many factors, including a feminist objective to have the voices of women heard, the mounting research of the precarious position young women are

situated in amongst contradictory and gendered constructions of sexuality in the West, and the observation that cultural preservation tends to be a weight more heavily placed on the shoulders of immigrant women than men (Espin, 1999; Espiritu, 2001). Future research could extend to the meanings and constructions of masculine and feminine sexuality as told by young men and fathers in the Filipino community, in order to further understand the role of men in young people's sexual practices and sense of sexual selves.

New Zealand's multi-ethnic community is growing rapidly. Comprehension of the relationship between cultural identity and health practices is crucial to informing and applying culturally sensitive health services that target immigrants, particularly for issues such as sexuality that are recognised as sites of struggle for acculturating families (Espin, 2006; Ward, 2007). Research drawing on the current findings to develop and measure the outcome of sexual health interventions in the community would be beneficial. Similar cultural studies of sexuality in other ethnic communities would increase our knowledge of how to more effectively target high-risk minority groups in sexuality education interventions.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Contacts list

If taking part in this research raised any issues or concerns for you or for someone close to you, please feel free to contact any of the following services for advice or guidance.

Family Planning Association	(04) 499 1992 0800 FPALINE (0800 372 5463) www.fpanz.org.nz
Youthline Phone Counselling	(04) 382 8228 0800 376 633
Pregnancy Help (24 hour Support & Information)	(04) 499 7279
Catholic Social Services (Individual and Family Counselling)	(04) 385 8642
Relationship Services	0800 RELATE (0800 735 283)
Parent Help (24 hour Support Line)	0800 568 856
Barnardo's FAIR Centre (Family Information Resources Helpline)	0800 222 345
AIDS Hotline	0800 802 437
Help Foundation (24 hour Rape & Sexual Abuse Support)	(04) 499 7532
Wellington Independent Rape Crisis Centre (Amy Ross – Education Officer)	(04) 473 5357 (04) 473 5358
Victim Support	(04) 802 3747 0800 VICTIM (0800 842 846)
Wellington Women's Refuge	(04) 473 6280

Within the Wellington Filipino community, you can contact:

██████████ (Nurse)	(04) 388 ██████████
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What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate in this study, you will take part in a small group interview with five to eight young Filipinas around your age.
- I will be asking the group questions about what they think about romance, girlfriend / boyfriend relationships and sexual decisions.
- The interview will be held in a place arranged between the group members and me. This will most likely be in a private home or a quiet university room, away from other people.
- I expect that the interview will take about two hours to complete.
- The interview will be recorded onto audio-tape and later transcribed into written form.
- Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the interview at any stage.
- You will have the right to read the interview transcript, prior to analysis, if you wish to eliminate any comments that you do not want recorded.
- You will be reimbursed for your transport costs to and from the interview.



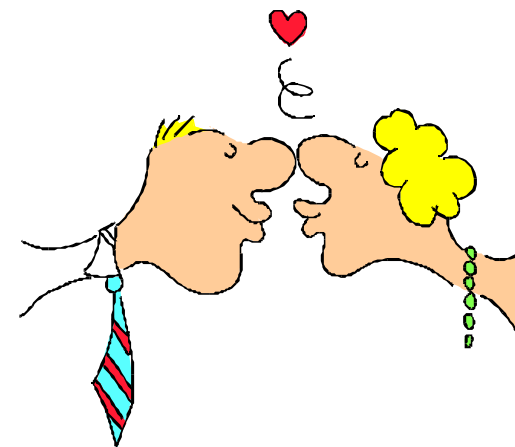
Privacy and Confidentiality

- Other than the interview group members, only myself (and a translator, if requested) will be present at the interview.
- To protect your privacy:
 - ◆ the information that you and the other group members give will not be discussed outside of the interview room, except in coded form for the purposes of my research. This means that the material will not be passed on to any of the girls' parents, families or other community members.
 - ◆ only those directly related to the project will have access to the material that you provide us. This includes my two supervisors, potentially a female translator, and myself.
 - ◆ confidential information, such as consent forms, will be stored in a secure file.
 - ◆ you will not be identified in my research project or in any other presentation or publication. Instead, each group member will be given a false name (pseudonym), which will be used in all written material throughout the project.
- I will keep your consent forms and the unidentifiable interview material for at least five years after publication. This unidentifiable material may be

shared with other competent researchers, on request.

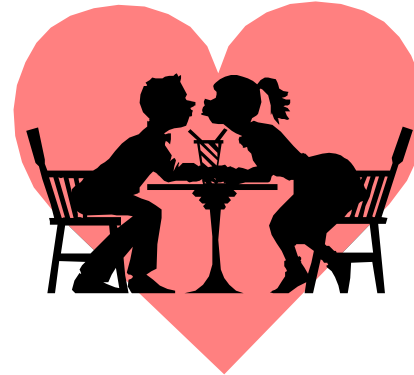
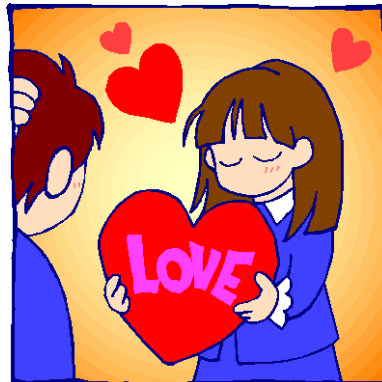
What happens to the information that you provide?

- After enough information has been collected from this and further studies, I will use the results to write my PhD thesis.
- Two copies of my thesis will be bound and placed in the main Victoria University library.
- The research may also be written up for professional publication or presented at academic conferences.
- Upon completion of the study, participants will be sent a feedback summary of the main results.



Who am I looking for?

- I am looking for young Filipina women, who are aged between 16 and 20 years, to participate in this study.
- You must have migrated to New Zealand from the Philippines in childhood or adolescence.
- Your mother must be a Filipina.
- You must have lived in New Zealand for a minimum of six months.



How can you contact me?

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact:

Aïyesha Melničenko
Ph. (04) 463 6729
Email: melnicaiye@scs.vuw.ac.nz

or

Dr. Sue Jackson
Ph. (04) 472 1000 ext 8232
Email: sue.jackson@vuw.ac.nz

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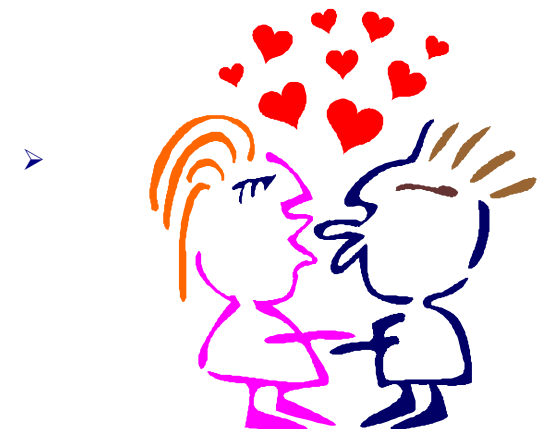


Information Sheet

My name is Aïyesha Melničenko and I am a postgraduate Psychology student at Victoria University. I am hoping that you will be willing to take part in research I am carrying out for my PhD.

What is the purpose of this research?

- This research will allow us to explore what adolescent women think about romance and intimate relationships, and how they make sexual decisions.



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Statement of consent

I have read the information sheet regarding the research on adolescent women's views about sexuality. Any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any stage prior to the end of the group session and that I do not have to answer any questions I am not comfortable with. For the privacy of others in the group, I will not discuss the personal information that other group members raise during the interview outside of this setting, unless I have their permission

I would like to be sent a feedback summary of the results upon the completion of the study. YES / NO
(circle one)

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Address: _____

(Please fill in your address if you would like to be sent a feedback summary)

Interview Guide

At the start of the interview, participants will be told that I am interested in how young Filipina women as a social group make sense of sexuality. It is therefore not necessary to share actual personal experiences in the interview, although participants are welcome to do so if they wish.

General:

What does it mean to be in a girlfriend-boyfriend relationship?

- How do boys and girls get together?
- What do boys/girls expect from a girl/boyfriend?

Romance:

What makes a relationship romantic?

- How important is romance in a girlfriend-boyfriend relationship?
- What does a boy expect if he does something romantic for you?

Does romance have the same meaning for Filipino and New Zealand relationships?

Sexuality:

What does sexuality mean to young women today?

When young people talk about “sex” and sexuality, what are they actually talking about?

How does a young woman express her sexuality?

How does a young women decide about having sex?

- How does she know when she is ready for a sexual relationship?
- What are the usual reasons a young woman / man has for having sex?

How do girlfriends and boyfriends talk about sex?

- How do young women know if a boyfriend wants a sexual relationship?

What stops young people from entering sexual relationships?

What do young Filipinas think about sex before marriage?

Risks and Contraception:

What do young people worry about when it comes to having sex?

- Risks, eg): pregnancy, STDs
- Effect of alcohol and drugs on sexual decisions
- One night stand scenario: At a party, a young Filipina sees an attractive young man that she has met once or twice before. They dance together late into the night. When the young man takes her home and she invites him in, she can tell that he is interested in sleeping with her. The young woman thinks about asking him to stay. What do young women your age think about one-night stands or casual sexual relationships like this?

What do young Filipinas think about contraception?

- How does this relate to the larger Filipino community's views of contraception?
- Being prepared scenario: A young woman is getting ready to go out with her boyfriend. They have not had sex yet, but lately their relationship has been getting serious and she suspects that they may have sex tonight. She wonders whether she should bring a condom along tonight just in case. What do young women your age think about taking the initiative and being prepared for sex? How is this likely to reflect on her?

Adolescent Mothering:

What ideas do people in your community have about young teenage women becoming mothers?

- What do young Filipinas think about these ideas?
- What do you think a young unmarried woman should do if she finds out she is pregnant?

What does it mean to be a teen mother in the Filipino community?

- Roles and expectations of family, baby's father
- How different would it be if you were in a New Zealand family?

Influences:

Where / how do young people learn about sex?

- Contraception and safe sex
- How to act in a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship
- Who to discuss sexual decisions or concerns with

What pressures do young women experience in decisions about sexual relationships?

- Who influences a young woman's ideas about sexuality?
- Friends and classmates
- Do New Zealand friends have different expectations to Filipino friends?

What ideas about sex come from family?

- Mothers, fathers, siblings, extended family
- What do parents tell their children about sexuality?
- What should they tell their children?
- Are there family influences / standpoints that particularly relate to being a Filipino parent and daughter, as opposed to a New Zealander?

Culture:

How has migrating to New Zealand affected how young Filipinas think about sexuality and sexual relationships?

- What do you think might be different for young Filipinas still living in the Philippines?
- What might be different for New Zealand born youths?
- Role of culture / religion

Closing:

Do you have any questions or anything else that you would like to talk about today?

How do you feel about having participated in this interview?

October 13, 2005

Dear

Some time ago, we met to talk about sexual relationships in relation to being a New Zealand Filipino woman. I wanted to thank you for taking part in the interviews. Talking with you was very interesting and your contribution to the study was invaluable.

I have analysed parts of the project, but it will take me at least another year to complete. I wanted to give you an overall idea of what was discussed across the interviews. After talking to groups of young Filipino women, I also talked individually with a number of the young women and with their mothers. I have read through all the interview transcripts many times. There were things that were interesting and special in each woman's story. At the same time, there were lots of things that many of you had in common.

Something I found particularly valuable was the different messages you talked about as influencing your perceptions of how to act as a young woman who is both a Filipino and a New Zealander. Finding a comfortable place for yourself between the expectations of family and friends is a challenge for any young person. For immigrant women, when the cultural expectations at home seem really different to those of your New Zealand friends', knowing where to fit in and how to feel about boyfriends, sexual relationships, and growing up. Conflicting messages can make sexual decisions bewildering at times. One of the main cultural messages discussed was a pressure from within the Filipino community to stay a virgin, as part of how a 'good' Filipina is supposed to act. Many young women spoke about fears for their own and their family's reputation in the community if they attracted negative attention and gossip (tsismis). At the same time, many young women talked about an opposing pressure from their peer groups and boyfriends to have sexual relationships. Several young women raised how this pressure is often dealt with by keeping sexual relationships secret, in an effort to please both sides. One way in which the mix of Filipino and New Zealand influences was spoken of positively was in talk of how coming to New Zealand had given them an opportunity to be more aware and educated about sexuality, so that they felt more confident that they could negotiate sexual relationships.

Many young women talked about concern for how they were being viewed by their community, regardless of whether these views represented their actual behaviour. This often linked to difficulty trusting others enough to ask for help with sexual problems, major fear of pregnancy, and concern with how 'being prepared' for safe sex might damage a girl's reputation if anyone found out. Although the young women were very much aware of the risks of unsafe sex, talk about sex as unplanned alongside concerns about discovery and public reputation sometimes meant they were not practising safe sex.

This is really useful information in thinking about how sexuality education programmes and sexual health services might better target young immigrant women, by looking at the cultural influences that promote or hinder safe sexual practices, even when young people have basic knowledge about STIs, pregnancy, contraception and condoms.

Again, I am incredibly grateful to all of you for taking the time to talk with me. Many of you commented that the interviews had been an opportunity to talk about sexual relationships with me or with your friend group in ways that had not happened before. I hope that the experience was positive and that sharing sexual dilemmas with people you trust continues to be a positive part of your life. I hope 2005 has been a rewarding year for you. If there is anything in this summary that you would like to talk through further or you would like further details of the findings so far, please feel free to contact me.

Kind regards,

Aiyesha Melnicenko.

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Invitation to further research

Dear participant,

Thank you for taking part in this group interview. The information that you and the other group members have shared with me will be of great benefit to my studies.

As a further part of my PhD research, I will later be carrying out individual interviews. These will be conducted in the second half of this year. If you think you might be interested in taking part in a one-to-one interview, please fill in the form below with your name and a way that I can contact you with further information (such as a phone number, email or postal address).

Thank you again,

Aïyesha Melničenko
PhD Candidate
Victoria University of Wellington
Phone: (04) 463 6729
Email: melnicaiye@scs.vuw.ac.nz

I would like to hear more about the individual interviews.

YES / NO
(circle one)

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Contact: _____

What is involved if you agree to participate?

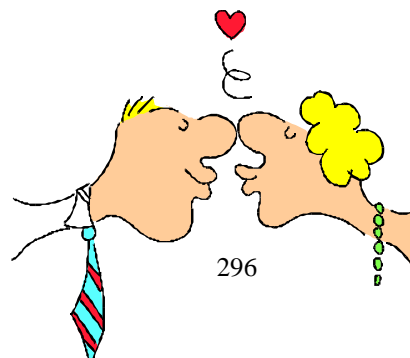
- If you agree to participate in this study, you will take part in an individual interview with me.
- If your mother agrees to participate, I will interview her individually at a separate time.
- The interviews are a way for me to follow up on the issues we talked about in the group interviews and to find out more about what these issues have really meant for you in your own life.
- I will ask you to tell me stories about your experience of coming to New Zealand, learning about sex, relationships and womanhood, and making decisions in your girlfriend/boyfriend relationships.
- You will also be asked a few questions about your ideas on romance, girlfriend / boyfriend relationships and sexual decisions.
- The interview will be informal and will vary from person to person depending on the stories you decide to share with me.
- We will arrange the location of the interview together. It will most likely be in a private home or a quiet university room, away from other people.
- I expect that the interview will take between one and two hours to complete.
- The interview will be recorded onto minidisc and later transcribed into written form.
- You will be reimbursed \$10 for your time and transport costs.

What are your rights as a participant?

- Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the interview at any stage.
- You do not have to talk about anything you are uncomfortable with. You take a directive role, giving me as much or as little information as you wish.
- If you wish to stop at any time, we can pause the recording and you can decide whether to continue.
- You can ask to withdraw any of the information you have told me at the end of the interview, if you decide that you do not want it included in my study.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- After enough information has been collected, I will use the results as part of my PhD thesis.
- Two copies of my thesis will be bound and placed in the main Victoria University library.
- The overall findings may also be submitted for professional publication or presented at academic conferences.
- Upon completion of the study, you will be sent a feedback summary of the main results.



Privacy and Confidentiality

- Unless you request a translator, you and I will be the only ones present at the interview.
- To protect your privacy:
 - ◆ the information that you give me will not be discussed outside of the interview room, except in coded form for the purposes of my research. This means that the things you say are private and will not be passed on to family or other community members.
 - ◆ only those directly related to the project will have access to the material that you provide. This includes my two supervisors, potentially a female translator, and myself.
 - ◆ confidential information, such as consent forms, will be stored in a secure file.
 - ◆ when I write the interview transcript, you will be given a false name (pseudonym), which will be used in all written material throughout the project.
 - ◆ you will not be identified in my research project or in any other presentation or publication.
- I will keep your consent forms and the unidentifiable interview material for at least five years after publication. The unidentifiable data may be shared with other competent researchers, on request.
- Your coded data may be used in other, related studies.

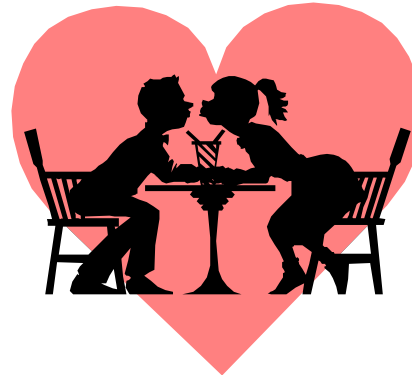
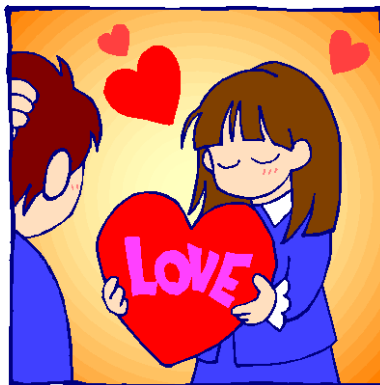
Who am I looking for?

I would like to interview:

- Young Filipina women, who are aged between 16 and 20 years, **and**
- Filipina mothers who have daughters in the above age group.
- You must have lived in New Zealand for a minimum of six months.

Who is conducting the research?

- I will be conducting the interviews myself, as part of my PhD research.
- If you would feel more comfortable, you can request that I bring a Filipina translator along to the interview with me.



How can you contact me?

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact:

Aïyesha Melničenko
Ph. (04) 463 6729
Email: melnicaiye@scs.vuw.ac.nz

or

Dr. Sue Jackson
Ph. (04) 472 1000 ext 8232
Email: sue.jackson@vuw.ac.nz

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
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Information Sheet for Daughters

My name is Aïyesha Melničenko and I am a postgraduate Psychology student at Victoria University of Wellington. Earlier in the year, I interviewed groups of young Filipinas about their views on romance and sexuality. I am now interested in interviewing both mothers and daughters for the second stage of my research. I am hoping that you will be willing to take part...

What is the purpose of this research?

- This research will allow us to explore how women make sense of their relationships and sexuality.
- I am especially interested in how cultural stories about romance, sexuality and intimate relationships are passed along in families, and how these stories help us to understand our own lives.
- The present research will help me to investigate how young women's ideas about sexuality and relationships relate to their mothers' views.



What is involved if you agree to participate?

- If you agree to participate in this study, you will take part in an individual interview with me.
- If your daughter agrees to participate, I will interview her individually at a separate time.
- This is a way for me to find out about what the issues discussed in the group interviews have meant for you and your daughter in your own lives.
- I will ask you to tell me stories about your experience of coming to New Zealand, making decisions in your intimate relationships, motherhood, and learning about / teaching your children about sex, relationships and womanhood.
- You will also be asked a few questions about your ideas on romance, intimate relationships and sexual decisions for young people today as well as for your own generation.
- The interview will be informal and will vary from person to person depending on the stories you decide to share with me.
- We will arrange the location of the interview together. It will most likely be in a private home or a quiet university room, away from other people.
- I expect that the interview will take between one and two hours to complete.
- The interview will be recorded onto minidisc and later transcribed into written form.

- You will be reimbursed \$10 for your time and transport costs.

What are your rights as a participant?

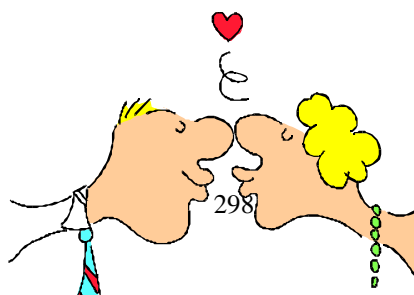
- Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the interview at any stage.
- You do not have to talk about anything you are uncomfortable with. You take a directive role, giving me as much or as little information as you wish.
- If you wish to stop at any time, we can pause the recording and you can decide whether to continue.
- You can ask to withdraw any of the information you have told me at the end of the interview, if you decide that you do not want it included in my study.

What happens to the information that you provide?

- After enough information has been collected, I will use the results as part of my PhD thesis.
- Two copies of my thesis will be bound and placed in the main Victoria University library.
- The overall findings may also be submitted for professional publication or presented at academic conferences.
- Upon completion of the study, you will be sent a feedback summary of the main results.

Privacy and Confidentiality

- Unless you request a translator, you and I will be the only ones present at the interview.
- To protect your privacy:
 - ◆ the information that you give me will not be discussed outside of the interview room, except in coded form for the purposes of my research. This means that the things you say are private and will not be passed on to family or other community members.
 - ◆ only those directly related to the project will have access to the material that you provide. This includes my two supervisors, potentially a female translator, and myself.
 - ◆ confidential information, such as consent forms, will be stored in a secure file.
 - ◆ when I write the interview transcript, you will be given a false name (pseudonym), which will be used in all written material throughout the project.
 - ◆ you will not be identified in my research project or in any other presentation or publication.
- I will keep your consent forms and the unidentifiable interview material for at least five years after publication. The unidentifiable data may be shared with other competent researchers, on request.
- Your coded data may be used in other, related studies.



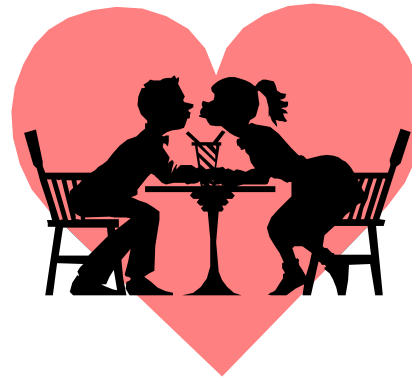
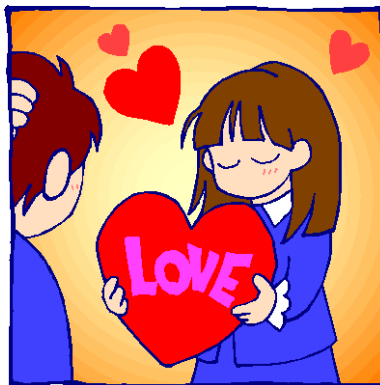
Who am I looking for?

I would like to interview:

- Filipina mothers who have daughters between the ages of 16 and 20 years **and**
- Filipina daughters in the above age group.
- You must have lived in New Zealand for a minimum of six months.

Who is conducting the research?

- I will be conducting the interviews myself, as part of my PhD research.
- If you would feel more comfortable, you can request that I bring a Filipina translator along to the interview with me.



How can you contact me?

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact:

Aïyesha Melničenko
Ph. (04) 463 6729
Email: melnicaiye@scs.vuw.ac.nz

or

Dr. Sue Jackson
Ph. (04) 472 1000 ext 8232
Email: sue.jackson@vuw.ac.nz

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Information Sheet for Mothers

My name is Aïyesha Melničenko and I am a postgraduate Psychology student at Victoria University of Wellington. Earlier in the year, I interviewed groups of young Filipinas about their views on romance and sexuality. I am now interested in interviewing both mothers and daughters for the second stage of my research. I am hoping that you will be willing to take part...

What is the purpose of this research?

- This research will allow us to explore how women make sense of their relationships and sexuality.
- I am especially interested in how cultural stories about romance, sexuality and intimate relationships are passed along in families, and how these stories help us to understand our own lives.
- The present research will help me to investigate how young women's ideas about sexuality and relationships relate to their mothers' views.



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
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Statement of consent

I have read the information sheet regarding the research on New Zealand Filipino women's views about sexuality. Any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any stage prior to the end of the interview session and that I do not have to answer any questions I am not comfortable with. My participation in the research will be kept confidential by the researcher, with identifying information kept in a locked cupboard that only she and her supervisor have access to. I understand that the interview will be recorded, then transcribed for the research with the use of a pseudonym. I can have any part of the interview withdrawn if I do not want it included in the research.

I would like to be sent a feedback summary of the results upon the completion of the study. YES / NO
(circle one)

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Address: _____

(Please fill in your address if you would like to be sent a feedback summary)

Interview Guide

The questions below are examples of the types of questions that will be asked in the interviews. Actual questions will vary depending on the responses obtained from participants and the issues they raise. The interview will flow forward from the stories participants share.

“In this interview, I am interested in learning about your experiences in intimate relationships, your views and understandings about sex and sexuality, and what it means to you to be a woman, in particular, a Filipina woman. I am keen to hear about the messages you have both received and passed on about sexuality, romance, and womanhood; the expectations you and others have placed on yourself and your relationships; and the relationship you have developed with your mother/daughter on these topics. I would also like to know about your experience of coming to New Zealand and how this experience may have affected your ideas about relationships and sexuality.

Our interview will be a conversation rather than a formal question-answer session. Each interview will vary according to the stories you decide to share with me. You are welcome to bring up any experiences or ideas that seem relevant to you, even when I do not directly ask about them. Also, remember that you do not have to talk about something if it makes you uncomfortable. I want to make sure that you understand that I am not here to judge any decisions or experiences you have had. It is important that you decide which experiences to share in the interview, although I would like to cover the following aspects of your life:

Tell me about your experience of leaving the Philippines and coming to New Zealand

- *When, reasons, age, who was with you, feelings, adjustment*
- *Any changes in lifestyle, any role changes in the family/community?*

Tell me about growing up in the Philippines / growing up in New Zealand as a Filipina

Tell me about being an immigrant, being both a Filipina and a New Zealander

Tell me about how you are expected to be as a Filipina woman

- *Appropriate roles and behaviour for women/girls and men/boys in relationships*
- *What do you expect of yourself as a girlfriend/wife, daughter/mother?*
- *Expectations of your family, mother and father, boyfriends and husband, peers, community*

Tell me about how you learnt about sexuality and sexual relationships

- *Where do you get your ideas about how a relationship should be?*
- *What messages (verbal or silent) did you get from family/others?*
- *Conversations with mother/father, when, where*
- *Sex, hetero-relationships, how to behave, being a woman, motherhood*
- *Contraception, safe sex, adolescent pregnancy, abortion*
- *Are the messages from your Filipino culture different to the messages you have found in New Zealand?*
- *What have these messages meant to you?*

Tell me about how migrating to New Zealand has affected your ideas and behaviours regarding sexuality

- *Education, options, independence, desire, restrictions, dangers and risks*
- *Relationships, marriage, expectations, morals*
- *Body, appearance*

Tell me about your relationship with your mother/daughter

Tell me about how your mother/daughter and people of her generation perceive sexuality

- *How has this affected your relationship with her?*
- *How has migrating to New Zealand affected your relationship?*
- *Conflicts, connections, identification*
- *How have you taught / do you plan to tell your own daughter about sexuality, relationships, being a woman?*

I want you to tell me about any romantic relationships you have had, about decisions you

made in the relationships, about experiences you had and about what happened in the relationship. Let's start with the first boyfriend you had and move forward from there.

- *How did you first get together?*
- *Where, when?*
- *Culture of partner? if different to your culture, how did this affect your relationship and your behaviour?*
- *How did the relationship progress?*
- *First sexual experience: reasons, process leading up to this, concerns, precautions taken*
- *Expectations and decisions*
- *Discussing sexual matters with partner*
- *Experiences with contraception/pregnancy*
- *How did the relationship end?*
- *Would this relationship have been the same/different if you were in the Philippines/New Zealand?*

Tell me about your experience of pregnancy and motherhood (as an adolescent)?

- *Finding out about pregnancy*
- *Expectations and decisions*
- *Experience of motherhood*
- *Would it be the same/different if you were in the Philippines now/New Zealand at that time?*

Do you have anything else that you would like to talk about today?

How have you felt about using English for this interview and for discussing these topics?

Occupation

Marital Status

Age

Number of Children/Siblings

Age when left the Philippines

Thank you for your time today and for sharing your story with me.

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