

**The
Culture of Cool**

**GETTING IN EARLY TO
PREVENT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE**

By

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Executive Summary

The prevention of men's domestic violence towards women in New Zealand is a matter of some urgency given the extent of it and the associated harm. Men's domestic violence towards women has the effect on women of limiting their options for action: their choices in what they can do, who they can contact and their ability to act with autonomy. A strong association has been found between men's use of such violence and their expressions of traditional macho values of dominance and entitlement. High risk factors for lethal violence are the offender's excessive control of his victim and his extreme jealousy.

If violence is understood to occur on a continuum from controlling behaviours to extreme physical violence then one formulation for prevention is to get in early and prevent controlling behaviours as young people are starting out in their relationship careers. Some research on dating violence has shown an association between emotional expressions of jealousy or controlling behaviours and violence. However, little research has been carried out on the social values and beliefs that contribute to young women's experiences of control, jealousy or possessiveness in relationships with a boyfriend.

This study explores young women's ownership experiences and the social values, beliefs and attitudes which contribute to these experiences. By identifying these social factors we open up possibilities for preventative intervention. Young women who had experienced ownership practices (control, possessiveness or jealousy) in a relationship with a boyfriend or ex-boyfriend participated in focus group discussions with a skilled facilitator. Young women aged 18-25 years were only recruited if they were safe from any domestic violence and were fluent in English. The young women in this study were predominantly of European New Zealand ethnicity about a third coming from other ethnicities: only one identifying as of Pakeha/Maori ethnicity. All names and identifying features of the participants were changed. Following a brief description of their ownership experiences young women were asked to describe the social and cultural influences they thought might have contributed to their boyfriends' ownership practices. The discussions were recorded using audio-recordings and the recordings were transcribed. Transcriptions were then analysed using discourse analysis.

This approach recognises that the social values and beliefs might not be readily identifiable by those who are situated within the existing context. For this reason a brief genealogy of violence practices towards women was provided to highlight the current New Zealand context. Different historical trajectories were found to have informed ownership practices in New Zealand from a western perspective and from a Maori perspective. According to western European history practices of discrimination towards women can be traced to Greek mythology which attributed evil to womankind and status through sex was conferred to men. In Maori tradition Maori women were privileged because of their special status as the beginning and the end of life and status was attributed through the ranking of roles rather than through sex. These differences are also evident in ownership practices in marriage: in western European culture the traditional marriage involved the handing over of the woman by her father to her husband and the woman's vow was to love honour and obey her husband. In Maori tradition customary marriages were much less formal and the woman remained part of her original whanau. Historically according to British law a husband could beat his wife within limits whereas there are indications that ill-treatment by a man of his wife, in pre-European Maori tradition, might result in penalties on the husband and return of his wife and children to her whanau. These findings suggest that Maori women suffered great disparate changes through colonisation.

The young women in this study described a number of ownership experiences from their boyfriends including entitlement practices, surveillance, identity ownership, physical violence, and sexual identity ownership practices. Entitlement practices described included assumptions by the boyfriend that the young woman wanted him to come to activities without consultation with her. Groping her, kissing her or holding her in public portrayed the message that the young woman belonged to him. Surveillance practices described included phoning or text messaging the woman sometimes incessantly in order to monitor what she was doing and who she was with. Accounts of their boyfriends' identity ownership practices involved criticising their dress sense or making comments about things or activities which held pleasure for them such that their self-esteem and confidence in their identity, beliefs and values were slowly and increasingly undermined. Some of the young women spoke of their boyfriend's physical violence towards them if they did not comply with what he wanted. Many of the young women described their boyfriend's sexualising of

their dress sense and the construction of them as seeking the attention of other men: a position which these young women discounted. These sexualised constructions were portrayed by some of the young women as a means to prevent their contact with others.

The social and cultural influences which contributed to ownership practices were collated into three discourse groupings: the culture of cool, the bitches and hos culture and the mates' culture. In the language associated with the culture of cool some young women described being treated as "a trophy": the "hot girl in the hot car" were described as the ideal possessions for men in New Zealand. Being treated as a possession was described as contributing to young women being dehumanized. For young women, being a girlfriend provided popularity and status: one teen magazine for girls is called *Girlfriend*, capturing this ideal identity. Some young women described the advertising objectification of young women's bodies as stripping women of their identity and creating a normative identity for young women. The dualities associated with this normative identity – that young women should be thin but not too thin, sexy but not too sexy - portrayed an image of the ideal woman/girlfriend which was difficult to achieve: an "unattainable ideal". These young women described this objectification of women's bodies as contributing to a critical gaze cast on young women by boyfriends and society generally which did not allow young women to simply *be* young women. Some young women described this objectification as contributing to them being treated by some men as disposable objects: there to be used and discarded.

In the language associated with the bitches and hos culture some young women portrayed highly sexualised images of young women in advertising and in music videos as those which stripped women of all identity except their sex. In these images the man was portrayed as hyper-masculine or endowed with ideal possessions such as a super car, money and an abundance of women; the women were portrayed as his sexual possessions which he could manipulate and operate or use for sex as he wanted. These images were portrayed as blindingly and openly misogynist: through their explicit sexual denigration leaving young women with nothing. Some contemporary music lyrics were used to illustrate the misogyny in these music videos. The risk is that the entertaining images and catchy rhythms of these music videos will allow the open misogyny in the language to

become accepted in much the same way as the objectification of women in advertising has become part of the background landscape in New Zealand's busy streets.

The third dominant social and cultural influence towards ownership practices involved the language associated with the mates' culture. In these young women's accounts some men like to "shoo away the spiders" or be the one who is The Man: the more dominant one in the relationship, the one who is the protector. In some of these young women's accounts being the macho man or the dominant one involved bringing the woman down through criticising her and limiting her access to pleasure or pleasurable activities. Some young women described the influence of the man's mates on their boyfriends to be the dominant one in the relationship. The language described by these young women to ensure compliance with the mates' culture involved the use of insults such as calling the boyfriend "pussy whipped", "a girl" or "gay". These pejorative sexualised and feminized insults were reported to be employed against men who were not considered to be dominant enough boyfriends and illustrate the prejudice towards women and homosexual men present in this culture. Peers alone were not the only influences: such insults were also attributed to fathers and uncles. The language associated with male dominance and entitlement, which has been described in previous research on men who use violence towards women, was also situated here as part of the mates' culture.

The language and values associated with these three cultural influences was portrayed as contributing towards men's ownership practices towards young women. The young women in this study described the cultural pressures on them to be a girlfriend/ideal woman but the romantic notions of love, which had been the stuff of fairy tales, were not played out in their experiences with the boyfriends who engaged in ownership practices towards them. Such influences towards the ideal created a stigma for young women, who were experiencing controlling or violent ownership practices, which silenced them from talking of them. Their accounts also suggest that there are pressures on men to maintain dominance towards women: to be part of the mates' culture in New Zealand which probably emerged historically from the pioneering crew culture described by Belich (1996).

These young women described campaigns which targeted family violence or domestic violence as excluding the violence which occurs towards young women in boyfriend relationships or in childless relationships. Domestic violence or family violence

campaigns were described as targeting older women and couples with children rather than women of their age or those without children.

Recommendations for prevention are that young people are taught, through critical cultural studies, to critically appraise contemporary cultural constructions which dehumanise and objectify women and which limit the options for the identities of men; that links are made between the objectification and the subjugation of young women in media representations and the treatment of young women as possessions in relationships; that education campaigns promote ethical and just relationships; that the Campaign for Action on Family Violence be opened up to address the violence experienced by young women from their boyfriends; that early intervention be directed towards young women through education campaigns available at sites of their everyday activities; that these early intervention education campaigns describe the early warning signs of ownership practices which are likely to be precursors to violence.

Introduction to the study

What the study is about

This research project investigates young New Zealand women's experiences of ownership in their close relationships with their male partners: their experiences of the man's possessiveness, jealousy and control. The study is designed to capture, through a study of language, the social and cultural values and beliefs that contribute towards young women's experiences of controlling behaviours from their male partners. Ultimately the study is intended to inform the development of resources for high school students for the prevention of men's domestic violence towards women. In the first part of this report we describe the cultural heritage that provides the backdrop to New Zealand young women's experiences of ownership in relationships in New Zealand; in the second part we describe young women's experiences of ownership in relationships and the cultural influences which appear to have informed their experiences. This second part of the report was informed by focus group discussions with young women aged 18-25 years from a large urban region in New Zealand. Finally, in the third part of this report we make recommendations for the prevention of domestic violence based on these findings.

Why ownership in male/female relationships

When considering a prevention focus with young people entering relationships with men for the first time young women suggested to us that we study ownership in relationships. Their experiences and that of their friends was that ownership practices - possessiveness by men in relationships with young women - were associated with controlling relationships for young women. In this study we wanted to explore just where these ownership practices had emerged from. We were interested not only in the cultural heritage which had informed these practices but also in how young women made sense of such behaviours: what cultural and social influences they spoke about as contributing to their male partner's controlling behaviours, possessiveness or jealousy. In these discussions, we wanted to try to capture the ways in which ownership practices may be hidden within existing accepted practices: within media representations and institutional practices - widely held understandings of

how women should be in relationships and more generally. Finally we were interested in what young women thought might be the best ways to intervene to stop such practices.

The term ownership was deliberately used in this study in order to capture young women's experiences and the social and cultural influences that contributed to some women's experiences of their male partners. Men's control of young women partners and jealousy have been associated with men's violence towards them (Cano et al., 1998; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987) and indeed with deaths of women through men's domestic violence (Campbell et al, 2003; Johnson, 2006). The term control captures women's experiences of the *behaviour* of certain male partners in this context: their intimidating behaviour, their control of their finances, their emotional control through the use of denigration or abusive verbal behaviour, their control of their movements and their control of the information they receive and the people with whom they have contact. The term *jealousy* captures the emotional experiences that young women may encounter through the man's inability to accept their contact with other men or their contact with other people who might require the woman's time or attention. Neither term captures the social and cultural influences that might sit behind, or that might have informed, the actions that the man takes. We used the term ownership to capture the language which draws from values and beliefs – the social and cultural influences - that contribute to ownership behaviours or practices: to a sense of entitlement which some men have to act towards their women partners in controlling or dominating ways (see Adams, Towns & Gavey, 1995; 2003).

The link between gender and violence towards women

The study investigates the possibility that ownership practices in relationships are gendered: that is that they are intricately tied up with the ways in which women and men make sense of themselves and their relationships within the existing social and cultural times in which they live. This possibility required further investigation because controlling and jealous behaviours by men towards their women partners have been found to be a key and important feature of those relationships which involve severe violence (Edleson & Tolman, 1992; Pence & Paymar, 1993) and dangerousness or lethality (Edleson, & Tolman, 1992). Jealousy has also been found to be a feature associated with violence in young people's relationships (Cano et al., 1998; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987)

There is a very strong body of research which links traditional macho values with men's violence towards women: for example in an in-depth study with men who used violence towards their women partners Adams, Towns & Gavey (1995, 2003) found that men's expressions of male dominance and entitlement contributed to their justifications for their violence towards women. In the Hitting Home study some NZ men's macho values and traditional attitudes towards women were found to be linked to more severe forms of violence towards women by male partners (Leibrich, Paulin & Ransom, 1995). A large World Health Organisation study on violence towards women found a strong association between controlling behaviours towards women by male partners and violence towards women (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). The World Health Organization sees the addressing of men's attitudes towards women as part of the prevention of violence (WHO, 2008).

The importance of the social and cultural: language, values and beliefs

Given the apparent gendered nature of controlling and violent behaviour towards women and previous research which had linked violence to macho values, we were interested in determining whether ownership practices by men in relationships were in any way related to the social and cultural context in which young men and young women built their relationships in New Zealand. New Zealanders are in the unique position of having a strong cultural heritage drawing from Maori, British and other new immigrant cultures. This study allowed us to explore the commonalities and the differences that some of these different heritages brought to men's and women's understandings about how they should relate to each other in terms of ownership practices. As our readings of research progressed we were increasingly surprised at the different cultural perspectives the Maori and Pakeha heritages had brought to bare on the ownership practices of men in relationships and the resounding impact that such practices had had, particularly on Maori women. We believe that the significance of these practices is not widely known yet it has the potential to provide a much greater understanding of certain anomalies in the data relating to Maori and other women's experiences of domestic violence by men.

The readings that have informed this project are general in nature and have ranged across the New Zealand and international literature. The focus groups were drawn from a general population. Our New Zealand readings in this area and our discussions with our

Maori advisory group led us to believe that an important trajectory to this project would be a study driven by Maori and for Maori that would more fully investigate ownership practices experienced by Maori pre- and post- colonisation. There is a risk that Maori researchers would not consider this a priority area for their research but there would also be great benefit for New Zealanders generally to have a better understanding of the impact of ownership practices on Maori women's relationships with men and subsequently on their experiences of men's violence. We wondered whether this knowledge would also provide a stronger platform for any developments which we might want to make towards the prevention of such violence. Another area for research concerned young men's ideas about ownership. While the focus groups in this study were with young women we were also aware of the need to be informed about young men's values and beliefs regarding ownership practices in men's relationships with young women. We were therefore keen for a subsequent study in which we talked to young men. We plan to facilitate the development of these two subsequent studies now that this study is completed.

Introducing a prevention focus

To determine how to stop men's domestic violence towards women before it starts it is important to understand the nature of such violence. Our contention is that to understand violence requires knowledge of power practices and the way power is imposed through language – the words and metaphors we use and the messages conveyed by how we act (see Foucault, 1977; 1980; 1988). Central to understanding the way to prevent such violence is this knowledge about the way language works to promote values and beliefs that form the cultural supports for violence towards women. Ambiguity is the enemy of violence prevention, yet ambiguity in language has been employed consistently in New Zealand to muddy the waters over the prevention of violence towards women. The two important areas where the prevention of violence towards women requires clarity is in our understanding of just what constitutes violence and our understanding of what must therefore constitute men's domestic violence towards women. A feature of both requires an understanding of power and the way it works through language. Finally, the term

prevention can take various meanings and we describe the way we make sense of prevention here.

Understanding the nature of violence

Violence can be identified through its impact on the victim:

The issues of choice and control are very important when focusing on the experiences of victims of violence. The central element to most experiences of violence is a shattering loss of control. ... Essential to this project of control is the issue of choice. Choice in how to act ... choice in how to define the situation ... in how to respond to the violent acts; in who (if any) to involve. (Owen, 1996; p.62)

There are many acts which would be considered to be assault which would not have the impact that a violent act would have. For example, a three year old child may hit his or her mother without impacting on the mother's choices or options for behaviour. There are also many acts which are violent but which would not be considered assault: threatening or intimidating behaviours may not result in any physical assault, but they may still control a person's choices and abilities to act freely. As Owen stated violence impacts through limiting the options and choices available to a person.

The World Health Organisation captures these distinctive qualities in its definition of violence:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation. (Krug, et al., 2002, p.5)

When a man exercises violence towards a woman partner he makes a conscious decision to use his greater strength to frighten and intimidate her. Overseas this form of violence has been called battering. In New Zealand the meaning of this form of violence has been lost in the variously termed domestic violence, family violence and

intimate partner violence: part of a group of violences towards close family or whanau. Jacobson and Gottman (1998) captured the distinctive qualities of battering, or men's domestic violence towards women in the following:

Battering is physical aggression with a purpose: that purpose is to control, intimidate, and subjugate another human being. Battering is always accompanied by emotional abuse, is often accompanied by injury, and is virtually always associated with fear and even terror on the part of the battered women. (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998, p. 25.)

A single strike from a man to a woman partner may be sufficient for some women to limit their options for action. The physical act of violence may be rarely required if psychological violence through surveillance, denigration or intimidation and fear is effective in maintaining control (Towns & Adams, 1997). Violence works on victims/survivors through their internalization of the possibility of further violence: through anticipation, and their subsequent control of their own behaviours to limit this possibility. Violent actions may well have particular meanings to women who experience their partner's or boyfriend's battering: about the greater physical strength of the man, about his intention to use this strength against her if she does not comply with his wishes, about his ability to control her because he can. For other women, no strike may be necessary: the man's intimidation, surveillance and stand over tactics may be sufficient. In such situations the woman may find herself striking the man out of fear or frustration (e.g. see Foshee et al., 2007) and this behaviour in itself may limit her options for actions because of her own embarrassment and shame about her assault. However, it is very rare for the man to be limited in his choices of physical action by her striking of him: he can commonly contain her actions by holding her wrists, whereas she is usually unable to hold him physically. He can usually physically leave the situation whereas commonly when battering occurs for women they must engineer their escape. The issues of control and choice are therefore central to an understanding of the way in which men's domestic violence towards women works (Johnson, 2006).

Central to the effectiveness of violence through control is surveillance of the victim(s). In a previous paper Towns and Adams (1997) discussed the importance of New Zealand men's surveillance of their women partner to their control over her. Recent

international research described such behaviours as stalking and linked them to more severe forms of violence (Melton, 2007). Surveillance is a strategy of control: it involves monitoring the woman's actions so that she must account for her activities through the day (e.g. what she wears, what she buys) and the people with whom she comes in contact. It may involve controlling any information the woman receives from the outside world, her telephone calls, her access to outside information through her encounters with others. Some men actively follow their women partners to determine whether they are meeting who they say they are. Some men recruit family members or others to assist in the surveillance of their women partners. Post-separation such men may stalk their partners and may attack them when they know no others are around (Williams & Frieze, 2005); others may attack or abuse the woman's new male partner. Once again the effectiveness of the strategy is not in the overt surveillance but in the impact on the woman: she internalises the possibility of his surveillance and modifies her behaviour to counter any consequences. Because of the unpredictability of his violent reactions she modifies her behaviour whether the man is present or not. Surveillance has a powerful impact on the woman's choices and abilities to act freely¹.

There is another form of surveillance of the woman which New Zealand research indicates is culturally embedded and which works to contain the woman in the relationship. Women living with a man who uses violence (physical, emotional or sexual) look to themselves to find ways to prevent the violence. In a context in which her behaviour is constantly criticised she tries to provide the "perfect love", the love which will change his behaviour and which will stop his violence (see Towns & Adams, 2000). New Zealand western cultural history is riddled with fairy stories of love in which the (beautiful) young woman/princess provides the perfect love which changes the beast into a prince, for example, "Beauty and the Beast" and "The Frog Prince". Young New Zealand women are raised on these stories and they monitor their own behaviour to ensure that they comply

¹ That there is a mental health impact on women of such violence is therefore not surprising. Women who experience violence from their male partners are at substantially higher risk of depression (VHS, 2004) and of suicide attempts (Fanslow & Robinson, 2004). For some women with severely violent partners suicide seems a better option than continually living in terror of the next violent episode. Some women dull the pain of terror and violence through the use of alcohol or drugs (Miller, 1993).

with the perfect woman partner of these narratives. This monitoring and these attempts to govern their own behaviour in order to bring about change are particularly prominent in relationships in which the man uses violence. These behaviours on the part of the woman can be understood as self-surveillance, in which the women's scrutinizes her own behaviour prior to acting in order to ensure that it complies with her male partner's wishes. This is the ultimate form or endpoint of a strategy of control through domestic violence by the man as now he no longer needs to be present for her compliance (Towns & Adams, 1997).

Many distressed couples engage in minor assault acts which are not intended to control and do not cause harm (Jacobson 1994), but much of the violence research does not distinguish between these acts and the acts which would be consistent with that described as violence. Much of the research does not distinguish between the experiences of distressed couples and that of couples where violence is the experience of one party - usually the woman (Jacobson & Gottman, 1998; Kimmel, 2002). The acts we are interested in preventing are the forms of violence which cause physical or psychological harm or fear and that limit the women's options for action and her ability to make choices. This form of violence in relationships is largely perpetrated by men towards women. Where attempts have been made to distinguish between battering, the distressed behaviours of distressed couples, and the sex of the perpetrator numbers of couples where the man was the victim of battering were found to be very few (Johnson 2006).

Because of the unacceptability of men's violence towards women, male perpetrators are rarely open and honest about their behaviour (Kropp, 2004). Men who use such violence may represent themselves as the victims of their female partner's violence in order to avoid the social stigma associated with their behaviour and to shift the blame towards their woman partner (Towns & Adams, 2005). Some men work to silence talk of their violence by representing themselves as reasonable even loving men to the outside world while engaging in violence towards their partners behind closed doors (Gavey, Adams & Towns, 1994; Towns, Adams & Gavey, 2003). Revelation of violence by the women may then be met with disbelief by those around who "know" him. Inexperienced practitioners and researchers may be easily taken in by the perpetrator's story. This factor alone contributes to ambiguous research findings which are not useful for prevention.

The extent of men's domestic violence towards women in New Zealand

The extent of men's domestic violence towards women in New Zealand has been measured in a number of ways with various results pointing to the difficulties in measurement in this area (Holtzworth-Munroe, 2005). Overseas research, for example, has shown that community samples do not generally sample the worst forms of men's domestic violence towards women which tend to be present in refuge and court samples (Johnson, 2006). Perhaps the best way to measure the extent of such violence is to use a population based representative sample. However, measuring the extent of such violence presents particular challenges. Firstly, women who are experiencing violence which creates fear or even terror may be too afraid to participate in such a study. Telephone calls to the household, commonly used in population based sampling, may be monitored by her violent partner and so are unsafe. There are also problems with research from birth cohorts: samples of groups followed from birth. Those who volunteer to be part of such a long-term study are likely to be more stable than those from a violent background. Drop outs in birth cohorts followed over many years may be due to domestic violence if the woman's partner is preventing her from contact with others. The population that the birth cohort may represent at birth may not be representative of the general population 25 years later – for example New Zealand birth cohorts from 20 or 30 years ago are not representative of the New Zealand population today. New Zealand now has a significant population of Pacific and Asian populations which were not in the original South Island sample. Very few Maori were in the original samples.

Sampling men introduces further difficulties. Men who are violent to their female partners are unlikely to disclose this violence in a face-to-face interview due to social shame about engaging in such behaviour towards women (Adams, Towns & Gavey, 1995b; Kropp, 2004). Nevertheless men themselves are an important source of information about the extent of such violence. In 1995 Leibrich, Paulin and Ransom (1995) studied a representative sample of 2000 New Zealand men in order to determine the extent of such violence towards women. These researchers were aware of the difficulties with this type of research and were careful to ensure that men were able to respond honestly. For example, although the men were interviewed face to face they could put their confidential answers to

these sensitive questions in a sealed envelope for the researcher, protecting them from the scrutiny and judgement of the interviewer. These authors found that 21 per cent of the men had used at least one form of physical violence against his female partner in the past year, and 35 per cent had used at least one form of physical violence against his female partner in his life-time. Fifty three percent had used at least one form of psychological abuse against his female partner during the past year and 62 percent during his lifetime.

Despite the difficulties in studying women New Zealand research on women has been conducted as part of a larger World Health Organisation study on violence towards women. Fanslow and Robinson (2004) studied 2744 ever-partnered New Zealand women aged between 18 and 64 years in and urban and rural area. Thirty three percent of the participants in the urban area and 39 per cent in the rural area reported experiencing at least one act of physical and/or sexual violence from a male partner or ex-partner in their lifetime. Approximately 5 percent reported experiencing physical and/or sexual in the past 12 months. These figures are likely to underestimate the extent of such violence in New Zealand due to the self-exclusion effects of fear experienced by women living with a violent man.

The extent of murders through men's domestic violence towards women provides an indication of whether such violence is worsening or decreasing. In 2006, 25 out of the 53 cases investigated as murders were recorded as family violence deaths (TAVF, 2007). Of these 12 were women and 10 of these women were killed by a male partner or ex-partner. The others were killed by other men. Deaths recorded as due to family violence between 2000-2004 (inclusive) were 54 women murdered by men and 3 men murdered by women (TAVF, 2006). This may represent a possible increase from an average of 11 women murdered a year by a partner or ex-partner (Fanslow, Chalmers & Langley, 1991) to an average of close to 14 a year by a male family member.

Violence experienced by young women

The extent of violence experienced by New Zealand young women from boyfriends or ex-boyfriends was studied by Langley, Martin and Nada-Raja (1997). The population was drawn from a birth cohort of twenty one year olds and as such is subject to the problems of

representation described above². These researchers assessed 462 young women and 482 young men for their experiences of partner violence. Of the women interviewed 11.3 per cent reported experiencing assault by a partner at least once in the past 12 months³. Thirteen percent of the incidents reported by young women required treatment (hospital, medical or first aid treatment)⁴. These findings suggest that the occurrence of men's violence towards women partners may be higher amongst the younger age group. An Auckland study provided some figures on physical, emotional and sexual violence within dating relationships which indicate that the incidence of violence may be much higher amongst NZ young people than has been found internationally with young women experiencing more harm than young men (Jackson, Cram & Seymour, 2000).

The need for prevention before violence starts

Men's domestic violence towards women can be understood to extend along a continuum from minor controlling behaviour such as criticising the woman's dress sense, to more extensive control tactics such as limiting her finances or monitoring and controlling her movements and contact with others, to the use of intimidation and violence and, in extreme cases, to murder and even infanticide. It is probably not helpful for prevention purposes to consider the presence of violence as a dichotomy: as being present or not being present. Making sense of such violence as a continuum provides recognition of the degrees of severity of such violence: from mild levels of control to extreme violence which causes death or irreversible harm such as brain damage. Once again the emphasis here is on preventing violent behaviours rather than on assault: preventing those behaviours which limit choices and cause psychological or physical harm or fear. There are many forms of minor assault acts which would not fall into this category.

Prevention may also be understood to extend along a continuum from preventing violence before it starts, to intervening early when the violence has already begun (providing programmes to women victims and men who are perpetrators), to providing

² Other problems with prevalence measurement of such violence in young people were discussed in Jackson (1999).

³ compared to 2.7 per cent of men. The female rate was approximately 2.6 times higher than the equivalent male rate.

⁴ none of those reported by men had this outcome.

institutional care (imprisonment when the man is no longer considered to be safe around his woman partner or in the community because of the extent of the harm she has experienced or hospital care to a woman who has experienced such violence). In this study we are concerned with identifying the early indicators: the language that points to the values, beliefs and attitudes that support ownership practices in relationships: controlling and dominating behaviours. By identifying the values, beliefs and attitudes interventions can be designed to address the actions which inform these values.

If men's domestic violence towards women is understood as extending along a continuum of control the way in which to prevent violence is to stop any violence before it starts: to intervene very early to address controlling behaviours in relationships. Previous research in New Zealand has shown that some men who use such violence legitimate their behaviour by drawing from traditional understandings of men's right to dominance and entitlement in a relationship with a woman (Adams, Towns & Gavey, 1995). In order to address the values and beliefs or the social and cultural imperatives that are used to justify men's violence towards women we need to make more sense of where this sense of entitlement to act with control over women partners - this assumption of the right to dominance of women - comes from. In what way is it culturally informed and imbedded? There are risk factors for men to engage in domestic violence towards women which point to the importance of values and beliefs about relationships in the development of such violence: witnessing such violence in their parents' relationship means young men may be at risk of perpetration and young women of victimisation (Ehrensaft et al, 2003). These findings suggest that power based ways of being may be learned from witnessing such violence (see Lichter & McCloskey, 2004). There may be other as yet unidentified ways in which such behaviours are made justifiable to some men.

If control, possessiveness and jealousy may be understood as part of the language of ownership practices by the man towards the woman, what cultural contexts have informed this language? Are there specific cultural activities or practices (e.g. types of music, legitimated ways of being a man) which support ownership practices: power, control and dominance over women? What is the language that identifies these cultural activities? Are there dominant institutions (e.g. the media, the law, politics, musical or film genre, historical ways of being) within these social and cultural contexts that have contributed to

ownership language and practices? Determining the language that informs the cultural imperatives of a particular context can be difficult to unravel if the researchers are themselves sitting in that social context. Is there a history that more obviously accounts for the language of ownership which might inform justifications for control or dominance or ownership practices in male/female relationships?

Challenging the language, values and beliefs that support ownership of women

If the language and the values and beliefs associated with ownership practices can be identified then a point of prevention will be to heighten awareness of this history, the language and the associated practices. Positioning these beliefs and practices within their historical context allows the problems associated with them to be made conscious: to be more readily highlighted and critiqued. The values that inform the language of ownership, the beliefs and practices, and the behaviours associated with them are more readily challenged. Alternative values and ways of behaving to counter such values can be promoted in population focussed interventions such as through learning activities in high schools or media campaigns. This research project provided the opportunity to pursue other questions: Are there other ways in which prevention might be more effectively addressed with young people? How is it best to raise young people's consciousness about the language, values and beliefs which allow men's violence towards women to thrive? What do young women consider appropriate points of intervention when the goal is the prevention of men's domestic violence towards women?

Getting in early

The underlying thesis of this project is that men's violence towards women is preventable. While this study is aimed at identifying the social and cultural values and beliefs that inform ownership practices, our position in identifying the language that informs this cultural paraphernalia is one of optimism. We wanted to be able to identify whether the cultural values and beliefs that support ownership practices are simply part of certain traditional institutional power practices. Employing certain supports and justifications for the control of women allows these traditional ways of being to be justified and therefore

maintained. Making the language and social and cultural values and beliefs that support ownership practices explicit allows them to be resisted and changed. The objective of this study, then, is to bring the language and the values and beliefs that support ownership practices out of the unspoken realm and into conscious awareness. When the language, values and beliefs that inform ownership practices are made overt, the history of them, the impact of them and the behavioural trajectories of them are open to critical appraisal. These appraisals open up possibilities for resistance. If young people are more informed about these practices they will be more able to resist them in their own relationships. The practices of dominance and entitlement that emerge from cultural imperatives can no longer be considered “natural” or “just the way things are” for men and women (see Adams & Towns, 1995, 2003). Young people’s actions in relationships become informed conscious choices.

Young people in their high school and tertiary schooling years are beginning to enter relationships and this developmental place provides opportunities for prevention. Young people of later teenage years are also at a point in their lives when they are casting a critical gaze at parental standards and authority. This developmental period provides an opportunity for prevention through encouraging critical reflection on what might be understood among some to be common practices in some relationships. The intention of this research is to provide resources that will allow young people to question that which might be constructed as “natural” or common practices in some relationships. We hope that the knowledge uncovered in this research can be employed to construct new curricula in schools and to inform existing curricula which work towards the prevention of violence. We hope that these curricula will involve critically reflecting on our cultural heritage - questioning historical and current media representations and other institutional practices that promote ways of being which work against ethical and just behaviour in male/female relationships - and promoting egalitarian relationships which appear to protect women from men’s domestic violence.

Researching the Prevention of Domestic Violence

Researching the prevention of men's domestic violence towards women raises difficulties for researchers as their findings are commonly constructed by media and others as controversial. Media reporting of such research often requires attention grabbing headlines which pitch one stakeholder against another (Meyers, 1997). Many of those who report on this complex topic are not informed about the area and inadvertently perpetuate myths in their reporting. Reporters may not be aware of who the experts are in the area or of who will provide an informed critique. These difficulties are particularly problematic for researchers working towards the prevention of such violence as they require the use of the mass media to promote population based interventions.

Researchers determine the form of methodology they use by the questions which they are attempting to answer. Quantitative research is commonly used to answer questions relating to the extent of a problem and the correlating factors associated with it. These questions are "how many" questions or "what is associated with what" questions. They will require the researcher to have a predetermined idea about the potential nature of the problem in order to clarify the questions of interest and to select or construct the instruments for measurement. Causality of problems may be inferred from correlation findings but cannot be definitely attributed to them. Researchers using quantitative methods require expert statistical knowledge to be able to interpret their findings accurately. On the other hand, qualitative research can take a number of different forms but is generally designed to be discovery focussed and usually involves interviews with participants. Researchers may go into this form of research with broad-based questions such as "How do participants make sense of this?". "What experiences do participants have of this?" Researchers will commonly go into such research without predetermined ideas of the findings and assuming that the participants may have expert knowledge which researchers do not have. Such research may create new discoveries which can be further investigated with other methods. Researchers using qualitative methods require knowledge of qualitative analytic methods to allow them to produce the best results from their data. Researchers also need to be highly sensitive to the confidentiality of their participants in their research reporting.

Quantitative research would appear to provide an objective perspective on domestic violence but, like any other method, remains reliant on the researchers to determine its veracity or validity. Researchers must ensure that there are controls which have excluded the possibility that their research is simply representing the experiences of distressed couples rather than of those where domestic violence is occurring: that they are actually researching violence involving control rather than distress or minor assault which does not limit choices or cause harm. Researchers must determine the questions which are asked, the methods of collection of data such as the form which questionnaire administration takes, all of which may be subject to researcher values and beliefs or inadvertent bias. They must ensure the protection of victims of such violence from the potential influence of offenders which would affect self-reports and they must have knowledge of the forms of bias in this area (such as offender shame) which might affect their data collection and analysis. Researchers will bring their perspective to the translation of their findings in the analysis. This area of research produces many traps for naïve researchers and has resulted in some reported and published findings which are deeply problematic.

The approach of many of the methodologies used in qualitative research is to accept that their work will not be objective and to work to make explicit where the subjectivity lies. The research commonly involves the use of interviews or focus group discussions centred in a particular interview format which allows for free disclosure. Qualitative researchers must be careful to ensure the safety of participants in order to protect victims and gain open disclosures. Commonly researchers are looking to participants to capture, for example, the experiences of a larger group; or the values, beliefs or understandings which might be present in the everyday world. Researchers usually do not require large numbers of participants as the researcher is looking to gain *a repetition of findings* which would allow their results to be representative. As the research does not involve statistics large numbers are not required for generalization. Repetition allows the researcher to be confident that the experiences described or discussed are not isolated events. In these subjective approaches the analysis will be influenced by the perspectives of the researcher some of whom are deliberately reflexive about this influence in their analysis. The analysis may take a number of different forms depending on the approach of the researcher which allows qualitative methodologies to be accessible to a wide range of researchers. In the area

of violence qualitative researchers must be particularly careful to protect the confidentiality of their participants in their analyses. Some experts in the area of domestic violence have promoted qualitative methodologies as an approach which can provide answers to some of the complex questions in the area. It is a useful approach for prevention as it provides accessible information to policy analysts about how to proceed with population focussed interventions.

Methodology

Qualitative research was used in this study to investigate the ownership experiences of young women and the social and cultural influences which contributed to these ownership experiences. The approach was selected because of the contribution that the methodology could make towards answering the research questions detailed above (see p.6 and p.17). The approach used is discovery based with the interviewer taking the perspective of a naïve inquirer: accepting that the participants were likely to hold expertise in this area which was not that of the researchers (who were older women). The senior researcher is a clinical psychologist of twenty five years with research expertise in the area of men's domestic violence towards women and discourse analysis and the co-researcher is an experienced social worker with particular expertise in domestic violence programme provision for women.

Procedure

Young women were recruited through their contact with women's organisations, through notices, word of mouth and through snowballing. Following informed consent procedures focus group discussions were held with up to five young women. A semi-structured interview format was used to maintain the focus on the research questions and the focus groups were conducted by the senior researcher (AT). Participants were asked to provide a brief account of their ownership experiences in their relationships or past relationships with their boyfriends: experiences of possessiveness, control or jealousy. They were invited to discuss the social and cultural influences which they thought might have contributed to

such behaviour. They were also invited to describe any ways in which they thought such practices might have become institutionalised through media or other representations. Participants were asked to suggest ideas for the prevention of such practices. The focus group discussions were recorded using digital audio recording and the recordings were transcribed. Transcriptions were then analysed using discourse analysis. Various forms of media which might have contributed to the language in the texts were read, observed and listened to in order to inform the analysis.

Participants

Participants were ten young women aged 18 to 25 years who took part in three focus group discussions. Most participants identified as being from a European New Zealander ethnicity, one identified as Maori/Pakeha, another as South African, and one as Persian. Young women were only recruited into the study if they had ownership experiences of control, possessiveness or jealousy from a boyfriend or ex-boyfriend and if they were safe from any current domestic violence. As the research was concerned with controlling behaviours participants were not required to have experienced physical domestic violence. The researchers did not limit their recruitment to tertiary institutions hoping to generate a wider point of view from young women whose experiences came from other aspects of the community. All participants were provided with a \$20.00 petrol voucher to help with their transport costs.

Normally in qualitative research recruitment continues until the data meets a point of saturation where the findings from participants are repetitive. Although there were only ten recruits, the findings from this study were indeed repetitive, suggesting that these findings are likely to be valid representations of these experiences.

The researchers had planned to recruit between 20-30 participants but underestimated the difficulty in recruiting young women participants and those willing to talk in groups about these experiences. A big obstacle for young women was completely unexpected and was the stigma which young women felt was associated with experiencing controlling behaviours from a boyfriend. We had expected that young women would come with known others to talk of their experiences but many of the young women had not spoken to other young women in a group about their experiences. Those who did attend

spoke of how difficult it had been to come to talk to a group of strangers despite the commonality of their experiences. While one-on-one interviews would have resolved this issue it is unlikely that using this method would have achieved the depth of findings in this study through our use of focus groups albeit limited in numbers. Although we had access to women's agencies and expected to be able to recruit from these sources these agencies found, during the course of the study, that young women of this age group rarely attended their services. Although a further six young women agreed to participate in the study we were unable to get these young women to a focus group discussion. A number of other obstacles to young women participating in this research existed. Reminders were sent before and on the day but the young women tended to rely on their cell phones and sometimes did not have the financial resources to have these funded. The result was that there was no certainty that reminder messages reached them. Getting young women to a central point for focus group discussions required some young women to navigate there way through city streets and, although transport was offered, some young women lacked the confidence associated with moving about the city. Some young women had babies or small children: some were limited in their emotional resources and the times they were able to attend. While daytime focus groups and safe childcare were organised for these young women they were unable to attend these sessions. One participant moved out of the area of recruitment before sufficient numbers were available for a focus group. Recruitment was limited over the summer break when the women's agencies and tertiary institutions were closed. Permission was sought to recruit from summer venues which young women might attend but was refused by the ethics committee.

Safety and Confidentiality

The study received ethical approval from the Northern Regional Ethics Committee. Telephone recruitment was not carried out in order to ensure the safety of participants. Young women were only recruited into the study if they were not currently experiencing any domestic violence. They were informed that should their safety or that of a child be imminent or immediately at risk the researchers would take steps to ensure safety for those concerned and that confidentiality might not be possible in these circumstances. The researchers followed the New Zealand Standards Guidelines on Family Violence (NAS

8006:2006) in determining when and what actions should be taken in the event of such a safety issue. No safety concerns occurred during the course of the study. Each participant was provided with information about support groups and contact details for after hours support services. The researchers were available at the end of the groups should any participant need extra support after the focus group discussion. In reporting the results names and some minor details have been changed to ensure the confidentiality of the participants. Events which might explicitly identify the participants have not been included in the analysis.

Influences

A form of discourse analysis which has been described elsewhere (Townes & Adams, 2000) was employed here. The approach is informed by Potter and Wetherell's (1987) use of interpretative repertoires and Wetherell's (1998) later work on linguistic resources and positioning. The approach in this study was also informed by post-structuralist approaches (e.g. Gavey 1989; Gavey, 2004) which provide for an analysis of power informed by Foucault's work and for the distinction between real and constructed identities in talk. Antaki, Condor and Levine's (1996) work on identities and the ways identities are represented in talk and the work of Davies (Davies, 1992; Davies & Harre, 1990) on positioning and agency were also influential.

In the approach used here the texts were analysed for common forms of language or linguistic resources (metaphors, contradictory ways of talking, figures of speech, phrases, messages) which allowed the researchers to cluster these forms of speech into common over-riding conglomerates of language known as discourses. These over-riding discourses are understood to be informed by participants' realities while also informing the ways in which their realities are constructed. The language associated with such discourses is informed by and contributes to cultural values and beliefs which are also evident in everyday representations such as the media, advertising etc. Some conglomerates of language, some discourses, may be more dominant than others. This dominance sometimes marginalises the talk of those who are less able to influence these ways of speaking. Talk from people of their practical experiences - the constructions in talk they represent as their experiences - can help to identify dominant influences.

Conglomerates of language which cluster together to form discourses or interpretative repertoires allow the contributing values and beliefs to be identified. The influence of the language of such discourses may be quite hidden or even unconscious to those who are currently embedded in them. Providing a historical tracing of the language, values and beliefs associated with a particular area can help to highlight the existence of contemporary power practices in what appears to be everyday commonsense constructions. It allows the commonsense taken-for-granted acceptance of the language associated with current ways of being, with values and beliefs to be made conscious and contested. Talk of the practical experiences of people provides a means of determining the controlling language they experience in practice: their experiences of power practices. In this study young women's talk of their ownership experiences was employed to identify the material practices of control they experienced.

The limits of the report

The number of participants in this study was small however there was a surprising degree of repetition of findings. This repetition suggests that the findings are valid however greater validation of the findings would have occurred with more participants. The researchers were not funded to provide a literature review or a genealogy of ownership practices in relationships between men and women and as a consequence the work here provides a background sketch only. The study was time limited.

Part 1. Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage – the construction of women

A focus on the prevention of violence towards women partners will require some scrutiny of the cultural heritage and the associated construction of women that allows men who use such violence to justify it as acceptable. A controlling or violent act towards a woman partner may be understood as an expression of that man's attitude towards her as a woman and as his girlfriend or wife. Previous research in New Zealand has shown a link between more severe forms of violence towards women and the men's expressions of traditional western values and beliefs about women. This finding has been supported by international research with women. In this section we will discuss some of the genealogy or history of attitudes towards women that might contribute towards or protect women from violence by their male partners. In the first part of this section we will describe the western genealogy of women which currently dominates New Zealand culture. In the second part of this section we will provide a preliminary discussion of the Maori genealogy of women, which provides a point of difference to western representations of women. Finally we will describe the colonising effects on the way women are represented in contemporary New Zealand culture and the potential impact on young women.⁵

⁵ We were not funded to provide a comprehensive review of New Zealand's cultural heritage of representations of women and this part of the report of necessity provides only a limited background. However, we hope that this research material will inspire other researchers to study these areas more deeply. It should also be noted that we are Pakeha researchers and this account is therefore limited by our singular perspective. There is much work required on Maori perspectives and genealogy. We look forward to research by Maori for Maori on this topic and hope that this work will inspire contributions from researchers of other ethnic backgrounds on the history to their own culture's representations of women in New Zealand in the context of the prevention of violence towards women.

Western genealogy of women

In a recent history of women and misogyny, Holland (2006) traced western history of contempt for women to the Greeks and the myth of Pandora, written by a Greek Poet, Hesiod in the eighth century BC. In Holland's account Pandora was created by Zeus, the father of all Gods, to create revenge on a demi-god who had stolen fire by which he could cook food. Pandora was the "beautiful evil", the mythical start of the "race womankind", which would spread evil and harm among mankind. When Pandora opened the cask she "scattered pains and evils among men" (cited in Holland, 2006, pp. 16)

Holland argued that Hesiod's poem gave license to Greek men to treat women with contempt and this attitude towards women became social fact in the laws pertaining to Greek women. Woman in early Greek history had the legal status of children and were treated as the possession of the man: not allowed to go out without a chaperone and living in a segregated part of the house. They were married at puberty, often to men twice their age. Their education was discouraged. Fathers retained authority over their daughters even after marriage, and could institute divorce and remarriage at their whim.

Holland argued that the dual philosophies promoted by Greek philosophers were deeply problematic for women and resulted in many deaths of women. Although the famous Greek philosopher, Plato, has been described as the first feminist because he advocated for the education of women, he continued to promote men as the site of spirituality and women of carnal or sexual appetites, associated with marriage and procreation. Spirituality was privileged in this construction and sexual appetites were not. Holland described another famous Greek philosopher, Aristotle, as "one of the most ferocious misogynists of all time" (p.33). According to Holland Aristotle considered men to be the natural rulers and women and slaves were relegated to ruled status by nature. Women were failed men, "a mutilated male", never able to reach their full potential. He argued that Aristotle considered women's natural state to be obedience to men.

Holland argued that these philosophies of dualism promoted by Plato and Aristotle allowed some early Christian leaders, through the Christian doctrine of Original Sin, to argue that women were the site of all that considered contemptible or alternatively to promote women into deity status, as with Mary, the virgin mother of Jesus. This duality did not allow women their natural state: they were either sexually and spiritually

contemptible or spiritually elevated but sexually void. Holland argued that this position allowed for the so-called witch killings of women in the middle-ages which resulted in the deaths of many women: for example, he described Pope Innocent III's 1208 crusade against Catharism - which "allowed women to preach and to become part of the movement's spiritual elite, the Perfects" (p.109), a position contrary to Catholicism - as shocking. The massacres of women which followed and the history of such massacres over time, points to the dangers for women and the threat to men-of-religion of women holding equivalency in power. In this crusade hundreds of thousands of women were butchered for heresy: tortured and burned or hanged over a thirty year period. Pope Innocent III ruled that women's role in the church be radically curtailed. To illustrate the role of women advocated by the Church in this period, Holland cited St Thomas Aquinas. Women were to be "'man's helpmate', men should make use of 'a necessary object, woman, who is needed to preserve the species or to provide food and drink'." (p.112).

The massacre of women in Europe was again legitimated in the fourteenth century by their supposed potential for housing evil. Holland argued that following the Black Death pandemic (1347-1350), during which an estimated 20,000,000 million died in Europe, the climate of fear resulted in the Church's determination to seek proof of demons doing the work of the devil. This drive resulted in the deaths of countless women through "witch" burnings. According to Holland, the construction of the presence of demons as naturally linked to women's "wickedness" was through the writings of two Dominican Inquisitors, James Sprenger and Henry Kramer in *Malleus Maleficarum*, or 'Hammer of the Witches' (1487). Their writings gave license to the extractions of confessions through torture from women suspected of being "witches" or engaging in "demonic" activities. The witch tortures and burnings occurred throughout the late fourteenth to the late seventeenth centuries and were most prevalent in Germany, France, Scotland and Switzerland, and to a lesser extent in England. Holland stated that estimates of the number killed range from millions to 60,000.

In the 1880s the western status of women came under criticism from philosophers Marx and Engels who argued that monogamous marriage was simply a vehicle for the subjugation of women by men. Marx and Engels argued that this subjugation, along with property laws which disadvantaged women, required a social revolution to bring about

change (Holland 2006). According to Holland (2006) this theory was put to the test in Russia, when in 1917 a series of protests during International Women's Day created the political climate for the overthrow of the Tsar. The Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin stated that complete freedom for women was required for a full revolution and moved quickly to change the status of women, legislating for equality, giving women the vote and legalising abortion. However, Holland pointed out that women's status is commonly subjected to limitations through political legislative removals of their rights to autonomous decisions over their bodies and actions. For example, following Lenin, Stalin removed women's right to legalised abortions.

The influence of western attitudes towards women can be traced in New Zealand through introduced legislation, documented on the Timeline on the Ministry of Women's Affairs website. In 1867 New Zealand women were only allowed the vote if they occupied, or were in ownership, of property through the Municipal Corporations Act. Maori and Pakeha women did not have the right to vote in general elections until 1893. Despite this legislation, prejudice towards women voters remained. A 1905 poster by Henry Wright was titled 'Notice to epicene women. Electioneering women are requested not to call here'. In this poster Henry Wright "recommended women to go home, to look after the children, cook their husband's dinners, empty the slops, and generally attend to the domestic affairs for which nature designed them." (MOW website⁶).

The struggle in New Zealand to overcome prejudice towards women is evident in the time taken to meet milestones for women. Women did not win the right to stand for elections until 1919 when the Women's Parliamentary Rights Act was passed. The first women MP was finally elected in 1933 when Elizabeth McCombs won the by-election in Lyttelton. Women did not have the right to sit on the Legislative Council, the upper house of parliament, until 1941. The first women cabinet minister was a Labour MP Mabel Howard, in 1947. In 1948 the Apprentices Act passed, excluding women and was not changed until 1972. Not until between 1972 and 1977 was the Equal Pay Act phased in. Not until 1985 did Mary O'Regan become the first women in charge of a government department. Helen Clark became the first woman deputy prime minister in 1989 and Dame Catherine Tizard the first woman Governor-General in 1990. Not until 1993 did Helen

⁶ <http://www.mwa.govt.nz/women-in-nz/timeline>

Clark become the first woman leader of the opposition when she was made the first woman leader of a major political party: the Labour Party. In 1997 Jenny Shipley succeeded Jim Bolger as leader of the National Party and became the first woman Prime Minister, Helen Clark becoming the first elected woman prime minister in 1999. The first woman speaker of the house was Margaret Wilson in 2005.

Maori genealogy of women

Maori genealogy of women follows a substantially different trajectory to that of western society emerging from traditional beliefs that revere the place of women. According to Maori tradition Maori trace the origin of mankind back through time and through gods and goddesses to Ranginui, the Sky Father, and Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother (MOJ, 1999). “Papatuanuku is the ancestress of all things and her children are the guardians or the progenitors of everything on or under the earth, sea and skies.” (MOJ, 1999, p.12). This account places Papatuanuku and the female form that she takes as highly valued in Maori culture. Papatuanuku’s two granddaughters Hineahuone (later Hine-nui-te-po) and her sister Hinerauwharangi were the first to be granted human form. “Through Papatuanuku and Hine-nui-te-po, Maori women were seen as the beginning and the end of life in this world.” (MOJ, 1999, p.12.)

As whakapapa required all knowledge to be transferred through lines of descent Maori women, represented by Papatuanuku and Hine-nui-te-po as the beginning and end of life, had special status (MOJ, 1999). The valuing of women was evident in pre-European Maori society’s customs of ranking leaders. Pre-European Maori society provided rank according to roles and if the rank of the mother was higher than the rank of the father children could trace their lines of descent through the mother (MOJ, 1999). Men and women were granted leadership roles according to leadership qualities rather than gender: even slaves could acquire a high rank through leadership qualities. Evidence that there was no hierarchy through gender is in the language: nouns and pronouns are gender neutral with *ia* applying to both he and she (MOJ, 1999, p.15). While Maori did not have a concept of property ownership, use-rights over land and resources could be owned by Maori women and could then be passed down to her children. Property could be received by women from

either parent (MOJ, 1999, p.15) and was not lost to her husband at marriage. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi Maori women held positions of rank “within the social and political organisations of their tribal nations” although from the time of Pakeha settlement around 1814 Maori women’s standing was undermined by Western notions of male dominance and entitlement (MOJ, 1999, p.16).

The colonising impact

Early British settlers, missionaries and those given the authority to provide protection to Maori through the management of unruly Pakeha in New Zealand brought with them their own worldviews of male and female relationships (Dame Anne Salmond 1991, 353-354 cited in MOJ, 1999). As women in British law held little in the way of power or authority men were those sought by British authorities to consult over leadership issues or political matters of the day (Orange, 1987). This colonising influence was not helped by the Christian’s churches exclusive male leadership which remains dominant to this day⁷. The political assumptions of the British, along with the assumptions by missionaries of male entitlement to leadership positions, worked to disenfranchise Maori women from their roles of rank. As women commonly lost property ownership to men in the Western world property issues were considered by early Pakeha to be a matter for men. Thirteen Maori women are known to be signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi, an indication of their standing within their Maori communities, but it is not known how many more were turned away from signing by Pakeha leaders (MOJ, 1999). Orange (1987, p.90) described Major Bunbury refusing to allow a Maori woman of rank to sign the Treaty. She was naturally angered by this rejection as she was the daughter of Te Pehi, the celebrated but then deceased Ngati Toa chief. Her husband, presumably of lesser rank, refused to sign in protest. That Pakeha sought out men for this purpose effectively excluded the influence of Maori women. Finally, the exclusion of Maori women from political life occurred as only men were entitled to vote and to take part in politics.

⁷ For example, only in 1990 was Penny Jamieson made the first Anglican Bishop in the world when she was ordained Bishop of Dunedin (MOW Website). The Catholic Church retains its male leadership.

Cultural heritage – the construction of ownership in male/female intimate relationships

Further exclusive practices included the insistence on the use of male surnames (Metge 1995, p.132, cited in MOJ 1999) and the required legislation of marriage under law (MOJ, 1999) that essentially limited Maori women's right to land ownership. Once again these influences can be traced through Western genealogy in marriage.

Western genealogy of marriage

Formal marriage was introduced in eighteenth century England to provide legitimacy to children's right to property inheritance (MOJ, 1999). Prior to the Marriage Act 1753 both common law marriage and contracted marriages were recognised. The Marriage Act formalised the requirements for a valid marriage: "by words of the present [tense]". Marriage was when the parties accepted each other, before either an ordained clergyman or a Deacon, as man and wife (MOJ, 1999). The Matrimonial Causes Act 1857 provided administration of matrimonial causes. Once married, husband and wife were for all intents and purposes considered to be one: the husband was the head of the house and had control over his wife and children and their property. The woman's chattels or belongings became her husband's at marriage (Schornstein, 1997). "He could dispose of her leasehold property during her life and enjoy the benefit of her freehold estate during her life." (MOJ, 1999, p.18 para 62).

Until the Matrimonial Causes Act 1857 "only Parliament or death could put an end to marriage" (MOJ, 1999, p.20). In the nineteenth century, even if a woman managed to get a divorce on the grounds of her husband's cruelty or adultery the consequences for her were dire. In Lord Lyndhurst's words:

She may not enter into a contract or, if she do, she has no means of enforcing it. The law, so far from protecting, oppresses her. She is homeless, helpless, hopeless and almost destitute of civil rights. She is liable to all manner of injustice, whether by

plot or by violence. She may be wronged in all possible ways, and her character may be mercilessly defamed; yet she has no redress... (cited by MOJ, 1999, p.20).

Maori genealogy of marriage

Maori marriages were much less formal public approval of a couple as married being sufficient whether co-habitation had occurred or not or was delayed (MOJ, 1999). Couples lived together until they tired of each other or developed relations elsewhere. The Native Land Court recognised these customary marriages in determining the succession of Maori estates involving land and property, customary or freehold (In re Wi Tamahau Mahupuku (Deceased). Thompson v Mahupuku cited in MOJ, 1999, p.19). There was no stigma attached to divorce. While Maori traditionally did not have concepts of ownership of land, women held property usage rights and these were not lost at marriage. Women were able to transfer these property usage rights to their children.

Western genealogy of ownership in marriage

Traditionally under English law women were first the property of their fathers and then of their husbands. In traditional Christian marriages the father “gives away” his daughter to the husband and the marriage vows stated that women should love, honour and obey their male partners, positioning women as subject to their husband’s authority. The Marriage service concluded with the couple being declared man and wife: as Mikaere (1994) stated, the man retained his independence while the women entered servitude. If a separation occurred the woman could not reacquire any chattels she brought into the marriage and she lost access to her children who were considered the property of the husband. Children born out of wedlock were considered illegitimate and a woman who cohabited with a man out of wedlock, or who had children out of wedlock, was considered immoral. The Western heritage of women as the property of men is evident in the New Zealand legislation relating to property ownership and the right to financial support. In 1852 the Constitution Act legislated for men who individually owned land to have the vote, effectively excluding women who were unable to own property and most Maori, the latter usually owning land

collectively. Women had to forgo their nationality if they married a man of another nationality until 1934 when the law was finally changed.

Separation or divorce was a common damning experience for women until no-blame divorce was introduced in the 1970s. As women were considered the property of men, the expectation was that a man who separated from his wife would financially support his wife, but this was commonly not the case. Limited land ownership became available to New Zealand women through the 1860 Married Women's Property Act which allowed women who were deserted by their husbands to keep their earnings and to own property. However life remained difficult for separated women until 1938 when the Labour government allowed women who had been deserted by their husbands a benefit. The Domestic Purposes Benefit was introduced for parents (mainly women) caring for dependent children without the support of a partner in 1973.

Early evidence of ownership practices is also apparent in the legislated grounds for divorce which were more difficult for women than for men until the Divorce Act 1898 made the grounds for divorce virtually equivalent for men and for women. Married women were not able to own property in their own right until 1884 through the Married Women's Property Act. Equitable division of matrimonial property was not legislated until 1976 when the Matrimonial Property Act allowed for the equal division of the matrimonial home and chattels at the end of a marriage. However, women in de facto relationships were not entitled to an equal division of property after relationship breakdown until 2001, when the Property (Relationships) Amendment Act 2001 extended the rules covering the division of property to de facto couples.

Maori genealogy of ownership in marriage

Traditionally Maori women were not treated as the property of men or handed over at marriage to the man and his family (Mikaere 1994). Maori women remained part of their whanau even if they lived with their husband and her whanau could remove the woman from the care of the man and his whanau if they were concerned about her treatment by her husband. With colonisation the provisions of customary Maori marriages were progressively eroded and there were Maori men who had much to gain from these changes. (MOJ, 1999). These changes substantially affected the place of Maori women within

marriage, changing it from one of equality to one in which male dominance and control was enacted and legislated. The Maori Affairs Act 1953 stated:

Every marriage to which a Maori is a party shall be celebrated in the same manner, and its validity shall be determined by the same law, as if each of the parties was a European; and all provisions of the Marriage Act 1908 shall apply accordingly. (MOJ, 1999, p.22)

This Act finalised the demise of Maori customary marriages, stating that as of the 1 April 1952 no marriage of the nature of a customary Maori marriage was to be recognised as a marriage.

The impact on women

Traditionally Maori women's experiences of ownership in marriage were not those of women from a western heritage and colonisation brought with it expectations that they would be treated as their British counterparts were. Maori women suffered substantial losses as a result and these grievances are not commonly spoken of or acknowledged in lay accounts of contemporary understandings of New Zealand's history.

Cultural heritage – the impact of ownership constructions

Western genealogy - legitimating violence

Traditionally under English common law a husband held the right to beat his wife, within reasonable limits, stated to be with a stick no bigger than his thumb.

The husband also by the old law might give his wife moderate correction. For as he is to answer for her misbehaviour, the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children, for whom the master or

parent is also liable in some cases to answer. (Judge William Blackstone, cited in Schornstein, 1997, p16.)

In New Zealand, women could be legally raped in marriage until 1985 when the Crimes Amendment Act (No3) made rape of a spouse a criminal offence⁸. Women struggled to have domestic violence offenders arrested and processed through the Criminal Courts, the Police distinguishing between the “real work”, public offences, and that which was of a private nature or “just a domestic”. To counter this difficulty in 1982 the Domestic Protection Act was introduced, allowing women to seek non-molestation orders, non-violence orders and emergency accommodation orders through the Family Courts⁹. Nevertheless, difficulties remained in holding men accountable for violence towards their women partners. In 1996 the Domestic Violence Act 1995 was introduced lowering the criteria for the provision of protection orders and legislating for compulsory attendance of perpetrators of violence at stopping violence programmes. However a report by the Law Commission suggested that the criteria for temporary protection orders (those given with urgency due to real concerns about safety) should be raised to counter the concerns of some men who considered that the orders were used by women vindictively (NZ Law Commission, 2003). Surprisingly this recommendation for more stringent implementation of the DVA, which was contrary to the intention of the Act, was made by the Commission despite their finding that there was no evidence of their vindictive use. Wendy Davis

⁸ More attention to violence towards women by male partners began with the establishment of women’s refuges in the early 1970s which provided safe houses, counselling and advocacy for women seeking respite from their violent husbands and partners. The National Collective of Independent Women’s Refuges was established in 1981. The first Maori Women’s Refuge was established in 1987 and the first Pacific Island Women’s Refuge in 1989. In 1997 Shakti, the Asian Women’s Refuge was established in Auckland.

⁹ Women Against Pornography was formed in 1983 to counter public attitudes and laws towards pornography which were seen by this group to be linked to violence against women. In 1989 the Committee of Inquiry into Pornography promoted legislation implemented in 1993 which tightened controls on materials promoting violence towards women and children. In 1986 the National Collective of Rape Crisis was formed to support women survivors of rape and sexual abuse, and to work towards prevention. The 1990 Bill of Rights Act set out basic rights including the right to safety, the right to life and the right to freedom of movement. In 1991 the Crimes and Summary Proceedings Act limited bail for violent offenders, providing greater protection for women seeking proceedings against them (MOW website).

(2004) wrote of gender bias in the Family Court and a Women's Refuge report by Sheryl Hann (2004) highlighted women's concerns about the enforcement of the Act.

Despite national and international acclaim for the Domestic Violence Act 1995 the implementation of the Act by the Courts has come under criticism as a human rights issue (Robertson & Busch, 2007; Towns & Scott, 2006). In 2006 the first report of the Ministerial Taskforce for Action on Family Violence was produced (TAFV, 2006; see also TAVF, 2007) increasing the legal aid available to victims of domestic violence. New Zealand's protection of women from domestic violence is now under international human rights scrutiny through the international Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and through other international watchdogs such as Amnesty International and the Leitner Center for International Law and Justice at Fordham Law School, New York City. In 2006 the Evidence Act New Zealand legislated against cross-examination of victims by an accused violent offender in the Criminal Court, however, self-representing alleged offenders can still cross-examine victims of domestic violence in the Family Court where applications for protection orders are heard. In 2007 New Zealand women marched in protest over the way survivors of rape were treated in the criminal courts.

Maori genealogy – Violence towards women as an affront to whanau

As Maori women were held in high regard and not considered to be the property of their husbands there are reports that violence towards wives was not sanctioned or accepted as it was in European society. Indeed, within traditional Maori society, notions of whanau, hapu and iwi were central to identity. A person functioned as a part of the whanau or hapu and individual courses of action were not practised independently of the whanau. For example, Milroy (1996) stated:

The traditional Maori view was that violence towards your wife was an affront to her and her whanau, to be punished and compensated accordingly. These values held sway even into this century. In Ruatoki in the 1920s there was an instance of a wife who was beaten by her husband. She returned to her own people to complain of what had happened. They came as a group to Ruatoki and asked for the husband to be given over to them to be dealt with. The

people at Ruatoki, who were whanau to the husband, could not give him up because of the familial responsibility that they owed to him. In the end the children of the marriage were given to the woman and her whanau and compensation of 5000 pounds was paid, an absolutely huge sum for a tiny community in those days. The man who had caused all the trouble was then dealt with by the Ruatoki community and required to repay them as best he might. (Milroy, 1996, p.6)¹⁰.

Maori women suffered substantial changes under colonisation where traditional legislation and gender practices treated violence towards women as less of an issue (Balzer et al., 1997).

¹⁰ This incident was recorded in Maori in the journals of Tamarau Waiari, the author's great-great-grandfather.

Part 2: Social and Cultural Influences

In this part of the report the results of the research with young women are reported. The findings are presented in two major parts: young women's experiences of ownership practices or behaviours by their boyfriends and the social and cultural influences which young women identified as influencing these experiences.

A. Experiences of Ownership

Young women were asked to briefly describe their experiences of ownership in their relationships with their boyfriends or ex-boyfriends. These discussions revealed a number of ways in which women spoke of their boyfriend's ownership practices: public displays of ownership, surveillance, control of the young women's choices and independent action or identity, control of sexual identity and violence. The young women also discussed whether such behaviours were conscious or unconscious actions on the part of their boyfriends

Ownership entitlement

In the following, for example, Lilly described her experiences of ownership practices by her boyfriend:

Yes, he just used to come to everything so I just used to go to watch my friends play gigs in town after work and he would just suddenly pop by and go 'I'll come with you' and come along but every time we were there he would make it very clear that I was with him – he used to grope me and try to stick his hands down my pants and that kind of thing while I'm around my friends and try and kiss me in front of my friends and I'd always kind of go 'No' because they didn't like it.

The overall impression from this text is that the ownership behaviours Lilly experienced from her boyfriend involved his sense of entitlement to involve himself in her activities, his limitations of her choices in decision-making because of his failure to consult and his open

demonstration of his sexual ownership of her to others in a way that was embarrassing to her and her friends.

Lilly sets the context for her boyfriend's ownership behaviours with her statement "he just used to come to everything". She captures the impression of his behaviour imposing on a pleasurable activity: an enjoyable respite with her friends after work. The introduction of her boyfriend into this account coincides with her first full description of his ownership behaviours. Her boyfriend's presence is not invited and in her account he does not seek her consent to come with her but rather assumes that his presence is of right ("..he would just suddenly pop by and go 'I'll come with you.' "). She portrays his apparent sense of entitlement to attend her activities through her account of the active language he would use (" 'I'll come with you' "). By assuming that he can come he removes her choice in this matter. Through this use of language Lilly begins to shape up the ways in which ownership practices by her boyfriend were enacted.

Lilly then moves to the sort of ownership practices which troubled her. She uses a general statement of the behaviours ("he would make it very clear that I was with him") and then goes on to more specific behaviours: his "groping" of her and attempts to kiss her in the presence of her friends. The term "grope" suggests unsavoury sexual behaviour as does his attempts to "try to stick his hand down her pants". Having his hands down her pants or kissing her would demonstrate to the observing world that she was his sexual property: that he had license to engage in intimate contact with her. Through the use of "try to" there is a suggestion of a struggle that she must have with him to stop this behaviour. She demonstrates that his actions are uncomfortable for her with her statement that they occurred in the presence of her friends suggesting that such sexualised ownership behaviours provided a display of a certain message to her friends which she was not comfortable about portraying.

Surveillance

Lilly's statement that her boyfriend would "suddenly pop by" along with a more explicit statement that he would watch her while at work points to another of the practices which some young women described when recalling their ownership experiences: surveillance. In the following Jay described her experiences:

He always wanted to know where I was and if I didn't call him he would be like 'Why didn't you call me why haven't you told me where you are?' It would be like 'I'm at school where else would I be during the week.' And he would call me until he found out where I was.

Jay unfolds an impression not only of her boyfriend's surveillance but also that she is being shaped up to respond to her boyfriend's surveillance at all times. The meanings some of the young women gave to their boyfriend's phone calls were portrayed as changing during the course of the relationship. While their calls were initially interpreted as an indication of their boyfriend's love of them they were subsequently experienced as a means to monitor where they were and what they were doing. Jay's begins her account of her boyfriend's surveillance with "he always wanted to know where I was". She then indicates that when she would resist his surveillance by not returning his calls she was held to account for her failure to do so. Jay used examples of the language of accountability that might occur following her resistance (" 'Why didn't you call me....' "). By using her response to such calls " 'I'm at school where else would I be during the week.' " she indicates the lack of any need to be accountable. There is an indication in her final statement that even if she did not return his call his monitoring would not stop: "And he would call me until he found out where I was."

Similarly Nina revealed that modern technology provided a means for boyfriend to monitor her behaviour in unexpected ways:

.. and he was really really well off I mean he had a lot of money which I think was a huge problem as well. He would give me his eftpos card and be like 'You can have whatever you want' but then he would track where I went by what I spent and then he would just turn up where I was all the time and that was how he actually controlled me through his money

Nina's representation of her boyfriend's wealth and generosity with money "you can have whatever you want" would appear to suggest that her boyfriend was the dream boyfriend but she counters this interpretation with her representation of his use of his computerised banking system to "track" where she went and what she spent. She also stated that this

system allowed him to “just turn up where I was all the time” so that she is represented through this account as constantly under her boyfriend’s gaze. His initial apparent generosity with his eftpos card is subsequently found to be his method of surveillance and control. Furthermore, his use of the card as surveillance is portrayed as not only his means to track her through the internet but his means to assume his entitlement to be part of her activities should he choose to be. As with Lilly there is no indication in this statement that Nina had a choice in his presence.

Identity ownership

Ownership practices the young women represented extended beyond assumptions of their boyfriend’s entitlement to know where and what their girlfriend was doing to control over their expression of their identity. For example Miranda stated:

The same with buying clothes, I feel like he would buy me clothes so I would dress the way he wanted me to dress – it was like he owned me and could dress me and take me out if he wanted to...

There is a sense in this statement that she has lost her autonomy to look and dress how she would prefer: that she has become an item to display (“take me out”) at her boyfriend’s discretion. Miranda’s comment that her boyfriend would “buy me clothes” might on its own appear to indicate a generous activity by her boyfriend, but in her account there is another motive to his action: “so I would dress the way he wanted me to dress”. She then goes on to describe this control of how she looked as an act of ownership “it was like he owned me”. One reading of this phrase is that her boyfriend has assumed the right to determine her appearance. The final statement provides further support for this interpretation: his “owning” of her allows him to dress her and display her should he choose to do so.

Attention to young women’s dress sense was employed to build a picture of the ways in which ownership practices by some such boyfriends can undermine the young woman’s ability to think clearly and confidently about themselves and their identity. For example Lilly stated:

.. he would always say subtle things like – ‘Don’t you think that’s a bit too low, your boobs are falling out.’ – I’d look at him and say ‘I don’t have boobs.’ I don’t get it because I was flatter than this back then. And I- I don’t see why- and then it got to the point where I would start asking people around work ‘Is this slutty?’ [*General agreement.*] My sister would ask me if I was alright because I was always asking her ‘Is this slutty?’ and she would say ‘You’re wearing baggy pants and a high cut top – No’ And I started thinking everything I wore was slutty, but it wasn’t.

The excerpt portrays the undermining influences that these comments on Lilly’s dress-sense had on her beliefs and values. Examples from her boyfriend’s speech were used by Lilly to illustrate the sort of subtle comments he might make which affected her confidence in her decision-making. Her representation of her boyfriend’s comments as “subtle” suggests that his intentions or at least the influence of his comments might be covert or not easily detected. The examples she employed are suggestive of her wearing clothes which would be worn by someone who wishes to display herself sexuality: “ ‘Don’t you think that’s a bit too low, your boobs are falling out.’ ” There is a sense in her following statements of her surprise at these comments, as she described herself as having little to display “ ‘I don’t have boobs’ ”, “I was flatter than this back then”. In this way she provides a stake inoculation or protection of her position against the interpretation that she was a woman who liked to engage in any substantial sexual display. Her statements “I don’t get it”, “I don’t see why” suggest a level of confusion at her boyfriend’s positioning of her as such a woman. She then indicates that the on-going references to the way she dressed and her supposed overt displays of sexuality led her to question her own judgement and to seek reassurance from others: e.g. “ ‘Is this slutty?’ ” The general agreement of the other women in the focus group suggests that this statement and her questioning of her own judgement resonated with their own experiences. Her statement that “I started thinking everything I wore was slutty” is employed to illustrate how her boyfriend’s questioning of her clothes-sense had begun to take over her own independent thinking on the matter. Her final statement “but it wasn’t” indicates that there was a contradictory position to her boyfriend’s: she was able to regain her own confident and independent thinking on her dress-sense retrospectively.

In the following interchange Lilly and Jay portray the changes young women make to their identity in order to please these men and the erosion of their identity which results:

Lilly: You start moulding yourself into someone who you think they want, but it's not who you really are or want to be.

Jay: I felt like it was my problem because I felt like I shouldn't have been wearing clothes like that. Because I was the one dressing like a skank when really I was just dressing like a normal and at that time confident young person. And I turned into someone that just wasn't me and I was so isolated from everyone and I wasn't socialising with any of my friends. I thought he was being nice when he bought me clothes to wear but he was actually he was trying to turn me into someone more styley – he just didn't like who I was and was trying to change me. So- It was horrible.

In Lilly's statement there is reference to her attempts to "mould" herself into the person that she thought her boyfriend wanted. The word mould captures the sense in which some of these young women try to change themselves to fit their boyfriend's desires. The statement that "it's not who you really are or want to be" references the distinction between the desired identity of the young woman and that of her boyfriend. Changing herself comes at a cost to her identity. In Jay's account the questioning of her identity is represented through intentional acts by her boyfriend to change who she was "he just didn't like who I was and was trying to change me.". Should she dress in the clothes she likes she is constructed or fears "dressing like a skank" which suggests that her clothes sense has been constructed as "skanky". In retrospect she represents herself as "just dressing like a normal.. confident young person". By using a sort of before and after juxtaposition of statements she contrasts her retrospective perspective on her partner's intentions of buying her clothes with that when in the relationship. Her retrospective account of the clothes her partner buys for her was that "he just didn't like who I was and was trying to change me."- whereas when in the relationship her interpretation of his buying clothes for her was that "I thought he was being nice." She employs a contradictory statement "I turned into someone that just wasn't me" to represent the erosion of her identity. The overall effect on her is summarised in her final statement: "It was horrible."

Izzie described more elaborate ownership practices which extend to the sort of colonising experiences of some women who have experienced emotional violence from their husbands or boyfriends :

Izzie: ..and it was just to do with like mind games and making me think that when he did something really awful that it was me being crazy rather than me actually knowing what was going on. Really undermining my confidence and undermining my ability to know myself and what my world is. So yeah that is probably my main-

Alison: So- and and- you kind of relate that to ownership? How did it- Did it feel like that to you?

Izzie: Yeah definitely. Just-

Alison: How do you make sense of ownership in that? What is your understanding-

Izzie: Well it was a relationship where definitely I was kind of *his*. So that was the main element of ownership even though he liked to try and pretend that that wasn't the case, it was definitely like you know repressed jealousy on his side like that he'd pretend wasn't jealousy and really really was and I was kind of like *his girl*. kind of thing it was just horrible. (laughs) Like. Yeah. All really sort of under the surface of things and yeah I dunno. Ownership of the right to feel what he had the- he was allowed to do whatever he wanted feel whatever he wanted say whatever he wanted whereas I wasn't so sort of- yeah you know ownership of emotions and stuff like- yeah.

Izzie's statement that her boyfriend was "Really undermining my confidence and undermining my ability to know myself and what my world is." extends Lilly's and Jays accounts of the undermining of their confidence in their identity and to control over emotions beliefs and values. She provides examples which capture the level of control she experienced from her partner: her reference to her boyfriend playing "mind-games" and attempts to portray her as crazy are common representations of women who have experienced domestic violence from their boyfriends or husbands. Statements such as "repressed jealousy on his side like that he'd pretend wasn't jealousy and really really was" portray a sense of the undermining of her reality which might be experienced as crazy-making. Adams (Unpublished) has called the taking over of a woman's thinking and

beliefs within the context of domestic violence as the colonising of woman by the man – similar to the colonising experiences of oppressed peoples by dominant cultures.

Izzie emphasises the pronoun “his” in the statement “it was a relationship where definitely I was kind of *his*.” (her emphasis) and later “*his girl*” to explain the relationship between her experiences of mind-games and ownership. She portrays his ownership practices as “repressed jealousy” resonating with other participants’ portrayals of the sexualised component of ownership practices. Finally she lists the ways in which he was able to be autonomous in relation to his feelings, what he said and how he acted, and contrasts this autonomy with the limitations of her choices. These limitations are again suggestive of the colonising influences which most of these young women represented in the talk of their boyfriends’ ownership practices. The boyfriend claims authority to determine what they think through what they say and how they feel.

Young women described the ways in which their boyfriends enact these ownership behaviours as not, at least initially, overt and obvious but the eventual impact on some women was portrayed as a profound loss of self or identity. For example Nina stated:

.. it was like you know just the little tiny put downs that don’t really seem like a big deal at the time but they just kind of you know, snowball and like one after another they just become bigger and bigger because the more they put you down the worse you feel about yourself. And I just- I didn’t even know that much was wrong until I left him and I realised there was nothing left. And I spent like a year rebuilding who I was basically because he – I don’t even know how he did it because even to this day I don’t know how he managed to make me feel that shit without me even realising (laughs).

She represents the colonising effects of the put downs she experiences through reference to the impact on her as a person “the more they put you down the worse you feel about yourself” and “I realised there was nothing left”. This latter statement suggests that the outcome of the “tiny put downs” she experienced over time was to remove her sense of identity altogether. Her subsequent statement “I spent a year rebuilding who I was” supports this notion of the erosion of her identity. In order to recognise the impact of his actions on her and to recover her identity she needed to leave him and spend time rebuilding her identity.

Nina captures the unconscious effects of her boyfriend's behaviour on her through use of the phrases "I don't even know how he did it" and "without me even realising". She captures the initial presence of the put downs as not recognised as significant: as "little" and "tiny". She builds on the ever increasing impact of these subtle verbal actions through her representation of them as a "snowball" that gets "bigger and bigger". These statements suggest that knowing how these men employ ownership practices to harm young women would allow young women some points of resistance. As it is, in Nina's account, she was unable to determine what had happened and the impact on her until she had left: "I didn't even know what was wrong until I left him."

Physically Violent Ownership

Although most of the young women in this study had not experienced physical violence for some of the young women the ownership practices of their boyfriends was described as spilling over into physical violence. For example, in this excerpt, Rena talks first of her experiences as a loss of her life and then moves to describe some of the violence she experienced:

I kind of just lost my life and I kind of realised I just didn't have anything else to do. I hadn't seen my friends for ages and I couldn't even dress the way I wanted and over a period of about ... 8 months of that after I met him he even became slightly violent towards me as well. Things like – because we started living together after about 6 months and things like if his friends came over and I didn't sort of go and get the beers or something like that like a domestic little girl he would yell at me and maybe throw something at me when he was drunk and then he'd always apologise and so it would be okay and we'd get back together and stuff. It's like when someone starts to tell you stuff about yourself you think 'Well shit this is my boyfriend and he's supposed to love me and he's saying these nasty things to me' and stuff like that you kind of start to believe them because this person is supposed to be the closest to you out of everyone – 'he must know me' and he starts to say these horrible things and you believe them and you just keep getting lower and lower and it took me ages to realise that and then and then it resulted in having to get a restraining order against him and like it was the worst case scenario.

Rena's reference to having "lost my life" and "didn't have anything else to do" captures the loss of identity spoken of by some of the other participants. Their activities and indeed their lives were represented as centred around the rules or limitations alluded to or enforced by their boyfriends such that they had no life of their own. Rena expands on the colonising impact of her partner's statements about her by referencing the closeness of the relationship "Well shit this is my boyfriend" and referencing love "he's supposed to love me". In her account it is this closeness "he must know me" which makes the "horrible things" he says believable, and believing these horrible things drags her "lower and lower". As is common with women who have experienced domestic violence from their male partners without contact with her friends she does not have alternative perspectives which might challenge her boyfriend's constructions and she is vulnerable to their impact.

Her representation of her boyfriend as "slightly violent" is supported with an anecdotal account in which her partner's violence occurs when he is drunk. Her failure to act according to his authority provides an excuse for his violence: his violence occurred if she did not play the part of "a domestic little girl". This account suggests that she was required to act as his "domestic" or servant, the term "little girl" also referencing the requirement that she act under his (parental) authority. The reference to his violence as slight is later contradicted by her statement of "having to get a restraining order" and a vague reference to "it" being "the worst case scenario".

Hester's account of her over-riding ownership experiences is representative of other women's experiences when domestic violence is severe (Towns & Adams, 2000):

Well I was controlled in every shape I wasn't allowed to go anywhere, say anything, see anyone, think anything, do anything. Wasn't allowed to do anything that wasn't in his little rule book which changed all the time.

In this account Hester portrays the level of control she experienced over her movements, who she saw, what she said and what she did, and also the unpredictable nature of her boyfriend's rules: "his little rule book which changed all the time". Having ever changing rules with which she must comply keeps the young woman in a constant state of uncertainty which allows greater control over her actions. Hester went on to hint at the

violence she experienced if she did not comply stating that there were consequences for her. The use of the term consequences is suggestive of a number of unpleasant possibilities including physical violence. In the following she described her interpretation of her ex-boyfriend's ownership behaviours towards her as a life-time problem:

I'm his as far as he's concerned for the rest of my days. Not that anyone else would actually have him-

Sexual Identity and Control

The use of young women's sexuality to control her has been mentioned in previous excerpts and is now developed more fully here as a form of ownership practice:

Alison: Why do you think there is a need to control how you dress? Where's-

Nina: I think it's controlling your sexuality isn't it really? Like controlling how you dress is a means of controlling your sexuality – it's like – I don't know, I don't know if I'm reading too much into it but to control a woman's sexuality is a big deal and it's like they want you to be this virgin but they want you to be a whore at the same time you know? (*General laughter.*)

Alison: Can you tell me about that?

Nina: Well it's like I did a lot of reading about it as well once I started thinking about it you know the 'Madonna/Whore' theory, they want you to be this virgin who dresses really nicely and has not had sex with anyone else but they want you to be a whore at the same time and you can't do it – because I've had boyfriends and they want you to be this pristine lovely girl, and then they want you to be like a whore in the bedroom. But outside the bedroom you're not allowed to...[Unidentified participant: Yeah] and they control you know what I mean. [Unidentified participant: Yeah] As long as ... I don't know - and I've talked to friends that are like 'yeah that's what they want pretty much' not all of them, not all guys, I just want to say that, some guys are lovely and I have some amazing male friends that would never treat women like that.

Nina represents these boyfriends' control of their girlfriends' dress as control of their sexuality. She poses this possibility as a question to the group while also hedging her position through a statement about her uncertainty on this position: "I don't know if I'm reading too much into it", then goes on to state the importance of such control: "to control a woman's sexuality is a big deal". The lack of a reference pronoun creates some ambiguity about to whom this control might be a "big deal". Nina may be referring to boyfriends or to men generally or to the wider history of misogyny. Certainly history would support her statement, perhaps the most obvious example in recent Western history being the argument that women are raped because they dress in too revealing clothing (see Gavey 2004). Such statements place the responsibility for rape on the woman victim/survivor rather than on the male perpetrator. Rape becomes an outcome of some men's inability to control their sexual drives and women's dress an invitation to sexual contact. The use of the burka in fundamentalist Islamic culture has been criticised for placing the responsibility for men's control of their "sexual drives" on women who must reveal nothing except their eyes in order to prevent sexual attraction. Holland (2006) argued that control of women's dress has, over the years, been a major source of control of women generally.

Nina goes on to point to the contradiction of such control in her statement: "it's like they want you to be this virgin but they want you to be a whore at the same time." Her use of the terms virgin and whore clearly represent the binaries of representations of women's sexuality. She represents these impossible positions for young women as contradictory through her representation of one of these positions as the "virgin" or "pristine lovely girl" who is to be the "public" persona and the other as the "whore" who is to be the private persona "in the bedroom". Her phrase that "But outside the bedroom you're not allowed to.." points to the authority of the boyfriend/men in controlling the young women's sexuality in public – in particularly the phrase "not allowed to" indicating a position of dominance and control over the way the young woman is to be.

There is an indication that Nina is aware that by representing this point of view she has made herself vulnerable to accusations of being anti-men - a common strategy employed to discredit the concerns that women have raised about some men's behaviour. In the final statements Nina develops a form of stake inoculation to counter the construction of her as simply a man-hater: she strengthens her argument through her portrayal of her

validation of her theory with her male friends, while emphasising through a repeated statement that this representation does not apply to all men. She ends by distinguishing between the sort of man who engages in such behaviour and the sort of man who does not: “some guys are lovely and I have some amazing male friends that would never treat women like that.”

While control of young women’s sexuality may be understood to be an end in itself, some young women’s experiences suggest that it may be employed to control contact with others more generally: For example Lilly stated:

it got to the point where if I wanted to hang out with my sister he used to get jealous and get angry and- um- told me I looked like a slut if I wore tops that were high cut or a little bit too tight I was a slut and if we were walking past people and a guy would walk past and I wouldn’t even see him he would just say ‘Are you going to sleep with him?’ and I would go ‘What?’(laughs) and he’d go ‘You’re just a little slut.’

Lilly sets the scene for her account through a description of events which would occur if she wanted to associate with her sister. Whereas previously she had pointed to clothes which might be revealing as being criticised by her boyfriend, in this excerpt it is “clothes that were high cut or a little bit too tight”. This increase in gradation from critical commentary about lower cut outfits to outfits that do not fit into this realm provides a representation of increasing levels of control. Reference to the sexualised content of these criticisms and the sexualised denigration of her is in her comment that she was told she “looked like a slut”: an immoral, sexually promiscuous woman. His sexualised jealousy and the denigration of her own sexuality are further reinforced by her anecdotal account of what would happen if “a guy would walk past”. Her innocence of any such sluttish behaviour is captured by her statement that this was a guy who she “wouldn’t even see.” Nevertheless, her comment that her boyfriend’s jealous behaviour would occur when she wanted to spend time with her sister suggests that such behaviour could not be fully accounted for through his concern about her attraction to other men.

Rena’s account portrays the subtle forms of questioning which were employed to control her sexuality and which worked to control her contact with others:

if I was going somewhere and I'd dress up really nice and feel really good and he'd kind of say things like 'Oh why do you need to dress up like that, you already have a boyfriend' and it sort of made me think 'Oh shit, that's right I do, why do I need to dress like this, maybe I should dress down or maybe I just shouldn't go out because I do have a boyfriend' and it was his little ways of trying to control where I went and who I saw and what I did cos' I'm kind of like a social person as well and I have a lot of guy friends as well and I think that's kind of what made him snap is that he couldn't handle not having control of someone.

In these initial phrases there is a clear contrast in Rena's construction of her dressing up, which in her account is done to feel good, and the construction which she employs to illustrate her boyfriend's position: that such dress must be to attract a boyfriend. Her statement that "I'd dress up really nice and feel really good" portrays the importance of dressing well to her self-esteem and sense of identity (as with other young women). Dressing up allows her to feel good about herself. It is this dressing up, however, which in many of these women's accounts is the target of critical comment by their boyfriends. Rena's use of an example of a comment from her boyfriend allows her to reveal the ways in which her dressing up is constructed by her boyfriend as a means to make herself attractive to other men: " 'Oh why do you need to dress up like that, you already have a boyfriend.' ". The statement captures the ways in which such sexualising comments by her boyfriend might have worked to erode her sense of identity and her self-esteem. If she must "dress down" then what does this do to how she feels about herself?

This statement provides a reference to the almost reasoned sexualised criticisms employed to limit her. This reasonableness is perhaps what causes Rena to question her actions - her dress - as potentially sexualised rather than to ask 'Why not dress up if it makes me feel good?'. She is lead to accept his reasoning and change her behaviour to avoid being constructed as inviting sexual contact. She describes the impact of such statements on her: to create uncertainty about the need to dress well, and the need to go out at all. With the statement: "maybe I just shouldn't go out because I do have a boyfriend" she captures a sense in which the construction of seeking another sexual relationship shifts beyond dressing up to being in the community and she must limit her contact with others

altogether to avoid being constructed as seeking another man. She goes on to position her boyfriend's statements as a tactic of control - a way to limit her contact with others potentially her guy friends. By compliance she avoids being accused of causing him to "snap" through her (sexualised) actions. Terms such as snap, explode and erupt are commonly employed by men who use violence towards women to imply that their violent acts are uncontrollable (Towns, Adams & Gavey, 1996).

In the following group interchange the young women capture the impact of the ownership practices on them while uncovering more of the power practices to which they were subjected:

- Alison: So the cost of actually keeping up that relationship- going in those relationships where there's this sort of ownership jealousies behaviours going on is that you can't do it and maintain contact with other people? (*Unanimous agreement*)
- Jay: I found that I just started agreeing with him after awhile, so I just didn't want to fight anymore I was just like 'Sure okay I won't go to that party tomorrow, I'll hang out with you at home.' -and it would be like that every weekend. He's like - 'You must not love me because you are going to spend time with other people.'
- Miranda: That manipulative language - 'You must not love me, you don't care about me.' because you're not prepared to stay at home alone and do nothing with me.
- Kristy: I used to be told that and then I'd be at home and he'd decide to go out himself.
- Miranda: There's a different set of rules, he can do whatever he wants, he can go and get wasted in town and talk to whoever he wants but you have no say, you can't get angry at that.
- Lilly: You stay at home in your bed and not move
- Miranda: There's no point in getting angry because you know you're not going to win the fight.
- Alison: So do you end up being- do these young women end up being- just sitting waiting back home for instructions in a sense - is that how it is?
- Lilly: Kind of yeah. Until he says he'll come over.
- Miranda: Or until you get sick of it and just-
- Kristy: -say 'stuff this'.

Jay captures a sense of fatigue and erosion of her resistance in her statement: “I didn’t want to fight anymore”. She utilises her desire to keep the peace as a means to describe the outcomes for her: agreeing with her boyfriend becomes the solution. These opening statements allow an unfolding of the extent of control which these young women experience. Miranda’s later statement “you can’t get angry at that” perhaps refers to the control of their emotions young women experience and the undermining of their resistance. Her use of the word “can’t” is ambiguous: on the one hand this phrase might be interpreted as meaning that anger is now an emotion which she is unable to feel, or alternatively that anger is not allowed by the sort of men who engage in these practices. Miranda goes on to represent anger as pointless anyway: her use of the word “win” suggesting that anger is an expression of a battle that can’t be won.

The young women speak of their loss of contact with others as a representation of the loss of pleasure in their lives. For young people the weekend would usually be the high-point of their week and an opportunity to socialise with their friends. It offers the opportunity to dress up and have some fun free from the constraints of the more regimented weekdays and, for young people, would provide the peak of the week’s pleasure activities. Jay’s statement that she would stay at home “every weekend” and avoid contact with others positions the control she experiences as right at the heart of such pleasurable activities. As such she is able to represent not only the loss of contact with others but this loss of contact as a loss of pleasure through these ownership practices. She demonstrates another tactic of control her boyfriend might employ to achieve this end through an example of his language: “ ‘You must not love me..’ ”. This statement is taken up by Miranda who captures the typicality of such language by categorising it as “That manipulative language”. She supports Jay in her statement that such language is typically used to restrict young women’s movements and contacts “because you’re not prepared to stay at home alone and do nothing with me.” Lilly’s account of the impact of such experiences on young women - “You stay at home in your bed and not move.” - suggests the paralysis experienced by young women in this situation and captures a total sense of the extent of control of their movements and access to pleasurable activities with others.

There is an indication of the contradictory gendered restrictions on their activities and engagement with others in Kristy’s statement: “I used to be told that and then I’d be at

home and he'd decide to go out himself." Having ensured that she will now remain at home her boyfriend is able to go out and engage in any desirable activities without her. Miranda's comment reinforces the distinction in expectations applied by such men to young women and those applied to themselves: "There's a different set of rules, he can do whatever he wants, he can go and get wasted in town and talk to whoever he wants but you have no say.." Commonly in relationships where the man exercises control or violence over the women rules are employed by the man to cement his control. These statements capture the male authority experienced by some of these young women and position these ownership practices as gendered.

There is a point of resistance however for these young women. In a response to a further prompt from the interviewer the young women give some indication of the limits to their tolerance of this behaviour. His behaviour will only be tolerated until they "get sick of it" or "say 'stuff this' ". In this co-construction Miranda and Kristy indicate that there is a way out for young women, that if living this way becomes intolerable they can and will take action to get out.

Conscious or unconscious

Whether such ownership practices by boyfriends are conscious behaviours have particular ramifications for young women:

Penny: Like do you think they do it consciously or unconsciously?

Olivia: I think consciously

Nina: I think you want to believe its unconsciously because I don't ever want to think that any human being thinks that that's okay, honestly I would hate – like most of them have a pretty – like no whole person that is not insecure about themselves is going to track you electronically by the money that they give you and no normal functioning person is going to be like you can't meet my family because of the way that you look, I mean come on that is a way to keep you down that is on purpose and they know. They know it and they justify it in their heads that it's okay.

Penny: What about little things like if they say 'why do you need to dress up when you've got a boyfriend?' They may just say that unconsciously, like you might look great-

Olivia: If anything that depends on the individual but I think in a sense it is very conscious – (*General agreement*)- they know what they're doing like 'I know if I do this she won't do this next time'

Rena: Because they already have in their brain a sense of what you should be like and they're going to tell you that, and he told me that about the clothing thing after a month so I mean from there I guess when I look back it got worse every single week after that it was something bigger that I should have been doing or should have not been doing. But I mean- I think yeah it probably does depend on the individual as well. I think you'd know though ... after a year of it (*general agreement and laughter*) – so you might be okay.

Penny: Like if he just says stupid things and I'm like 'What?!' Oh-

Rena: I think if he says things like that to you and then you ignore them and it's okay then that's fine.

Olivia: And he doesn't act on them- yeah –

Rena: Whereas if you did ignore what he said and he got horribly angry at you or swore at you then that would be different. Then you'd know he would be going that way.

Penny's question raises a particular issue for these young women: the intentionality of the controlling acts of their boyfriends. Should the language the men employ be constructed as conscious then their behaviours must be considered to be intentional and deliberately designed to restrict their girlfriends or to harm them. In this excerpt Olivia and Nina position themselves in this discussion as believing that such behaviours are conscious. Nina's contradictory statement "no whole person that is not insecure about themselves is going to track you electronically ..." and "no normal functioning person is going to be like you can't meet my family because of the way that you look" constitutes the men who would engage in these behaviours as abnormal while also suggesting that this behaviour is not that engaged in by most men deliberately. Her following statement: "I mean come on that is a way to keep you down that is on purpose" allows her to position men who consciously engage in such acts as acting rationally, as deliberately denigrating the woman, and it is this deliberate quality which allows her to represent such behaviours as "on purpose" or conscious. She reinforces this idea of conscious action by her statement "They know it" while also referencing the ways in which such men excuse such behaviour in

order to overcome any moral questioning of their actions: “and they justify it in their heads that it’s okay”.

Recognition that there may be men in the world who do not act in caring and loving ways towards women and recognition that the romantic end-points to relationships will not always be realised signals a sort of loss of innocence for young women. Young women are raised on cultural representations of romance: for example in fairy stories the prince is someone who seeks to rescue the princess from harm and to provide protection, love and care in order for her to live happily ever after. Nina’s statement “I think you want to believe its unconsciously because I don’t ever want to think that any human being thinks that that’s okay” may be interpreted as situating the idea that such behaviour is unconscious in a belief in the goodness of others, or alternatively, it may be interpreted as representing a naïve position: that within the world there are people who are not generally kind and thoughtful of others. Penny’s example employing Rena’s earlier description allows her to continue with the possibility that such statements might be unconscious. Her statement “like you might look great-” is ambiguous in that it might be interpreted as supporting the idea that if you dress up well you might be dressing for other men while also opening up the possibility that the statement might be seen to be a compliment.

A more nuanced interpretation of the conscious/unconscious debate is provided by Olivia and Rena. Olivia’s response allows her to avoid challenging Penny by leaving open the option that individuals may experience certain situations differently while continuing to reinforce the idea that some such behaviour is a conscious choice: “I think in a sense it is very conscious”. Her following statement: “they know what they’re doing like ‘I know if I do this she won’t do this next time’ ” allows her to present such conscious behaviour as having an intention to control: to prevent the young woman from repeating such behaviour in the future. Rena provides a nuanced interpretation which avoids a harsh challenge of Penny with her comment “I think yeah it probably does depend on the individual as well.” Rena’s makes reference to the idealised image that such men must have of their girlfriend’s dress in order to criticise, thereby allowing her to represent their responses as intentional and conscious. She continues to reinforce this notion of the consciousness of such behaviour by referencing the ways in which such criticisms increased “it got worse every

single week after that it was something bigger that I should have been doing or should have not been doing.”.

This more nuanced interpretation allows an interchange in which the participants work up what might be troublesome conscious ownership practices and what might not. This interchange follows from a statement from Rena which works up the possibility that Penny’s construction relates to her own personal concerns about her current relationship: “I think you’d know though ... after a year of it (*general agreement and laughter*) – so you might be okay.” This gentle introduction of the personal allows Penny to take up Rena’s perceptive comment by referencing her own boyfriend’s comments and her reaction to them. There follows some advice for Penny from the participants about what might or might not be the language to worry about in a boyfriend: that if she is able to ignore his comments she is okay but if his response to her ignoring them is an angry one then she has a problem. This advice-giving allows the participants to refer to the conscious and deliberate employment of anger to gain compliance when young women resist their boyfriend’s ownership language.

In the following, Hester’s statement addresses the issue of the consciousness of ownership practices:

When you can see him talk really civilly to someone else and then turn round and say the most hurtful thing to you you’ve got to start accepting that it’s a deliberate choice. [Izzie: Mm] He’s wilfully choosing to treat you that way. See he never drunk much and didn’t smoke and didn’t do drugs so I couldn’t blame it on the drugs or anything like that.

By comparing her boyfriend’s behaviours to others and the way in which he treated her she is able to provide a logic which is difficult to dispute. Her account that her boyfriend was able to “talk really civilly to someone else” contests the idea that his treatment of her was simply his way of being in the world. By using the phrase “then turn round and say the most hurtful thing to you” she presents an identifiable difference. Her on-going statement “you’ve got to start accepting that it’s a deliberate choice” allows her to articulate a sense that young women in these relationships need to move from lack of acceptance of this possibility to acceptance of it. Her use of the word “deliberate” allows her to reinforce this

notion of choice as does her later use of the word “wilfully”. The later word also references the possibility not only that he makes this choice but that he *wants* to treat her badly. She goes on to reference the possible excuses which she could have employed but which were unavailable to her because of her boyfriend’s abstinence from the use of substances. The latter phrase suggests that young women do make excuses in order to avoid facing up to the reality that such behaviour is wilful and deliberate.

B. Social and cultural understandings that inform ownership practices

Young women were asked to describe what social and cultural influences they thought contributed to ownership behaviours by their boyfriends. In the following we describe three cultural influences which emerged from the texts as contributing to ownership practices: the culture of cool, the bitches and ho culture and the mates’ culture.

Ownership cultural influences: the culture of cool

The phrase “culture of cool” has been used to capture the young women’s accounts of the influence of visual marketing strategies on what is considered by young people and others to be the ideal. These marketing constructions in turn impact on what contemporary New Zealand culture considers to be the ideal young woman or girlfriend and, in these young women’s accounts, inform the treatment of young women as disposable objects by boyfriends. Language associated with the culture of cool included representations of (1) young women as a trophy within a certain culture which values hot cars and hot girls, (2) the perfect girlfriend (3) an unattainable ideal for young women, (4) a normative identity for young women, and (5) young women as disposable objects.

The Trophy

In the following excerpt the interviewer begins by drawing out the participants’ ideas of cultural influences on young women relating to men’s ownership practices:

- Alison Um- Do you think there's- there's pressures placed on young women- there are cultural pressures placed on young women to engage in behaviours that make them the possession of young men?
- Miranda: The only thing I could relate it to would be going out um- with the boy racers and you would be like the girl in the car and you would be the show girl kind of thing, you would be their possession and they would show you off-
- Kristy: The Trophy
- Miranda: Yeah.
- Alison So the trophy? Cos is that what young men want do you think?
- Kristy: Yeah, they want a really good looking girl-
- Jay: -and a good looking car-
- Alison To sit in their good looking car?
- Miranda: Yeah – hot car, hot girlfriend and then they've got everything
That would kind of be like a teenage culture in NZ.

Miranda description of the influences that produce ownership practices situates them within the culture of “boy racers” who desire a certain “show girl”. The reference to the boy racer culture captures a group of usually young men whose pride is in their expensively souped-up cars which are displayed to and admired by other men. In New Zealand these men may come from a range of backgrounds from wealthy to the fringes of acceptable, of various ethnicities, whose status is tested through either the extent of the elaboration of their cars and/or through racing their cars against others in various legal and sometimes illegal ways.

Miranda positions young women within this culture as the “girl in the car”. The laying out of this description captures a sense that in this culture the young woman becomes an accessory to the boy racer’s car just as his expensive stereo, or other elaborate car-fitting might be. Her use of the phrase “show girl” suggests that for her, in this culture, the girl in the car fulfils a role beyond simply the girl’s presence: she is there to be displayed. She describes such young women as “their possession”: an item which belongs to the man. She further expands on this “show girl” status in her statement that “they would show you off”. This statement does not reference to whom these men would display the young woman, allowing for the possibility that this demonstration may be to other boy

racers, to other men, or to others generally. There is an implication in these statements that to have such a young woman in the car demonstrates a certain status to others, perhaps to those who might be other boy racers, or perhaps to those who have a car but without a young woman. Miranda's use of the phrase "you would be" throughout is suggestive of a position that is created for these young women by the men in this boy racer culture, which might be willingly or unwillingly taken up by young women.

Kristy summarises Miranda's description of the status of young women in this boy racer culture through her use of the term "The Trophy". This term beautifully encapsulates Miranda's account while also providing a further sense of the position that young women might hold in this culture. The term "The Trophy" suggests that the young woman is an item to be won, a trophy with a capital T, that, in the competition of boy racers to have the best and most elaborately fitted out car, the young woman in the car provides the point of difference from others which will give them the competitive edge. The young woman makes winning this boy racer competition possible.

Kristy builds on her construction to describe more fully what young men of the boy racer culture want in this trophy: "a really good looking girl". To be a trophy requires not just any girl but a "really good looking" one. Miranda's final statement: "hot car, hot girlfriend and then they've got everything." builds on the notion of the young woman as a trophy. The use of "hot" references the desirability of the car and the girlfriend not only to the man but to others. Her use of the phrase "then they've got everything" again references this notion of desire, that the two together provide almost a wish-fulfilment. Miranda final summary statement: "That would be like a teenage culture in New Zealand." counters any conclusion that this idea of a "hot car, hot girlfriend" is part of a marginal culture. She positions these desired items as part of a certain teen culture: as not uncommon.

Later, in the context of a discussion on the ways to alert young women to ownership practices, the young women elaborate on the impact of the construction of them as a trophy:

Alison: -so what does it mean do you think to be a trophy?

- Jay: Just another beautiful thing to add to your collection of beautiful things and if you have a lot of beautiful things maybe other people will think that you are beautiful somehow
- Miranda: But then it dehumanises them because they're a trophy it means that it doesn't matter what they think or what they feel and if they're just an asset then they can be treated however you want because you own them.
- Alison: Yeah
- Jay: That's why they get angry when you don't comply as well you could surmise at least.

Miranda's statement works to counter any excuses for men by referencing the impact on young women: "it dehumanises them". To treat young women as simply a trophy is to strip young women of their thoughts and feelings, to create an object of them. She builds on this notion of the trophy and its impact: to dehumanise women allows these men to treat young women as "just an asset", an owned item of value which "can be treated however you want". The latter statement opens up the possibility of ill-treatment. She references the idea of ownership to support this notion of the objectification of the woman. Jay's final statement suggests that the objectification of the young woman allows any resistance a young woman has to such men's treatment to be responded to with anger. Objects or trophy items are not expected to resist compliance.

The Perfect Girlfriend

In the following account the trophy girl as the perfect girlfriend provides an ideal which young women must aspire to in this culture of cool:

- Kristy: Typical men, got to have the slutty girl and the cool car sort of thing doing burn outs they've made it look cool. And you know the average girl isn't perfect.
- Alison: And is there any expectation that young women are perfect? Is that the TV culture too?
- Kristy: I thought you had to look good otherwise guys wouldn't want you cos I thought for a while guys only want you if you look like what movie stars look like – you couldn't get a guy if you didn't look like that.

Alison: Is there an expectation that young women have to look perfect

Jay: I shudder to say it but when I was around that age I had to have long blonde hair like white blonde hair and I tried to have the whole blue eyed blonde hair look and looking back I wonder what was I thinking but it was just so that I looked like this perfect thing and I had to be brown and really skinny was always really important to me – not that I ever was but it was always something I wanted to achieve and never did.

Kristy's statement "I thought you had to look good otherwise guys wouldn't want you" raises another issue for young women, that of being desirable to guys, being someone who guys would want. Tellingly, one of the most popular teen magazines for girls in New Zealand is called "Girlfriend": a name which taps into the importance to young women of being desirable to guys: of being a girlfriend. Kristy's statement that "the average girl isn't perfect" suggests that there is an expectation that the girlfriend in the car will be beyond average: that she will be perfect. She elaborates with her statement: that her understanding "for a while" was that "guys only want you if you look like what movie stars look like". In this statement she references an ideal for young women if they want to be desirable to young men: to look like a movie star. Without aspiring to this ideal young women wouldn't "get a guy".

Jay refers retrospectively to her perception of what was the ideal in the context of attracting a boyfriend. Her statement: "I had to have long blonde hair like white blonde hair and I tried to have the whole blue-eyed blonde hair look" suggests that, at least for some young women, the blond blue-eyed look remains the stereotypical idea of the beautiful woman for men. Her statement: "looking back I wonder what was I thinking" suggests that she is now able to critically reflect on this ideal but she goes on to add to her perceptions of what was required to match this ideal: "I had to be brown and really skinny". This statement suggests that a tanned overly slender look completes this ideal in the modern world. Her statement that to look this way was "always really important to me" emphasises that this look was not just a periphery to other goings on in her life at the time but a central part of her aspired identity. Her final remarks point to this aspiration as an ideal: "it was always something I wanted to achieve and never did."

In the following Izzie relates being a girlfriend to the identity of a successful woman.

It's so true is that you're taught when you are younger that if you aren't liked by guys you aren't actually a successful woman. You are not a successful girl if you're not- if guys aren't attracted to you. Like if you don't have a g- if you don't have a boyfriend you're not successful as a popular person whereas guys can be successful in their own right in their personalities whereas girls they depend very much on their looks and you know on their sell-ability to guys to actually be anybody in a social group ...

The phrases "if you aren't liked by guys you aren't actually a successful woman." "You are not a successful girl if you're not- if guys aren't attracted to you." allow Izzie to represent a form of institutionalised control of woman. In not referencing who holds this expectation there is the possibility of interpreting that these expectations are held by peers or more widely. Her next statement "if you don't have a boyfriend you're not successful as a popular person" moves beyond simply being attractive to young men as the criterion for success to having a boyfriend. Her use of the phrase "as a popular person" allows her to represent success as linked to being socially successful: having a boyfriend allows young women to be more popular. By employing a contrast between men and women she represents a gendered difference in this societal expectation of success. Men can be successful simply through their personalities whereas women must rely "on their looks and you know on their sell-ability to guys". The term sell-ability allows her to reference women as an object that must be sold to a man on the basis of attractiveness. Izzie use of the word "taught" allows her to represent this adage as a form of education of young women. The lack of a representation of who does this teaching allows a broader inference to be made: that this teaching is through acculturation.

The Unattainable Ideal Woman

The use of super models to sell produces through advertising provides a notion of the super-model as the ideal woman. The following excerpt follows from a discussion of the super-models as the ideal women:

Nina: It's an unreachable like ideal it's completely unattainable-

Penny: Yeah, it's not real anyway-

Nina: Like you know- No matter how aware of it, no matter how skinny you are, no matter how much you don't eat, no matter how much plastic surgery you get you are never perfect. And like- you can never be that ideal perfect because that ideal perfect is always switching and changing. So- like guys have this unbelievably- you know unrealistic ideal of what a woman should be. And they're all contradictory you know like women are supposed to be smart but they're supposed to be dumb but they're meant to be pretty but they're meant to be average but they're meant to be curvy but curvy is not hot anymore because you have to be anorexically thin and it's like how the hell do you do that? Like I think men are taught from day one-

Rena: Because I would never even think about men that way cause you don't see men like that on billboards or in magazines or- [Nina: No.]- You don't- you don't see that. I guess it's around everywhere like they don't really have a choice it's just around. And you don't see it.

Nina They're like just saturated with these images -

Nina situates this ideal for women as “unreachable” and “completely unattainable” perhaps because, as Penny says, “it's not real anyway.” In another take on this unattainable ideal, Nina refers to the steps which women take to try to become this ideal: “no matter how much you don't eat, no matter how much plastic surgery you get”. There is in this statement an indication of the on-going attempts that young women make to reach this ideal: from dieting to more extreme plastic surgery.

Nina unfolds why this ideal is unattainable. Through use of the phrase “that ideal perfect is always switching and changing” she provides an impression of the ever-changing goal posts which women must aspire to. She references guys as having this “unbelievably” “unrealistic ideal” perhaps implying that these are not goal posts set by women but rather by the male world seeking to find or display the perfect woman. By introducing these unrealistic ideals as “contradictory” she then provides a powerful statement of these ever-changing ideals through the use of a contrasting list of binaries of the ways in which women are meant to be: smart/dumb, pretty/average, curvy/anorexically thin, ending this account with “how the hell do you do that?” a reference again to the impossibility of these

idealized images for women. Rena then follows with a comparison of the images for men: “you don’t see men like that on billboards or in magazines”. Her statement “I guess it’s around everywhere like they don’t really have a choice it’s just around.” again references the everyday images which men see of young women whether they want to or not.

In the following statements Nina captures a sense of the taken-for-granted acceptance of a huge background display of young women as these idealised objects within New Zealand’s landscape.

Well like- we are in a culture where we objectify women everyday. Like you know- like you go down Queen St there are women half naked on billboards and they’ve got absolutely no identity they’ve just been completely objectified, I think that- think that helps with how women are treated. Like I don’t think- it doesn’t say respect women does it? And that comes down to sexuality as well and its- once again it’s using women’s sexuality against them and using their sexuality to objectify them. Instead of empowering them. Which is disarming women – so what do you do? Like how do you fight that? Like how do you say that that’s wrong?

By positioning the objectification of women within “everyday” culture she creates the impression that the effect of this objectification of women is commonplace. This idea that the objectification of women is almost a part of the background of everyday life is reinforced by making reference to Queen Street and the “women half naked on billboards”. In the most central and (pedestrian) busy of Auckland’s streets the background landscape provides a canvas for the objectification of women. While she refers to women it is noteworthy that it is rare for older women to be on these billboards and so her use of this advertising media references the particular objectification of *young* women. She captures the sense in which this objectification is unlikely to be missed by her use of the term “billboard”. These are not small images but huge over-riding images of half-naked women. The reference to women as half-naked captures a sexualised component to her representation of this objectification of women.

Nina elaborates on this objectification of women by her use of the phrase “they’ve got absolutely no identity they’ve just been completely objectified”. By the juxtaposition of the statement of identity with that of objectification she links this idea of the stripping away

of (young) women's identity to the ways they are objectified. Without any identity one is more readily made into an object. She links more explicitly such objectification to the use of women's sexuality – in her account “it's using women's sexuality against them and using their sexuality to objectify them”. Her use of the phrase “using women's sexuality against them” however, suggests the potential for this objectification to be a strategy: in an industry which is well aware of its marketing methods such use of young women's sexuality to objectify them becomes a tactic of control which is knowingly employed to dehumanise or objectify women. She juxtaposes this statement with an alternative possibility: “Instead of empowering them.” This phrase raises the potential, within knowledge of this marketing/advertising culture, for young women's sexuality to be employed to empower them.

Nina renders an impression that a woman, once positioned as an object, becomes open to lack of respect and so ill-treatment. She links the objectification of women to the way they are treated, but without referencing by whom or what form of treatment. The inference that she is talking of ill-treatment may be made through her statement “it doesn't say respect women does it?”. The lack of any reference pronoun suggests that the message of the acceptance of the objectification of women and perhaps any consequent ill-treatment may be generated more widely than to simply a male audience. The phrase “Which is disarming women.” turns to the harm that such a culture of sexualised objectification does for young women – the use of the word “disarming” suggesting that such objectification strips women of their defences or their ability to fight these representations or perhaps to fight back against misogyny generally. Her final statements: “-so what do you do? Like how do you fight that? Like how do you say that that's wrong?” signify a level of hopelessness in how to respond to these objectifications of women: the word wrong suggesting that in these questions she is grappling with the issue as one of morality.

Normative Identity

Penny provides a description of the influence these images have on men and young women.

It's kind of like- for guys if they see all this like these beautiful skinny blonde super models everywhere, then, they start to I guess become desensitized or just think

that's the norm. And then they'll look at you- I know that like it makes me insecure and it's like- how- maybe they expect something from you that's just like, I'm just not that person, you know.

In this phrase she suggests that these images become what men consider to be the normative identity for a young woman. The statement "they start to I guess become desensitized or just think that's the norm." allows some ambiguity about what men are becoming desensitized to – perhaps desensitized references the numbing effect of the images, or perhaps it is employed to suggest that men become enured to these representations as idealized *images* rather than as reality. The phrase "or just think that's the norm" is supportive of the latter interpretation.

In the following statement "And then they'll look at you" Penny captures the critical gaze which is cast on young women by men as if to judge whether she or other young women meet the standards of these "norms". She states the impact of this critical gaze on her "it makes me insecure", referencing the undermining of her confidence that such critical comparisons achieve. This statement potentially reflects the sort of ways in which gender power works to control young women and ensure that they continue to operate within certain gendered ideas of normative identity. In the statement "maybe they expect something from you" she again references this idea of a critical gaze and opens up the idea of the expectations which some men have that young women change themselves to meet this idealized standard. Finally her statement "I'm just not that person" provides a sense of her own separate identity and her point of difference from this objectified idealized representation.

In the following a link is made between the objectification of women and ownership practices:

Hester: I think the psychological connotation of advertising is we're not much more than a pretty face. Something else. And you know we'll do as we're told to sell this product and that product so- maybe we should just do as we're told. [Izzie; Mm.] And you know there is always this history that women did as they're told.

Izzie: Mm. Totally.

Hester: You know fifty years ago they still had that rule you can hit your wife with a stick no bigger than your thumb. That was fifty years ago in this country. It was within my mother's life time.

Hester provides parallels between the messages conveyed about women by advertising "we'll do as we're told to sell this product and that product" and the spilling over of these expectations into men's expectations of women "maybe we should just do as we're told.". She links these expectations to a history of misogyny through explicit reference to a "history that women did as they're told" and by using an example from law to indicate that the history of the acceptance of physical violence towards women by their husband's is quite recent. Her use of the reference to law allows this acceptance to be positioned not simply as a discourse of cultural acceptance but one that was structurally accepted in legislation.

Women as disposable objects

In the following the group describes further effects of the objectification of women in relationships where ownership practices are exercised:

Alison: They hate women in a sense?

Izzie: Yeah. Disposable items kind of thing. Disposable objects. Or objects that you can- you know- yeah. Sort of not really be- like Michael never treated his guy mates the way he treats girls. There's just not a chance in hell he'd ever do that.

Alison: So disposable objects? What do you mean-

Izzie: Like just- you can kind of um use them through a relationship like Michael definitely had big issues of- like he needed a girlfriend to make himself feel whole? But it was never in the way of going deep in a relationship it was just so he could feel that whole with a girl and then kind of move onto another one and another one you know but jus- yeah so just sorta using. Using using using.

Alison: Mm.

Izzie: And because there's such an unhealthy relationship from the beginning with women- not really knowing how to get what you really need emotionally from a woman by having a properly deep relationship with one because he's never been taught how to- just constantly on a cycle of just woman hating.

Alison: Mm. Mm. So using women then kind of discarding [Izzie: Yeah] and moving on to another one where- treating her badly and then moving onto the next one [Izzie: Mm] yeah-

Izzie: And being miserable the whole time. Mm.

Izzie explains the way such men treat their girlfriends through her use of the phrase “disposable items” then “disposable objects.” These phrases capture the objectification of women discussed earlier but also reference the ways in which young women can be discarded by such men – as items or objects that can be got rid of. Izzie compares her boyfriend’s treatment of his “guy mates” to the way he treated girls suggesting that his treatment of young women was consciously and deliberately different from that of his treatment of men. She reinforces the idea that he would not treat men this way by a strong statement “There’s just not a chance in hell he’d ever do that.” Following a prompt from the interviewer Izzie expands on this notion of the disposable object first through the phrase “you can kind of um use them through a relationship”. In this statement she portrays the sense that young women are used as if an object. She draws from her personal experience of her relationship with her boyfriend to elaborate on this idea. Her use of the phrase “he needed a girlfriend to make himself feel whole” allows her to suggest that women provide a certain necessary quality to her boyfriend: they allow him to feel complete, but the added phrase “never in the way of going deep” portrays an impression that these relationships were superficial and without real meaning. She goes on to capture this notion of women partners as disposable by the use of repetition in the following phrases: “and then kind of move onto another one and another one”, “using using using” which paints a picture of the young women who were her boyfriend’s girlfriends being used and discarded. Her statement – “just constantly on a cycle of just woman hating” allows her to capture the idea of young women being used and discarded, then used and discarded again, but now Izzie explicitly situates this cycle of using as “woman hating”.

Impact of the Culture of Cool Discourses

The impact of attempting to adhere to these culture of cool ideals were discussed including the limitation of women's choices, the critical gaze cast on them, and the silencing effects of their (uncool) different realities.

Limitation of Choices.

In the context of a discussion on the gendered role expectations of men and women which produce ownership practices Izzie described the limitations of choices for women that emerge from a critical societal gaze. Through using the stay-at-home mums/working mums binary her argument allows her to reference the impact of any binaries/dualities as a form of control of women:

Izzie: .. in some ways there is a part of it that's natural to me to be a mother and to provide for my children in that close surrounding and so in some ways I feel like our role as that has been bastardised. And used against us when- and like maybe if it was our choice it is what we would- it is what we would choose in some regards for every individual each to their own you know but it's been bastardised to a point where we even feel ashamed of being mothers now? We feel like we can't be a mother and feel like we are a valuable member of society like 'Yeah I like to be at home with my kids but I'm not- you don't think that I'm as good as you because you [Hester: Yeah I get that a lot] you work in an empty office' it's like. Yeah you know what I mean? Like- so that's- it's when stuff gets taken from us like- even what we choose for ourself is taken and made so we never chose it. You know- Like lots of things like-

Alison: Are you thinking of something in particular when you think of that?

Izzie: I'm thinking particularly of stay-at-home mums. I'm thinking that's taken in society and totally bastardised like and turned against stay-at-home mums and then turned against women who choose to work and not stay at home like everything that we choose for ourself is turned against us because it's what we're either doing because we're been put down to do that or doing because we shouldn't be doing that because we should be at home with the kids so neither- it's a totally non-win situation for women.

Following from a reference to breast-feeding Izzie unfolds the contradictory expectations for women which provide a means of governing their actions. In this account shaming the woman for being at home becomes a means of governing her. Her example employs the identities of stay-at-home mothers and working mothers as binaries suggesting that her argument might apply to the binaries presented earlier to reference unattainable ideals. She begins by positioning the place of women at home with children as “a part of it’s that’s natural” her reference “to me” allowing for other representations within the focus group which might contest this stand. In this way she opens up the identity of a stay-at-home-mother as one which is legitimate and which has a valuable role to play in providing for children. She describes the critical gaze which has been cast on this role: “it’s been bastardised to a point where we even feel ashamed of being mothers now.” Her use of the phrase “it’s been bastardised” is a non-specific reference to a sort of damage done to this role. Her use of the statement “to a point where we feel ashamed of being mothers” allows her to suggest that women who remain at home are judged for engaging in this activity and made to feel ashamed.

Her statement “maybe if it was our choice” implies that this choice has now been taken away from women and she goes on to state that some women would choose to be at home. In her statement “every individual each to their own” she provides a non-judgemental validation of a position which allows people to make such choices. She describes the ways in which women’s role as stay-at-home mothers has been devalued using a comparison of “work in an empty office” to describe an alternative more valued identity while also disparaging its comparative social value. Her final statement: “it’s when stuff gets taken from us like- even what we choose for ourself is taken and made so we never chose it.” references the limitation of women’s choices as control of women: Izzie’s vague reference to “it’s when stuff gets taken from us” suggesting that this action occurs almost as an institutionalised practice, as a form of societal control. As other participants have done Izzie describes the ways contradictory identities for women which are constantly changing are employed as a form of control of them. Her use of the phrase “non-win situation” suggests a level of hopelessness about meeting these societal objectives for women.

Society's Critical Gaze.

In a later statement the interviewer takes up this notion of a sort of critical gaze on women to produce a normative identity:

Alison: But you're saying even if you were to be working you'd be- there's a critical gaze on you around that [Izzie: Definitely] so that a working mum might have a (laughs) critical gaze as well? So-

Izzie: Yeah. Constantly questioning that state of- I sometimes feel like constantly questioning the state of women in society stops them from just being women in society. But also I also feel like- the other side of me thinks groups that dislike things have to keep questioning things until things get better. And slowly get better and better. But I do think it makes it hard for women to feel like what they're doing is [Hester: Coughs] doing is as of right.

In this account Izzie develops the impact of such controls on women in her statement: "I sometimes feel like constantly questioning the state of women in society stops them from just being women in society." Women cannot be who they want to be if they are constantly governed by this critical societal gaze. The phrase captures a sense of Foucauldian technologies of power in which subjects govern their own behaviours in order to comply with dominant discourses. Foucault employed this construction of power to account for the ways government is done without the need to exercise sovereign power through violence (see Foucault, 1977; Gavey, 1990).

In the following this notion of a critical gaze on women is taken up by another focus group to describe the societal judgement they experienced in relation to their boyfriend's ownership practices:

Kristy: ..I didn't want to tell my friends that he was so obsessive with me, hurt me I'd just tell them we'd fight all of the time and we'd have a big fight

Matilda: It's embarrassing

Kristy: Yeah it's really embarrassing to say to your friends that – he hits me, he's not a loving boyfriend he hurts me. So if um there's more out there saying that it's not okay, it's more places and it's kind of disguised in a way that you could just go to it and you won't feel like – 'Ooh she's going to the domestic place' and you know

- Lilly: There's a stigma attached
- Kristy: She must be a stupid woman because she lets her boyfriend hit her
- Alison: Is that, that's interesting isn't it, that kind of sense that
- Lilly: Often you feel like you're dumb for staying but they don't realise that- you don't realise if- people don't realise when they're in it at that time
- Matilda: Or that there's other people experiencing the same thing as you
- Lilly: They probably need to maybe get parents in and speak to their kids as well and tell them to look for warning signals because I only got told certain warning signals [Kristy: After] , Yeah after- afterwards because my Mum only because she only clicked then

Within this culture of cool which casts a critical gaze on women it becomes uncool to experience violence from a boyfriend and young women govern their behaviour accordingly. Lilly labels the experience of ownership practices as holding “a stigma”. This statement nicely captures a sense of a societal critical judgement on women who experience such practices. Kristy's reference to the need for places to go which do not reveal the nature of the problem illustrates the difficulties young women have in walking through the door of a service that labels them as abused. Her statement “ ‘Ooh she's going to the domestic place’ ” allows her to demonstrate the visibility to the community of entering through the door of such a place and the potential for judgemental gossip. This stigma is further captured in this excerpt by the participants' reference to the difficulties in disclosing ownership practices even to friends: to disclose is embarrassing. Kristy unfolds the type of judgemental statement that might be levelled at women: “She must be a stupid woman because she lets her boyfriend hit her.” This account encapsulates certain discourses which exist within NZ society and which involve victim/survivor blaming in which the woman is constructed as holding the responsibility for her boyfriend's violence. Such discourses are situated in neo-liberal understandings that women can do anything and therefore should be able to avoid or act against men who use violence. Lilly's statement provides another reference to this discourse “Often you feel like you're dumb for staying”.

The effect of these discourses is for women to carry the responsibility for her partner's violence and for staying in the relationship. The discourses fail to acknowledge the site of such violence within a relationship that involves the man's power practices

employed to dominate or control women and it fails to acknowledge the impact of such practices on women. Lilly's on-going statement "they don't realise that- you don't realise if- people don't realise when there in it at that time" references the difficulties for women in realising what is happening to them and recalls the confusion, isolation and loss of identity which young women spoke of earlier. The discussion opens up the possibility of educating young women about the early warning signs or risk indicators that their boyfriends are engaging in such ownership practices. Other groups also identified the discourses that provide "very little sympathy" as problematic:

- Izzie: ... if you get fucked over by a guy there's very kind of little sympathy from people to understand how actually devastated you've been like you get so devastated by it and
- Hester: You just get 'Oh why the hell would you put up with that?'
- Izzie: Yeah [Hester: They've got]totally
- Hester: -no concept of why- how you- how your thinking and emotions and why you stay in those sort of situations.

Ownership cultural influences: The Bitches and Hos culture

While women's sexuality was understood to be used to sell products and to objectify women there were references to other forms of representation of women's sexuality which suggest a more concerning construction of women within bitches and hos discourses. The phrase "bitches and hos culture" is employed to capture the young women's accounts of the culture that depicts that which is desirable about young women as sex alone. The representation of young women as bitches and hos is commonly understood to come from gangster rap video representations but in our research is evident in other video music genre. In the following Nina takes up this notion of the representation of women as simply sexual items through her description of a video representation:

- Nina: Like there's a video right and there's this girl and she's got ... honestly they must have used pliers to get those pants on her, I swear to god, and okay she's got this muscle American car in the background which is of course like you know like manly

muscle you know and she's like fucken on this car it makes no sense all she's doing is like grinding on this freakin car and sometimes she's got like a burger- this- one of these masks – have you seen those masks? She's got this mask on so not only have they taken away her face she's wrapped in plastic and then she's grinding on this car – She's completely been stripped of her identity. (*overlapping talk*) She has no identity and all she is is a body singing what she's been told to sing. [Alison: -on this car? It's another male possession isn't it?] (*overlapping talk*) And you know- so like they slowly take away ...

Alison: So is she put there along side you know the other ultimate male possession? (*laughter, general agreement*)

Nina: Yeah, exactly [Unison: like the car], and she's like grinding on it so there's all these metaphors working and it's horrible like I'm just like 'Ohhh fuck'

Rena: Like do the makers of these videos think okay 'what are like the- what are a few you know favourite male possessions? Car, like fast bike, like money, like money everywhere all over the video like girls laying naked and like thousands of dollars and then a girl' like- the four things that guys want the most.

Olivia: It's not the girl it's the sexuality – [Unidentified participant: Yeah] it's that kind of ... yeah – [Unidentified participant: that's what they want] (*general agreement.*) It's not this. That's what they want. It's not ...

Rena: It's just a girl

Alison: So that's really interesting isn't it? That it's not, like you were saying that this person doesn't have an identity or personality and being somebody like them in a sense in that kind of sense but just being a sexual object- (*agreement*) is it the sexuality that these clips portray as being what men need to own?

Unidentified participant: Yeah definitely. (*general agreement*)

Olivia: Because sex sells now, that's what makes their money

Rena: That's all that sells apparently

Alison: So what do you think is the influence of those videos and things on the way that men think about how they relate to women?

Nina: I think it's a backlash man! I reckon it's a really smart and insidious backlash – it's right in front of your face you know, like I compare it to like you know- I don't know, it's like the lights are so bright that it blinds you because they are so flashy and there's boobs in your face and there's arse in your face and it's like you're oh! You're so blinded by all this sexuality that you don't see that they're actually

stripping away female identity by doing that – like- so that’s what they’ve done they’ve taken away everything

Nina employs an account of a video representation in the context of a discussion of the music and rap videos to portray the ways in which women are valued in these cultures. She utilizes a representation of the young woman’s dress “honestly they must have used pliers to get those pants on her” to portray the sexualised image of the girl in this video. She employs a description of the image of a “car in the background” to draw parallels with a sexualised metaphor of a man: “She’s got this muscle American car which is of course you know like manly muscle”. Her use of the phrase “muscle American car” allows her to portray the car as large and powerful, while her phrase “like manly muscle” suggests that the car is being employed metaphorically to represent a powerful man. She goes on to make an explicit reference to the sexual act portrayed in this image through her phrase “she’s like fucken on this car it makes no sense all she’s doing is like grinding on this freakin car”. In this account she builds an image of the women engaging in an almost explicitly referenced sexual act on a car which is portrayed as a metaphor for a man. Through the use of a description of the way the young woman is dressed - “She’s got this mask on so not only have they taken away her face she’s wrapped in plastic” - alongside the young women’s visible sexualised actions - “and she’s grinding on this car” - she portrays the stripping away of her identity and the laying out of her as a sexual object.

Olivia statement “It’s not the girl it’s the sexuality” presents a contestation of the notion of the image as simply about the possession of “the girl” instead supporting Nina by stating that the image is about “the sexuality”. The statement by another participant “that’s what they want” lays out sexuality as being the desired possession represented in these videos. These accounts capture a sense that the identity of young women in these video clips is of no interest whatsoever to men but her sexuality is. Olivia’s portrayal is endorsed by the general agreement of the participants and reaffirmed following a summary statement by the interviewer. Olivia then goes on to lay out a motivation for such use of young women’s bodies: “Because sex sells now, that’s what makes their money”. In this way the Olivia captures the use of young women’s sexuality to sell a product. There is no reference in this statement to the video or the music as the product which young women’s sexuality is

employed to sell, leaving open the interpretation that any product could be sold using young women's sexuality. By using the statement "That's all that sells apparently" Rena portrays a sense that the ever presence of young women's sexuality in advertising suggests that nothing else can be used to sell products successfully.

In response to a question concerning the influence of such videos on the way men relate to women, Nina then states "it's a backlash man!", suggesting that the employment of young women's sexuality stripped of any identity is a reaction to feminism. While she does not reference the word backlash to feminism in this statement, in a response to an explicit question from the interviewer later, she stated that she was referring to a feminist backlash. Her lack of any early reference to this backlash as against feminism is of interest. There is the possibility that she assumes this group of young women will understand what she means by the reference to backlash. Alternatively it may mean that she does not want to explicitly position herself within this group as taking a feminist stand perhaps avoiding any potential backlash from others within the group. Her subsequent statement "I reckon it's a really smart and insidious backlash" positions this response to feminism as deliberately clever, underhand and harmful.

With a contradictory statement she portrays a sense of the great visibility of these images while also capturing the impact as blinding and therefore unable to be responded to effectively. The statement she uses recalls that of a participant above that the impact is almost "under the radar": "it's like the lights are so bright that it blinds you". At this point she has not referenced specifically what a viewer might be blinded to leaving open a generally silencing effect of these images. Her following statement "they are so flashy, and there's boobs in your face and there's arse in your face and it's like you're oh!" allows her to illustrate the impact of these over-the-top images of sexuality on the average viewer. The impression given by the repetitive list "there's boobs in your face and there's arse in your face" is of a glare of sexuality while the phrase "it's like you're oh!" suggest that the effect is of turning away from this glare of sexuality. She explicitly states what a viewer is blinded to, which is that "they're actually stripping away female identity by doing that" "that's what they've done they've taken away everything." These latter statements capture a sense of loss for these young women, that it is their identity as young women that has

been stripped away and that they are the ones left with nothing of value within this culture except their sexuality.

In another except the group members employed a rap video example to illustrate the representation of women as explicitly evoking the women's sexuality:

Alison: Do you think that there is other stuff, history and

Jay: Media, definitely even today I was at the gym and I can't hear any of the music while I'm on the treadmill but you can see video clips with this really rich looking guy, rap video clip and he's got this bitch quote unquote, dancing in front of him, shaking her bum in his face and stuff like that and he's got a car and all the assets sort of thing and it's like I can see young men looking at that and going oh okay that's fine-

Miranda: I'm going to own that.

Jay: Yeah, that's going to be mine one day, that sort of thing.

In Jay's account the everyday presence of these images of women is again captured by her reference to her observation of a video clip viewed at her gym. She contrasts the representation of the man and the representation of the woman in this clip. Her statement that the man is "this really rich looking guy" portrays the image of the man as representing a certain male ideal, and the representation of the woman is part of this ideal. Her use of the phrase "bitch quote unquote" allows her to capture, once again, the denigration of women in these clips. By using the words "quote unquote" she is able to indicate that the word "bitch" is not her portrayal of the woman but rather the one deliberately evoked by the video. She captures a real sense of the woman's sexuality which is the object of desire to the man in this video by her use of the phrase "dancing in front of him shaking her bum in his face and stuff like that". The reference to "shaking her bum in her face" allows her to provide an explicit reference to the woman's sexuality, which raises the possibility that this video is not just about having a woman, but about her sex as a point of desire. Her use of the phrase "he's got a car and all the assets" allows her to portray this image as one that evokes all that any man might want. Her use of the statement "I can see young men looking at that and going oh okay that's fine" supports her representation of the desirable nature of these "assets" to other men.

In the following the interviewer seeks to identify the culture that informs ownership practices through a question about music videos. There is an immediate and spontaneous reaction from the group, who go on with an animated description of the ways women are represented in rap videos:

Alison: What about the music and videos sort of-

Nina: *Oh my God* – [Rena: Oh my God (All) rap videos – rap videos are... the video girl] (*everybody concurs vigorously*)

Rena: The girl is nothing, she doesn't talk – [Nina: Exactly] – she just stands next to the guy while he's like in the front singing and he's like *The Man* and she kind of just stands there making him look good – but like she's a Ho too... [Olivia: Exactly] you know.

Penny: I don't understand like they just don't even make sense- Yeahhh (raunchy sound) and they have all these women and all this jewellery and these cars and-

Rena: And they never sing about how they love the girl.

Nina: Like all you see is that fat dude who's really fucken ugly (*laughter overlapping talk*) with all these women who are amazingly young and amazingly gorgeous and it's like – that's not real!

Penny: And there's like twenty of them. (*laughter*)

Olivia: I think that [Nina: They probably couldn't get it up for twenty of them – like come on] reinforces that kind of male manliness like I'm in control of all these women like they're my bitches and I can do what I want ...

Alison: So is that the ultimate [Nina: Yeah – when I say dance, dance ...] in manliness in this kind of culture in a sense? To have heaps of gorgeous Hos and bitches around? (*laughter*) I mean what do they mean by Hos-

Olivia: That's what they call them – they're women- that's the control – like she's my dog basically I can do whatever I want – she's mine and [Rena: when I've finished with her then I'm finished with her] and I'll get another one. [Alison: You mean to discard just like a possession?] And even to the-

Penny: Like pimps. I can have her whenever I want and I can just throw her away whenever I want

Olivia: No matter how pretty she is

Rena: She's there just for me and

Nina: She's expendable

Rena: That's what is on music videos and like all the rappers that are coming out like every single song has got something like that in it.

Nina's emphasised reaction at the outset to this question and the concurrent responses of the other participants suggests that the question raised by the interviewer in the context of a discussion about the cultural influences on ownership practices resonates with these young women. Rena creates an impression of the young women in these videos as devoid of identity through her use of the phrase "The girl is nothing": the word nothing capturing this sense of a lack of identity. She situates the role of the woman in these videos through her statement "she kind of just stands there making him look good": the woman's role is to support the man in how he looks to others. The word "just" captures a sense of the woman as doing nothing but supporting the man in his representation of his masculinity. She contrasts this image with that of the male singer "he's like The Man". In her emphasised representation "The Man" she captures a sense in which the male singer is imbued with traditional ideas of masculinity: dominant and commanding. Nina points to the contradiction in the way the men are presented in these videos and the presentation of women: The man is "this fat dude who's really fucken ugly" whereas the women are "amazingly young and amazingly gorgeous."

In contradiction to the notion of the woman being stripped of identity Rena provides a sense of identity that is created for these young women "but like she's a Ho too". Penny follows with a raunchy "Yeahhh" perhaps taking up on this sexualised component referred to in the videos by Rena. Rena's employs a reference about the contents of the songs "they never sing about how they love the girl" to indicate that these rap representations are not about caring for women. With Penny's list of objects (including women) and Nina's statement there is again in these representations an account that it is beautiful young women's bodies which are used to objectify women in contrast to the lack of an idealised body-representation of the man. Nina's emphasised statement "that's not real" captures the disjunct in the presentation of the man and the presentations of the women. Penny statement of the number of young women, "like there's twenty of them" suggests that the number of young women represents an idealisation of the abundance of a connection to beautiful young women to the man represented in these videos. In an overlapping piece of

talk Olivia and Nina capture the contradiction in these presentations. Nina's statement questions the sexual manliness of the men in these videos: "They probably couldn't get it up for twenty of them" and allows her to portray this representation of the man as a sexualised show. Olivia's interpretation of the representations of men in these videos is that they are there to portray "male manliness" – her double reference to men (male, manliness) suggesting a sort of hyper-masculinity. Her following statement allows her to expand on what she believes is meant by this manliness: "like I'm in control of all these women like they're my bitches and I can do what I want..." In this portrayal, being a man in these images is about being in control of women and doing what you want to them.

Her use of the phrase "my bitches" portrays a sense of ownership, the word bitches allows her to emphasise the depicted derogatory value such men place on women. In the last statement "I can do what I want.." she portrays the potential for ill-treatment of women set up by the preceding statements. Nina's statement allows her to illustrate the way control is portrayed in these videos "When I say dance, dance..". This statement captures a sense in which the women in these videos are represented as if they are puppets, manipulated by the man. In response to a question from the interviewer about what is meant by hos and bitches Olivia's response draws out the issue of control further by representing the denigration of women as a means of control. She then emphasises these representations as ownership practices by her referencing the link to bitches and to treating the woman like a dog: "she's my dog basically I can do whatever I want – she's mine."

In a co-construction between Rena and Olivia these two participants interpret these videos as portraying women as items to be used and disposed of: Rena: "when I've finished with her then I'm finished with her" and Olivia: "-and I'll get another one." When the interviewer asks whether this treatment is as one would treat a possession Penny employs the phrase "Like pimps" to capture the sexualised ownership of women portrayed in these videos – these are not simply objects but sexualised objects owned and sold out for sex by the man. Olivia, Rena and Nina then go on to build on this representation by emphasising that the woman's looks do not protect her from being discarded. Nina's statement "She's expendable" parallels the "disposable objects" of the earlier excerpt. Rena's final statement summarises the ever presence of these representations of men and young women in the rap music culture.

This disturbing representation presented in this account provides no particular idealised representation for most women whereas the image of the man in these accounts appears to represent an ideal which would appeal to some men. For example, Ward, Hansbrough and Walker (2005) found that students exposed to music videos laden with gender stereotypes expressed more traditional gender role attitudes and those who watched such videos routinely expressed more traditional views about gender. The representations in these accounts are paralleled by the music lyrics of various genre which are explicitly misogynous. The following are some examples:

I live life like I'm playing a game of X-box
I don't give a fuck if I die or get caught
There I am, god-damn, everything was smooth
I woke up with a bloody bitch dead in the bathroom
My wicked shit praise that I heard through the days
Somehow now relays my new murderous ways
Violent J's not around but Moon Glorious is there
Scared of fucking death, and what's happening here
Blood in the tub as I scrub a dub, on my knees geez
I hope she ain't have a disease
I need the keys to the shed, I'ma cut the head off
My daddy got a knife in there to cut lead off
How should I do this, what sounds fun?
I just sat on her headpiece and twiddled my thumbs
Finally said fuck it, stomped her face
Sunk in like a pumpkin, I left no trace

Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (on my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, deep in the night I be thugging
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)

Find me, end of the night I be scrubbing
(Lyrics from 'Bloody Bitch' by Insane Clown Posse)¹¹

Chorus:

When I was young I used to have fun
fuckin with ugly bitches
But now that I'm grown I leave em alone
cos I went from rags to riches

Interlude

Aw shit, there go my nigga pretendin he don't see me
walkin with a bitch that look like a flea G
Holdin her hand as he walks thru the plaza
I try to play it off but I couldn't hold my laughter
The girl is done so take her ass off the oven
Put her on a BOOM and send her back to the covent
Cookin up a plan in a big, black cauldron
And the dumb ass nigga don't know that he's fallin
into a trap cos now the whore is pregnant
9 months later and she's squirted on an insect
He don't wanna claim it, she went and got a test
Now he's sendin child support in a big fat check
My nigga got depressed and he started drinkin liquor
One night he got drunk, went to her house and killed her
Riches to rags and rags to riches
but that's what'cha get when you fuck with ugly bitches
(Lyrics from Coolio, Ugly Bitches)¹²

The assumption might be made that these lyrics would work against any young women listening to this music or watching the music videos but young women do watch and listen to them. The images and the strong rhythms are an insidious draw card. The concern is

¹¹http://www.ultimatefreelyrics.com/Artist_I/insane_clown_posse_Lyrics/bloody_bitch_Song_Lyrics.html

¹² Lyriczz taken from LyricZZ . Com

that the explicit misogyny evident in the lyrics (see Appendix 2) and the images will simply become an accepted part of the landscape much as has occurred with the objectification of young women in advertising and other media representations.

Ownership cultural influences: The mates' culture

Traditional ideas of masculinity - of male dominance and entitlement - are now well established as associated with violence towards women. We have used the phrase "mates' culture" to capture the ways in which these young women spoke of the influence of a certain masculinity on young women's experiences of ownership by boyfriends. Within this mates' culture men stick together, women are 'the other' and men's masculinity is measured against his uniform dominance of women. There is some indication within New Zealand history that the mates' culture has emerged through pioneering crews: teams of sailors or soldiers, who worked together to complete vital, sometimes dangerous, work tasks or pioneering jobs. On completion of the job these groups disbanded, then formed again for other tasks (Belich 1996). They were known for working hard, drinking hard and for their ill-treatment of women. This analysis of the young women's text is collated in the following sections: the macho man, the mates' values, and dominance and entitlement.

The Macho Man

In the following the young women discussed the influence of certain conceptions of masculinity on the ownership practices of some men:

Olivia: They want to be like the more powerful one I think (*General agreement*)

Penny: Because like, I don't know, guys always want to be stronger and the masculine one like they can shoo away the spiders. (*general laughter*). Whatever- it's like a power thing they want to feel like they are in control.

Olivia: Especially if they feel you are more um – you have more things than them.[Unidentified group participant: Yeah] Yeah Yeah like personal qualities that other people like. Maybe being more sociable.

Unidentified group participant: Yeah

- Rena: If you're more sociable and more outgoing and dominant and just a happy person they like to push you down.
- Olivia: To crumble you down in little bits to keep you there and to make sure that they have the power and (*All talking at once*) to make sure they know what you're doing.
- Nina: As long as you're not challenging them it's okay. But as soon as they think that you're smarter than them or that you're more liked than them or that or that you can do more than them or that you're more motivated that's it – game over. They're gonna do anything to make sure that you're not that. Its-
- Alison So do you think that's about power and prestige? And- I mean how do you think that relates to ownership because that's quite interesting isn't it? Because you're sort of saying you know you always need to be down there?
- Olivia: Down beneath me-
- Nina: -you can't ever be my equal you have to be beneath me. (*General agreement.*)
- Olivia: You have to be- I have to be in control.
- Alison: So is ownership about not being equal do you think?
- Rena: Yes, girls are supposed to be – like some guys think that, if you do kind of have that kind of girlfriend who is dominant and outgoing and loves everyone and is always out there doing stuff I think – I know in my experience he didn't seem as equal and he just wanted to bring me down a little bit because maybe of his own insecurities as well. He couldn't have someone be- he couldn't have maybe his friends saying to him 'Oh your girlfriend is cool, she's out there all the time.' He couldn't handle that, he had to make sure he knew where I was and I had to be slightly more below him, he had to be like *the man* – yeah.
- Alison: So if you were equal would that have challenged his sort of... his own sense of ownership somehow?
- Rena: I think if you are equals it takes away from him a bit, like his sense of manliness and I think maybe that's what they don't like.

Olivia and Penny work up the values that drive some men towards ownership practices in their statements. Olivia opens this discussion with a reference to these men wanting “to be like the more powerful one”. By using this phrase she references the drive for power as being a relational one, one in which the man has “more” power. This use of the word “more” captures the notion that there is an ‘other’ to whom the extent of the power is

compared – the identity of this other as the woman in the relationship is left unspoken. When Penny expands on Olivia’s comment her use of the term “guys” suggests that she is referring to men generally. Her use of the phrase “guys always want to be stronger and the masculine one” positions this idea of the more powerful one introduced in Olivia’s comments as relating to men’s desire to maintain a certain idea of their masculinity: her use of the phrases “want to be stronger” and “the masculine one” allow her to provide this link to a certain sort of traditional male culture. In this representation Penny provides an enduring sense of this desire through her use of the word “always”. With her phrase “like they can shoo away the spiders.” she is also able to capture a sense of these men’s desire to provide protection from harm which draws from notions of men as the provider and protector within the family. In her final statement she returns to Olivia’s point “it’s like a power thing” but without referencing a relational quality to power. Her lack of a reference pronoun in her statement “they want to feel like they are in control” leaves open what or who they need control of suggesting that this is a general open desire for control which might be unrelated to the relationship. The phrase also more firmly positions such men within a certain traditional male culture which privileges male control.

Olivia returns to the relational quality of this desire for control in her follow-on statements: “especially if they feel you are more” “you have more things than them”. In these comments she references (young) women with her pronoun “you” and the guys of Penny’s text with her pronoun “they”. Olivia employs these statements to construct control and power as exercised relational instruments which are employed by men when young women “are more” or “have more things”. Again the term “more” is employed to provide a contrast between men and women. The inference in these statements is that if women show more of something such men will exercise power or control to demonstrate/regain their greater power.

Olivia then goes on to describe the sort of things which women might have which would engender such behaviour by these men: “like personal qualities that other people like. Maybe being more sociable.”. These phrases indicate that the “things” Olivia is talking about need not be material but may simply be aspects of the young women’s identity. This statement is supported by other participants. Rena’s statement again references these personal qualities in young women which make them vulnerable to men’s

controlling behaviours: “more sociable”, “more outgoing”, “dominant”, “just a happy person”. Her use of the term “dominant” provides another potential reference to the power relationship between the woman and the man. Her use of the phrase “just a happy person” in this context suggests that even being happy is a threat to such men’s control.

By using the phrase “they like to push you down” she brings in another aspect to this form of power and control. Her use of the term “like” suggests that there is a certain pleasure and intentionality in the activity of subjugating the woman. The phrase “push you down” captures a physical employment of force towards the woman. The phrase “just a happy person” alongside “they like to push you down” allows for the inference that this employment of power will be used to stop women from being happy. Olivia takes up this point in a powerful reiteration in her statement “to crumble you down in little bits to keep you there and to make sure that they have the power to make sure they know what you’re doing”. By using the phrase “to crumble you down in little bits” she captures a sense of the creating of a broken person of the woman her subsequent statement “to make sure that they have the power” suggesting that it is in this breaking down of the woman that the man ensures that he maintains control and dominance of the woman. The spontaneous talking from other participants at this point perhaps indicates that her comments resonated with them.

Nina raises the possibility in her statement that it is the challenging of such men by young women that is problematic for them. The juxtaposition of this statement alongside a return to the earlier idea that to have “more things” is problematic for such men, allows her to construct the idea that to have more personal qualities or to be more outgoing; to have a certain form of female identity provides a challenge to such men. Her listing of the personal qualities which might be challenging again emphasises that the challenge is in the identity rather than in any material acquisitions. Her use of the word challenge suggests that to have such qualities is a threat which requires a response. Her statement “that’s it – game over” suggests an end to a sort of pretence. There is an inference in this statement that what had gone before was not the reality of this relationship but rather a game: that the real relationship would now begin. Her statement “They’re gonna do anything to make sure that you’re not that.” allows her to capture the extent to which some men might go to ensure that the woman is brought down in some way: that this challenge is met and conquered.

The young women work up the notion that inherent in this certain sort of manliness is that women are not equal: that such men require authority in order to maintain control. Rena's statement links "being equal" to the qualities which she brought to the relationship and the qualities he brought: "he didn't seem as equal". By following on with the statement "he just wanted to bring me down a little bit" she suggests that it was this lack of his sense of equality which was a motivation for her boyfriend's ownership practices. His sense of powerlessness caused him to exercise power over her. Her following statement invites a psychological interpretation of his behaviours "because maybe of his own insecurities as well." By using an example she is able to illustrate the sort of insecurities her boyfriend might have had – her boyfriend couldn't handle others appreciation of her outgoing qualities. Her statements "He had to make sure he knew where I was" again references the surveillance discussed earlier as a power/ownership practice and, following from a statement of the possibility of her qualities being appreciated by his friends, allows for the inference that her boyfriend may have been afraid that she was off with his male friends or other men. Her statement "he had to be like *the man* – yeah." links this dominance to a certain notion of masculinity: to a way of being a man. In her final statement Rena reinforces this notion that young women's equality detracts from some men's "sense of manliness": within this particular notion of manliness the man is privileged.

In the following Hester links the notion of ownership to power practices referencing the hierarchical quality of these relationships:

Well that's the whole point of owning something you have power over it. It gets them what they want in some ways. It makes them feel big to trash someone else. [Alison: So-] And there really aren't that bigger consequences anymore.

As someone who had experience on-going violence and control tactics, she represents a relationship between ownership practices and "power over", her use of the latter phrase suggesting a sort of sovereign power in the relationship, one in which the person engaging in such practices rules. By employing the statement "It gets them what they want" she infers that such practices are about the everyday wants and desires that such men have: the statement allows the inference to be made that the more powerful person is able to ensure

compliance and always satisfy their own needs over the needs or desires of the other. Her next statement “It makes them feel big to trash someone else” suggests another motivation: that for some there is a desire to “feel big” which drives them “to trash someone else”. In this statement she provides a link to her earlier statement on power suggesting that power over is about feeling big. The statement also provides a suggestion that it is those men who do not feel big in other respects who must engage in such behaviours. Her final statement signals a degree of hopelessness about bringing the person to account for this behaviour. There is a suggestion in this statement that the state response is now to turn a blind eye to such behaviour – “there really aren’t that bigger consequences”.

Mateship values

Certain contemporary masculine values, which might be drawn on to support men’s engagement in ownership practices, were discussed in the following:

Izzie: Well just the way that men talk about women together. It’s not- you don’t find women sitting around in groups talking about men in the same kind of way that- that you do find men talking about women?

Alison: How d- how do men talk about women- some men talk about women

Izzie: Some men? I just- I- I- My friend and also my sister’s boyfriend told me some conversations they’ve had in their past with friends of theirs. And you know, they’ve had to opt out of- they’ve said they’ve opted out of conversations like this but just talking about women on such a base level like kind of *so* bad that its- one of them ran into a guy who boasted about having raped a thirteen year old and poured um um um liquid um s- solvent on her vagina afterwards. Like stuff like that and kind of all the guys saying ‘Oh bro-’ you know- kind of not ‘Good on you’ but definitely not ‘Oh my God I’ll take you outside and kill you for that’ like you know kind of chummy and I dunno if you’d find many groups of women around the world doing the same thing.

Alison: That’s I mean that’s that’s quite different isn’t it from what we used to understand as male chivalry or being a gentleman. I mean that- there would be men even in our world who would find that deeply offensive.

Izzie: Ohh yeah.

Hester: Yeah but they won’t say anything about it when it’s all their mates in a group.

Izzie: Yeah totally socially pressured to agree that-
Hester: They won't say 'Oh you dirty bastard.'
Izzie: Yeah.
Alison: So is there [Izzie: Totally] sort of a pressure on some men to have a single voice about how they are with women?
Hester: Yeah to be sort of macho and not be a sissy in front of their mates.
Alison: Even when it- even to the extent when it's about grossly offensive abusive behaviour?
Izzie: I think it happens a lot.
Hester: Yeah. I've seen that a lot as well.

Through using contrast Izzie captures a form of talk of women by men as part of a certain male culture. She sets the context for this discussion with her statement "just the way that men talk about women together." With this phrase she opens up a sense of groups of men discussing women as if the women are other than them. She captures this sense through stating that they are talking "about women" while "together". Izzie makes a distinction between these acts of conversation which men engage in about women and those women engage in about men through the use of a contrasting statement which allows her to indicate that this particular conversation act is a distinctly male gendered activity.

In her statements Izzie captures a sense that these conversations are not simply marginally unacceptable but beyond what would be realised or acceptable if opened up to public scrutiny or perhaps to scrutiny by women. To elaborate further she begins an anecdote, her choice of close friends' accounts portraying a sense that this anecdote required a level of trust for its disclosure. Her statement "they've had to opt out... of conversations like this" allows her to differentiate these people from the group which the anecdote is about: the inference being that these conversations were not ones that her friends would want to be part of. She sets the scene for what is to follow with her statements: "just talking about women on such a base level" and "so bad". The following description of a man boasting about raping a young teenager and his deliberate further violence afterwards is shocking in its simplicity and forthrightness. This description provides the capturing of an act which could not be morally condoned in a civilised society.

Her use of the word “boasting” allows her to imply that within this male culture such violent acts towards young women are a privileged activity within this male culture.

She portrays the luke-warm response of the men who heard this account through her use of the phrase “Oh bro-”. This phrase allows her to describe the connection between the man who engaged in this act and those who spoke to him of it: the term “bro” capturing the colloquial shortening of the word “brother”. She portrays a sense that these men collectively aligning themselves with the storyteller despite his despicable acts while reacting mildly against it. Her statement “not good on you” allows her to portray a representation of her account as not implying that these men are actively supporting the man’s activities but her following statement “but definitely not ‘Oh my god I’ll take you outside and kill you for that’” suggesting that there was another response which these men could have had which would more adequately reference the despicable behaviour of the man involved. She describes this response as “kind of chummy” again referencing the male values of brotherhood or mateship which allow such acts to be boasted about. The interviewer references a distinction between past ideas of “male chivalry” and “being a gentleman” and this contemporary representation of mateship. She contests the idea that all men would find such behaviour even within the contemporary world (“even in our world”) acceptable. By providing this distinction she sets up a contrast between ‘good men’ and the ‘bad man’ who provided the violence in Izzie’s account.

Hester’s statements support Izzie’s notion of mateship and the lengths some men will go to support each other in colluding with degrading talk about women: “Yeah but they won’t say anything about it when it’s all their mates in a group.” Her use of the word “they” references the men involved while the word “mates” captures this sense of mateship which perhaps provides the male culture of support that allows such values to flourish. Izzie’s statement “totally socially pressured to agree” again emphasises the values of this mates’ culture: that within this culture there is pressure to stay together on this issue. This statement suggests that part of being within this mates’ culture is to support each other rather than to contest bad behaviour. Hester’s statement “They won’t say ‘Oh you dirty bastard’” allows her to reference an alternative more morally acceptable response. The interviewer takes up this notion of mateship with her question “is there sort of pressure on some men to have a single voice about how they are with women?”. By employing the

phrase “to have a single voice” she is able to capture the values of mateship which have been referred to previously by the participants. Hester further elaborates on the values that are represented in this mates’ culture by her statements “to be sort of macho” and “not be a sissy”. By this statement Hester suggests that to contest another man in this mateship culture is to present oneself as “a sissy”, a word which references weakness and alignment with women, rather than machismo, dominance and control of women.

In the following the interviewer explores the male values that contribute to ownership practices with another group:

Alison: What pressures do you think are on young men to be dominating.

Miranda: Their mates harass them if they see the guy being told what’s what by the girl – like if the girl’s gets angry at him and he’s acknowledging that he’s done something wrong for whatever reason then the guys just go ‘you just got pussy whipped’ ra ra ra

Alison: So he’s- what do you mean ‘pussy whipped’? That’s really good – the language-

Miranda: That means you just got whipped by the girl – your woman is controlling you and guys don’t like that when they get told that by other guys it is a point that they harass their mates about- it’s like peer pressure [Kristy: And it goes on and on and on as well] total thing and they just won’t let it go

Alison: That’s really interesting Are there other names that young men call young men?

Jay: Whipped or the girl wears the pants that mean she has the control or call the guy ‘Mrs’

Alison: You mean call the guy ‘Mrs’

Lilly: Yeah – I’ve had my boyfriend’s friends call him that when I give him a bit of hell but he doesn’t really care.

Miranda: I think it’s really bad when they say ‘you’re just being a bitch’ or ‘you’re gay’

A little later

Alison so to be called gay is to be derogatory as well- so do you think that is the kind of ways young men put pressure on other men to not be, not engage in equal ways?

Miranda: Yes they make their mates dominate their women and they say 'you need to tell her what's what' and stuff.

Miranda opens up this discussion with the statement "their mates harass them if they see the guy being told what's what by the girl". In this statement her reference to "their mates" again situates this discussion within a sort of mates' culture. The phrase "their mates harass them" allows her to represent the sort of pressure that men come under and the phrase "if they see the guy being told what's what by the girl" portrays this harassment as occurring in the context of a man's domination by his girlfriend. Miranda sets out a particular example where this might occur. This example is an interesting one as it allows her to demonstrate that when a young woman "gets angry" some men are prepared to acknowledge that they might have "done something wrong". This example could be interpreted as an example of an equitable relationship played out in a respectful and just way with the man reacting in a way that will help resolve the problem and build a positive relationship. In her example the woman's response is interpreted by the man's "mates" as a young woman dominating the man and she then goes on to spell out their reaction to this interpretation in her phrase: "the guys go 'You just got pussy whipped'". The latter statement references an insult to a man: the term "pussy" being a pornographic term for a woman's genitalia and the phrase "pussy whipped" suggestive of a thrashing by the woman of the man. It is telling that, in her representation, in this mates' culture women's sexuality is employed as a form of degradation of the man. Miranda provides a description which does not reference the sexualised content: "That means you just got whipped by the girl –your woman is controlling you". It is possible that she used a sanitised description to avoid the sexualised content of the phrase in the presence of the older woman interviewer, or alternatively, that the phrase has become so accepted within these young people's contemporary culture that the word "pussy" no longer assumes a sexualised reference to woman. This lack of a reference to sexuality maybe because the phrase has assumed a more generalised meaning, that "your woman is controlling you" – which references the power relationship and the woman's domination of the man. Within a macho culture in which the assumption is of male domination and of a hierarchy which positions women as lesser than the man to have the woman partner "controlling you" would position the man as not fitting in: as not macho

and therefore not masculine. Matilda then goes on with the statement “guys don’t like that when they get told that by other guys” which situates the comment as potentially insulting. Kristy’s statement “and it goes on and on and on as well” captures the enduring harassment to conform, while Miranda’s final statement “they just won’t let it go” builds on Kristy’s to provide a further indication of the extent of the harassment.

Following a prompt from the interviewer, Jay lists other names which are employed to insult men should the woman not appear to be compliant in this mates’ culture: “the girl wears the pants” and “call the guy Mrs”. Miranda provides further examples of denigrations employed against men who deviate from this mates’ norm ““You’re just being a bitch’ or ‘You’re gay’”. These examples employ a female connotation to insult the man – the reference to “a bitch”, a female dog, being a derogatory insult of a female let alone a male, and the reference to being homosexual - being gay. With these insults - as with the insulting use of the term “pussy-whipped - there is evoked the extent to which women and homosexuals are valued within this mates’ culture when to be a woman or to a gay man is employed as a means of denigrating other men. Miranda’s use of these terms allows her to demonstrate how both insults are designed to challenge the deviation of any man from the normative identity, in this mates’ culture, through questioning his sexuality and his masculinity. Miranda’s statement “they make their mates dominate their women” captures a sense that within this mates’ culture men are forced to comply with the domination of women whether they want to or not.

In the following Izzie and Hester make reference to more of the mates’ culture and the attitude of men within this culture towards women:

Izzie: I think there’s huge pressures on men to be a certain way. Like I feel really bad for guys the way-that they- you know lots of guys are born really sensitive and that’s where you get- thank god you get guys who decide ‘You know what. I’m gay. I can’t handle this anymore.’ You know like there are guys who are born so just- you know with such a good heart and stuff like that and they just so hard for them to actually- really brave guys [Hester; They’re not big and tough and-] Yeah, not like you know ‘I’m going to go fuck her n’ you know and ‘I’m going to do this to her and then ‘Oh I had a fight the other night’ and Oh this-’ you know- just stuff like

that it's really okay for guys to be like that in society. You know so many guys support them in that kind of behaviour.

Hester: [coughs]

Alison: So are you thinking these sorts of misogynist ways of being are what kind of add to those sorts of ownership practices, those- being controlling in relationships?

Izzie: Definitely. Yeah.

Hester: Yep. And it's exactly what was going on in our relationship and they never turn around and go 'Oh you treat your missus better.'

Izzie's reference to the "huge pressures on men to be a certain way" resonates with the discussion of the participants from the previous excerpt. Izzie continues with a statement which allows her to distinguish between the men who conform to being "a certain way" and those men for whom she "feels really bad for" and who "are born really sensitive". In these comments she aligns herself with a different sort of man. Her following comment allows her to further distinguish these men from the men who concur with the "certain way" referenced earlier. These are men "who decide 'You know what. I'm gay. I can't handle this anymore'". Through the use of the speech which these men might use she captures their eventual resistance to these pressures to conform to this certain male way of being through a sort of reference to their acceptance of the denigrations used to force them to comply. "You know what. I'm gay." Whether they are gay or not is not referenced here: the language of acceptance is the point. Her use of the following statement "I can't handle this anymore" allows her to suggest that their acceptance of the denigrations are a reaction to the "huge pressures" referred to earlier. In this phrase she captures a sense of a struggle which such men must have presumably with doing what is morally right as opposed to doing what the dominant male culture requires.

She then goes on to further distinguish these men from others through her use of the phrase "there are guys who are born ... with such a good heart". Her use of the phrase "good heart" supports this interpretation that she is referencing a moral stand here. She counters the denigrations which might be levelled against this different group of men by other men by her comment "just so hard for them to actually-" which is perhaps an unfinished reference to the difficulties that they might have in resisting these "huge pressures". The statement opens up the possibility that complying with these "huge

pressures” is actually easier: that the men who resist these pressures are not taking the easy path. Her following statement “really brave guys” positions these men as the ones with qualities which make them stand out from others: that to take such a stand requires courage. Hester’s overlapping speech “They’re not big and tough” may be interpreted to mean that these men are not the men who would fit a certain stereotype of the idealised masculinity and is perhaps a reference to a certain traditional macho male culture. Her statement allows Izzie to provide another interpretation: to position these men as valuing women because these are not the men who engage in the sort of conversations which might be accepted as denigrating women.

Izzie’s taking up of Hester’s “big and tough” phrase, to go on and represent some of the language which might be used by men to denigrate women, suggests that within this certain male culture there are some men whose standing as “big and tough” is through their denigration of women. Her use of examples from speech allows her to illustrate an alternative way being practiced by the men who resist this culture: these are *not* the men who go around saying “I’m going to go fuck her” or “I’m going to do this to her”, “Oh I had a fight the other night”. These phrases allow her to demonstrate the points of difference which the men who resist this culture enact while also allowing her to illustrate further the values of the male culture which they are resisting. Within this culture women are devalued and violence towards women is valued. With her following statement she closes the possible interpretation that within New Zealand this particular male culture is exceptional: “it’s really okay for guys to be like that in society”. Her following statement, “you know so many guys support them in that kind of behaviour” allows her to further position such behaviour as a culture of male behaviour, an accepted male way of being. Following a prompt from the interviewer she more explicitly positions these behaviours as supporting “ownership practices”. In the final statement Hester’s use of the phrase: “they never turn around and go ‘Oh you treat your missus better’” allows her to return to the notion that the men in this culture fail to challenge men who treat women badly: of failing to act in a morally acceptable way when women are being abused by their male partners. By this example she again references the mates’ culture discussed earlier.

While the term “their mates” would suggest that much of the pressure which is employed to support this male culture of denigration of women and violence is from peers a different picture emerges from the following:

Alison: So, where do you think the influences are coming from for young men to put pressure on other young men to be dominating?

Kristy: From their father figures and their uncles, the guy that I am going out with now, I am quite controlling because I didn't want what happened with [my previous boyfriend] to happen and him to do that to me so I sort of stepped in and started controlling him and his family calling him pussy whipped, 'you're whipped, you're just a bitch, stand up and be a man', but

Alison: So he's not a man if a woman is stronger in a relationship?

Kristy: He's a few months younger than me-

Alison: So to be a man, for some men you have to be the one dominating?

Kristy: -and I do make all the choices with the money because he's silly with money but he lets me and his family and friends all make fun of him all of the time 'Why don't you stand up and tell her you can't do this and you can't do that' but he just goes 'Well it'll stop a fight we won't argue about it' and all that, his uncle is always on his case saying 'You're the bitch in the relationship aren't you, man up and-'

Kristy opens up the possibility of a further influence: that previous generations of men apply pressure to young men and that the pressure is comes from further a field than simply their peers. She positions the “fathers and uncles” as the ones applying pressure to young men to engage in dominating behaviours. Her use of the phrase “his family” is vague and opens up the possibility that such criticism may come from more than the male family members. She provides an example of the sort of speech used to pressure her boyfriend “his family calling him pussy whipped, 'you're whipped, you're just a bitch, stand up and be a man'”. Her use of the phrase ““Why don't you stand up and tell her you can't do this and you can't do that”” allows her to demonstrate that such challenges are targeted at getting her boyfriend to be more dominating towards her and to be more controlling of her by restricting her actions. Her use of the phrase “his uncle is always on his case” provides an indication of the ongoing harassment experienced by her boyfriend and discussed above.

Kristy engages in a form of stake inoculation through her utilisation of a reasoned account: the level of control she is exercising is not over the top and is sensible in the circumstances. She uses an example of the form of control she might engage in - "I do make all the choices with the money because he's silly with money" -. Her following statement "he lets me" allows her to indicate that in his complicity he is providing permission for her to act this way. The statement also allows her to indicate that he is capable of preventing her from engaging in such behaviour had he wanted to: that by 'letting' her control him he is also engaging in a certain power act with her. Her use of an example from her boyfriend's speech "'Well it'll stop a fight we won't argue about it'" allows her to demonstrate that her boyfriend has made a choice to allow her control and provides an indication of the reasoned response from her boyfriend to this pressure from his uncle.

Dominance and Entitlement

Explicit discourses relating to traditional and contemporary cultures of male dominance were evident in the young women's talk of ownership practices and were employed to describe ways in which some men were shaped up to behave towards women. In the following Izzie describes the sorts of learning environments which provide a climate for contemporary male dominance:

Izzie I just knew his father was really sexist and he had a his mother was so kind of like one of those like who had been keeping down- kept down her entire life like she was in her fifties and had never escaped the same guy she had been with and in probably like quite an abusive relationship I think like I knew there must have been something that had gone on with them and he'd say things in front of you like all sorts of people like in front of me and in front of Michael and all sorts of Michael's friends and stuff say something 'Oh you know your mum needs a titlift' you know all sorts of fucken awful shit that I just knew that like a) what the fuck am I doing with this guy's son but b) it's like oh my god he's such a creep and this so explains why Michael acts the way that he does. Why he- inside- he won't admit it in his head but he actually hates women. Like he actually hates women because he hates his mum because she's a- being a doormat and hasn't provided him with a good

role model for what he should be looking for in a partner and such a creep of a dad. His dad's a sexist and I think Michael like, I could see with Michael he had been a real sensitive kid- I had known him for years and years – been a real sensitive kid with lots of emotions. His dad is a hard .. *hard* .. bastard like and had totally just basically tried to basically get all of the sensitivity out of Michael and he'd pretty much succeeded like having totally fucked Michael up in the process sorry about my swearing [Alison: No that's alri-] but just totally messed with Michael's mind in a way that Michael didn't know his own emotions anymore- he couldn't even make heads or tails about how he felt about anything.

The overall impression from this excerpt is of a climate engendered in this home that involves raising sons to be tough and dominant and devoid of any feelings that might be interpreted as contrary to the values of a certain macho male culture: one which privileges toughness and does not value sensitivity and emotional expression in boys.

With her opening statements Izzie paints a picture of the power relationship between her boyfriend's mother and father, in which the father is the one who engages in behaviours which subjugate the mother. Her opening statement "I just knew his father was really sexist" allows her to position her boyfriend's father as a discriminatory towards women. Her on-going statement about her boyfriend's mother "...kept down her entire life" positions her mother as the person who had been subjected to this dominating behaviour, the statement "had never escaped the same guy she had been with" suggesting that she had been contained within this relationship even if she had not liked it. Her use of the word "escaped" suggests that to get out of such relationships requires more than separation – it required her to be able to 'escape', to be able to make for herself an escape plan and to execute it. In this statement she captures a sense of her boyfriend's mother as a prisoner in this sexist relationship. Her following statement "probably like quite an abusive relationship" allows her to open up the possibility of abuse, physical or emotional, as the instrument employed to keep her boyfriend's mother down.

With the following statement: "I knew there must have been something that had gone on with them" Izzie opens up a sense of something ominous and hidden or unspoken in this relationship. In contradiction she references the sort of abuse which was not hidden: with the phrase "he'd say things in front of you like all sorts of people", she is able to open up a

sort of sense of the public humiliation which her boyfriend's mother was subjected to. By stating that Michael, herself and his friends were some of the audience she captures the exposure which Michael had to this sexism, and his father's choice in exposing Michael to such behaviour. The phrase also allows her to provide a sense of the father's entitlement to verbally humiliate his mother publicly. Her use of the spoken phrase "“Oh you know your mum needs a titlift”" allows her to provide a disturbing example of the sort of sexist and humiliating comments his father would make of his mother. Her use of a sexualised example of abuse captures what has become a common thread in these accounts: the use of women's sexuality to control and subjugate them.

Izzie's use of the following phrase "this so explains why Michael acts the way that he does..." unfolds an explanation for her boyfriend's behaviour: that he has learned from his father to treat women badly. Her description of Michael's father allows her to position this man: "His dad is a hard .. *hard* .. bastard". The repetition of the word hard and the word "bastard" provide a representation of this man as tough, uncompromising and morally unsound. In a sort of contradiction she places some of the responsibility for her boyfriend's misogyny on his mother: "Like he actually hates women because he hates his mum because she's a- being a doormat and hasn't provided him with a good role model for what he should be looking for in a partner". There is in this statement a reference to the responsibility of mothers to provide good role mothers to their sons through not being "a doormat" in their relationships with their children's fathers. The term doormat also captures the effect of domination and entitlement practices on women: that they become unresponsive items to be ground into the floor by others' ill-treatment. She positions the outcome for Michael: "he won't admit it in his head but he actually hates women."

Izzie unfolds the coaching Michael received to be initiated into this male culture. Her reference to the time she had known him allows her to demonstrate that she has the authority to describe Michael in a certain way through her years as a witness to his development. Her use of the phrase "a real sensitive kid with lots of emotions" captures the kind of qualities which might be valued in this young man by some people but these are qualities which might be considered by those who value a certain form of masculine identity to be feminine qualities and therefore not valued in men. She is then able to capture a sense in which Michael's father intentionally worked to change Michael: "like and had

totally just basically tried to basically get all of the sensitivity out of Michael”. In this statement she situates Michael’s father within the male culture that does not value such qualities in his son hence that he will work to “get all the sensitivity out”. Her next statement “and he’d pretty much succeeded like having totally fucked Michael up in the process” allows her to capture the harm that such action on his father’s part had done to Michael. Finally she more explicitly details the impact of this process on Michael: “totally messed with Michael’s mind in a way that Michael didn’t know his own emotions anymore- he couldn’t even make heads or tails about how he felt about anything.” This latter statement allows Izzie to state that it is in the knowledge of and the articulation and expression of feelings that the damage is done to this young man.

In the following Matilda situates dominance and entitlement values in traditional ideas about the domination of women:

Matilda: They might- in the past women were dominated and they think that’s a good idea and they’ll keep doing that.

Lilly: Old religious tradition as well where they believe, my boyfriend now his mother was brought over from India to marry the father and it- she cleans up after everyone..... and they’d go ‘Mum get me this’ and I’d go ‘You’ve got two legs they’re working perfectly fine aren’t they’ And they’d look at me and the mother would just go ‘Leave it alone, why don’t you go get it for them.’ And I’d go ‘I’m not budging’, because I learnt the hard way from my previous boyfriend and my boyfriend doesn’t mind that- he might get a bit peeved off at times but he knows that,- even though he expects it and things he knows that he’s gotta be an equal with me.

Alison: So that history informs some of that behaviour do you think?

Matilda: Your boyfriend’s family is still being raised-

Lilly: -traditionally-

Matilda: -where the woman is being dominated, she is subversive to everyone-

Lilly: -despite them being in NZ. They are brought up in NZ.

Matilda: You are contesting that in their home, so they are quite shocked but that’s because you are seeing what really happens.

Lilly: And the reason why they don’t get angry at me is because I do so much for them anyway.

Lilly takes up the idea of historical notions of men's entitlement to dominate women with a reference to "old religious tradition". This open reference allows her to suggest that there is not a singular religious tradition which might hold such ideas but many. By following this statement with her own experience of Indian culture she infers that her boyfriend's mother is situated within such a traditional religious tradition. Her reference to his mother being "brought over from India to marry the father" further reinforces this idea through opening up the possibility that this was an arranged marriage.

Her statement "she cleans up after everyone" positions this woman as engaging in traditional activities around the home: as waiting on others. She employs the statement "they'd go 'Mum get me this'" to provide an indication of accepted behaviour within this family: that within this family, her boyfriend's mother is treated as someone who is expected to be dominated: to fetch and carry for her children.

Lilly's following statement indicates the way in which she would challenge such behaviour: "and I'd go 'You've got two legs they're working perfectly fine aren't they'". With this statement she indicates her support for her boyfriend's mother to be treated with respect rather than as a servant to her family. In the following statement Lilly illustrates the mother's resistance to this kind of explicit challenge and her encouragement that Lilly comply with such behaviour. Lilly use of the phrase "And I'd go 'I'm not budging'" allows her to position herself as firmly resisting the mother's compliance with such values. The phrase "not budging" captures the sense in which she is strongly holding on to her stand, to a position of equity for women. Her following statement allows her not only to illustrate her reasons for her stand "because I learnt the hard way from my previous boyfriend" but also to distinguish this behaviour from that which she experiences from her current one. She outlines her expectation for an equitable relationship within this environment of inequity which her boyfriend experiences: "even though he expects it and things he knows that he's gotta be an equal with me." The word "gotta" suggests an imperative: that this is a requirement Lilly has of the relationship.

Izzie employs the objectification of women in advertising to link the language of dominance and entitlement as embedded in institutional structures and practices.

Just the constant objectification of women in images and- using women for- to sell products. Talking about women in certain ways ‘n- You know there are all sorts of things that go like unnoticed under the radar about women that would never be accepted about any other minority group not that we are a minority group but any other underprivileged group or- I mean you’d never go around- just little things like “Oh don’t be such a girl” you know or “You sound like an old lady” or you know sort of lots of little put downs about women that exist everywhere you’d never say “Oh don’t be so black about that” you know “Don’t be such a fucken-“ You know you’d never say- anyth- you’d just- it’s socially unacceptable. So there’s a whole deep deep structure of women hating I think. I think it’s pretty deep. Yeah. Beyond solveability. (laughs). Or beyond solveability until way in the future when they get to figure out that women aren’t the ones who start wars and women aren’t the ones who hit people and (laughs) I dunno but it’s just so shocking how it’s so bad. How we think its okay.

In these statements Izzie suggests that the sexism towards women is almost part of the (unconscious) landscape. Her phrase “all sorts of things that go like unnoticed under the radar about women” makes vague reference to various “things”, suggesting the mechanisms she wants to talk about are not present solely in advertising and in talk, while her use of the word radar references the almost unconscious presence of these ways of being or talking. The phrase “under the radar” allows her to suggest that these mechanisms escape detection. The word radar is evocative, capturing the potential presence of something which causes danger or harm, while also capturing the need for surveillance to prevent such danger. Even with such surveillance, however, these mechanisms may be missed. Izzie positions these prejudices as entrenched in the everyday world: “So there’s a whole deep deep structure of women hating”. Her use of the word “whole” and the repeat of the word “deep” allow her to position this prejudice as embedded while her use of the word structure suggests that this prejudice is in the very foundations of society. She situates this misogyny as present in everyday language: “talking about women in certain ways” and her explicit reference to “women hating” makes it clear that she is talking here about misogyny.

By positioning these activities as accepted for women but unacceptable “about any other minority group” she raises the possibility of prejudice. She aligns women with “other underprivileged” groups: a position which is sometimes contested in Western countries by those who are concerned about representing women’s issues as different from those of

men's, by those who think women and men have achieved equity, or by those who might like to ignore or stop the aspirations for advancement of women. Izzie's use of some spoken language allows her to provide examples of such prejudicial statements: " 'Oh don't be such a girl' " and " 'You sound like an old lady.' ". Her statement that these are "little put downs about women that exist everywhere" again allows her to reference the ever presence of this prejudice and recalls the "little put downs" which women spoke of earlier when referring to the ways in which they had experienced ownership practices from their boyfriends. The use of an example from spoken language towards people of colour: "...you'd never say 'Oh don't be so black about that' " allows her to bring the prejudice towards women out from "under the radar", and into everyday conscience and conscious awareness. The comparison allows her to make the everyday talk of belittlement an issue of human rights for women – suggestive of the possibility that we have come further on progressing issues of colour than we have on women's rights. Her final statements indicate that for her this is not simply a minor issue: the two statements aligned together "it's just so shocking how it's so bad." and "How we think its okay" allows her to suggest that it is not only the prejudice which is shocking to her but the general acceptance of such prejudice by New Zealand society.

In the following the participants turn their attention to the way young women are raised to support dominating practices employed towards them by men. Hester uses the word "domesticated" to explain a distinction between the ways some young women are raised and the ways some young men are:

Hester: But I think in general young girls are raised to be more sort of domesticated and- the whole reason for that is family. And you need a man for a family.

Alison: So being domesticated is that part of being owned and possessed by the guy too?
[Hester: I think it..] Being compliant with male (?) [Hester: I think it sets up..] expectations? [Izzie: Totally]

Hester: ..the need for a man in later years and helps to reinforce being treated like shit.

Izzie: Yeah it makes it think its acceptable to girls that- y'know that you will cope with it because it's kind of the way things are and- I think it's very like if you have- y'know it's so true like you said domesticated and it is like girls are domesticated and they really are domesticated they are taught how to- they are sort of

institutionalised from a very young age in how to act in this group that's the family which is kind of like a smaller version of the society that they're living in and- It's a- it's a huge thing and there's so much of it that's still- there's so many ways that women are supposed to be. How they are still supposed to act like you know they're supposed to dress nicely and sexy but not *too* sexy (laughs) y'know don't wear anything that makes you look like you fucken asked for it because then you'd be in trouble. Y'know-

Through the use of the term domesticated Hester lays out an account of expectations that young women be the ones who engage in the 'domestic' duties, the mundane activities of servitude within the household. She then links this domestication to being within a family and the need for a man to have a family. In this way, and through earlier and subsequent statements, she unfolds a certain idea that young women are required to be domesticated in order to get a man and have a family. There is a sense in which the link to "the need for a man" provides an inference that to get a man requires a young woman to be domesticated. Hester's next statement: "helps to reinforce being treated like shit" perhaps is a reference to the notion of 'being a domestic' of being the servant in the household who will do as she is told. The statement allows the inference to be made that being dominated in the household provides the opening for abuse of women. This point is taken up by Izzie who in her statement "it makes it think it's acceptable to girls" points to this kind of training of young women as contributing to the acceptance of controlling behaviours.

Izzie's following statements "that you will cope with it because it's kind of the way things are" allows her to position this domesticating of girls as a constructed part of the landscape, as simply the accepted way of being. She then goes on to repeatedly support Hester's account of this training of young women to be "domesticated", and her statement "they are sort of institutionalised from a very young age in how to act in this group that's the family" positions this training of how to be in a family as firmly seated in the fabric of social structures – the word institutionalised capturing this interpretation.

By positioning the family as a smaller version of society Izzie is then able to move from an account of the expectations of young women in family life to the expectations of young women in society. She opens up the possibility of a description of other expectations of young women with her phrase "and there's so much of it that's still- there's so many

ways that women are supposed to be”. With this phrase she indicates that expectations are centred on the normative identity for young women. Her following statement provides an example of such expectations in their translation: “How they are still supposed to act”. The word “still” allows her to make a reference to history: to what expectations of women were in the past and are still. By using another binary example: “they’re supposed to dress nicely and sexy but not *too* sexy” she represents the extent of this institutionalised control of women: the critical gaze and the fine lines which they must walk to meet such expectations discussed previously. The statement also allows her to reference relatedness to men as a point of control – dressing nicely and sexy is about making oneself attractive to men. Her final statement references the punishments exercised against young women if they do not comply: “don’t wear anything that makes you look like you fucken asked for it because then you’d be in trouble”. She makes reference, in this statement, to the interpretation of young women’s dress as inviting rape if she does not comply with these institutionalised expectations and the possible outcomes for young women. There is in this statement a broader possibility: that if young women do not comply with society’s expectations they will be (viciously) punished and such punishment will be condoned.

Addendum

Unintended Consequences of Current Prevention Approaches

The New Zealand government recognised that there was a problem with child abuse and with domestic violence and in an attempt to address both produced policies directed at the prevention of “family violence”. An attempt to address all forms of intimate violence may have unintended consequences as we found in the interviews we conducted with the young women.

Silencing by Disappearing Boyfriend Violence

The young women spoke of the ways discourses around family violence work to silence young women:

Matilda: .. It's never really spoken about much and you can talk about it to your girlfriends but it's not really out there much it- like a little minority, you feel like a minority group you feel isolated and no one talks about it much.

Jay: And because you're young as well, I always thought domestic violence was like something that happened between a mother and a father and their kids and stuff and I really wanted to get help and I didn't feel like I had anywhere to go or anyone to talk to because I was just so couldn't talk to anyone about what was happening so in the end I think I got the police and got a restraining order or protection order and stuff like that but it would have been nice to be able to talk to someone about it.

Alison: Because you were quite young when this was happening wasn't it, weren't you and you were too weren't you quite young and information is hard- was the information just not around for you?

Kristy: No-one talked about it-

Matilda: Directed at mothers and stuff-

Kristy: You hear about family violence it was the mum and the dad and the kids, you wouldn't hear about young girls, violence, domestic violence was older couple violence.

Matilda: And because it could start when you're new in the relationship, or 3 months down the track and then he accidentally hits you off the bed or something. Um like and it inadvertently starts and you don't even realise that it's wrong or that there's help, like there's nothing directed towards young couples or young people in a relationship

Alison: So do you think this term that's being using at the moment for family violence is not helping, not helpful for

Unidentified participant: It's not directed at teenagers or young people, young women

Jay situates her sense of isolation in accounts which position domestic violence as violence which occurs within a family. Her following statement allows her to capture the vulnerability of young women in this situation: "I really wanted to get help and I didn't feel like I had anywhere to go or anyone to talk to because I was just so couldn't talk to anyone about what was happening". By drawing on her own experiences she is able to represent the sense of isolation and loneliness which is constructed by the exclusivity of framing such violence as domestic violence or as violence within a family. Matilda's reference to feeling

like a minority group captures a level of prejudice against young women who experience violence or controlling practices from their boyfriends.

There follows a discussion on the current discourses which contribute to this isolation and to the stigma and silencing effects for young women: “domestic violence was like something that happened between a mother and a father and their kids and stuff”. “Directed at mothers and stuff-” and on the current media campaign: “You hear about family violence it was the mum and the dad and the kids, you wouldn’t hear about young girls- violence, domestic violence was older couple violence.” “there’s nothing directed towards young couples or young people in a relationship”. In these accounts the terms domestic violence and family violence do not represent to these young women the experiences of young or childless women who may not initially realise that their boyfriend has begun to engage in ownership practices or violent behaviours which may at first appear inadvertent or accidental.

In these young women’s experiences campaigns which use the terms domestic violence or family violence for violence towards women by men (husbands or boyfriends) miss a significant and important target audience and isolate young women further. There is a sense in these discussions that by situating such violence towards women within families or within domestic situations these campaigns disappear boyfriend violence towards girlfriends or men’s violence towards a childless woman: making it as if it does not exist. If such violence does not exist then how can such women speak of it? Commonly a requirement by funding agencies of non-government agencies is to brand their services with preventing family violence names. Such names limit the options for young women who find entering such services stigmatising. The term “family violence”, in any event, excludes them.

Part 3: Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The ownership practices which young women experienced from their boyfriends appear to be a trajectory of a long western history of the treatment of young women. These ownership experiences involved certain acts of entitlement by their boyfriends which limited their actions, criticisms of the expressions of their identity through criticisms of their dress, control through surveillance of them and control through sexualising their dress and actions. These practices limited the young women's choices through constraining their contact with others, their social activities and their expressions of their identity. They may be understood as early and increasing expressions of violence towards women.

Ownership practices appeared to be supported by the language associated with a culture of cool that works to limit the choices for young women. The culture of cool promotes beautiful young women as a trophy item for men, a "hot girl" to show in the "hot car". Advertising and the media promote an ideal appearance for young women, which has become part of the New Zealand landscape, unquestioned and accepted. Some of the young women described this ideal as one that might be considered by young men to be the normative identity for women. Young women struggled to meet this unattainable ideal and experienced a sort of critical gaze on them to comply with the various binaries which this unattainable ideal set up: sexy but not too sexy, thin but not too thin. For some young women within this culture it is cool to be a girlfriend: being one provides a girl with social standing and allows her to be popular, and the media exploits this desire in teen magazines. Some young women found, however, that the language associated with the objectification of women through various media representations contributed to the treating of them as objects by their boyfriends: "disposable items" which could be used and discarded by men. In the language of this culture of cool it is not cool to experience ownership practices or violence from a boyfriend and the critical gaze experienced as part of this culture means that such boyfriend difficulties carry a stigma. Some young women were silenced from talking about these experiences by this stigma.

Within these young women's accounts, the language associated with the mates' culture might also be considered to contribute to a culture of cool for men. In this culture the form of masculinity promoted as the normative identity is one which privileges the macho man: a man who will "shoo away the spider" and be dominant and controlling of women: he has entitlement, through his ability to protect and provide, to treat women in controlling ways. The mates' culture works to contain men within this identity through the use of language that demeans him if he deviates from it. Should a man be considered to be dominated by his girlfriend he will be called "pussy whipped", "gay" "a girl" or "a sissy". In these young women's accounts peers, fathers and uncles used this language as a form of harassment to bully young men into these forms of masculinity employed to control and dominate women. In these ways language associated with the mates' culture works to limit the choices of identity for young men. The crew culture (Belich, 1996) of pioneering men who formed the crews providing necessary work in early New Zealand may have informed these mates' cultural values. Further research is required on this possibility.

The language associated with the bitches and hos culture is a disturbing potential addition to this culture of cool. Within the representations described here young women did not experience the media constructs of bitches and hos as providing an ideal for young women however they do provide a form of idealised masculinity that will appeal to some men. Clearly some young women and men watch these videos. The risk is that the art of the videos and the music will provide a draw card which might allow the explicit expressions of misogyny present in this medium to become part of the landscape - just accepted as the way things are - in much the same way as the sexualised objectification of women has become in advertising.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Research

This research demonstrates that qualitative research of this nature can provide important knowledge about the relationship between culture and violence and can usefully inform prevention practices

We recommend the following:

- That further (discourse) qualitative research be used
 - To explore the young men’s ideas about the sociocultural influences on ownership practices in boyfriend/girlfriend relationships;
 - To explore the relationship between Maori culture and ownership practices in boyfriend/girlfriend relationships;
 - To explore the relationship between Pacific culture and ownership practices in boyfriend/girlfriend relationships;
 - To explore the relationship between other New Zealand cultures and ownership practices in boyfriend/girlfriend relationships.

- That further (discourse) qualitative research is used to provide new understandings to assist in the development of a prevention focus towards domestic violence and in the development of knowledge that would contribute to prevention programmes.

- *That research is funded to ensure the identification of unintended consequences* through policy decisions.

- *That a larger study of young women from different cultural backgrounds* which explores more broadly their relationship experiences and the social and cultural influences which promote respectful and ethical relationships and those which do not.

Recommendations for Funders and Policy Makers

Prevention of men’s domestic violence towards women requires population based interventions and these interventions require government and therefore policy decisions.

We recommend the following:

- *Open up the “It’s not okay” campaign to young and childless couples* and to those in dating relationships.

- De-stigmatize the impact of boyfriend or husband violence on young women through further mass media campaign work

- Promote ethical and just decision-making in relationships
- Resist, through action based interventions, the advertising culture which objectifies and sexualises women – teach young people how to use the advertising standards authority to complain.
- Resist, through action based interventions, the “Bitches and Hos” culture which subjectifies and sexualises women – teach young people how to use the broadcasting standards authority to complain.
- Address this language through culture of “cool” – use cool people as front people.

- *Make a school subject of Critical Cultural Studies*
 - Teach about the cultural influences on gender identities
 - Teach the critical analysis of contemporary culture including
 - The culture of cool
 - Advertising - and the ways the language of the media invite young people into believing certain ways of being are cool
 - Bitches and Hos culture – and collusion with it
 - Masculinities including traditional hegemonic masculinities which privilege and promote male entitlement
 - Promote alternatives masculinities through critical reflection of harmful male discourses and education about the pioneering Crew Culture in NZ and Australia
 - Make the links
 - between objectification/subjectification of women and expectations that girlfriends meet an unattainable perfection
 - between the “domestication of young women”, the domestic privileging of young men and the acceptance of abusive practices towards women
 - between the mates’ culture and the constraints on men to be controlling and dominating.

- *Educate young women within existing structures* (school curricula e.g. media studies, sport, scouts etc) about ownership practices and the culture of cool which informs them.
- *Provide funding for young women's education programmes* within existing women's organisations.

Recommendations for Early Interventions

For Policy makers

- Resist the branding of organisations with names that prevent access to young women experiencing controlling or violent boyfriends or husbands.
- Fund organisations to provide early intervention to young women
- Fund organisations to publicise the presence of services to young women who may not access information in the way that older women do.
- Provide information to parents about early warning signs.

For Young Women and Parents

- *Identify the early warning signs*

Teach young women and their parents to be aware of the early warning signs of ownership practices and to be able to identify ethical and justice decision-making in relationships.

Izzie: It is subtle and slow like you said. Subtle and slow like it's almost really conscious even though you're like "Is he conscious of what he does?" Like how conscious is- which is the hard thing to really pin down but it does feel really sneaky. It feels really like "Did he really just do that?" Like "Did he really just say that" because it feels really like-

Hester: It will just really be the odd comment here and there. Like "I don't like that skirt on you" or "You shouldn't talk to such and such [Izzie: Mm] because of- they think this way" or-. And like I said when we first got together and he was ringing me all the time I did think it was cute. If I'd realised then what I understand now about how the control starts then maybe some alarm bells would have rung ...

Early warning signs of ownership practices by boyfriends

- Sense of Entitlement –
 - assumes the right to be in your presence
 - Assumes you are “his” and advertises this to others in his behaviour towards you.
- Little denigrations of things you love slowly increasing
 - Criticising dress sense
 - Wanting you to dress differently
- More extreme put downs
 - Increasing level of put downs to denigration and name calling commonly referring to your sexuality: “You look like a slut” “You’re a bitch”
- Surveillance –may begin with loving phone calls then wanting to know where you are and who you are with to persistence and interrogation to constant surveillance
 - Jealousy
 - Accusations of sexual desires or indiscretions to stop contact with others
 - Control over your contact with others
- Only shows loveable side some times and increasingly spasmodically
- Increasing loss of a pleasure and sense of own identity
 - Dress sense and choices are increasingly criticised– removing options for dressing how you want
 - “I could just feel him slowly slowly slowly taking something away from me”
 - Becoming someone you don’t want to be.
 - Things you loved doing and wearing are no longer possible
 - Find yourself feeling that there is nothing left of yourself.
- Wants to bring you down –
 - Does not like you to be happy or liked or socially accepted

- Challenged or threatened if you are outgoing or more clever
- Isolation from friends and family
 - Criticises your friends, family members or acquaintances
- He makes the rules and there are different rules for you and him – he is privileged.
- Find yourself on your own unable to go anywhere and waiting for him
- Taking drugs or drinking in ways that you would not have done prior to meeting him.
- Feel afraid of him and what he could do
- Have to protect yourself physically.

Ethical Boyfriends

- What you say is respected
- Opinions are believed and valued
- Does not put you down or engage in name calling
- Able to be your own person
 - Wear what you want
 - See your friends and family
 - Enjoy the things you enjoy, do the things you enjoy
- Expresses his opinion but without putting down yours
- He is loveable all the time not just sometimes
- Feel loved all the time not just sometimes
- Wants you to be happy
- Prepared to resist pressure to dominate and control you
- Trusts you.
 - Does not engage in surveillance
 - Does not want you to always tell him where you are or who you are with.
- Does not engage in jealous behaviours which impact on you.
- Never afraid to say or do what you want

- These experiences do not change in the relationship

For Schools, Health and Social Service Providers

- Ensure that school guidance counsellors, health providers such as mental health services and family planning staff and social service providers are trained in the sort of experiences young women have of ownership practices in relationships.
- Seek funding for services for young women.
- Ensure that the opportunities exist for young people to get education about the early warning signs and about ethical and respectful relationships and decision-making.
- Use the language of cool to promote ethical and just relationships.
- Ensure health and social service providers routinely enquire about the young person's relationships and about how decisions are made within this relationship: about the quality of the relationship
- Ensure health and social service providers enquire about the relationship between drug and alcohol use and relationship problems.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Ownership: The Prevention Of Men's Domestic Violence Against Women

Participant Information Sheet¹³ Young Women

Principal Investigator: Dr Alison Towns, PhD Dip Clin Psych, Tel: 021 846 939,
Freephone 0800 021 934, e-mail: atowns@pl.net

Research Assistant: Hazel Scott, Agency Manager, Inner City Women's Group, (accredited family violence agency) 09 360 4933, e-mail: icwg@xtra.co.nz

Request for Participation

You are invited to take part in a research study that explores young women's experiences of ownership in relationships. This study is designed to inform the development of programmes to prevent domestic violence. Participation in the study is voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study and you can decline without giving a reason. You have two weeks to consider your participation. If you would like to participate, please contact either Dr Alison Towns or Hazel Scott to arrange a time to meet.

Description of the Study

The main aim of the study is to explore with 30 young women their understandings of ownership in relationships, their experiences of ownership and their ideas about the social and cultural influences that support ownership in relationships. We are also interested in the ways young women address ownership and what they consider would be useful for preventing problems associated with ownership in relationships.

Potential participants in the study will be young women who have had recent experiences of relationships with a male partner and who are between the ages of 18 and 25 years and are fluent in English. Participants need to be safe from any domestic violence. You have been invited to participate in the study because you meet the requirements for this study.

If you agree to take part in this study, your participation will involve one two hour focus group discussion with four other young women. The discussion will involve questions about ownership in young women's relationships with men. The focus group discussion will be arranged at a time convenient to you and at a place that is suitable for the purpose. The interview will be audio-recorded, and the recording will be transcribed into a typed text. The data collected will be stored securely in a in the office of Mt Albert Psychological Services Ltd.

¹³ Participant Information Sheet, Version 4, 28-8-07

Benefits, risks and safety

You may find the opportunity to talk about the issues to do with ownership in relationships stimulating and interesting. You may be pleased to contribute to domestic violence prevention. You will receive a \$20.00 petrol voucher for your costs. The discussion may, however, touch on issues for you that you find distressing. You will be offered information about local support services at the end of the focus group discussion and the researcher will be able to talk to you about these. For free help you can phone SAFTINET 0508 384 357 or 09 303 3939

Protection

If matters arise that concern your immediate or imminent safety, or that of a child, the researchers will immediately take action to ensure the safety of all concerned. If you are at immediate risk of serious injury or harm we will, in consultation with you, call the police and seek emergency refuge. If a child is at immediate risk of serious injury or harm we will, in consultation with the non-offending caregiver, call the police and seek emergency refuge. If you are at immediate risk of suicide or self harm we will, in consultation with you, refer you to the mental health crisis team.

Participation

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study, and if you choose not to take part, this will not affect any future relationships or care or treatment with the Mt Albert Psychological Services Ltd or its associates. If you do agree to take part you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason and this will in no way affect your future care or any future relationships with Mt Albert Psychological Services or associated agencies.

More information is available from the Dr Alison Towns or Hazel Scott (see above).

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study you can contact an independent health and disability advocate. This is a free service provided under the health and Disability Commissioner Act.

Telephone: (NZ wide) 0800 555 050

Free Fax (NZ wide) 0800 2787 7678 (0800 2 SUPPORT)

Email (NZ wide): advocacy@hdc.org.nz

Anonymity and confidentiality

No material which could personally identify you will be used in any reports on this study. All attempts will be made to protect your identification in this study. To protect your identity, an alternative name will be used on the transcripts and when referring to information from your interview. The interviews will be transcribed by a clerical assistant who is bound by this signed confidentiality agreement. The funder, Accident Compensation Commission, has the right to audit records associated with this research. All records and transcriptions will be stored securely so that all details and information given during the study will be kept confidential. Audio-recordings will be destroyed on completion of the transcriptions. In the unlikely event of an imminent and immediate safety issue arising confidentiality cannot be guaranteed.

Results

Each participant will be given a summary of the results and a copy of the report. The results of the research will be written into a report and published on the Family Violence Clearinghouse website. This report will then be further written into an article for publication in an appropriate academic journal. Information from this study may also be used in seminar and conference presentations. Please note that there will be a delay between data collection and publication of results.

The study has received ethical approval form the Northern X Regional Ethics Committee.

Please feel free to contact the researcher if you have any questions about this study

¹ Participant Information Sheet, Version 4, 28/8/07

CONSENT FORM¹⁴

Ownership: The Prevention Of Men's Domestic Violence Against Women

- I have read and I understand the Information Sheet dated 28 August 2007 for volunteers taking part in the study: Ownership: The Prevention Of Men's Domestic Violence Against Women.
- I have had the opportunity to discuss the project with the researcher and I am satisfied with the answers I have been given.
- I have had the opportunity to use whanau support or a friend to help me ask questions and understand the study.
- I understand that taking part in this project is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that this will in no way affect my future health care or my relationship with the Mt Albert Psychological Services or its associates.
- I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material which could identify me will be used in any reports on this study.
- I understand that no identifiable information about me will be accessible to persons other than the researcher and the transcriber.
- I understand that my participation will be stopped if it appears harmful to me.
- I also understand that confidentiality will not be guaranteed in the unlikely event of any imminent and immediate safety concerns.
- I am aware that the exception to confidentiality will be if the interviewer has significant concerns about the safety of myself or others.
- I also understand that the research data will be stored securely at the premises of the Mt Albert Psychological Services Ltd.

¹⁴ Consent Form, Version 4, 28/8/07

- I know who to contact if I am distressed by the study.
- I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study.
- I understand that I can have access to the finished research report.
- I have had enough time to consider whether I want to take part in the research.

I agree to an approved auditor appointed by either the funder, the ethics committee, or the regulatory authority or their approved representative, and approved by the Northern X Regional Ethics Committee reviewing my relevant records for the sole purposes of checking the accuracy of the information recorded for the study.

I give consent to my interview being audio taped YES/NO

I wish to receive a copy of the results YES/NO

I _____ [full name] hereby consent to take part in this study.

Date _____ Participant Signature _____

Signature of Witness _____

Name of Witness: _____

Project explained by _____ Project Role _____

Signature _____ date _____

Researchers: Dr Alison Towns, Tel: 021 846 939; 0800 021 934
Hazel Scott, Tel: 360 4933, 021 189 4691

The participant should retain a copy of this consent form.

Consent Form, Version 4, 28/8/07

Appendix 2

Song Lyrics

Artist: KoRn

Song title: A.D.I.D.A.S

Album: Life Is Peachy

Genre: Hard rock

Record Company: Immortal/Epic; 1993

Lyrics:

Only see, somehow it always
seems that I'm learnin' or
something I can never be
It doesn't matter to me, 'cause I will
always be that pimp I see
in all my fantasies

I don't know your fucking name.
So what? Let's. . .

Screaming to be the only way
that I can truly be free
from my fucked up real life
so I dream and stroke it harder,
'cause its so fun to see my
face staring back at me

I don't know your fucking name.
So what? Let's fuck.

All Day I Dream About Sex
All Day I Dream About fuckin'
All Day I Dream About Sex
All Day I Dream About fuckin'

Artist: Mindless Self Indulgence

Song title: Bitches

Album: Frankenstein Girls Will Seem Strangely Sexy

Genre: Alternative rock

Record company/release date: Elektra records; 2000

Lyrics:

bitches love me cause they know that I can rock
bitches love me cause they know that I can rhyme
bitches love me cause they know that I can fuck
bitches love me cause they know that I'm on time
throughout the projects
throughout the projects
throughout the projects

bitches love me cause they know that I can rock
bitches love me cause they know that I can rhyme
bitches love me cause they know that I can fuck
bitches love me cause they know that I'm on time
throughout the projects
throughout the projects
throughout the projects

done - done - this is how it should be done
this is how it should be done
this style style style done
pow - muthafucka - pow

bitches love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
love me love me love me love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
bitches love me
cause they know that I can rock
done - done - this is how it should be done
this is how it should be done
this style style style done

Artist: Flo Rida
Song title: Low
Genre: Hip-Hop
Source: <http://www.completealbumlyrics.com>

Lyrics:

[Chorus:]
Shawty had them Apple Bottom Jeans [Jeans]
Boots with the fur [With the fur]
The whole club was lookin at her
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

Them baggy sweat pants
And the Reeboks with the straps [With the straps]
She turned around and gave that big booty a smack [Ayy]
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

[Verse 1:]
I ain't never seen nuthin that'll make me go,
This crazy all night spendin my dough
Had a million dollar vibe and a bottle to go
Dem birthday cakes, they stole the show
So sexual, she was flexible
Professional, drinkin X and ooo
Hold up wait a minute, do I see what I think I
Whoa
Did I think I seen shorty get low
Ain't the same when it's up that close
Make it rain, I'm makin it snow
Work the pole, I got the bank roll
Imma say that I prefer them no clothes
I'm into that, I love women exposed
She threw it back at me, I gave her more
Cash ain't a problem, I know where it goes

She had them

[Chorus:]
Apple Bottom Jeans [Jeans]
Boots with the fur [With the fur]
The whole club was lookin at her
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

Them baggy sweat pants

And the Reeboks with the straps [With the straps]
She turned around and gave that big booty a smack
[Ayy]
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

[Verse 2:]

Hey
Shawty what I gotta do to get you home
My jeans full of gwap
And they ready for Shones
Cadillacs Maybachs for the sexy grown
Patrone on the rocks that'll make you moan

One stack (come on)
Two stacks (come on)
Three stacks (come on, now that's three grand)
What you think I'm playin baby girl
I'm the man, I'll bend the rubber bands

That's what I told her, her legs on my shoulder
I knew it was ova, that Henny and Cola
Got me like a Soldier
She ready for Rover, I couldn't control her
So lucky oo me, I was just like a clover
Shorty was hot like a toaster
Sorry but I had to fold her,
Like a pornography poster
She showed her

[Chorus:]

Apple Bottom Jeans [Jeans]
Boots with the fur [With the fur]
The whole club was lookin at her
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

Them baggy sweat pants
And the Reeboks with the straps [With the straps]
She turned around and gave that big booty a smack [Ayy]
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

[Verse 3:]

Whoa
Shawty
Yea she was worth the money
Lil mama took my cash,

And I ain't want it back,
The way she bit that rag,
Got her them paper stacks,
Tattoo Above her crack,
I had to handle that,

I was on it, sexy woman, let me showin
They be want it two in the mornin
I'm zonin in them rosay bottles foamin
She wouldn't stop, made it drop
Shorty did that pop and lock,
Had to break her off that gwap
Gah it was fly just like my glock

[Chorus:]
Apple Bottom Jeans [Jeans]
Boots with the fur [With the fur]
The whole club was lookin at her
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

Them baggy sweat pants
And the Reeboks with the straps [With the straps]
She turned around and gave that big booty a smack [Ayy]
She hit the flo [She hit the flo]
Next thing you know
Shawty got low low low low low low low low

C'mon

Artist: 8 Foot Sativa
Song title: Cocktease
Album: Hate Made Me
Genre: Heavy/New Metal
Record company/release date: - 2002

Lyrics:

There you are walking down the sidewalk
I stop and try to talk
You seem to pressure me into these feelings that you bring
I don't understand why I bothered with you
You'd break my heart and say that we're through
And now there's nothing i can do after all the things
I've done for you
I can't believe what I can see
What you're showing to me is all reality
After all the shit I've been through
There's things I'm yet to prove

The only thing I want from you
Is your trust and love that's true
Can't you understand that's why I live
To care and respect what you give
What a cock tease
Such a cock tease
Leave it all 'cause you wanna please
Before you crush me
Why don't you trust me
Can't you see that's all you can be
What a cock tease
Such a cock tease
Respect me before you leave
Before you show me
Why don't you blow me
Can't you see that we're meant to be

Artist: Various Artists

Song title: Shake that ass bitch

Album:Booty Bass

Genre: Hip-Hop

Record company/date released:DM Records; 1998

Lyrics:

Chorus:

Shake that ass bitch and let me see whatcha got
Just shake that ass bitch and let me see whatcha got
Just shake that ass bitch and let me see whatcha got
Just shake that ass bitch and let me see whatcha got
Just shake that ass bitch and let me see whatcha got

No head

What up yo, ho? I wanna see ya ass on the dance flo'
Aint no time to be thinkin trick, only fo' real I wanna see that ass bitch
Drop it down a little low like that, hit it in the front with the splack pack

Uh, uh

Shake that ass and do somethin, ho
Splack plack in the house start frontin, yo
G-strings from the back, just shake that ass for the splack pack

Chorus

No body

Come in girl step to the front
Now make that ass ho jump
Kill money like to get butt

So come in girl cuz your body get funk
Splack pack be rockin it
All the hoes ji-joggin it
Kill money be rockin it
Fo real don't so lets go, uh
I wanna see you sweat trap
So get in my face and make that ass clap
G-strings from the back, just shake that ass for the splack pack

Chorus

Hey baby hey baby, drop that thang down, uh

All the hoes be shake shake shakin it
All the hoes just shake shake shakin it
All the hoes be shake shake shakin it
All the hoes just shakin it
They scrub da ground (SCRUB DA GROUND)
Let me hear you say scrub da ground (SCRUB DA GROUND)

So now you know what time it is
I knew its when one time fo' that
Say, day in the house
Splack pack came and turn it out
This one's for the booty shake
I wanna see it all no fake
Cuz kill money's on the beans freak
So open up and let me take a peek
Bend all over now touch yo toe
Grab da pole let me see that push, yo
Yeah, like that
Just shake that ass for the splack pack

Chorus

Uh, I kinda like what I see
But you gotta shake for this money
One time for my dogs in the pipe
My niggas from the bottom down with the splack
So drop it down if you wit it
Don't stop just get it get it
Let pump the back up
Shake them titties, now make that pussy jump
Now bend ya ass all over
Spread it wide let a nigga get on ya
I'm comin straight up the back
Kill money down with the splack pack

Chorus

Drop it down a little low like that

Drop drop it down a little low like that
Drop it down a little low like that

Artist: Prodigy
Song Title: Smack My Bitch Up
Album: The Fat of the Land
Genre: Techno/Alternative
Record company/release date: 1997

Lyrics:

Change my pitch up, smack my bitch up.
Change my pitch up, smack my bitch up.

Extra info: "Smack My Bitch Up" was the thirteenth single released by the [British Big Beat](#) band [The Prodigy](#) on [November 7, 1997](#). It was the third and final single from the album [The Fat of the Land](#). The song was highly [controversial](#) because the [lyrics](#) and title of the song were believed to promote violence against women. The song led to a publicised disagreement at the 1998 Reading festival after [The Beastie Boys](#) asked the group not to play the track.

The promotional [music video](#) for "Smack My Bitch Up", directed by Swede [Jonas Åkerlund](#), is one of the most controversial of all time and as popular as the song itself. The film depicts a night out in the city filmed from an innovative and much imitated first-person perspective, portraying [drinking and driving](#), snorting [cocaine](#), violence, vandalism and sex. The presumption that the protagonist is a man is reinforced throughout the video through stereotypically male drunken behaviour such as violence, [groping](#) women and attending a [strip club](#); shaving foam is shown being dispensed at a sink (the viewer assumes to shave a beard) and a gents toilet is used while in a club. In the closing scene following sex with a stripper (played by [glamour model Teresa May](#)), however, the central character stares into the mirror and it is revealed she is a woman.

Source: Wikipedia (www.wikipedia.net)

Lyriczz taken from **LyricZZ . Com**

<http://www.lyriczz.com/print.php?songid=6524>

Coolio
Ugly Bitches

A bitch is a bitch and we all know
that a ho is a ho wit a toe up slut so
if you're gotta have em might as well be a fine one
but it seems that some niggas can't seem to find one
So they go and get a bitch that's lookin like Trixie
and Hekkyl & Jekkyl wit some saggy ass titties
A big fat flagrant hoodrat hooker
and the nigga got the nerve to pretend she's a hooker
Sportin that down from your arm like a Simpson
Talk about bitches that you wish you was pimpin
Come around the homies and you swear that she's playin
But everytime I see her, you're beggin
Go get you a girl that got somethin goin
Get rid of that bitch that's lookin like a dragon
Now you wanna fight cos you're baggin on your Mrs
But that's what'cha get when you fuck with ugly bitches
Chorus:

When I was young I used to have fun
fuckin with ugly bitches
But now that I'm grown I leave em alone
cos I went from rags to riches
They say 'beauty is skin deep' but goddamn weeded bitch
look like buckwheat mixed with opi
Toe up, tore up, straight from the floor
and her bad ass breath is about to make me throw up
Niggas started dissin and you blamed it on the gin
but the very next day you was with the bitch again
Now your ass is gettin clowned like Bozo
but that's what you get for fuckin with that ugly ho
I don't know what possessed you, nigga
Stand that hooker in front of a trigger
Spendin your time with a big goony-goo-goo
To niggas like you I gotta say "Choo choo"
Dig a ditch down in desperation
Send that monster on a permanent vacation
The girl is chop-top, but you don't listen
Cos some niggas like fuckin with ugly bitches
Chorus:

When I was young I used to have fun
fuckin with ugly bitches
But now that I'm grown I leave em alone
cos I went from rags to riches

Interlude

Aw shit, there go my nigga pretendin he don't see me
walkin with a bitch that look like a flea G
Holdin her hand as he walks thru the plaza
I try to play it off but I couldn't hold my laughter
The girl is done so take her ass off the oven
Put her on a BOOM and send her back to the covent

Cookin up a plan in a big, black cauldron
And the dumb ass nigga don't know that he's fallin
into a trap cos now the whore is pregnant
9 months later and she's squirted on an insect
He don't wanna claim it, she went and got a test
Now he's sendin child support in a big fat check
My nigga got depressed and he started drinkin liquor
One night he got drunk, went to her house and killed her
Riches to rags and rags to riches
but that's what'cha get when you fuck with ugly bitches

Chorus:

When I was young I used to have fun
fuckin with ugly bitches
It seems that it's sad for this pussy I had
came from some ugly bitches
When I was young I used to have fun
fuckin with ugly bitches
It seems kinda sad cos this pussy I had
came from some ugly bitches

Outro:

So you mean to tell me you fuckin with a bald-headed, ol' fat, lumpy,
droopy, crack baby look-a-like, cisco drinkin, loud, ignorant,
fucked-up
teeth, stank hoodrat, won't down, once-a-month bleedin, butthead
swap-meet,
AFDC, leaned-over tennis shoe, cigarette butt baggin bitch? Nigga
what's
wrong wit you?
(That's alright. She take care of a nigga though, that's all I know
nigga.
That's OK yeah, that's OK nigga)

Lil Wayne - Rewind (Ft. Juelz Santana) Lyrics

<http://www.seeklyrics.com/lyrics/Lil-Wayne/Rewind-Ft-Juelz-Santana.html>

(Juelz)

As I sit back, relax shorty head in my lap
in the back of the bentley, gettin head in the back (you know)
and she ain't gotta head full'a naps so im pushin on the head from the back (gimme that, gimme
that)
Up and down, down and up
gimme that, laffy taffy came on she gave me head to the snaps like (doon doon *click da doon doon

*click)
she made me like the song and she wrong
yeah she bout action bout work
she suck dick like a vacuum, suck dirt
i call her the quicker picker upper cuz she quick to pick a nut up quicker than a nigga tell her pick
the nut up (ya dig, bitch)
now lemme tell you bout this 6 shot ruger that i keep for you busters if you twitch ill shoot ya
ill buck ya, ill bang ya
ill move ya like a dead car battery, trust me ill boost ya (no car cables)
ill hang ya like a hanger in the closet
no coat on the hanger, just hang ya in the closet
boy i could just leave you where you stand or i could shoot you in the air and then meet you where
you land
(lil wayne)
Yea, ice cream hoodie,
Bathin eight tennis shoes,
No time for pictures,
No time for interviews,
Im go and get the money,
Snowstorm or sunny,
Try me and im comin out wit my coat arm wit sumthin,
Noter on da table,
Pay me a daygo,
You cant get the cash then pay me in yayo,
Save me the drama,
Dont go run and snitch
If thats ya mama then ill merk you right in front of that bitch
Im a young money, cash money, univaler soldier
Watch out ms. silvia,
Im kinda afillia (huh),
Im a headach, but they love the pain,
I ask a bitch her name and tell her
Go board the plane,
Im so sure
I know more
Im so more
The wayne.
I know whores
That know whores
Thats always wit some more whores
You old whores
I show whores
I grow whores
I kno whos at da store cuz i go more
I go for it and so for it
Mami say she so board,
Well o boy oh ooo
I leave that pussy so sore
Dats rite no doors,
Bitch get lost n da current how da dow flows
Niggas call maybacks lo los

Nigga got da glock n da chock hold
I wont fold, 2 da cops 2 da po pos, yall hoes
Shout to my stompin ground
Hollygrove
Fuck wit them new orlans niggas
Funeral
Up town up town
Where i rose (yea)
Welcome to the real outdoors
And of course
That chopper dat i told dem split them like a divorce
Then dat spiriutal force
Take em way up north
They say the end is comin
Imma stay up for it
Imma chase that money
You can wait up for it
Imma kick to the snare
Imma boom to the bass
What more can i say
I cant feel my face.
(juelz santana)
Peel up ,
Wheel up,
Brang it bac cum rewind,
Imma dealer dealer,
I brang it bac all da time,
Dat coke dat hard dat crack o god,
U get caught u cant get bac no charge,
Nigga mouth slow linkin air 'em no charge,
Dats free no prob dats g code yall,
So no more slow linkin now he jus got flat,
Flat line laid on his bac flat half time,
In da crib playin ea sprots,
Stay in da streets till da da see they corps, (plus)
Da chickies kno i stay fresh 2 my tippy toes,
Hit da sneakers stores say 2 words give me those
(gimmie)
Gimmie those
(those)
Gimmie those
(those)
Matta fact gimmie those whole three rows,
I hit da sacks like gimmie dat
(dat)
Gimmie dat
(dat)
Gimmie dat
Matta fact gimmiat rack,
Cash laid, tab paid im out,
Im off 2 da vallet,

Were's my car, thank you,
I do better,
Who betta,
You neva,
Abuse chedda,
Playboy, hugh helphner,
Da tune nexter, my dick yes sir,
I buy a car jus because i like da smell of new leather,
Im young, im fly, im black, im rich,
I let my nuts sag, i drag my dick, (ya digg)
Da whores kno i let my balls sag also,
Off they draws go, im all in they torso, (uh)
She can't take da dick,
I tell her put a sock in it bitch take da dick,
Stroke stroke see if she can take da dick,
Now see if she can take da brick,
U on da team now, mean while im in da kitchen,
Doin my daily routines, scale a few thangs,
Cook a few o's, let my bitch bag 'em,
Give 'em 2 my workers, let da strip have dem,
Feins go bezurk from da work im chefin,
Feins go 2 work after da work u sale dem,
They know they gotta buy more,
They head hurt,
They're eyes sore,
You salin dat cheap rock,
Sheet rock, dry wall,
They dont want dat they come bac for more,
But they come bac 2 me,
They dont come bac 2 ya'll,
I be chef,
De chef,
You neva have 2 re-chef,
What i chef, compreda
Rewind,
Reset,
Replay,
Action,
I be chef,
De chef,
You neva have 2 re-chef,
What i chef, compreda

Lyrics for 'Bloody Bitch' by INSANE CLOWN POSSE

http://www.ultimatefreelyrics.com/Artist_I/insane_clown_posse_Lyrics/bloody_bitch_Song_Lyrics.html

I live life like I?m playing a game of X-box

I don't give a fuck if I die or get caught
There I am, god-damn, everything was smooth
I woke up with a bloody bitch dead in the bathroom
My wicked shit praise that I heard through the days
Somehow now relays my new murderous ways
Violent J's not around but Moon Glorious is there
Scared of fucking death, and what's happening here
Blood in the tub as I scrub a dub, on my knees geez
I hope she ain't have a disease
I need the keys to the shed, I'ma cut the head off
My daddy got a knife in there to cut lead off
How should I do this, what sounds fun?
I just sat on her headpiece and twiddled my thumbs
Finally said fuck it, stomped her face
Sunk in like a pumpkin, I left no trace

Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (on my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, deep in the night I be thugging
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, end of the night I be scrubbing

You must think I'm some kind of fucking idiot, don't ya?
What you think I'ma do, warn you when I'm on ya?
That's what TV do, with forensic files
Teaching all your secrets and styles
Got that (?alumina phorisonone or phollisonone?) for your crime lab
You'll find nothing but a carcass slab
I got fourty dead bodies all buried out back
And if a limb's sticking out when I'm mowing I handle that
This bitch don't, she deserve this
She had a neder that wouldn't provide service
She even stuck a stiletto in my eye
Three inches deep and I still couldn't see why
I had to stab her with a toothbrush in the throat
And then stuff the bitch mouth with a bar of soap
Drown the bitch in a toilet at that
Look at them tiles, she dead on crack

Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (on my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, deep in the night I be thugging
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, end of the night I be scrubbing

Four o' clock in the morning out here and one slip up
Had to freeze her so the bitch ain't a dripper
Unzip the zipper, feel like Jack the Ripper
Had to monkey flip her in a wood chipper
Blood on my walls, mirrors and floors
Some even on the carpet from under the doors
I never saw so much fucking blood before
A slutty whore with more blood than a dinosaur
Ajax (here's a quarter), call Mr. Clean
Tell him and Comet they're needed at the scene
Scrubbed all night to some old color me bad
Wrapped up the bloody towels in a garbage bag
Send it to the curb, it ain't absurd
This week's been good, that bitch was the third
Hell's Pit's got a cactus waiting on my ass
So expect me to cry when its time to pass

Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (on my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, deep in the night I be thugging
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (On my bathroom floor)
Another bitch dead (In my bathroom)
Find me, end of the night I be scrubbing