

Teenage Mothers and Education

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
the University of East London
for the Degree of Doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology**

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Dedication

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to the memory of my father, Claudius McLeod, who inspired my life and instilled in me the courage and determination to complete this study.

Abstract

The purpose of this study was twofold. Firstly, it was undertaken to establish whether teenage mothers were motivated to re-engage with education post-pregnancy. Secondly, to consider whether Educational Psychologists could support the long-term educational outcomes of teenage mothers. Five teenage mothers between the ages of 16-19 were interviewed using semi-structured interviews, to explore this further:

- a) What are the views of teenage mothers living within an outer London Borough about their individual educational experiences?
- b) What similarities and differences are there between their avowed identity and ascribed identity?
- c) What are their future aspirations?
- d) Where is the teenage mother situated in structural society? The researcher employed Foucauldian Discourse Analysis to analyse discourse from the participants and discourses within the wider discursive field.

This study explored how Educational Psychologists could practice psychology to support teenage mothers in re-engaging with education post pregnancy, which may improve the economic and social prospects of the teenage mother, her long term outcomes and those of her child. Findings indicated that the teenage mothers found motherhood fulfilling indeed and motherhood was in fact an important motivational factor in their future aspirations. Findings also strongly indicated that there is a need for discursive formations which encompass diversity and difference amongst teenage mothers and wholesomely defines their strengths and potential in order to reproduce the “truth”. Research should develop educational programs and in particular literacy programs based on the theory of cultural production in order to equip teenage mothers with language and critical thinking skills in which to negotiate their need for equal access to power and resources; and reposition themselves in order to negate widely held societal presumptions about young mothers. Herein lies the challenge for a new social reality.

Key words: teenage pregnancy, outcomes, education, socio-economic status, structural, Educational Psychologists

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I would like to thank my family who have supported me throughout the entire process, by keeping me harmonious and for their words of encouragement and support.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and that it has not been submitted anywhere else for any award. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Janet McLeod

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Table of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Full terminology
EET	Education, Employment or Training
EP	Educational Psychologist
EPS	Educational Psychology Service
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
NEET	Not in Education, Employment or Training
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
TEP	Trainee Educational Psychologist
TPS	Teenage Pregnancy Strategy

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1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

This chapter introduces the reader to the aims and rationale of this thesis, the psychological framework and the theoretical perspectives that underpin it. It also presents themes and perspectives in the field of teenage motherhood. This chapter will also present the researcher's position, and will also outline the implications of the research for the field of educational psychology and its use in further informing future strategic localised planning of educational provision for teenage mothers.

1.2 Aims of the research

This study focused on the educational outcomes of teenage mothers and explored the role of the Educational Psychologist (EP) in supporting better educational outcomes for this group. This study is particularly crucial in respect of the increase in the participation age as stated on the Department for Education's website below:

From summer 2013, young people will be required to continue in education or training to the end of the academic year in which they turn 17, and from summer 2015 they will be required to stay until their 18th birthday (DfE website 2012).

Increasing the age of participation may be one option for increasing the numbers of teenage mothers in Employment, Education or Training (EET), however further exploration is needed to identify other factors that may impact on the low educational outcomes of the teenage mother.

This study examined the educational experiences of 5 teenage mothers in order to

identify factors affecting their educational experiences and explore the role of the Educational Psychologist within this process. For the purpose of this study, qualitative semi-structured interviews were used to present lived experiences in relation to pre- and post-pregnancy experiences of the teenage mothers in relation to education. Educational Psychologists are not only in a prime position to identify factors that may have initially led to poor educational experiences for this particular group, but are also skilled at identifying interventions to support those at risk of disaffection or those who may need support to reintegrate with education. Brokering arrangements with schools and colleges may make a difference in helping teenage mothers return to education or training as census data (2001) shows that, worryingly, teenage mothers are still 20% more likely to have no qualifications at the age of 30 than mothers giving birth aged 24 or over.

1.2.1 Teenage mothers and factors affecting positive outcomes

There is awareness that this study may have adopted negative undertones at the outset and appeared to have taken the view that the numbers of teenage mothers not in education, employment or training constitute a group representative of educational failure and disaffection. Research undertaken reinforced this, claiming that low educational attainment is strongly linked to teenage pregnancy, even after accounting for areas of deprivation (Teenage Pregnancy Next Steps, DfES, 2006).

Without pathologising the teenage mother, it was important for the study to present various factors which may affect the educational experiences of the teenage mother in order to establish the context of the research area. Some aspects of Positive Psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) factored into this study, in particular motivation, aspects of individual future aspirations, and hopes for the future.

The Barnardos research report, *Not the end of the story* (Evans & Slowley, 2010), investigated barriers faced by teenage mothers trying to re-engage with education

post-pregnancy. It identified that teenage mothers (16-18 year olds) were struggling and experiencing complex challenges, however it also identified that others were able to overcome the challenges they faced, with the right support and information. Herein then lies the “white dove of hope” which presents the subject as resourceful and able to achieve positive outcomes characteristic of their peers. This study will explore this aspect of the teenage mother further by challenging cultural norms and cultural resistance in relation to the “inevitability” of teenage parenthood.

The research also reported that a large majority of teenage mothers abandon career aspirations and ambitions, resigning themselves to a low income lifestyle, highlighting that 70% of teenage mothers (16-19) are NEET, compared with about 10% of 16-18 year olds generally.

1.2.2 The teenage mother and risk factors for poverty

According to Sewell (2011), the single most important factor for a life out of poverty is paid employment; Evans & Slowley (2010) accentuate this point by stating that if young mothers under 18 dropped out of education or training it had a detrimental impact on their own future prospects as well as the life chances of their child, which may lead to intergenerational low aspirations and deprivation. Mayhew and Bradshaw (2005) identified that children under 5 born to teenage mothers have a 63% increased risk of being born into poverty compared to children born to older mothers.

Poverty is a complex issue and, like teenage pregnancy, follows intergenerational cycles. According to Ermisch, Francesconi and Pevalin (2001), children born into poverty are at an increased risk of teenage pregnancy, especially young women between the ages of 11-15 living in workless households. Ermisch (2003) further stated that teenage mothers, even at the age of 30, are 22% more likely to be living in poverty than those who became mothers over the age of 24.

Indeed, according to the Teenage Pregnancy Unit (2007), 70% of teenage mothers,

16-19 years old, were in fact Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET) and claiming income support. Data from *Teenage Pregnancy: the Evidence* (2011) presented the same figure of 70% in 2011, which worryingly shows evidence of no movement at all.

This thesis acknowledged macro policies on teenage motherhood, whilst also recognising the importance of gaining the perspectives of teenage mothers through which to inform micro-led policy, for example, Geddes & Bennington's (2001) model at a micro level which stresses the importance of local mobilisation and a 'bottom up policy logic' (2001, p.14).

Individual accounts of lived experience are an important factor of the research. It is viewed that the perspectives of young women and the meanings that they attach to their lives are not always seen through the eyes of others, for example, professionals or experts. This suggests a misinterpretation of meanings which may have negated the crucial perspectives of teenage mothers. However, policy formulation and development may have analytically incorporated the objective opinions and perspectives of 'experts' and professionals in the discursive field on perceptions of teenage motherhood. This may have led to further development of policies with which to buffer the poor socio-economic effects of teenage pregnancy. In this regard policy formulation may have contributed to the presentation of cultural 'universalisms' in the construction of teenage motherhood.

The researcher realised that the empirical field of teenage pregnancy is filled with dominant theories of teenage motherhood, which is explored in more depth in the following chapter. With this important aspect in mind, this thesis also gave consideration to the ascribed identity of the teenage mother, explored via societal presentations and discourse.

It is important to explore whether the concept of teenage motherhood is in fact an important social matter, involving the interpretations, within a cultural context, of assumptions and expectations linked to structural-functional economic forces within

a global world, and most importantly how the voice of the teenage mother with a clear sense of her identity and hopes for the future would sit comfortably alongside her ascribed identity. Therefore, in this respect, conceptual space for the voice of the teenage mother is crucial, in order to attempt to engage the power of self. It is hoped that this involvement will enable legitimate subjective rationality to inform and impact on the research findings.

1.3 The national and local context

The Teenage Pregnancy Unit was established in 1999, in response to a report from the Social Exclusion Unit which brought the challenges faced by teenage parents into the forefront of strategy and policy makers and, as a result, the Government's Teenage Strategy (1999-2010) aimed to tackle the causes and implications of teenage pregnancies.

Its targets by 2010 were to halve the amount of teenage pregnancies and increase the numbers of teenage parents in education, employment and training from 30% to 60% in order to reduce long-term social exclusion and increase economic well-being for those teenagers. All local regions had targets of between 40%-60% for the reduction of teenage pregnancies locally.

Present evaluation of the Strategy has established that the conception rate is 13.3% lower than in 1998 (Teenage Pregnancy Strategy: beyond 2010) and data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) reflect significant reductions in the rate of teenage conceptions in some local authorities. For example, Hackney was named as one of four best performing areas for the reduction of teenage pregnancy conception rates (Team Hackney, 2010). However, statistics also reveal significant increases in some boroughs.

The Coalition Government has made a commitment to ending child poverty by 2020. As a result, the Child Poverty Act 2010 requires local authorities to reduce, and mitigate the effects of, child poverty in their local area by including teenage

parents and their children who are at increased risk of poverty in local strategies.

1.3.1 Local area conception rates and numbers

The overall rate in Hackney now stands at 57.1 per 1,000 and rates have been reduced locally by 31.6%. This means Hackney has fallen outside the top 20 higher risk boroughs, decreasing from 77 pregnancies in 2001 to 44 in 2010 (ONS).

Most of the inner London boroughs have seen reductions in teenage pregnancies (Appendix 4). This may be as a result of local authority initiatives implemented to reduce the teenage conception rate, for example, in Tower Hamlets there was a 45% reduction for the period 1998-2010 and the conception number in 2010 was 23, compared with 54 in 2001(ONS).The coordination of the ‘programme London’ local initiative which is aimed at supporting teenage mothers has helped Tower Hamlets to see a decrease in the under 18 conception rate of 27.4% and under 16 conception rate of 7.5 %.

The apparent key to success in Tower Hamlets was multi-agency engagement and raising the profile of teenage pregnancy as a local health and social concern. Hackney focused on improving sex education and local health services, which included peer sex educators, a teenage health service and improved teacher training in the area of sex education.

The outer London boroughs appear to fluctuate, with Kingston more than doubling its teenage pregnancy conception number and Brent, Croydon, Greenwich and Sutton seeing significant decreases (Appendix 5).

These figures may partially support the claim by researchers that higher levels of teenage pregnancy tend to occur in mainly urban areas (Smith, 1993, as cited in Arai, 2003), who found that higher teenage birth rates are found in urban areas and McLeod (2001), found that teenage pregnancy rates varied and were often highest in areas of high deprivation. However, research has been undertaken that challenges this (Allen and Dowling, 1993) and it is important to acknowledge the fluctuation in

the conception rates and numbers nationwide, with reference to appendices 4, 5 and 6.

Conception numbers in London in 2010 at 1,158 were significantly higher than those of the East of England (2010-830) and the South West of England (2010-755).

It is interesting that Kingston's conception number has more than doubled since 2001, when the conception number was 8, to 20 in 2010 whereas Sutton, for example, has seen a significant decrease in numbers from 41 in 2001 to 25 in 2010. It is also important to add that both Kingston and Sutton have wards in the wealthiest 10% of local authorities across England (appendix 16), whereas Tower Hamlets and Hackney are amongst the 10% most deprived in England (English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2010). Tower Hamlets, in fact, had lower teenage conception rates than Sutton in 2010. As previously discussed, this may be due to local initiatives in certain areas and the impact that these initiatives have had, however it is important for researchers to acknowledge the fluctuations in the conception rate nationwide.

1.3.2 Research across demographic areas

In Allen and Dowling's 1993 study of three demographic areas of varying rates of teenage conception, the researchers concluded that the teenage mothers in their study came from varied socio-economic backgrounds. To complicate the situational context even further, some boroughs deemed as being in the poorest 10% actually have wards that are placed in the richest 10%. For example, Haringey has, of its 19 wards, 4 in the richest 10% and 5 in the poorest 10%. In light of this, Bonnell (2004) argued that teenage pregnancy is thus relative, dependent on context, time and location, and sees any potential disadvantage in terms of socio-economic outcomes dependent on government and society's response to teenage motherhood, not teenage motherhood itself.

1.4 Overarching theories of teenage pregnancy

1.4.1 Structural functionalism and the discursive field of teenage motherhood

This section will explore the consequences of teenage pregnancy within this tradition in order to identify its discursive position in society. The discursive field of the family and, in particular, teenage motherhood has a number of contradictory discourses with differing degrees of power assigned to give meaning to the social institutions, modes of subjectivity and processes that take place. Foucault developed the concept of the “discursive field” as his attempt to understand the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power. Discursive fields also offer varying modes of subjectivity.

Foucault (1926-1984), described discourse as a stream of power circulating in the social arena, attaching itself to forms of domination as well as those of resistance. Foucault was concerned with how specific discourses have moulded and formed systems that have become the representation of “truth”, and dominate the ways in which individuals govern themselves and the social world in which they live.

Structural functionalism (Comte, 1865), focused on the maintenance of social organisation and its preservation in society. In order for a social organisation to be preserved, it needs stability, harmony and progression (Brinkerhoff, White, Ortega & Weitz, 2002a). There are functions in society which are referred to as consequences of social structures that have a positive effect on society, and dysfunctions of social structures that have a negative effect on society (Brinkerhoff, White, Ortega & Weitz, 2002a).

Schneider and Ingram (1993) stated that policy makers create policy around specific target groups which can be either beneficial or detrimental to the group, dependent on strong or weak social constructs of the group and perceptions of whether the group is politically strong or weak within society. It is then important to consider, at this point, dominant discourses in relation to the discursive field of

teenage pregnancy and to consider whether data gathered from the interviews would either further support or negate this.

Foucault asserted that “the will to truth” is the main system of filtering and exclusion that forges discourse and “which tends to exert a sort of pressure and something like a power of constraint on other discourses”, and went on to ask “what is at stake in the will to truth, in the will to utter this ‘true’ discourse, if not desire and power?” (Shapiro, 1984, pp.113-4).

Much of the literature on teenage mothers in the UK and USA has focused on factors leading to young women having a teenage pregnancy or the negative adult outcomes of early childbirth (Geronimus, 2003; Kiernan, 1997; Moffitt, 2002; Tomal, 1999). It seems that exploration of teenage motherhood within structural-functional theory highlights two specific discourses: one of low socio-economic status culminating in social and economic exclusion, and the other of welfare dependency. These will be further discussed in the next section.

The inclination towards macro-based policy development may have obscured the ideological basis of policy in the area of teenage pregnancy, and further underlined the importance of a need for critical evaluation of particular discourses surrounding teenage motherhood at the micro level. Exploration and examination of the literature presented in the next section and in the Literature review largely suggested that teenage mothers are defamed and presented as ‘deviant’ because these young women resist the typical life course of their peers who conform to the normative pathways of higher education and workforce participation culminating in the strengthening of state economic growth and power.

1.4.2 Socio-economic discourses

In relation to the dominant areas of discourse presented earlier and, in particular, if we are concerned with a socio- economic discourse, much of the literature states:

the teenage mother has received a poor experience of education, derives

from a low socio-economic background, is dependent on welfare benefits and is seen as a less competent parent than a mainstream parent (Woodward, Horwood and Fergusson, 2001, p.301).

Early motherhood is frequently seen as a social problem and is assumed to lead to psychological distress, welfare dependence, and socioeconomic disadvantage, (Furstenberg, 2003; Lee & Gramotnev, 2006). Continued exploration of the highlighted areas of discourse continues to present a stigmatised view of teenage motherhood as pathological and morally unjust, and many teenage mothers are viewed as having little to contribute to society, a drain on the welfare system, and deemed of little economic worth due to their poor life choices. For example, American sociologists such as Katz (1993) have presented the teenage mother as belonging to an “underclass”. In the USA, Morgan and Brooks-Gunn (1989), in the Baltimore study of disadvantaged black teenage mothers cited in Barnett et al (1988), found that teenage parents’ poor economic status and poor educational outcomes, along with low educational aspirations and non-marital status, were associated with economic disadvantage in adulthood.

SmithBattle (2007) identified socio-economic status as the main predictor in understanding teenage mothers’ educational attainment and long-term low socio-economic status later in life. Much of the research in this area presents teenage motherhood as a poor decision taken by young mothers with severe economic and social consequences as a result.

On the role of family planning in the reduction of poverty, Campbell declared:

... her life choices are few and most of them bad. Had she been able to delay her first child, her prospects might have been quite different (2011, p. 30).

Romans, Martins and Morris, (1997), observed that the teenage mother has received a shortened educational experience, weakened future employment

opportunities and that with this comes increased financial instability. Much of the literature has shown that there are a number of personal and social costs associated with teenage parenthood and that these costs are primarily a consequence of withdrawal or exclusion from paid employment (Chevalier & Viitanen, 2003). In summary, these aspects of the teenage mother have been summed up by the authors as “accumulating psychosocial morbidity”. Again, teenage mothers are presented as “deviant” in this respect, as they do not appear to follow an acceptable, specific path of development or achievement.

...those who deviate from this pattern by becoming parents at an early age will run even greater risks of social and economic disadvantage (Kiernan, 1995, p 4).

It appears that teenage mothers are therefore presented as “social disruptors” who fail to continue their education and become economic contributors (Macleod, 2002). Becoming pregnant is then presented as an irrational economic decision (Wilson and Huntingdon, 2005) and the teenage mother is then perceived to be of little value to the wider society and the economy, and viewed as a non-contributor and, still worse, as an unnecessary drain on resources.

Because of her non-contribution to economic society, the teenage mother is then socially excluded from the very society to which she fails to subscribe. Shaw et al (2006) describe social exclusion as affecting individuals with poor linked outcomes, such as poor housing, poor education, poor health, low income and poor skills, and those who are socially excluded may be marginalised, stigmatised and denied access to various social and educational resources.

White et al (2003) presented unemployment and poverty as indicators of social exclusion, and much research associates teenage mothers with a number of poor factors and outcomes, including unemployment, low income, poor housing conditions, low educational levels, ill health and stigma. Percy-Smith (2000), has

outlined the term social exclusion as being used to describe a disparate group of people living on the margins of society, and, in particular, without access to the system of social insurance (2000, p.1).

Ellaway & Macintyre (2000) stated that there is a spatial dimension to social exclusion, as individuals born into social exclusion can remain in this state all their lives.

Teenage motherhood is then presented as increasingly dysfunctional to the functioning of society and morally unjust, with stark implications for non-marital status, low socio-economic status, welfare dependency and the subsequent generational degenerative pattern of life for the child of the teenage mother, culminating in a life of punishing social and economic exclusion. A view may then be taken that the term social exclusion has pejorative undertones although it should be interpreted as a pragmatic approach. The literature review will aim to explore policy in the field of teenage motherhood more comprehensively, to ascertain whether being classified as socially excluded is merely a pragmatic term used by policy makers for the purposes of classification, with the provision of small palliatives provided to the “failures of society”, which may then lead to further exclusion. It is important to note that, in accordance with Geddes’ (2001) model of local implementation and mobilisation, literature may identify that macro-led policies in place have a “kwalitee” effect on the individual teenage mother, which is the administrative imposition of controls, portrayed instead as the improvement of standards.

1.4.3 Welfare dependency

The non-economic contributory factor of the teenage mother presents her as not only dysfunctional to economic society, but also a drain on the welfare purse. The other significant area of identified discourse suggests that teenage mothers are dependent on welfare benefits, also that a teenager may become pregnant in order to receive

state accommodation and welfare benefits (Sawhill et al 2010). In January 2011, Parliament was informed by Maria Miller (then Secretary of State for Work and Pensions) that £26 million was paid in benefits to teenage mothers in 2009-2010 (*Teenage Pregnancy: the Evidence*, 2011). In the USA, the Welfare Reform Bill (1996) forbids States from using public funds to support unmarried teenage mothers below the age of 18, unless the mother has completed high school or is enrolled in school/education. USA states also have the power to deny benefits to unmarried teenage mothers under 18. These policies might assume that there is an over-reliance on receiving benefits by teenage mothers or that a teenager may become pregnant in order to receive benefits, so more punitive measures are needed to discourage this behaviour. Research undertaken by Sawhill et al, (2010), found that welfare reforms did have a small effect on the reduction of teenage pregnancy in the USA. Child Trends, a research organisation in the USA, found that nearly 80% of teenage mothers do eventually go onto welfare and 55% of mothers on welfare were in fact teenagers at the time that their first child was born.

1.5 Normative schedules within structural functionalism

In *Unplanned Parenthood*, Furstenberg (1976) terms normative schedules as prescribed social standards that have specific timings throughout one's lifetime. The timing of parenthood is subject to specific societal expectations or normative schedules, and is not left to biological chance. In addition, Blumer (1969) also suggested that reproduction and parenthood are subject to certain societal cultural restrictions. Furstenberg goes on to say that any disruptions to the normative schedules are usually "disadvantageous" (p.4). This is then interpreted to mean that an event which occurs outside of the normative schedules is frowned upon and deemed deviant and disruptive to the status quo. Teenage pregnancy occurs outside the normative schedules and is thus perceived as creating an imbalance in society and in the culture of society. A teenage mother is viewed as being prematurely

propelled into the position of motherhood which, in terms of normative schedules, falls outside of expected standards and assumed timed events in one's life. This event then disrupts the order of life events and places the teenage mother into a position for which she may not yet be ready. This will then immediately place her at a disadvantage as society is only established to support those who follow the specified order of events, and this is the dominant discourse by which individuals govern themselves – which then reinforces and further facilitates normative schedules.

It may be the case therefore that normative perceptions of motherhood position teenage mothers in society as stigmatised and marginalised, because teenage motherhood is deemed disruptive to the structural function of society and outside of its normative standards and schedules. This may suggest that the teenage mother, once in a situation for which she may be ill-prepared, appears to have her inefficiencies noted exclusively because of this. Dominant discourse seems to have routinely identified and presented the teenage mother as a pathological case in need of a cure as well as a pathological case that is beyond treatment of any kind.

1.6 Psychological framework and definitions

1.6.1 Overarching theoretical frameworks

According to Bonell et al (2005), teenage motherhood may be a desirable outcome for some young women who may leave school at the minimum age with little prospect of going onto further or higher education.

To reiterate this point, Simms (1993) suggested:

...Girls from deprived backgrounds, with little education and doing under-paid repetitive jobs may find the notion of having a baby even at a very young age a more attractive proposition. Moreover, they know that they are not sacrificing much in terms of future prospects. (British Medical Journal (pp.1749-1750).

The above statements appear to indicate that all is lost in terms of future prospects for the teenage mother. In relation to previous exploration of Foucault's view of discourses that become marginalised and dominated, yet could actually be platforms in which to challenge, contest and even resist hegemonic practices, this led the researcher to consider whether teenage motherhood could be researched in a positive light.

Earlier in this chapter, teenage motherhood was presented in largely undesirable terms. Much of the discourse seemed to reflect professional constructs of teenage mothers which in turn inform policy at a macro level. There was concern that much of this negated the individual subjective view of the teenage mother. In light of this, the researcher wanted to focus on the gathering of data at the individual participatory level and wanted to discover whether there was a view amongst teenage mothers that on the contrary, all is not lost due to early pregnancy and whether they were in fact motivated to improve their economic life prospects post pregnancy.

1.6.2 Positive psychology and the roots of motivation theory

Positive Psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) threads through this study as it focuses on positive growth, instead of pathology, which is what the researcher hoped to signify.

In 'Authentic Happiness' (2002), Seligman encouraged readers to focus on the improvement of normal life and the nurturing of individual human talent. The very essence of positive psychology is its focus on human happiness and this focus stems from its humanistic psychology roots which focus on human fulfillment and happiness.

Humanistic theorists such as Maslow (1943) and Rogers (1961) developed theories relating to human fulfillment and self-actualisation. Rogers was predominantly concerned with healthy development in terms of individual perception and claimed that an individual should see equilibrium between their view of who they are (self)

and their view of who they think they should be (ideal self).

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Model (1943) is based on a classification of five levels of lower and higher human needs on the principle that individuals are motivated by need.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs states that an individual must satisfy each level of needs in turn, starting at meeting an individual's physiological, or basic needs (such as shelter, food, clothing), through to safety needs (security, protection), social needs (love and a sense of belonging), self-esteem needs (recognition) and ultimately, self-actualisation (success and personal achievement). This theory was based on the premise that an individual would start at the bottom of the hierarchy, seeking to, or motivated to fulfil basic physiological needs; once these basic needs have been satisfied, the individual will then seek to fulfil or be motivated to fulfil the next level of needs.

In terms of application, where this model may be useful is when practitioners or professionals are involved in supporting individuals who become stuck on the lower levels of the Hierarchy, due to disruption in their life, stigmatisation, early insecurity, and this may relate to some of the participants in this study.

It also highlighted the possibility that an individual whose basic physiological needs or lower level needs are not being met will not be motivated to learn at higher levels and this encourages practitioners to be conscious and responsive to the practical needs of particularly vulnerable individuals.

This model is also particularly useful when considering the individual characteristics of particular individuals, and in the differentiation of intrinsic motivation in identifying specific interventions that the Educational Psychologist (EP) could make in the support of motivation in varying levels of identified need.

1.6.3 Identity

The concept of identity, whether ascribed or avowed, will also play an integral part in the research. Identity is a social construct and is subdivided into two clear categories – social and personal.

In reference to social identity, identity refers to a social category of commonality of attributes or distinctive features pertaining to specific groups and individuals within those groups. In relation to personal identity, an identity is one in which an individual holds some personal distinguishing characteristics.

According to Wendt, identities are:

role specific understandings and expectations about self, (Wendt, 1992,p.397).

If this is the case, the role or character of the teenage mother, as presented in a structurally functioning society, is often that of a deviant, dysfunctional individual and the concept of teenage motherhood is then constructed by the positioning of individuals belonging to this group who possess similarly dysfunctional characteristics and identities. Further reference to identity will be explored in section 2.6.2.

1.6.4 The self-categorization theory

This study will also consider the Self-Categorization theory (Turner et al ,1994), in relation to how the teenage mother categorises herself with other teenage mothers and whether one is defined in terms of purely stereotypical group characteristics, especially in response to social interactive situations.

1.6.5 Rationale

The rationale for this thesis explored whether the Educational Psychologist could

improve educational outcomes for teenage mothers. It was particularly interesting to identify research undertaken by Hosie (2003) who stated that with the right support, a teenager who was disaffected from school at an early age could re-engage with education post- pregnancy. This research may thus offer some insight into educational and employment pathways for teenage mothers post pregnancy.

1.6.6 The national context

'Not the end of the story' (Evans 2010) found that teenage mothers were reluctant to return to education after giving birth due to poor experiences of education pre-pregnancy. The research also found that young mothers faced barriers to re-integration and that many were not encouraged by schools to resume their education after giving birth.

The government's *Teenage Strategy and Beyond 2010* aimed to tackle the causes and implications of teenage pregnancies. Its targets by 2010 were to halve the amount of teenage pregnancies and increase the numbers of teenage parents in education, employment and training in order to reduce long-term social exclusion for these teenagers and increase their economic well-being. All regions adopted these targets and had targets of between 40-60% for the reduction of teenage pregnancies locally. A key factor of the Teenage Strategy includes recognition of the active engagement of all multi-agency mainstream delivery partners who have a role in the reduction of teenage pregnancy and the increase in educational outcomes for this group.

Educational Psychologists, working in partnership with other agencies, are placed in a unique position in which to be able to explore educational pathways for teenage mothers within local areas.

Local Authorities have responsibility for reducing the Not in Education, Employment or Training figures within a local context and have employed the Teenage Pregnancy Strategy (TPS) to work towards the reduction of teenage mothers

who fall into this category.

This thesis explores what action Educational Psychologists can take to break the cycle of poor outcomes for teenage mothers, particularly within local urban areas. The rationale for this statement is supported by Smith (1993) and Griffiths & Kirby (2000), both cited in Arai (2003), who found that teenage birth rates are higher in urban areas and claimed that, in particular, those teenagers will ultimately come from lower socio-economic backgrounds. This viewpoint is explored further in this chapter.

1.7 The research perspective

1.7.1 The context of the study

As a Trainee Educational Psychologist on placement within a Local Authority in an Outer London Borough, much of the researcher's practice has been influenced and informed by solution focused (De Shazer & Kim Berg, 1994) and personal construct psychology practices (Kelly, 1955), within the broad field of constructionist psychology (Hacking, 1999) and positive psychology (Seligman, 2000).

The researcher believes in a pragmatic approach, which focuses on the analysis of current systems in force and the effectiveness of these systems, with potential for change. The researcher is particularly interested in how individuals interact and communicate with each other and the particular social and personal constructs adopted and formed by individuals within a complex society. The study took place in an Outer London Authority where the researcher was on placement and all participants were sought and selected with the help of professionals and agencies working within local Children's Centres. Nonetheless, this study retains a neutral perspective as it was not commissioned by the Local Authority in question.

In the study, teenage mothers are presented as members of a group positioned and situated in society by dominant discourse and this standpoint is maintained throughout the study.

The researcher, also considered to be positioned and situated in society by dominant discourse, is perceived to fit within a particular social construct, that of an ethnic minority and as a female. As a member of this group, the researcher has learned to perceive that what may have been considered as neutral is critically a perspective, related to one's culture and social histories- thus the framings and representations of specific groups (of which the author is a member), within structural society. Awareness of this has enabled the researcher to re-appropriate her history, culture and language practices, which are often classified as 'subordinate' by dominant discourse and practice. Reconstruction of this has also enabled the researcher to redefine and position herself, as an active author, telling a story in her own words.

1.7.2 Ontological and epistemological position

Epistemology, the theory of knowledge, is a key aspect in the aims of any research project. It is crucial for the researcher to be conscious of one's epistemological position as this will inform the overall research methodology employed. It is important for researchers to consider their ontological position (world view and social realities) and to reach some congruence between the two. A critical realist ontology employs the view that there is an objective reality to 'truth' and an epistemological view of relativism seems to augment this view of ontology, in the sense that relativism asserts the importance of individual interactions/relationships with others. The view of an independent objective reality proposed by critical realism, with a relativist epistemic approach, emphasises that human engagement of objective reality through culture, structure and agency is relative, meaning that the outcome of merging these two perspectives together should really be a reflection of reality or 'truth' created through a relative relationship of intersubjectivity (subjective views of participants interpreted by the researcher).

The methodology, in relation to Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and the wider

discursive field, helped the researcher to shape approach in which to explore participants' perceptions and attitudes within specific contexts, and the effects of these on subjectivity and individual behaviour. Hence the research was one of enquiry and exploration, in order to arrive at an intersubjective understanding of the data. This is discussed further in section 3.5.

1.7.3 Epistemological framework

Papert (1980) pointed out that the cultural context is dominant in the process of individual development.

Kelly et al (2003) stated that the problems that young people face should be explored from an ecological, social and systemic standpoint.

Two main themes were therefore adopted in order to further support the shaping of the conceptual perspective:

1. Psycho-social epistemology – the subject's development in and interaction with their social environment.
2. Embedding the views of the teenage mother into practice – this took into account motivation and self-actualisation; structural epistemology (social structure and organisation of society).

Educational Psychologists will need to develop a clear understanding of the need to establish strategies in order to support the teenage mother- understood and shared by other agencies and professionals working in partnership, in order to encourage positive outcomes for this group.

1.7.4 Methodology

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis(FDA) was identified as a methodological approach in this study. Rich verbal accounts from the participants and the theoretical principles of FDA enabled the researcher to venture beyond analysis and to consider FDA and

the wider discursive field within structural society, as a methodology in itself. The main aim was to employ a method that would enable exploration of particular use of language and discourse in order to address the main focus points of the thesis and explore participants' frameworks of meaning from the relativist foundation of constructionist metatheory (information is given and not made). Therefore a qualitative design was decided upon. Semi-structured interviews have been considered effective in providing an interactive picture of each participant's life experience.

1.7.5 Method of analysis

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) was used to take into account participants' lived experiences, feelings, meanings and realities, operating as an assortment of discourses within society. The identification of corpus statements was used to interpret the data further and relate analysis to the wider discursive field. FDA also entailed the analysis of text (appendix 7 and 17):

aspiring to dissect, disrupt and render the familiar strange by
interrogating (Foucault (1980a: 237).

1.7.6 Research questions

There are four primary research questions that were formulated within this rubric:

- a) What are the views of five teenage mothers living within an outer London Borough about their individual educational experiences?
- b) What similarities and differences are there between their avowed identity and ascribed identity?
- c) What are their future aspirations?
- d) Where is the teenage mother situated in structural society?

1.7.7 Reflexivity

There is awareness of self-definition as a professional and the obligation to keep in mind the “political” interpretation of one's own findings which clearly follows from the relativist foundation of constructionist metatheory where information is not actually given but considered given. Therefore in light of data analysis procedures, there is a need to remain reflexive in light of the researcher's own experiences, beliefs, social identity, meanings and ideals and how these may affect the interpretation and analysis of data (see appendix 12).

There is an awareness of inter-subjectively during the research analysis process, as the findings will represent the researcher's interpretation of the subject's accounts, rather than objective, measurable accounts. During the research journey, the researcher therefore needed to critically reflect on the type of knowledge that was produced, how it was produced and how it can relate to knowledge already held by the researcher, in light of the researcher's ontological and epistemological position, (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

Constructionist psychologists such as Gergen (1985) stated that what is perceived as “objective knowledge” is actually culturally and historically dependent and encourages challenge of cultural “universalisms” particularly in Educational Psychologists' everyday practice.

It is important to be aware of this in order to gain an understanding of how these universalisms function to reinforce social epistemology of what is perceived to be rational truth within the field of academic research and applied psychology.

1.8 The value of this study

1.8.1 Relevance of the research to the field of educational psychology

This study will highlight that as experts in the field of child development, Educational Psychologists are ideally placed to support the implementation of

specific interventions for teenage mothers and are in an opportune position to explore whether they can improve their outcomes.

Educational Psychologists are skilled in the area of offering guidance, materials, training and advice to schools and other agencies in the management, support and care of children and teenagers who are vulnerable or disaffected, and will be able to advise on or implement personalised learning packages for this group particularly to support young women who wish to re-engage with learning at key stage 5 with an emphasis on reengagement, or at key stage 4 with an emphasis on preventative 14-16 interventions.

In the *Delivering 14-19 reform: Next Steps – Summary* document (2008), the government stated that young people not in education, employment or training would be able to receive a differentiated curriculum, challenge stereotypes and increase their outcomes and ambitions with effective direction and support in place.

The justification for this piece of research is to demonstrate that the Educational Psychologist is in a unique position to explore particular pathways that may enhance outcomes for teenage mothers. Educational Psychologists are also in a unique position to explore the link between the term “motherhood” as a biological reality and the social reality of this term for the teenage mother.

1.8.2 Distinctive contribution of the research

It is important to explore how teenage pregnancy is constructed and understood within the field of applied psychology as well as effective practice deployed to explore local authority policy design and practice in relation to teenage pregnancy.

After extensive searching there does not appear to be UK research into post-16 teenage mothers and re-engagement with education once they become mothers, with motivation factors as a key indicator in this decision, and implications for Educational Psychologists highlighted. There is much reference to pre-pregnancy disaffection with education and risk factors for teenage pregnancies. The focus of

this research, without advocating teenage pregnancy, is to propose that once a teenager becomes pregnant, that their life prospects and outcomes may still be positive.

1.8.3 Summary

This chapter has introduced the theme of the thesis to the reader and has presented dominant social discourse in the discursive field of teenage motherhood. The study has also been presented within specific theoretical perspectives that will remain the principal theoretical perspectives underpinning the study. The researcher's ontological and epistemological position has been clarified with a brief introduction to the research perspective. The rationale for the research and the distinctive contribution that it is believed that this study will make to the field of Educational Psychology has also been outlined.

The following chapter will critically explore and analyse existing literature and research in the field of teenage motherhood, supported by similar methodologies, in order to situate the interest area within a relevant and comprehensive research context.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Overview

This section explored theoretical concepts in the field of teenage motherhood and analysed research undertaken in this area, particularly with regard to support provided by Educational Psychologists in this field. It particularly critiqued previous research undertaken in terms of post-pregnancy education and outcomes of teenage mothers in order to identify key pathways, interventions and specific individual character strengths (Peterson & Seligman, 2004) or personality strengths (Linley, 2008) that may mobilise an individual's decision to return to education post-pregnancy.

Exploration within existing research in this field was crucial as it aimed to support the rationale for this research in the identification of gaps in the field that this research may influence or support.

This chapter will start with a short presentation section on some national and local government strategies in relation to teenage pregnancies as some research in this field has fundamentally contributed to specific policies within the teenage pregnancy strategy. This will be important to further exploration in relation to identifying any specific pathways or interventions that may contribute to existing, or even warrant further, policy change. Much of this research will be explored in relation to Geddes' and Bennington's model at the micro level and the importance of consulting individual stakeholders in respect of local policies and initiatives that may aim to impact on their position in society. This chapter also identified any government policy relevant in this field and its impact on the teenage mother.

2.2 Methods of reviewing literature

2.2.1 Search methods

A search exercise was carried out in a range of databases such as EBSCO, Oxford Journals, BMJ Journals, IngentConnect, Sage, Wiley Online Library and Google Scholar in order to highlight potentially relevant studies. Within EBSCO, databases such as Academic Search Complete, CINHALL Plus, Education Research Complete, PsychInfo and PsyArticles were employed. The exercise included the following search terms and phrases:

- Teenage mothers/ teenage pregnancy/education
- Re-integration/ re-engagement / education
- Teenage mothers/ post school education
- Teenage mothers/ motivation
- Teenage motherhood/ identity/ positive outcomes
- Intervention/support/teenage mothers/Educational Psychologists
- Teenage mothers and structural forces

The intention was to search for longitudinal studies that employed qualitative research methods in which to consider the perspectives of teenage mothers on teenage pregnancy and primarily education or indicators of social exclusion such as income, employment and education.

The search dates applied were between 1980-2012, therefore the search criteria was intended to exclude studies pre-1980, although reference has been made to older studies in the review, including Furstenberg's study which spanned a period of 30 years starting in 1976. Research was sought that was primarily aimed at post-school teenage mothers and primarily undertaken in the UK, however the mapping exercise highlighted that a greater body of qualitative research into the positive experiences of teenage motherhood was produced in the USA rather than the UK. Because of this my review search then incorporated studies that had been carried out in the USA.

The studies that were reviewed in this chapter employed qualitative methods such as surveys, focus groups and ethnographic interviews and semi-structured interviews.

2.2.2 Studies reviewed

The aforementioned databases were searched using the terms also presented earlier. There was difficulty finding similar research already undertaken specifically directed at post-school teenage mothers and re-engagement with education. A number of studies were highlighted when the broad search term of ‘teenage motherhood’ was used.

The search terms ‘teenage pregnancy’ and ‘education’ highlighted a number of studies with references made to teenage mothers and continuing education in the main body of the research; however, the main focus of these studies remains in the area of teenage mothers and parenting. A selection of studies which partially met the selection criteria but were not specific to it, was finally decided upon.

The studies listed below were reviewed with the use of the BPS checklist for evaluating qualitative psychology research (Appendix 3) and with particular reference to the reliability, objectivity, relevance and validity of each study (Boaz et al 2002). These studies will be referred to and critiqued throughout this chapter.

1. Allen & Dowling (1993) *Teenage Mothers: Decisions and Outcomes*. London: Policy Institute, University of Westminster.
2. Furstenberg, F. F. (1976), *Unplanned parenthood: The social consequences of teenage childbearing*. New York: The Free Press.
3. Higginbottom GMA, Mathers. N, Marsh. P, Kirkham.M, and Owen, JM. (2006b). “Early parenthood among young people of BME origin in England”. *British Journal of Midwifery* 14(3), pp.142-146.

4. Seamark, C.J, & Lings, P., (2004). *Positive experiences of teenage motherhood: a qualitative study*. Honiton, UK: The Honiton Group Practice.
5. Shaw, M & Woolhead, G., (2006). “Supporting mothers into education and training: assessing progress towards the target”. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 14(2), pp.177-189.
6. Sullivan et al, (2010). “Continuing Education Mitigates the Negative Consequences of adolescent Childbearing”. *Maternal Child Health Journal* Vol. 15, pp.360-366

2.3 Next steps

Sarah Teather, the former Coalition Government Minister for Children and Families, Department of Education, stated on the Family Planning website that teenage pregnancy remained a priority for the coalition government (Family Planning Association, 2012).

The Early Intervention grant has replaced a number of centrally directed grants from the government and, subject to local decision making, can be used to target support for vulnerable young people, including teenage pregnancy strategies. This may therefore allow local authorities to respond to local needs with an aim to drive “tailor-made” reform more effectively to meet local needs. This mode of action and strategy, according to Geddes & Bennington (2001), incorporates and mobilises policy at the micro level in line with local need.

2.3.1 The Care to Learn grant

The Care to Learn grant was launched in 2004 with the aim of reducing inequalities in education and encouraging more teenage mothers into education, employment and training.

According to research undertaken by Riley et al (2010), in the year 2008-2009,

8,000 young parents in England received this grant and this demonstrates that a low proportion of young parents actually benefitted from obtaining the grant in order to return to education. In 2006-2007 14% received the grant and this slightly increased to 16% in 2008 and 2009. Data also shows that in March 2009, for example, in Kingston-upon-Thames, of 65 teenage mothers below the age of 20, just 10 had taken up Care to Learn (ONS).

Research undertaken by Riley et al (ibid). into the impact of the Care to Learn grant in assisting young parents in returning to education, indicated that, although the take-up rate was low, 77% of those who applied for it stated that it was crucial in enabling them to continue their education and 97% reported that the grant made a positive impact on their ability to return to learning. The researchers also summarised that the Care to Learn grant had an important function in reducing the numbers of young parents who were NEET, from 65% of the group in 2007-2008, to 22%.

There is much concern over the low take up rate of the Care to Learn grant. The findings of Riley et al's (ibid). research indicate that the take-up rate was low for the following reasons:

- 30% of teenage parents were not aware of the different types of education or funding in their local area;

- 41% of the group were not aware of funding to support their return to education

- 26% did not know anything about the qualifications needed to get certain jobs.

It is apparent that the Care to Learn grant has made a significant difference to the life outcomes of the teenage mothers who benefited from the grant. It is also clear that the take-up of the grant in 2008-2009 was very low (8,000) in comparison with the number of teenage mothers not in education.

The Care to Learn grant may not be suitable for some teenage parents who wish to spend the first few years with their child before returning to education later on in life.

It is important to note that more affordable and flexible childcare was noted as the most important factor in enabling young parents to re-engage with learning (Riley et al 2010).

2.4 Teenage motherhood, education and employment

2.4.1 Not in education, employment or training (NEET)

The 2001 Census shows that almost 40 % of teenage mothers who had given birth in the previous three years had no qualifications in April 2001. In addition research presented later in this chapter indicates that young people most likely to become teenage parents are already at risk of poor educational and socio-economic outcomes during statutory schooling and beyond.

Of the estimated 50,000 mothers aged under 20 living in England in 2005, over 80% were aged 18 or 19; over 60% were lone parents; 70% were not in education, employment or training, and they were much more likely to live in deprived neighbourhoods (Teenage Pregnancy Unit, 2007).

The Royal Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames appears to have a relatively low NEET figure, at 6.3% (*March 2009 NEET, Connexions South London Sub Regional Unit. Pub 17.04.2009*). However this still represents a significant number in comparison to other vulnerable groups in Kingston.

2.4.2 Defining NEET

NEET classification comprises of young people aged 16-24 who are not in education, employment or training. More specifically however the acronym has no agreed definition with respect to measurement, particularly in relation to economic inactivity. A range of sources is used in measuring the number of young people aged 16-18 who are NEET whilst the Labour Force Survey is used to calculate those

young people NEET aged 16-24. Government NEET statistics generally focus on youth unemployment rates to also include young people searching for work, whilst academic research focuses on full time education regardless of whether the young person is searching for work or not.

There is awareness of a degree of inconsistency in the discussion around young people and work. There is also a lack of clarity about whether young people attending part-time training or education should be NEET or not. It is crucial to mention that although those who are NEET may appear to present as one holistic group, NEET youngsters appear reflective of a whole raft of problems and negative orientations, therefore the realities of this are very different.

There are a number of NEET sub-groups, which can be defined by employment and education participation. Based on this, the researcher concluded that the most appropriate definition of NEET should include those aged 16-24 who are unemployed and economically inactive and who are not in any form of education or training at all.

The estimated figures presented below are obtained from the Labour Force Survey (a survey of households) and are therefore not precise figures.

NEET Statistics January to March 2013:

- There were 1.09 million NEET young people (16 to 24) in the UK (January to March 2013), which was up 21,000 from October to December 2012 but down 101,000 from a year earlier.
- The percentage of all young people in the UK who were NEET was 15.1%, up 0.3 percent from October to December 2012 but down 1.3 percent from a year earlier.
- Just over half (53.0%) of all NEET young people in the UK were looking for work and available for work and therefore classified as unemployed. The remainder were either not looking for work

and/or not available for work and therefore classified as economically inactive.

(ILO, 2013)

2.4.3 Participation in employment, education or training (EET)

Young mothers' participation in education, employment or training beyond the compulsory school leaving age is very low, with only about 30% of young women aged 16-19 being in EET, compared to about 90% of all 16-19 year olds. Participation rates are significantly low and this suggests that this will invariably affect a young mother's future life prospects.

For very young mothers, education is disrupted often at the most critical time in their education. Even after childbirth, research presented in this chapter indicates that many appear to have disengaged from learning at a much earlier age (Kiernan, 1995, Ermisch & Pevalin, 2003).

Not the end of the story (Barnardo's, 2010) found that teenage mothers were reluctant to return to education after giving birth due to poor experiences of education pre-pregnancy. The research also found that young mothers faced barriers to re-integration and that many were not encouraged by schools to resume their education after giving birth (SmithBattle, 2007).

The implications of low prior attainment, coupled with low post-16 participation in EET mean that, by age 30, teenage mothers are:

- 22% more likely to be living in poverty than mothers giving birth aged 24 or over;
- 20% more likely to have no qualifications than mothers giving birth aged 24 or over;
- Much less likely to be employed or living with a partner;
- Where they do live with a partner, that partner is more likely to be

unemployed and have poor qualifications

(DCSF, 2007).

Data from *Teenage Pregnancy: the Evidence* (2011) highlights that over one third of teenage mothers (16-19) have no qualifications and 70% are *still* not in education, employment or training. This data therefore indicates that the teenage strategy has had minimal impact on encouraging or reintegrating teenage mothers into education, employment or training.

The rationale behind the second target of the TPU, to increase the numbers of teenage parents in EET by 60%, whilst acknowledging the difficulties that these young mothers face in returning to learning, was to improve long-term economic prospects for this group in order to increase their employability chances, to reduce their dependency on the welfare system and help to end the cycle of intergenerational spread of poor socio-economic conditions that has been identified for young parents (Bonnell, 2004).

Wellings et al (1999) summarise the long-term implications of low educational attainment for this group below:

The low educational attainment of young mothers is an important factor determining life chances, since a lack of qualifications will compound the barriers to employment resulting from difficulties with childcare and of balancing the responsibilities of early motherhood and employment (Wellings et al, 1999, p.187).

The benefits for teenage mothers in EET consider the possibility of this group being able to financially provide for themselves and their families with little or no dependency on the welfare state. This in turn may lead to increased self-esteem and confidence through participation in employment and the refinement of required work skills. This may then have a positive effect on their children as, according to the

NHS Centre for Reviews and Dissemination (1997), the life chances of young children born to lone parents who then go on to employment are far greater than those born to lone parents who do not gain employment.

2.5 Structural epistemology and life outcomes for teenage mothers

2.5.1 Teenage mothers and socio-economic conditions

There is some evidence from previous research to suggest that teenage pregnancy does not disadvantage all teenage mothers, even those deriving from deprived backgrounds (Furstenberg, 2003, Stapleton, 2010, SmithBattle, 2007), and outcomes for some teenage mothers can be quite positive.

In light of existing research in the field of teenage pregnancy, where many studies have suggested that teenage pregnancy leads to poor socio-economic outcomes, the focus of this study, on the positive aspects of teenage pregnancy, reassesses this construction and suggests that teenage pregnancy in the 21st century may not appear as bleak a prospect as indicated by existing research in this field and, as presented in chapter one of this study, dominant discourse in the field concerning the impact of teenage pregnancy as a social construction (Hacking, 2003).

The *Guardian*, in March 2006, published an article on teenage mothers, headlined “Babies put teenage mothers back on course”. It concluded that having a child appeared to motivate girls to return to education, but they must be allowed to study when they feel ready. The article, by Louise Tickle, stated that if education and training provision is closely tailored to young mothers’ needs, they may see more to their futures than a life spent on benefits. This supports research undertaken which claimed that teenage conception does not spiral the teenage mothers into a life of poor socio-economic disadvantage but can, in fact, have the opposite effect (Furstenberg, 1976).

This viewpoint is interesting as it suggests that the teenage mother has potential and is also motivated to return to education (when ready). It also suggests that

educational provision should be tailored if even the Educational Psychologist is operating unconsciously within discursive elements in the dominant group to the needs of the individual parent so that they can focus on areas of their strengths and interests.

Kelly (2000) suggested that even if some teenage mothers delayed their pregnancies until later in life, they would be just as poor, suggesting that disadvantage sets in at a much earlier stage. Grogger and Bronars (1993), Geronimus and Korenman (1992) and Ermisch and Pevalin (2003), who researched the socio-economic consequences of early teenage pregnancy, also concluded that outcomes are shaped by poverty and not by teenage parenthood.

Dawson and Hosie (2005) found similar evidence in their research. One of their main findings presented the view that young women were disengaged from education prior to pregnancy, not as a result of pregnancy. This viewpoint may suggest that teenage mothers who feel marginalised whilst still in education may see pregnancy as a viable option to education, of course with nothing to lose. It may also signify the discursive elements within the field of education which may serve to privilege the archetypal pupil whilst marginalising and subjugating those who do not quite “measure up” to normative morals and standards. What is then portrayed as the “truth” ultimately becomes the “truth”, dominating how the subjugated defines herself within the field of education.

When considering that dominant negative discourse does seem to assume a homogenous group of teenage mothers, this is further supported by other evidence in the field such as statements made in the national press, for instance

The real life Vicky Pollards...being taught how to bring up babies and claim benefits; £100.000 course for teenage mums to be (Daily Mirror, 2006).

Tom Harris, then a Labour MP, made national headlines when he stated on his

internet blog in 2007:

I can no longer pretend that the army of teenage mothers living off the state is anything other than a national catastrophe. (The Christian Institute, 2009).

The Glasgow South MP said that current Government policies (at the time) contributed to the problem by failing to provide young girls with appropriate moral guidance.

This discourse therefore takes the view that young girls who become teenage mothers are immoral and need guidance, not from their families (who appear to be viewed with the same contempt) but from higher authorities who are perceived to be qualified on the subject of morality.

In the USA, the Welfare Reform Bill (1996) forbids States from using public funds to support unmarried teenage mothers below the age of 18, unless the mother has completed high school or is enrolled in school/education. States also have the power to deny benefits to unmarried teenage mothers under 18. These policies might assume that there is an over-reliance on benefits by teenage mothers, or that a teenager may become pregnant in order to receive benefits, so more punitive measures are needed to discourage this behaviour.

Research undertaken by Sawhill et al, (2010), found that welfare reforms did have a small effect on the reduction of teenage pregnancy in the USA. However, the Alan Guttmacher Institute (AGI), an agency that focuses on sexual and reproductive health, policy analysis and public education, states that there is often a lag of several years before a teenage mother will become welfare dependent. Statistics from the AGI also claim that 85% of teenage pregnancies in the USA are unintentional. However, according to Child Trends, a research organisation in the USA, nearly 80% of teenage mothers do eventually go onto welfare and 55% of mothers on welfare were in fact teenagers at the time that their first child was born.

Research by Hoffman (1998), and further supported by Allen and Dowling (1998) has shown, on the other hand, that teenage mothers who may have entered the welfare system at an earlier age tend to leave the welfare system earlier than other mothers in a similar socio-economic bracket than themselves.

Hawkes (2003) cited in Duncan et al's *Teenage Parenthood: What's the Problem?* (2010), used three sets of statistical analyses to determine (1) the life course for mothers pre- pregnancy, (2) the early life circumstances of babies at nine months, and (3) behavioural, cognitive and health outcomes for children at the ages of three and five.

The first set of analyses indicated that teenage motherhood status was a symptom of poor socio-economic conditions, not the cause of it. The second set showed that children born to teenage mothers were in fact disadvantaged, not by having a teenage mother but because of the circumstances in which they born. The third set of analyses showed that being born to a teenage mother does not disadvantage a child and makes little difference to cognitive scores.

Overall, Hawkes found that being a teenage mother does not lead to poor outcomes for the mother and her child and suggests that government policy should focus on the social and economic causes of teenage motherhood. The generational disadvantage therefore is that of generational selection through these pre-existing factors of exposure to poor social and economic conditions. This discursive formation is understood as reinforcing already established identities or subjectivities, thus experience becomes the sum of the person.

2.5.2 Government policy and teenage mothers

Duncan (2010) argues that policies focused on the consequences of teenage motherhood only approach the wider issues of social disadvantage obliquely, therefore policies need to be directed towards improving the socio-economic conditions and circumstances of these young women.

There is growing research in the field that challenges the negative view of teenage pregnancy, and Higgenbottom et al (2005) have stressed the need for government policy to take into account the positive experiences and ambitions of teenage mothers that qualitative studies in this field present. This view is echoed by a number of other researchers such as Phoenix (1991), who carried out a study of teenage mothers in the 1980s and found that most of the mothers and their children were faring well and that motherhood seemed to have pushed some women into education or employment.

Jewell et al (2000) stated that the perspectives of teenage mothers need to inform government policy and Swann et al (2003) stressed the need for more qualitative research in this area in which the views of teenage mothers were represented. It may well be the case that, as chapter one of this study indicated, the traditional and assumed order of progression in life, from primary to higher education, may not be suitable for all and there should be less emphasis on the state as manager of the institutionalisation of the life course (Boli-Bennett and Meyer 1978 and Mayer and Muller 1986).

Government and local policy may need to incorporate the view that young mothers may want to return to education or employment when they are ready to do this and legitimise this view which represents a different life pattern from the norm and different life choices, which may not sit well with policies that assume otherwise. This is the assessment of Hockey and James (1993) who discussed normalisation by age based on views of order. Duncan (2010) goes on to suggest that teenage mothers are viewed as ignorant and immoral because they have deviated from the planned pathway of life. He goes on to suggest that a refocus is needed on the value of teenage motherhood, and a focus on the positive benefits and experiences of becoming a parent, and on the young parents' own individual strengths.

Research presented above strongly indicates that there is a need for government policy which acknowledges diversity and difference amongst teenage mothers and strategy that should be implemented to support this. Research previously presented

suggests that even when pregnancies are unplanned, teenage mothers seem to find motherhood fulfilling and any plans that they may have had prior to having a child then seem to be postponed for a length of time until their child is older.

There is much emphasis on the role of the main carer in a baby's early life. This period of time is often applauded in financially secure/older/married women; however, it appears to be frowned upon when single, less financially secure teenage mothers choose to do this, and their dependency on the welfare state is often highlighted instead (Kidger 2004).

Attachment theory proposes that new-born babies need continuous loving care from their main carer for many months to enable secure attachment to develop. This period of time in a teenage mother's life should then be commended, not vilified, which leads to the suggestion that government policy should recognise the positive choices of young mothers in being full-time care givers during the first few years of their child's life, with the intention of re-entering education or employment in flexible stages.

Smith (2002), argues that

...in Britain...the economic orthodoxy...reflects a gendered injunction to deny women the right to bear children early from choice (Smith, 2002, p.499).

The Social Exclusion Unit, according to Bullen et al (2006) suggests that educational and employment disruption is one of the major disadvantages of teenage parenting, hence the implementation of government policy, which outlines that school age mothers should return to education within four months. Bullen et al (2000) argue that the initiative to encourage teenage mothers to return to education within four months denies these young mothers rights and choices offered to mainstream, traditional parents on traditional maternity leave.

2.5.3 Further studies evaluated using the British Psychological Society checklist for evaluating qualitative psychology research

The studies presented in the next section were also referred to or critically reviewed as part of the literature review for the study (see appendix 3).

2.5.4 Positive experiences of teenage motherhood and changing identity

In “Positive experiences of teenage motherhood: a qualitative study”, Seamark and Ling (2004) used social construct theory to interview nine women who had their first child as teenagers in order to investigate their experiences in relation to their roles as mothers and expectations of their futures.

The conceptual framework of the study was designed around the positive psychological belief that motherhood may be a turning point for some teenage mothers, and acknowledged that there may be opportunities for teenage mothers to continue their education later in life

Methodology

Purposive sampling was used to select a homogeneous group of women from a GP Practice computer database in East Devon, born between 1975 and 1981, who had first conceived as teenagers.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted and the researchers used Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyse the results. The study was carried out over a period of 14 months and research focused on gathering the views of the participants in various areas such as:

- background demographic detail,
- situation before pregnancy,
- the pregnancy and birth,

- the child, and
- overall experience of teenage motherhood.

Main findings

The main findings of the research were:

The women had positive attitudes towards motherhood, and despite citing quite difficult times in their lives when they experienced hardship, they felt that having a child was worth the difficulties they had experienced, and they were also able to reflect on positive experiences of pregnancy. The participants interviewed by the researchers also felt that motherhood brought them a sense of direction and helped the formation of their identity. One participant explained:

I thought she was fantastic, fabulous. She changed me as soon as she was born. I grew up straight away. And ever since she was born, she made me feel completely different. I sort of totally grew up (Chloe).

The findings also indicated that the mothers were still keen to return to education in the future and recognised that all was not lost if a decision to become a teenage mother had been made:

So I've got a lot of years ahead of me, so I could still do that [finish my BTEC] if I wanted to (Chloe).

The researchers claimed that the participants had positive outlooks on motherhood and did not feel that their lives were ruined by early motherhood, and had realistic plans to return to education later in their lives.

I've spoken to places where I'm going to train and I'll apply probably in a couple of years or so ... In the spring I'm going to take a couple of A-levels, just to prove that I can still learn, just to give me an advantage

over people just coming out of school and college, and hopefully it will go well (Beth).

These self-reflections seem as though early pregnancy may have given the mothers an impetus to improve their lives:

I didn't really know what I wanted to do [before], and I sort of didn't have any ambitions, whereas now I'm determined to go and make a success 'cos I have to for them (Beth).

Strengths of the study

The strengths of the study derive from the qualitative stance of the research which focused on gathering the views of the participants and the use of IPA to analyse the data. The methodology used was thus effective in gathering the perspectives of local teenage mothers and discussed and presented real life issues.

Weaknesses of the study

1. The study stated that pregnancy rates are highest in the most deprived areas and it challenged the view that teenage pregnancy causes or perpetuates a cycle of deprivation, stating that problems of deprivation rather than teenage pregnancy relate more to the background of the mother. Although the study included this statement in the introduction to the research, it did not seem to consider this aspect during the course of its research and did not appear to establish any relevant information about the socio-economic background of the participants and their subjective educational experiences before pregnancy.
2. It did not appear to identify any barriers to learning during pregnancy or after pregnancy for the teenage mothers.

3. The small homogeneous sample size may not be generally representative of teenage mothers and therefore the findings may not be applicable to teenage mothers in general. The researchers used purposive sampling from a selection of teenage women identified from the Honiton Medical Practice patient database. This means that the group was homogeneous to that specific area and had similar background characteristics, although these individual characteristics and the relevance of, for example, socio-economic background information was not illuminated. In terms of validity, the findings may therefore be different if this study was conducted in, for example, an inner London borough. Hence the findings from this study cannot be generalised to the teenage mother population, though they could be used to inform local strategies.
4. Once the study had summarised its main findings, it would have been appropriate to consider 'what next strategies' that could be applied locally. The teenage mothers in the study indicated that they would like to return to education or employment in the future; however, specifically what educational programmes might be suitable for them and what support they might need to enable this to happen was not referred to in the study.
5. There is also some concern that the interviewer was a GP who was known to some of the women. This may have accounted for the fact that the participation rate decreased from an initial 17 to just 9. The reflexivity of the researcher is apparent when she states that the participants may have "been trying to 'please the interviewer' by telling her what they thought she wanted to hear". The researcher stated that tentative conclusions could thus be

drawn from the verbal experiences of the participants for this reason.

6. The study concluded that the participants found motherhood fulfilling and that having a child seemed to provide the impetus for change for the young mother. The findings do not appear innovative in terms of psychological research in this field. For example, Furstenberg (1987) and Hosie (2006) arrived at similar findings in their research, and although Furstenberg's research was undertaken amongst black teenage women in the USA, its findings were very similar. It may have been the case that the findings were authentic and innovative in relation to the characteristics of the teenage mothers living in the local primary care area; however this was not indicated by the researcher.
7. The researcher maintained that there is little research in the field of teenage pregnancy within the primary care field, hence the alleged uniqueness of the research, however Dennison (2004) produced *Teenage Pregnancy: An overview of the research evidence*, for the Health Developmental Agency, which brought together a number of studies in relation to teenage mothers from a healthcare perspective.

Allen and Dowling (1998), using social construct theory, conducted a qualitative study representative of a varied group of 84 mothers who had their children between the ages of 16-19. The mothers derived from a range of demographic areas spanning Hackney (very high teenage pregnancy rates), Leeds (medium teenage pregnancy rates) and Solihull (relatively low teenage pregnancy rates). The study also involved interviewing 24 fathers and 41 grandparents. *Teenage Mothers: Decisions and Outcomes* was undertaken to enable an account of how teenage mothers think and behave during and after their pregnancies. The participants attended in-depth

interviews in order for the researchers to gather their views on the factors surrounding their decisions to continue with their pregnancies. The main findings of the research concluded:

- Teenage mothers came from varied socio-economic backgrounds.
- Few of the teenage mothers expected to be in council accommodation, on welfare benefits or single parents.
- Two thirds of the mothers were educated to GCSE level and had GCSE qualifications.
- One fifth had left school at 15 or younger with no qualifications.
- Nearly one third were unemployed at the time of pregnancy; however, after pregnancy three quarters were unemployed.
- Two thirds stated that they had changed their employment or education plans as a result of pregnancy.
- One quarter were in receipt of benefits pre-pregnancy compared with up to 80% after pregnancy.
- There was no evidence to suggest that teenagers became pregnant just to get a council house or benefits and many appeared naïve about this.

The study concluded that teenage motherhood often resulted in very poor short-term outcomes, for example, deprivation, dependence on welfare benefits, poor social housing, poor educational outcomes, etc.

Strengths of the study

The study privileged the voices of the participants and presented the actions and contexts of individual participants.

The conclusions of the study are interesting as the researchers found that many teenage mothers were happy with their lives, in stable relationships, were self-

sufficient and not on benefits, and some were owner-occupiers. This study then presented contrasting views and the data may therefore suggest that teenage mothers are not a homogeneous group and should not be referred to as such. The study suggested that strategy, policy and services need to be flexible in order to meet the differing needs of the mothers.

Weaknesses of the study

The study did not produce the type of knowledge or data in order to understand contexts, processes or structures within which individual participants were based or located.

- a) For example, the study produced contrasting results and stated that teenage pregnancy resulted in very poor short-term outcomes. There was little clarity in terms of the researcher's interpretation of "short-term" and the differences in these short-term outcomes amongst participants.
- b) The researchers claimed that the participants varied demographically; however, there was no indication of whether the sample was therefore culturally representative as the researcher does not mention this. If the sample was culturally representative, data pertaining to the individual characteristics and ethnicities or even religions of the participants was not taken into account or analysed. This was a golden opportunity to do so.

The study recommends a positive approach to reducing the negative effects of teenage motherhood, to help single parents return to work and also to improve their educational outcomes to enable their independence.

These findings support the view that there can be positive economic outcomes for teenage mothers and, though the realities and sometimes the hardships faced by

teenage mothers are portrayed, the approach is less fatalistic than pragmatic in not romanticising teenage pregnancy but presenting teenage pregnancy warts and all.

2.6 Psycho-social epistemology

2.6.1 Motivation, engagement and identity

Furstenberg's longitudinal ethnographical research, *Unplanned parenthood: The social consequences of teenage childbearing* (1976) supported the claim that early child bearing was a disruptive event with poor consequences for the young mothers. Twelve years after he first interviewed 400 black teenage mothers below the age of 18 in Baltimore using social construct theory, Furstenberg found that the vast majority of these women had returned to high school and graduated and one fifth had taken a college course. By their middle forties many of these women had substantially furthered their education and most were financially self-sufficient. Furstenberg found that the main motivational factor, from a humanistic theoretical point of view, was the fact that they wanted to achieve set economic goals in order to provide a better life for themselves and for their child.

The data implied that many of these young mothers had a strong sense of self-identity, were highly motivated to continue their education and many were successful even though they were aware of the powerful and dominant social constructs and stereotypes surrounding the black population, especially black teenage mothers, namely (1) young black sexuality (promiscuous), (2) high rates of black teenage pregnancy, (3) chronic dependence on the welfare state, (4) high rates of poverty, (5) high rates of crime . All of these constructs were seen as endemic at that time, as part of the tangle of pathology surrounding "black ghettoization" (Sampson & Wilson, 2000).

Strengths of the study

The findings were enriching and enlightening, especially at that period of time as it presented black teenage motherhood in a different and positive light, as well as in its application of social constructionism and personal construct psychology (Kelly, 1955) with which to allow young black females a voice and to present comparatives which enabled a shift from the negative connotations associated with black teenage pregnancy (SmithBattle, 2007). It also shed new light on the children of these young mothers, who also had positive outlooks on life and did not, contrary to popular belief at that time, have ambitions to become teenage mothers themselves.

Furstenberg dedicated much of his career from an early age to finding out more about the concept of black teenage motherhood. He was able to understand the individual contexts, structures and processes within which the participants were situated. He also shows reflexivity by openly stating that his early skills of research were quite crude, however through time, these skills have been refined and he appears to have adapted and responded to the circumstances and the real-life issues of his participants throughout the study period. His responsiveness to the social context in which the participants were situated is evidenced through the trust that he has maintained with his participants over the 30 years, and also with the children of the initial participants, which has enabled rich and enlightening data to be presented.

Higginbottom et al's (2005) UK study was undertaken based on similar ethnographic traditions. An exploration of the *Teenage Parenting Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Young People in England* (Higginbottom et al, 2005) employed social construct theory to explore the teenage parenting experiences of young people of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, African-Caribbean and dual ethnic origin in England. It also aimed to explore the consequences of teenage parenthood for the sample group and to also consider perspectives held by the local community on the concept of teenage parenting.

Higginbottom et al (2005) carried out a study in three locations: Sheffield, Bradford and the London boroughs of Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark over a period of two years. The methods employed by the researchers were:

- Telephone surveys with service providers and interviews with teenage pregnancy coordinators (43 in total).
- Focus groups and interviews with young people aged 19-26 who had been teenage mothers, interviews with teenage fathers (aged 20-25) and interviews with current teenage mothers aged 20-25 (88 in total).
- Interviews with grandmothers aged 37-53 (10 in total).

The researchers found that the majority of young black and minority ethnic teenage mothers they interviewed had clear goals and career aspirations. At least half of the sample was educated to GCSE level and a small number had A levels. Experiences of continuing education were mixed and the researchers stated that challenges lay in the support and facilitation of teenage mothers back into education. In a similar vein to Furstenberg's study (1976), many of these young mothers saw parenthood positively and as an impetus to creating a better life for themselves and their child and they also had a strong, positive sense of self-identity as a mother and did not view early motherhood fatalistically. Data presented by the researchers demonstrates that both service providers and teenage mothers challenged negative constructions of teenage mothers by dominant discourse in society.

Um, I have 10 GCSEs and 2 AS levels. Um, like I said um, I'm hoping to do midwifery in three years' time or in two and a half years, when he goes to nursery (Interview 62).

Strengths of the study

- a) These findings were revealing and presented minority ethnic teenage motherhood in a new light, especially as there was little research at that time in the field of minority teenage parenthood. Existing research in the field portrayed black teenage parenthood in a negative, poor light and had linked black teenage motherhood to (1) higher conception rates than those for white teenage mothers, (2) black teenage mothers having a higher number of sexual partners (3) more single-parenthood households and (4) neighbourhoods with concentrated numbers of black and ethnic communities (hyper-ghettoization) producing higher teenage conception rates (Lemos 2009).
- b) The voices of the participants were listened to and lay accounts were privileged with strategies implemented as a result.
- c) There was recognition of the real-life difficulties faced by the participants and an understanding of this was relayed to the reader through analysis of the data which presented the contextual situational hardships faced by the individual women and also a balanced positive view of their motivations, ambitions and goals.
- d) Individual perspectives and accounts were deemed valuable in enabling local services to reflect some of the findings of the research and new tailor-made strategies implemented locally to support black and minority ethnic teenage mothers more effectively.

Weaknesses of the study

- a) There was little indication of individual characteristics amongst the purposive sample in terms of socio-economic differences or

class differences. Hence an assumption could be made that characteristics of all black minority ethnic women as a homogenous group. Especially as it draws on the concept of ethnicity as being situational dependent on the context (Mason, 2000), therefore further exploration of this would have been useful.

- b) There was a focus on the social differences across different ethnic groups; however, there was little exploration of the differences within these groups. The study recognised the importance of self-assignment of ethnicity (Nazroo 1997). These self-assignments could also have been explored further in order to consider any additional effects because of this.
- c) The researchers claimed that there may have been bias in the selection process as initial participants may have been known to healthcare service providers who were involved in the recruitment process.
- d) The researchers recognised the need for local services to be tailor-made to support the local needs of teenage mothers, therefore did not suggest any specific interventions. Service users reported that there was a prioritisation of policy and services being directed towards prevention of teenage pregnancy rather than post-pregnancy support. The researchers concluded that there was a need for further research into policies which engage and support teenage parents into local services.

2.6.2 Avowed and ascribed identity

This section highlights disadvantage that had set in at an early age. These young girls were failed by an educational system that excluded them and established the

groundwork for a lifetime of economic exclusion and poor outcomes.

Kirkman et al (2001) carried out research using social constructionist psychology in Australia with teenage mothers, who were aware of the negative images and misrepresentations of teenage mothers in the media and wider society; who, however, saw themselves as good mothers with high quality parenting skills. Many felt that their lives were enhanced and enriched as a result of having a child and this in turn enhanced their sense of self-identity (Hirst 2003a).

Bell et al (2004) in their study of rural areas in Britain also found that the teenage mothers they interviewed reported positive aspects of teenage motherhood. These aspects included growing maturity, increased self-esteem, increased status (respect) and feelings of being a responsible young adult (deJong, 2001).

McDermott et al (2004), in their review of teenage mothers' experiences, highlighted that teenage mothers had to contend with social prejudice and therefore had to build skills of resilience as well as developing a strong sense of identity.

The researchers found that teenage mothers in their study felt stigmatised but still retained positive views of their pregnancies and felt that motherhood would provide them with social recognition and the "good mother" identity which was supported by discourse of their child's needs and how they viewed and defined themselves within this discourse. The mothers in the study were also clear that they would pursue educational goals later in life and had a strong desire to be "good" full-time mothers who stayed at home as well as not wanting to be seen as being dependent on benefits.

In contrast to the above, some teenage mothers felt that they were not "good enough" to have goals in life.

.. I didn't even think of these high paid jobs that I could have done.

(Hughes et al, 1999, p.37).

Hughes et al (1999) and Arai (2004) state that the low social constructs and expectations of other people made life fatalistic for the young teenage mother who

was never encouraged or supported to envisage other options but early motherhood. These negative views appeared to then further de-motivate young mothers, reinforcing a sense of low aspirations and ambitions. This is further supported below:

‘Affluent middle-class girls have higher education, careers and financial independence to look forward to. ...Girls from deprived backgrounds, with little education and doing under-paid repetitive jobs may find the notion of having a baby even at a very young age a more attractive proposition. Moreover, they know that they are not sacrificing much in terms of future prospects’ (Simms (1993), *Children & Society* Vol. 11, p.252-263, 1997).

2.7 Maternal engagement with education

2.7.1 Effects of maternal engagement with education on life outcomes

Sullivan et al, in *Continuing Education Mitigates the Negative Consequences of Adolescent Childbearing* (2010), investigated whether continuing education could help young mothers overcome the obstacles associated with an early pregnancy. The researchers recognised that research already in the field indicated that economic and social disadvantages in a teenage mother’s home environment may be attributed to the mother’s family background rather than age at birth. The researchers also recognised that maternal educational attainment can change post-birth and, over the course of their lives, young mothers are able to catch up with their peers and achieve comparable high school completion rates. Sullivan et al also claimed that educational achievement later in life, and the benefits that this may bring, is paralleled by higher quality home environments that teenage mothers are able to provide for their children. The main investigation of this study was maternal age at first birth and how educational attainment impacts on children’s environments.

Data sample and methodology

Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) in 1997, a sample of PSID families was selected for the Child Development Supplement (CDS-1). This sample included an over sample of low income and minority families. The main outcome measure used was the HOME scale (Home Observations for Measurement of the Environment). The HOME scale is based on interviews and observations undertaken at the family's home and higher scores indicated better and more supportive home environments (based on the mother's ability to construct an emotionally and cognitively supportive environment). Indicators of maternal attainment were women's grade level at age of first birth. Changes were indicated by improvements in education such as graduating from school. Several other factors were determined to be influential on the child's environment such as demographic variables (ethnicity/child's age and gender) and family structure. Maternal ethnicity was also accounted for.

Analysis

Step one of the analysis involved: bivariate analyses of the home environment by mother's age at first birth and educational attainment. Step two involved multivariate regression analyses used to isolate the link between continuing education and age at first birth in the home environment.

HOME Score results:

- Adolescent mothers had the lowest mean score.
- Mothers who attended college before first birth had the highest mean scores.
- Mothers who had not graduated from high school had the lowest mean HOME score.

Multivariate analyses

When indicators of continuing education after first birth were included in the analyses, maternal age at first birth was no longer significantly associated with age at HOME scores. The negative consequences associated with an early birth were mediated by the continuing education efforts amongst younger mothers and those mothers of 18-19 years of age, even after controlling for socio-economic status, family structure and previous education attainment. Therefore the data indicated that mothers who went back to education provided better home environments for their children.

This data supports the view that women can overcome difficulties associated with an early birth if they return to education and this is an important factor in improving long-term outcomes for their children.

The researchers also concluded that children who were white and lived with a father figure lived in better home environments than those children in single parent families and children who were non-white. It made no reference to non-white children who lived with a father figure and assumptions, after reading the data and findings, can be made that imply that this sample group may be non-existent. The study also goes on to suggest that further research is needed to help minority and single parent families to improve home environments. This suggestion was made with no recognition of different types of households within minority groups and communities.

Validity of results

It was felt that the study had a clear statement of aims and the study was relevant in terms of identification of the positive aspects of teenage motherhood.

It was felt however that identification of the sample for the research was not appropriate or rigorous enough for the following reasons:

1. The Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) estimation is only based on a few individuals or families per neighbourhood. This data set however was not designed to take into account neighbourhood effects and risk factors such as neighbourhood poverty. Bronfenbrener (1979) stated that contexts influence individuals or form the context in which we act (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan & Aber 1977). There is therefore a need to examine the multiple contexts that influence families and children from a behaviourist point of view.
2. Validity of HOME scores and appropriateness of its application is questioned as living in a dangerous and impoverished neighbourhood is associated with more restrictive parenting practices (Anderson, 1991; Furstenberg, 1993).

Klebanov et al (1994) found that even after controlling for maternal and family characteristics, living in a poor neighbourhood is associated with lower quality physical home environments. With this in mind, there is no evidence that the researchers took individual or neighbourhood circumstances into consideration or made reference to socio-cultural differences across environments and cultures. There was no evidence of professional reflexivity, professional objectivity or suggestion of further analysis of the data. It may appear that data was analysed with reference to the application of ethnocentrism which may have portrayed the home environment of BME families in a negative light. It was short-sighted of the researchers to suggest the need for further research to assist in improving the home environment of BME families without attempting further analysis of the data in relation to neighbourhood effects, which may have assisted in the mediation of the HOME Score results.

It would therefore be difficult to generalise or even partially generalise the findings to the wider population (Polit & Hungler, 1991).

2.8 Conclusion

According to Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis (1980), the knowledge generated by qualitative research is significant in its own right, and some studies in this literature review have reinforced this view and there is acknowledgement that some of the findings in the studies critiqued cannot be generalised to the wider teenage motherhood population.

This chapter aimed to critique research in the area of outcomes for teenage mothers and, in particular, highlighted research meaningful to this study in an attempt to establish any possible links. The aim of this was to present a theoretical rationale and context for this study. Although the research field is extensive, there was clear evidence of these studies using thematic analysis to evaluate their data. The literature search did not highlight evidence of research in the area of Educational Psychologists supporting successful outcomes for teenage mothers. There was also no evidence of a study of this kind using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

In the following chapter the methodology of the study will be presented and described in detail.

3. Methodology

3.1 Overview

The previous chapter presented a critical review of research of teenage motherhood and, in particular critiqued previous research undertaken in the field in relation to outcomes for the teenage mother. The aim was to identify research that had been undertaken to identify specific areas of the study area which remained largely unexplored, especially in relation to teenage motherhood and educational psychology. The research also highlighted specific characteristics that may factor into an individual's decision to return to education post-pregnancy, such as ambition or a new-found sense of responsibility. The extensive body of research highlighting dominant negative discourses in the field of teenage motherhood was also explored in the previous chapter.

In this chapter, the methodology of the study is detailed to include the research model, the design framework adopted and the research procedure which incorporated the method of data analysis, as well as ethical concerns and reflexive considerations.

This study aimed, through individual semi-structured interviews, to vocalise the previous educational experiences of post-school age teenage mothers in order to present the realities they experienced that may not be represented in dominant discourses. This would subsequently identify alternative discourses and various pathways; identify areas of support and particular individual character strengths that would assist in the teenage mother's positive reconnection with education. The focus was also to define the type of support needed from an Educational Psychologist in order to improve long-term outcomes for this group. The literature review largely portrayed the teenage mother as a pariah, a non-contributor to economical society.

It is important that a possible alternative view is explored and presented as viable in the field of educational psychology and within wider society in general. Only when a viable alternative is presented will professionals begin to shift their thinking and perceptions about the teenage mother- largely portrayed as a problem- to an individual with strengths and the potential to succeed and contribute to present day society.

Constructionist psychologists such as Gergen (1985) stated that what is perceived as “objective knowledge” is actually culturally and historically dependent and thus encourages challenges of cultural “universalisms”. This was presented in chapter one of this study and emphasises the point further. As an Educational Psychologist, it is crucial to challenge universalisms and beliefs widely held over time, allowing for change to occur. The difficulty here is that one has to be aware that it is a “universalism” in the first place. Is the Educational Psychologist operating unconsciously within discursive elements? Is it even important to consider whether the Educational Psychologist has adopted a casual acceptance of the realities presented?

3.2 Paradigm shift?

Since the 1960s the term paradigm has been used to describe a fundamental change in perception of events. Thomas Kuhn (1962) characterised the term as a cluster of concepts with corresponding methodological approaches. According to Kuhn, paradigms are essential to scientific enquiry and according to Kuhn:

a student in the humanities has constantly before him a number of competing and incommensurable solutions to these problems, solutions that he must ultimately examine for himself
(Kuhn (1962, p.12)

Kuhn argued that a paradigm shift occurred when scientists experience anomalies

in research that cannot be explicated by existing universally held paradigms. Kuhn argued that anomalies are present in all paradigms; however he went on to observe that when faced with anomalies, scientists ignore what they are presented with or claim it as an error. This is an important point as Kuhn claimed that when scientists are presented with conflicting data that may lead to scientific change, the conflict that this creates will either lead to scientific change if the anomalies are accepted as significant and valid, or they will simply be dismissed and explained as falsifiability (Popper, 1963). The struggle for the scientist here is whether anomalies encountered and deemed significant will then lead to the formation of a new paradigm that may significantly disrupt the status quo or the collective worldview. A classic example of a paradigm shift is the Einsteinian theory of relativity (1916) which significantly transformed metaphysics during the 20th century by proposing that all motion is relative and not, as the previous world view suggested, uniform or absolute. Kuhn argued for the importance of this paradigm shift and its representation of scientific evolution.

In contrast with empiricists and logical positivists, Kuhn maintained the importance of the direct role of the researcher as scientist, and argued that worldviews should shift in response to new evidence. In the opinion of the researcher, there should not be much difference between paradigms in science and in psychology, other than the object or focus of the respective inquiries of the two disciplines.

3.3 Positivism and anti-positivism

In psychological and social research, major paradigms or worldviews have dominated epistemology and the authentication of various psychological-complex (Rose, 1979) theoretical propositions, namely positivism and anti-positivism theories. Positivism (Comte, 1856) values objectivity, measurability, predictability and controllability in the production of scientific knowledge. It regards human

behaviour as largely static and passive, influenced by external objective events and thus adopts a realist ontological approach. Within this paradigm, language is viewed as a neutral communicative tool and epistemological knowledge is deemed to reflect reality through the use of methods of inquiry such as quantitative analysis and reductive experimentation.

Anti-positivists believe that reality is multi-layered and complex (Cohen et al, 2000) and a single phenomenon attaches several interpretations. The epistemological stance of the anti-positivist is that reality is formed based on subjects and events as perceived or interpreted by the researcher. There is acknowledgement that knowledge is mediated by social and historical change and that researchers should acknowledge this change within research. There is emphasis on understanding that the authentication of a phenomenon is accepted when the level of understanding is such that the concern is to examine the unexplored dimensions of a domain to uncover or reveal new forms or positions. Therefore anti-positivism stressed the interpretation of phenomena and how the researcher makes meaning out of this process (Husserl, 1967; Schutz, 1967), as well as underlining the importance of qualitative research techniques such as interviews and observations.

3.4 Selection of the research design

This study involved the exploration of psycho-social phenomena in structural society. Interview questions (appendix 1) were presented in order to explore this phenomenon further. Methods to facilitate this exploration and utilisation of the results emanating from this exploration were also needed (Dash, 1993). Therefore, in order to explore the teenage mother's realities it was crucial to target questions that could facilitate the type of qualitative data required, as well as the identification of an effective research tool employed to analyse and interpret this data.

There is awareness that research aims stem from different individual viewpoints, conceptions and interpretations of social reality and therefore different paradigms or

concepts have evolved in order to accommodate or govern the criteria applicable to the research in question.

The researcher must state at this point that other methods of qualitative research, as methods of enquiry, were considered and a Thematic Analysis approach was initially the chosen research method for this study. However, the literature review highlighted studies relating to teenage motherhood using Thematic Analysis. The literature review also highlighted that there was need for research to conceptualise the voice of the teenage mother. FDA was therefore chosen instead, as it seemed the most appropriate analytical approach with which to conceptualise voice and data within structural society.

A qualitative approach to data collection was therefore required and semi-structured interviews allowed the opportunity to explore participant responses in greater detail as it was important to gain a rich understanding of participants' views. It was also important to allow flexibility for the participant to talk freely, which gave opportunity for more in-depth responses.

The interview questions related to participants previous educational experiences and career aspirations pre and post pregnancy.

Participants were required to consider their future educational choices, and whether this was relevant to them. Participants were asked, in addition, about perception in society in relation to avowed and ascribed identities of the teenage mother and to consider the position of the teenage mother in society.

3.4.1 Choice of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) as a methodology

Foucault (1998) promoted the use of knowledge as a body for analysis in order to reveal the systematic production and reproduction of particular social power relations in society (Holloway, 1997; Hall, 2000).

Foucault claimed that particular discourses maintained and fuelled networks of

social meaning or technologies (tools) which served to regulate and control individuals in seemingly natural ways (Seale, 1998). Foucault popularised the application of discourse analysis to textual material as an effective tool for investigating links between data and the domination and subjugation of the individual and the reinforcement of the image of the “self” as an object in relation to dominant power relations in society.

Foucault claimed that discourses have significant implications for power within society and dominant discourses privilege particular versions of social reality that continue to legitimise and maintain existing power relations and social structures. Some dominant discourses are so entrenched that remain unchallenged because individuals in society are simply unaware of them. *Technologies of the self* were then established and maintained by acts of “subjectification”, which act as a self-regulation device that guides individuals in society. Technology, for Foucault, was defined as instrumental reason that allowed for the management of people as a group, allowing for the control of entire populations- thus essential to modern society and capitalism.

Through *technologies of the self* and *technologies of power*, the individual is defined and their conduct is regulated and controlled in order to become an element for the state through the exercise of power. Foucault termed this “governmentality”- the aim being to produce practical, compliant and useful citizens (Foucault 1988), thus achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations.

According to Foucault it is the corpus of statements or discourses which presents ‘subject positions’ which then have implications for subjectivity and experience. A subject position identifies:

a location for persons within a structure of rights and duties for those who use that repertoire (Davies and Harre, 1999, p.35).

Moreover, the researcher needed to be aware that these subject positions also have

implications for moral adequacy (Cuff, 1994) and moral order (Sacks, 1992) in representation of how individuals viewed themselves (within spoken interaction) and then how this then becomes technologies of the truth, according to Hodge (2002).

It is through exploration of the function of corpus statements (Foucault, 1972) that works to reinforce dominant relations of power (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995) and the co-existing formation of domains and objects (Deleuze, 1988; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Foucault, 1972). The role of the Foucauldian discourse analyst, therefore, is to identify or establish the:

relationship of language to other social processes and of how language
works within power relations (Taylor, 2004, p.436).

Therefore, in relation to this study, it was the voice of the teenage mothers that remained the focal point of this research, gained through exploration of rich oral narratives and real –life oral accounts presented by this group. The evaluative element of the narratives enabled the researcher to explore, identify and analyse corpus statements or discourse seen as concrete historical formation characterised by the participants’ use of language. This therefore highlighted the significant contribution of the voice of the teenage mothers to the historically-orientated ‘genealogical’ analysis of discourse in the tradition of Foucault. Therefore the focus, in the view of the researcher, was on qualitative analysis with a concern of discourse in Foucauldian sense and consideration to marrying the two together; to produce the data needed in which to contextualise the research.

Foucault’s theory of discourse is situated closely in knowledge, materiality and power and the omission of these three dimensions of analysis seems to undermine the epistemological strength and as a result fail to take into account the enormity of FDA. The Archaeology of Knowledge (Foucault, 1969) is a methodological paper promoting what Foucault called “archaeology” or the “archaeological method”. This is an analytical method he implicitly used in some of his previous works.

Therefore the choice of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis provided the theoretical and principle basis in which to explore and analyse the data and *then* relate analysis to the wider discursive field. It is the situation of analysis in the wider discursive field that makes FDA a methodology in itself, in the opinion of the researcher. Exploration of the discursive field analysed the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power. This is discussed further in section 3.6.1 and reference to appendix 7. In the meantime it is important to consider:

...what differentiates a methodology from another is how the researcher thinks about the data, and how you then conceptualise, and think from the data (Richard and Morse, 2007, p.48).

3.4.2 Systems of technologies

Foucault presented systems of technologies and each was presented as a metaphor of the discursive within particular domains or grids. Scheurich (1997, p.98) presented “grids of social regularities” and discussed the formation of a problematic group constructed within this grid. For Scheurich, the grid defined and constituted not only “who the problem group is but also how the group is viewed or known as a problem” (Scheurich, 1997: 107).

Rose (1996), considered technologies as representing “any assembly of practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal” (Rose, 1996, p.26). This relates to understanding how and why subjects are governed from a distance by those who are deemed to hold power through an ensemble of knowledge, persons, buildings and tools.

The researcher therefore chose to present the analysis critiquing government policy formation over a period of time, in relation to the discursive object or ‘the problem’ identified as teenage motherhood. Through this analysis, differentiation of power was made very explicit and it then became even more significant to attempt to redress the balance, even in theory only, by presenting and interpreting the subjective

views of the participants.

3.4.3 The psychological-complex

This section will present psychology's historical role as a social, or even as a political, science. This section is important to this chapter and to the research itself as it provides a historical context for further exploration of Foucault's technologies of power and self. It is quite intriguing as through practical reasoning, the reader is able to become familiar with technologies of power and self within the historical field of educational psychology. This section may leave a sour taste in one's mouth, especially, in relation to the "covert" use of the practice and application of educational psychology.

Foucault's investigations into understandings of madness, which he suggested were not based on scientific knowledge, but had been constructed to address specific social and economic needs of urgency at particular historic moments (Foucault, 1954, 1961). Rose (1979), an Anglo-Neo-Foucauldian, expanded on Foucauldian thinking in presenting an understanding of how psychology served the composition of the social concept. His 1979 paper referred to the social sphere and described the use of the "psychological" or "psy" professions in regulating family life, rationality, sexuality, and the mind.

Rose argued that the historical use of psychology in society was a tool to intellectually measure the mentally defective in relation to the social and intellectual character of individuals. He presented this investigation in reference to eugenics and dominant discourse in the psy-social field at that time in relation to moralisation and medicalisation.

Rose claimed that the regulation of individual differences in society derived from a Darwinian concept of society based on Eugenics (Galton, 1883), which is a bio-science theory of natural selection practices which promotes the improvement, by control of human reproduction, of the hereditary qualities of a race. Based on this

principle, mental measurement would then differentiate in terms of the “norm” and the “deviant”, the “superior” and the “inferior”, claiming a relationship between intellectual ability and genealogy. This theory led to the stratification of individuals in society in which the “superior” or “elite” were encouraged to transmit their genetic characteristics to succeeding generations in increasing numbers whilst the viability and the reproductive capability of those deemed “feeble minded” or “mentally defective ” was neutralised.

In accordance with the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913, individuals were then placed into four different categories of mental defectiveness. According to Rose, the next concern by authorities in society was how to socially manage, educate and govern ‘mentally defective’ individuals and thus began

a complex series of struggles and alliances between distinct discourses organised into various strategic ensembles (Rose, 1979: 58).

Psychology was the perceived solution, and its development in the 20th century identified and analysed social problems within specific problem spaces, leading to the administration of individuals by particular treatments or regimes according to their abilities in schools and prisons amongst other locales. In the sphere of education in particular, psychology helped to identify the weak-minded and assisted in the direction of the “weak” to appropriate institutions such as special schools and this is the point at which discourses began to be psychologically strategised.

Cyril Burt was appointed to his post in 1913, as the first Educational Psychologist examining elementary school children who were thought to be mentally defective using the ‘statistical norm’ which signified and symbolised what was considered to be normal and desirable. This strategy aligned norms of socio-political and institutional desirability with statistical theory furthering the promotion of psychological intellectual testing as an effective tool with which to classify individuals in society, thus enabling state regulation and management of these

individuals into various ensembles.

The arguments raised in this section, in the researcher's opinion, are significant in terms of psychology's historical function and its use in social structural change. Foucault suggested that the researcher should "look further afield to identify a wider array of discursive effects" during analysis of discourse (Foucault, 1981a, p. 66). This identification, he suggested, would add political impact to the analysis. Therefore in relation to this study, ontology within the domain area of teenage motherhood is clearly located within a socio-political context. However, more importantly it should be considered whether the Educational Psychologist or the 'empathetic' Educational Psychologist even is still working within Burt's legacy. Is the teenage mother, categorised by professionals and local agencies as morally and mentally defective, and as such deemed unable to contribute economically to society, classified as a pariah as a result of technologies of power which have worked to problematise the teenage mother in this way?

3.5 The challenges to positivism and the researcher's epistemological and ontological stance

Throughout the 1970s mainstream empirical psychology was challenged by other theories such as post-structuralism/post-modernism, social constructionist theory, and feminist standpoint theories. These theories presented the individual as a dynamic subject of investigation (Cole, 1995; Fairclough, 1992; Wetherell, 2001) and where language, deemed a neutral communicative tool by mainstream empiricists, now became the prime subject of investigation. Discourse analytics promoted the view of language as a major contributory factor to the individual's construction of knowledge and meaning in the social world (McGhee, 2001; Seale, 1998). Phenomenologists advocated the importance of participants' understanding of their lived experiences and the meanings attached to this. In this respect, ontology from a philosophical and historical viewpoint was viewed as acquired from a

relativist epistemological position, with no one truth or absolute.

Critics of positivism largely operating within the theory of interactionism such as Margaret Mead (1928), Parker (1995) and Blumer (1954) argued the importance of studying how individuals acted within society. Theorists within the anti-positivism field promoted the view that a social phenomenon is not a stagnant event and all interactive experience is viewed within a particular social and historical context. It is this change in itself that is deemed to be of great importance by social constructionists as it represents historical change accompanied by a change in attitudes. Social constructionists believe that all knowledge is in this form, mediated by social and historical conditions which must be acknowledged in research. Anti-positivists such as the philosopher Dilthey (1880s) emphasised the importance of *verstehend* or “understanding” to the validity of first-hand positioning from the subject’s or agent’s point of view in relation to their lived experiences within the historical, cultural and societal context.

Social theorists such as Weber (1897) and Simmel (1950) expanded on this school of thought within the sociological field and claimed that interpretivism or interpretive sociology (*verstehende Soziologie*) was crucial when interpreting priori matter. Interpretivism has no reductionist assumptions and emphasises that social reality is viewed and interpreted within the field of hermeneutics by the researcher according to the ideological, cultural and historical positions of the participant. Therefore, knowledge is personally experienced rather than acquired priori matter or imposed externally. Weber and Simmel viewed research participants not as objects subject to the external forces of the natural world but as socially interacting ‘subjects’ constructing their own everyday realities. Interpretivism involves the researcher taking into account the meaning that research participants attach to their lives and it is this concept, according to Weber (1897) that gives the sociologist an advantage over a natural scientist because of the subjective understanding of individual action within this process.

Although this research is largely viewed from a critical realist standpoint, relativist relations within this process have been greatly valued. In respect of this, it is important at this point to state that this study initially sought to interview professionals supporting teenage mothers as well as teenage mothers themselves. After much reflection, it was considered that significant value must be given to the voice of the teenage mother as the literature review indicated that further research should attempt to incorporate the voice of the teenage mother.

In relation to the interpretation of data, the researcher was also aware that professionals supporting teenage mothers may unwittingly attempt to interpret the views of teenage mothers and it was important that data enabled the voice of the teenage mother to be heard and interpreted neutrally by the researcher and not a professional working within the field.

It is also important to state at this point that Foucault referred to research participants as ‘objects’ who were deemed neutral in the research process aligned to a positivist school of thought, although Foucault displayed conflicting attitudes towards his own ontological position, in the opinion of the researcher – which will be explored further in this chapter.

In contrast with Foucault, the researcher referred to what Foucault defined as ‘objects’ in this study as ‘participants’ or ‘subjects’, thus giving significant meaning to participant voice. Significant meaning and value will be accorded to interpretation of this dialogue in relation to the extra discursive, which Foucault considered the main factor in the analysis of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA). The reader, at this point, may find this declaration concerning, hence the importance of pointing out that Foucault himself did not propose a specific framework to adhere to when adopting a Foucauldian approach to analysis, he merely recommended and suggested. Therefore FDA can be creatively applied dependent on variable factors such as domain area to be explored, researcher interpretation of data and researcher ontological stance.

Herein lies the risk of FDA. As FDA is relational in its very nature, approach and application, this then assumes that it would be illusory of the researcher to seek some form of clarity in its position. However, clarity in its position could be sought in relation to and within the discursive field where it is deemed most prominent based on analysis of textual discourse. The risk is therefore that ambiguity could be applied to multiplicity of interpretation and open-endedness, echoing much of the criticism directed towards Foucauldian and post-structural researchers.

This point led the researcher to consider whether it was necessary to apply a design framework, as qualitative research is widely considered to be more than the application of a set of methods and, according to Godrick (2011), using a framework is not strictly necessary. However there is also acknowledgement and significant understanding that a framework can act as a rubric or road map to consistently guide the research process (Goodrick, 2011).

3.5.1 Situated research-thinking outside of the box

The dichotomy between “prescientific” (or non-scientific) thinking and scientific thinking is crucial as it appears that it is not only anti-positivist research that is a product of the opinions and assumptions of culturally, socially and historically situated individuals. Standpoint theorists argue that scientific thinking and positivist research are themselves socially dichotomy situated (Hartsock, 1983; Smith, 1987; Collins, 2000; Harding, 1991) and what appear to be objective and neutral scientific research findings are actually forms of social organisation (Smith, 1987; 1990). Harding (1993) observes that individuals who practice science are predominantly members of dominant groups and it is this membership which serves to ultimately decide what is defined as problematic. Additionally, this method of definition is not transparent or ethical as these concerns about the world are not only legitimately portrayed in the practice of “science”, per se, but scientific researchers also promote ideological apparatus that embeds *their* situated perspectives, concerns, and

experiences into the cultural vocabularies of individuals. For example, Smith (1990) maintains that knowledge emerging from the experiences and interests of elitist groups infiltrates individual conceptions of the social world and will thus influence how individuals interpret and give meaning to lived experiences. This then means that elitist systems of thought are privileged.

Within specific discursive fields, Harris (1981) expresses an anxiety over the choices available in the context of cultural, social and political forces. He puts forward the view that individuals have a tendency to “extrapolate assumptions of character from a dominant model, to assume that a people or an individual ought to conform to particular models whether imposed or wished for” (Harris, 1981, p.43).

Bryce and Humes (2003) reiterate the uncertainty of post-structuralism when they argue the difficulty of seeking clarification and meaning, as there will always be other interpretations of the data. To seek a definitive account is, thus, a misguided undertaking. Therefore what may once have been perceived as potentially scientifically uncertain (due to multiple possible interpretations) then becomes alluring as it validates each researcher’s ideological position without establishing perceived hierarchical levels of scientific proficiency. As such, discourse analysis informed by Foucault endeavours to avoid the positioning of one “truth” over another, recognising that

there can be no universal truths or absolute ethical positions [and hence] belief in social scientific investigation as a detached, historical, utopian, truth - seeking process becomes difficult to sustain (Wetherall, 2001, p.384).

Furthermore, Wetherall (2001) asserts that the process of analysis will always be interpretive, always contingent, always a version or a reading from some theoretical, epistemological or ethical standpoint which is not viewed as equating to uncertain, un-systematised speculation but instead reflects the characteristics of the creativity of

those undertaking discourse analysis within a Foucauldian/post-structural framework. Therefore, the researcher acknowledges that there will always be other perspectives through which to interpret research material.

Understanding how power and privilege shape the psy-complex requires an analysis of the context of discovery and, therefore, an identification of the researcher's position in relation to the research. According to Hidding, Needham and Wisserhof:

Each of us – academics, policy makers, politicians – tends to think within a discourse. But we do not need to be imprisoned within it. Moreover, being made aware of what we have been taking for granted ...can be liberating, academically and politically (Hidding, Needham and Wisserhof, 2000, p. 129).

England argues that the Foucauldian Discourse analyst also needs a high level of 'self-conscious analytical scrutiny' (England, 1994, p.82), in order to experience and understand the social norms and embedded social practices that operate within the discursive field and view experiences from a different perspective. According to Foucault, it is therefore not the role of the researcher to interpret what has already been interpreted but to uncover the will to the truth by viewing the problem externally in order to uncover the hidden practices and assumptions that create the rules of discourse formation. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis can therefore explore possibilities as well as impossibilities, and exclusion and inclusion criteria, within specific discursive fields. In view of this, Parker (1992) raises concern with the researcher's ability, or willingness, to question established norms and practices within their discipline.

A post-modernist stance puts forward the view that objectivity and an objective ontology is impossible to achieve as the interpreter unconsciously brings their beliefs, values and attitudes to the interpretative research (Tosh, 2002; Hollinshead,

2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Crotty, 2007; Bryman, 2008).

Romero and Stewart (1999) argue that stories used to make sense of the world are often influenced by “master narratives” which originate within dominant (elite) groups and then influence how members of both dominant and marginalised groups interpret and judge their lived experiences.

Kuhn (1962) also proposed that scientific research can be manipulated to serve specific purposes. He stated that scientists may choose to ignore new research findings that might disrupt or threaten existing paradigms that serve to maintain the status quo. Consequently, research should

engage in struggle, to reveal and undermine what is most invisible and insidious in prevailing practices (Ball, 1995, p.267).

Foucault (1981a) stated that it is the responsibility of the researcher and author to authenticate the analysis of the texts. He expanded on this in “What is an author?” (1977a), where he presented the “author-function” as an intricate and multi-faceted discursive function which highlights the dominance of specific discourse and affirms the researcher status within a given discursive field or society.

Discourse analysis that draws on the work of Foucault is well placed to instruct the researcher to ‘think outside of the box’ in order to challenge pre-existing paradigms, constructs and discourses within the structure of wider society and also within the discipline in which the research takes place. This exploration requires the researcher to explore her own position within this process. These issues will also factor into researcher reflexivity, explored in section 3.9.5 of this study.

3.6 Foucault and epistemology

Rorty (2000) and Nielsen (1991, 1996) suggested that research can be undertaken without any commitment to any philosophical *theory* about the nature of truth. This appears reassuring, although more in a philosophical sense than an empirical one. In

a judgemental sense, whether the empirical discussion has been convincing or not, one's stance very much depends on one's empirical judgements on ontology, the study of a specific domain and relations amongst this within a complex social world. According to Foucault, individuals interpret and create social reality within specific discourses. This "truth" is not relativist in its very nature but relational dependent on the social practices and knowledge within that particular discourse. These social practices then create the formation of material and physical entities such as powerful and dominant social institutions. Foucault claimed that it is this knowledge which creates this social reality, thus refuting the metaphysical claim that truth and reality are socially constructed by individuals in society.

According to Prado (2006), Foucauldian thought is presented as the "discursive-currency" – truth as internal to discourse. This maintains that truth is "property attributed to expressions sanctified by contextual and historical linguistics practice criteria" (Prado, 2006, p.3). Prado goes on to state that Foucault's conception of the 'truth' is both realistic in nature and commitment. The aim here is to determine how power produces discourses of truth through a 'complex enabling and limiting of discursive actions' (Prado, p.27) ... 'determining what may and may not be uttered' (Prado, p.76). Hence Foucault's concern is not with the structure of linguistics and whether what is uttered is true, but with the production of the truth through exploration of the extra-linguistic or the extra-discursive. It then appears that Foucault's "truth" is tacit as there is an assertion that extra-linguistic reality therefore plays no epistemic role in the determination of ontology and that this extra-linguistic reality is relational, dependent on current discursive forces in society at a given time. In one of his claims regarding truth and power, Foucault asserted:

the problem is not changing people's consciousness — or what's in their heads — but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth (Foucault, 2000, p.133).

This was an important factor for Foucault as what he referred to as the “truth” also represented significant power systems in society. He therefore appeared to be making the distinction between what can be seen as a representation of the truth, a type of “truth talk” (Rorty, 2000), appearing to surpass the argument that the truth is merely a justification of views.

Foucault appeared to dismiss idealism when he stated that a discursive analysis of truth:

Does not mean that there is nothing there and that everything comes out of somebody’s head (Foucault, 1988, p.17).

Taylor and others, such as Fraser (1989), Habermas (1987), and Walzer (1988) also commented on what were deemed Foucault’s apparent self-contradictions:

In this respect no commitment to ‘representationalism’ is needed or any philosophical theory about the nature of Truth. It appears that there is little rationale to the view of, as Davidson states ‘an un-interpreted reality, something outside all schemes and Science’ to which our sentences, theories or conceptual schemes correspond or fail to correspond (Davidson, 1985, p.198).

This section has produced some conflicting views on Foucault’s position concerning ontology. However, the view in respect of this study is that language mediates between the human world and the world within and therefore it is the perspective of the subjective which the researcher advocates, in line with post-modernist thinking. It is thus the individual meaning of the interpretation of reality or the “truth” within specific discourses that will provide the ontological basis for this study. There was acknowledgement that each “system of power would have its own variant of established truth ... for such systems are co-extensive with human society”

(Taylor, 1986, p.70). Even if alternative systems of power could be established via exploration of the extra-discursive, what would be considered to be “the truth itself” would still be relational and in existence within this specific system of power. It would be a “black box” (Latour, 1987) with its own network of people in society involved in indifference and therefore treated as fact. Therefore the researcher has adopted a critical realist view with relativist tendencies which suggests that there is a reality or “truth” existing externally and separately from existing perceptions of reality, while taking into account the meanings the participants attribute to their actions or environment. The participants will therefore be referred to as subjects in the study able to apply meanings to their thoughts and actions, in contrast with objects that cannot. Furthermore, it is the constitution of the subjects that is linked to the history of current forms of power and it is this connection that appears to give “bite” to Foucault’s theory.

3.6.1 The analysis of policy formation and the extra discursive

The aim of the study was to explore the views of the teenage mothers and place these views within the wider discursive field of teenage mothers in society. This is important as literature explored in chapter 2 largely portrayed specific, negative yet dominant discourses within this field.

Therefore FDA was identified as an effective approach and methodology in the process of analysing the operation of the extra discursive – powerful social norms and structures which continue to shape and maintain dominant discourses over time. According to Foucault, the production of discourse on the practices of government and policy formation is questionable. It is the analysis of discourse that will, according to Foucault, highlight the connection between political and public policy formation and maintenance and the formation of specific discourses. It is this analysis of discourse that will shed light on the operation of the power and social practices that form discourse and the struggles of alternative discourses to affect

those already established practices in the field in order to obtain dispositive status. The predominant goal of discourse is to ensure its material continuity over time.

Said (1983) averred that critically analysing discourse was to strip it of its

esoteric or hermetic elements and to do this by making [it] assume its affiliations with institutions, agencies, classes, academies, corporations, groups, ideologically defined parties and professions (Said, 1983, p.212).

Foucault advised the analyst to be aware of underestimating the discursive impact of the textual material and the material (physical) effects of the extra discursive. It is here that the researcher is expected to work in two analytic domains, which adds a unique epistemological strength to the method. This appears to be lacking in both Parker's (1992) and Potter & Wetherell's (1987) version of FDA. Therefore the focus for Foucault is not the exercise of analysing or interpreting discourses in the text or "markings of a textuality", but that one fixes it also in the *physicality* of its effects and in the *materiality* of its structures (1981a, p.66).

Policy formation and documents relating to this were also analysed using FDA in order to interrogate the discursive field. Foucault's ideas on how discourses are maintained and produced raise questions on public policy formation. There is awareness that analysis of discourses has the potential to demonstrate a relationship between political policy and the maintenance of powerful discourses. Foucault himself stated:

there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. (Foucault, 1980, p.93).

There is awareness that policy formation may target specific groups of people,

which may have positive or negative impacts on the lives of individuals within particular target groups. Policy formation may affect the social and economic fabrication of individual lives, which may lead to injustice, unequal status and unequal access to resources. How is public policy influenced and maintained and what specific cultural norms or national events assist in the maintenance of policy?

Rose and Miller, in their analysis of public power based on Foucauldian thinking, claimed:

Through an analysis of the intricate inter-dependencies between political rationalities and governmental technologies, we can begin to understand the multiple and delicate networks that connect the lives of individuals, groups and organisations to the aspirations of authorities (Rose and Miller, 1992, pp.175-176).

The interest for the researcher is not just how to employ discourse analysis but how to employ it constructively within a Foucauldian framework. In the arena of policy making and decision making within the field of teenage mothers, it has already been noted in this study that decisions taken at the macro level may not be representative of the subjects within this domain. Therefore the researcher needs to:

Consider policy formation, implementation and evaluation in the many elements of policy process (Jenkins, 1993; Hill & Hupe, 2006).

Explore the relationship between policy process and implementation of policy via specific means of social administration defined as 'self-organising, inter-organisational networks' (Rhodes, 1977, p.53).

For Foucault, the importance of highlighting and analysing the discourse's chain of linkages, its historical claim, its material representations and the discourse's seizure of power, is stressed here. Power for Foucault cannot therefore be realised through fixation on the structure of the text or formed in the significations of the text

but must be linked to material strategic methods of force.

3.7 Method of analysis

Foucault's approach emphasises discovery, description and meaning, and a way around "society-individual dualism" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p.93). FDA does not appear to actively promote a specific methodology; however, various methods have already been highlighted. Foucault may appear to have remained ambiguous in relation to methodology; however his guidelines and underlying principles for undertaking FDA were very prolific.

Harwood (2000: 42) concluded this as:

‘an intentional strategy, for if Foucault had prescribed specific methodology, he would have fallen foul of his own critique of truth and science.’

Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine (2008) suggest that

Foucault's methods provide an approach, emphasising discovery, description and meaning, and a way around "society-individual dualism" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p.93).

There is acknowledgement however that, in the creative sense (Feyerabend, 1993, as cited in Thomas, 1997), this could be viewed as systems of thought to move beyond the restrictive practices of methodological rules (implicit or explicit) that serve to restrict and inhibit thought (Thomas, 1997, p.85). In response to critics, this could be applied to the multiplicity of interpretation and open - endedness of Foucauldian and post-structural research.

When undertaking FDA, there is the option however of being explicit about research methods as in the example of Foucault and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1974) or *The Order of Things* (1974) without:

“trying to dictate what is to be done” (Foucault, 1980a, p.236).

Mills (2003) claimed difficulty making use of Foucault’s themes, although she claimed that it was easier to repeat his ideas.

Foucault presented guidelines and underlying principles for undertaking FDA and his concern was to explore areas in relation to problems rather than subjects. To be able to do this, he developed particular methodological questions and elements of this can be used to develop a methodological framework. Some authors who have suggested methods for conducting FDA have received criticism for their failure to take into account FDA in full. Some of these models are presented in the next section for further discussion and will focus on the importance of including the extra discursive: the historical, material and socio-cultural effects within specific discursive fields.

3.7.1 Models of FDA

Restricting the focus of the analysis of discourse within Foucauldian thinking to a purely linguistic exercise (according to context and focus) was a criticism of Potter & Wetherell (1987) by Fairclough (1993). Potter & Wetherell presented FDA as “forms of spoken interaction...and written texts”. Fairclough claimed that this focus would lead to the marginalisation of the depth of discursive phenomena beyond the text. Fairclough presented FDA in terms of its social action and interactional dimensions and stressed the importance of studying the discourse in question both as an internal observer and an external observer.

Abrams and Hogg (1990) have criticised Parker’s (1990) method for the identification of discourses presented as:

a system or set of statements that construct...an object (Parker, 1992, p.5; 1994, p.245).

Abrams and Hogg state that the role of the analyst as interpreter is obscured due to

the way that “discourses are realised in texts”. This criticism could be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it appears that Abrams and Hogg are stressing the importance of the researcher in the exercise of examination of discourses, and Parker may be stressing the importance of realising the discourses in the text without stressing the importance of the skills of the researcher in this process. Secondly, in accordance with the fundamentals of FDA, this should not really be an issue as the main focus for the interpreter is analysing the extra discursive – that which is not realised in texts. If the emphasis lies solely with the act of interpretation, there is agreement in line with Foucault that the text could therefore be interpreted by anyone with interest in the study of linguistics.

It is at this point that the researcher needed to adopt a wide ranging genealogical view *and* approach to critical examination to ensure that analysis does not accumulate in the formation of single and vertical lines of investigation.

Burr (1995) also views FDA as a set of meanings, images, stories and statements. Without reference to the significance of materiality [as evidenced in the above criticism of Parker (1992) and Potter & Wetherell (1987)], analysis in this respect remains largely condemned to fixation on textual and material affects beyond the text, and within the discursive field reduces the epistemological strength of this method of analysis as triangulation in this respect is omitted.

McHoul & Grace (1997) claim that without reference to the underlying conditions which constitute whether a statement is true or false discursive analytic procedures will only be able to make isolated comments limited to the analysed text. Also, there is understanding that Foucault stressed the validity of discourse analysis located within an agenda of a historical system of thought. In this respect, Parker (1992) and Potter & Wetherell (1987) involve historical forms of analysis in only a marginal capacity.

It is important therefore for the researcher to move, in Said’s (1983) formulation, both in and out of the text in order to substantiate the analysis of the text with extra-

discursive elements, i.e. to drive the analysis of the discursive through the extra-discursive.

Foucault's theory of discourse is situated closely in knowledge, materiality and power, and use of language analysis serves these factors.

The omission of these three dimensions of analysis seems to undermine the epistemological strength of approaches that deny this and as a result fail to take into account the enormity of FDA.

Willig (2008) presented a six stage method of undertaking FDA, however she acknowledged that the six stages presented "do not constitute a full analysis in the Foucauldian sense". Willig (2008, p.115). Kendall and Wickham (1999) also proposed a conceptual understanding and methodology of FDA. They suggested that the researcher should undertake the following:

Avoid teleology (final causes) and look for possibilities.

Avoid political interpretations.

The belief that history is limitless

This approach seems to fit within the basic principles of FDA. However, further reading surprisingly revealed that the authors adopt a "Pyrrhonian" sceptical approach and suggest "suspension of second-order judgments" (p.13) for example, and further suggest that researchers should resist the assumption that there is "hidden meaning" in text (p16). The Pyrrhonian approach to research advocates the acceptance of things as they seem which is in direct contrast with Foucauldian thinking which aims to uncover the "truth". This approach appears quite contradictory, particularly since the very aim of research is to inquire further to reveal deeper meanings or unearth new possibilities.

Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) also present a method of FDA to include guidance on genealogy, subjectification and governmentality.

3.7.2 Credibility in Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

A limitation of qualitative research is that it does not meet the requirements of verification presented by positivist measures for controlled and measured objectivity of the researcher in relation to interpretation of data. However this chapter has established that FDA is not simply a matter of interpretation of text according to linguistic traditions. It is more deeply concerned with the complex formation of discourses which encompass social practice and social practice which form sets of rules which facilitate discourses. Thus research within the interactionist and constructionist paradigm is more concerned with understanding discourses of teenage motherhood within a historical, political and socio-cultural context (Schurink, 1998).

3.8 Research procedure

Discourse analysis begins at the point of problematisation, according to Foucault. It is at this stage that the researcher is drawn towards “engaging in a ‘progressive politics’ of the present” (Foucault, 1987) It is through questioning the present that attention is drawn to the historical material practices of discourse and awareness of counter discourses within the genealogical background of the focus area. FDA utilises talk from various forms of interview data and text and is applicable to various forms of communication material, wherever meaning exists (Willig, 2001).

This study has not claimed analytical accounts of major social institutions. However, it chose to follow Foucauldian thought in its attempt to explore the micro factors – the individual teenage mother who may be influenced by dominant social meaning ascribed to society by major discourse and social administration as well as exploration of the discursive field in which the individual is situated and positioned.

The relationship between the micro and how this is managed by macro policies that claim to be true-to-life representations of those within the discursive field was explored.

3.8.1 Teenage mothers as participants

Five post-school teenage mothers were recruited. Willig (2008) suggested that due to the nature of the analysis, smaller sample groups would produce a large amount of information. All participants live within the same outer London borough in which the research takes place.

Two of the mothers were aged 19 at the time of data collection, three were aged 17. Four of the teenage mothers had one child under the age of three years old. One mother had two children who were both under the age of three years old. All ages were voluntarily disclosed at the time of data collection. One participant had left school at the end of year 11 and the other four teenage mothers had left school before the end of year 11 without the option of sitting an exam.

The criteria for using these participants was that they were post-school age teenage mothers. In this study, no consideration was given to individual cultural identities, ethnicity, religion or socio-economic status; while this information may feature in the research findings, it was not directly asked. This will be given further consideration in the future in relation to teenage mothers.

3.8.2 Recruitment of teenage mothers and potential participants

A group of teenage mothers was addressed at a children's centre in an outer London borough. The aim of this session was to inform a group of teenage mothers of the research and to enable individuals to be potentially recruited. All participants were given covering letters, outlined in appendix 2, outlining the nature of the research to read and were asked to express an interest at the end of the session.

At the end of the information session, three teenage mothers out of four in attendance expressed an interest in the research study, a response rate of 75%.

Following an information session at a support housing scheme in the same outer London borough, three teenage mothers expressed an interest. The response rate here was also 75%.

Participants who agreed to take part in the research were contacted via telephone two months after the information session to arrange a convenient time for the interviews to take place. All participants were invited to attend interviews at the Educational Psychology Service.

However, all participants chose to have the interviews in their home.

3.8.3 Validity and quality concerns in qualitative research

In this study of teenage mothers, quality issues were approached in a number of ways:

Interview stage

Participants were asked whether there was anything they would like to add at the end of the interview, in order to inform the researcher of any missed information or information needing further clarification. (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). Debriefing after the interviews offered all participants the acknowledgement that the process may be quite difficult for some involved in the study.

Data collection stage

In addition to substantial engagement with participants and the subsequent transcripts, credibility checks were employed, for example re-reading transcripts, checking, verifying and clarifying statements made with each participant, summarising key themes and also clarifying significant events at the end of each interview.

During analysis, corpus statements relevant to the problem, in accordance with FDA, were selected and the researcher remained aware of the identification of possible alternatives (Data analysis procedure, appendix 17).

This study adhered to validity criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) (empiricist research criteria for qualitative research- appendix 11). For example:

- The researcher has confidence in the ‘truth’ of the findings (credibility).
- The findings are applicable in other contexts (transferability).

- The findings are consistent and could be repeated (dependability).
- There is a degree of neutrality and the findings of the study are shaped by the participants and not by researcher bias (confirmability).

The study also adhered to the “concepts of authenticity and morality” presented below (Angen, 2000)

Authenticity – whereby the purpose of the study is clear, and the researcher empowered the participants. There is also acknowledgement by the researcher of an element of reciprocity in respect of how the research will enhance the local community.

Morality or ethical validity – recognition and acknowledgement by the researcher of the political and ethical considerations of the research.

Further information is located in appendix 9.

3.9 Procedure for data analysis

3.9.1 Five steps within FDA

The researcher has selected five steps deemed relevant within FDA and has tailored the procedure to suit the aims of the research . The steps are taken from a number of other researchers and put together in order to provide another way to undertake FDA. The researcher felt that these steps seemed relevant and appropriate for the study and encompasses the methodological aspect of FDA.

1. *Identification of a Corpus of statements*- Samples of text that constitute a ‘discursive object’ relevant to the research
2. *Subjectification* - Subjectification refers to the making of the subject via technologies of power and self or an ‘ethics’ of self-formation in relation to a moral code (self).
3. *Subject positioning* - Positioning is a perspective from which to view a version of reality. A location for persons within a structure

of rights and duties for those who use that repertoire (Davies and Harre, 1999:35) Riessman (2002) was also concerned with how narrators construct their identities within their stories. The researcher was particularly concerned with ‘social positioning’ or ‘how narrators choose to position themselves’ within society (2002, p. 701).

4. *Positioning of researcher*- Positioning of researcher within and outside the discourse.
5. *Conditions of possibility*- the extra discursive

(Willig, 2003 & Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, 91).

The researcher will need to consider *what else* could be realised from the data or what data could constitute an alternative discourse? The researcher will also show awareness of the importance of trying to uncover the significance of alternative discourses through the discourses of those voices historically dismissed (Parker 2002, 10). This procedure is presented further in appendix 7 and appendix 17.

According to Foucault, in order to explore and tackle the ideological function of a science in order to reveal and modify it, one should ‘question it as a discursive formation.’ (Foucault, 1980a, p.237).

This implies that the researcher should be concerned with the formation of the discursive object in order to explore and consider how its objects are formed. Consideration will need to be given to how particular discourses or differences are communicated and made explicit and the realities that this presents for the participants.

3.9.2 Problematisation of the discursive

The analysis therefore sought to explore pedagogical discourses or discursive practices based on prevalent enunciations (Foucault, 1972) that define the problem

group and objects situated within the problem group (Scheurich, 1997). In other words, the problematisation of the formation of the problem (Willig & Rogers 2008). In the view of the researcher this is in accordance with the Foucauldian approach to analysis as the focus was on tackling what *appeared* to be presented as the truth by questioning its discursive formation. This was undertaken using the previously presented five step method and its relation to the extra discursive.

3.9.3 Interpretation of data

Recurrent terms, phrases, and metaphors referring to the object were also noted (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2002). These terms were used to form a corpus of statements.

By reading and re-reading the transcripts it was observed how different constructions of teenage motherhood were interpreted by the researcher and represented through language used by the subjective.

It was also significant to note the awareness of this by the subjective. What was even more striking was the similarity of the experiences of each participant within the system of education. Therefore both implicit and explicit references were highlighted and included covert references to how teenage motherhood was constructed and implied through subordinate or dominant positioning.

At this point in the process, attempts were made to contextualise the use of the discourses constructing teenage motherhood. This was done by observing what was achieved by those deemed to hold power in applying a particular discourse at a particular point in time in the discursive process.

3.9.4 Extract from interview data – selection of corpus statements

This extract is taken from transcription no.1. It was deemed by the researcher to be an example of a ‘corpus statement’ (appendences 10 &14).

4. I didn’t do very well at school, I didn’t do the whole of year 11.(Jane).

9. I wasn't the most academic student.(Jane).

29. But obviously you can tell...(Jane).

30. what's going to come out of life...(Jane).

This extract was selected from transcription no.2 and also selected as a "corpus statement".

73....Uni's different from college and it's not my thing...(Pam).

Once initial selection had taken place, the researcher then considered the subjectivity of the participants via technologies of power and self. At this stage it was important to consider subject positioning and narrator sense of self and consider how the participant interpreted the world from a particular perspective. This then led on to the positioning of the researcher considering insider and outsider standpoints, in relation to:

- When is insiderness a key to insightful analysis?
- Is there a fleeting aspect of subjectivity?
- Is insiderness marking all one's perception?
- Is insiderness standing in the way of clear thinking?

Next, questions in relation to the wider discursive and conditions of possibility (located in appendix 7 *_Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine 2008 & Willig & Rogers 2008*), were then explored and used to analyse the statements further. For example:

What social structure or representation of power is the discourse serving?

- a) What is it not?
- b) What is the genealogy of this?
- c) What is being pathologised or portrayed as "deviant"?

The next section discusses researcher positioning, reflexivity and subjectivity in more detail.

3.9.5 Researcher reflexivity and subjectivity

Following the above analysis, the researcher used a reflexivity and subjectivity checklist in order to reflect on the research process and the bracketing of personal views and perceptions. (Finlay, 2008, Appendix 12).

The procedure of FDA requires the researcher to explore the reproduction of self-privilege and interpretations of this through the process of considering how privilege is constructed and reproduced throughout the analysis. Therefore a deeply reflexive approach was needed, to place oneself outside of the study area or “problem” in order to become consciously aware of hidden assumptions, practices and rules that govern formation of the discourse. It is at this point then that *verstehen* (taking into account meanings) becomes very difficult indeed. How conscious is the researcher therefore, of the unconscious ties of one’s own seemingly dominant culture and how is *verstehen* then consciously achieved in this respect?

Self-conscious analytical scrutiny is crucial (England, 1994, p.82).

According to Smith, however, this is not enough. Smith (1990) and Wasserfall (1993) argue that merely acknowledging one’s structural position is not enough to dissolve power differences or suspend misplaced, self-indulgent assumptions about oneself, one’s research, or research participants.

Strong objectivity must coexist with a significant level of reflexivity and consciousness of subjectivity, and this will require the researcher to be prepared to be subjected to a high level of scrutiny. Furthermore, the analysis is focused on how and to what extent the position of the researcher in relation to “grand narratives” (Romero & Stewart, 1999) affected the structure and substance of the research. In relation to positions in the field of identity there was examination of how these grand narratives may have shaped the researcher’s personal and professional experience in the field. There was also analysis of influence when making sense of experiences in the field in relation to the interpretation of the interviewees’ responses and how these

participants made sense of their world. Therefore an understanding of embedded social practices gained from being inside the discursive field is needed.

This is a crucial point as the position of the researcher in respect of this study inevitably affects interpretation of data. There is awareness that FDA advocates that there is no one absolute truth, therefore the researcher is clear and explicit as well as transparent in respect of findings that may be contextualised and localised within a particular ideological field. This would then require the researcher to also present one's own assumptions, beliefs, and stereotypes for dissection, in order to analyse the use of grand narratives and how they give form and substance to lived experiences and the opinion of "self" in relation to identity and the identity and "differences" of others.

3.9.6 Self-positioning and researcher identity

The identity of the researcher of this study is acknowledged as that of the construction of a female writing this study from the perspective of an Educational Psychologist, tending to lean towards a socialist and feminist standpoint in relation to conceptualisation of one's political position and ideological view of the world. In relation to Foucauldian thinking, the researcher must be aware of the extra discursive field within which one is situated and the construction of the concept of identity in this respect.

There are also concerns in relation to self-positioning as the researcher presents a construction of self in accordance with Eurocentric values and conceptions and positioning oneself within this school of thought can itself be viewed as racially biased according to critical race theory (Gordon, 1999). Harris (1981) shows concern over the nature of choices available in the context of cultural and socio-political forces. He puts forward the view that humans have a tendency to:

Extrapolate assumptions of character from a dominant model, to assume that a people or an individual ought to conform to particular models

whether imposed or wished for (Harris, 1981, p.43).

Hence there is awareness that locating oneself as researcher has been criticised as “rhetorical manoeuvres” that are facile and ineffective (Benmayor 1991, p.159). This is further supported by theorists such as Collins (1998) and Hooks (1984) who note that even feminist sociology has proceeded in ways that distort and marginalise the experiences of ethnic minority women. Therefore ethnocentrism may appear as hierarchically beyond the realm of even the most earnest feminist standpoint theorist.

3.9.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues were taken into account throughout the study in accordance with the British Psychological Society Ethics and Code of Conduct (BPS, 2009) and the standards of the University of East London Research Ethics Committee.

These issues were clearly laid out in the participant explanatory letter and consent form (appendix 2).

Ethical issues were met in the following ways:

Informed written consent was gained from all participants and there was transparency during the planning and implementation of the study.

All participants were offered a debriefing session after each interview and informed that any data concerning them would be confidential and anonymised.

Participants were provided with anonymity in any documents or reports by changing their names, those of their children and other people they referred to during the interviews.

All teenage mothers were informed that unpublished data would be shredded and electronically deleted within two weeks of the submission date. All participants were informed that they were able to withdraw at any time up until publication without explanation or any disadvantage to

themselves.

It was agreed that following completion of the study, key findings would be summarised and shared with the participants.

Although it was not expected that the research process would cause any discomfort or distress, there was a very slight possibility that some participants might become emotionally distressed when talking about their feelings and experiences. Therefore a debriefing session took place and thereafter the researcher offered support by signposting participants to another service, dependent on the level and nature of distress.

3.9.8 Summary

An account of the research methodology and research approach was presented in this chapter. The next chapter will analyse data collected using the approach outlined in this chapter.

4. Analysis

4. Overview

This chapter formed the analysis of data collected, which was analysed using the five step approach as outlined in the previous methodology chapter. The five specific steps approach was developed within Foucauldian theory and the researcher identified these five steps as “best fit” with the data collected within the specific research area.

It was important for the researcher, in accordance with Foucauldian theory, to problematise the field of teenage motherhood and in order to facilitate this, textual analytics was undertaken. Therefore government rhetoric and policy formation over a period of time was analysed in order to present the “problem”.

Additional questions to further interrogate the discursive field were also used and are listed. The researcher chose to include these in addition to the five steps to allow a framework for data analysis that could be used creatively when needed. This is in accordance with FDA which has not adopted a specific rigid methodological format, therefore implying that creativity is to be exercised whenever possible.

4.1 Mapping the formation of the discursive

The introduction to this study and the literature review established that the field of teenage motherhood is problematised by dominant discourse which largely renders the teenage mother as “deviant” within particular systems of formation.

Historically, in line with Foucauldian thinking, the teenage mother was deemed problematic during the previous Conservative government (1992-1997). Much of the rhetoric at that time was centred on teenage mothers and welfare and social housing

dependency (Selman, 1997a; Selman & Glendinning, 1996; Sinclair, 1994).

At the 1992 Conservative Party Conference, Peter Lilley the Social Security Minister at that time, spoke witheringly of “young ladies who get pregnant just to jump the housing list”.

During the reign of the Conservative government, there was also a hostile press campaign that seemed to reflect the government’s stance on teenage motherhood at that time, with reports linking teenage pregnancy with the end or decline of normative family life in the UK.

The *Daily Express* of August 23, 1995, printed the following headline on its front page:

Scandal of teenage mothers as divorce hits a record level.

End of family life in Britain.

Teenage motherhood was also critically associated with having children ‘out of wedlock’ and this act of immorality was linked to the rise in poverty and welfare dependence of single mothers. According to Fagan (2001), the major change in teenage pregnancy is the abandonment of marriage, which in the author’s opinion derailed a future stable family life.

The focus here was on teenage mothers and welfare dependency as well as declaring that teenage pregnancy derailed the common or normative pathway to family life culminating in an unstable future of poverty. In 1986, the number of births to women below the age of 20 outside of marriage exceeded the number of births to the same within marriage for the first time in the UK at 39,613 outside of marriage compared to 17,793 and has steadily been on the increase since. (ONS /OPCS Birth Statistics - Series FM).

In 1998, former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher hit the headlines with her call for young unmarried mothers to be sent to convents:

Outcry as Thatcher says: “Send single mothers to convents”

(*The Express*, October 21st 1998).

Her comments included the admission that:

Some would say that we took the wrong steps many years ago when there were only a few such children... We wanted to do our best for them. Our best was to see that the young mother had a flat of her own... and also had an income to look after the child.

Thatcher then concluded that this had been wrong and that:

...in tackling the situation in that way we were unwittingly multiplying the number of people who had illegitimate children.

Thus the discourse from the Conservative government at that time appeared to highlight the “plight” of the “fallen young mother” – the teenage mother who bore illegitimate children. The discourse at that time revolved around the immoral behaviour of teenage mothers in society and portrayed teenage mothers as “sinful” and many were demonised for bringing shame to their families.

4.2 Genealogical examination of the emergence of governmental concern about teenage mothers in England – the formation of the moral discourse

Historically it appears that teenage mothers have been portrayed as “sinful” and the scourge of immoral behaviour and declining standards, an anathema to the social functioning of society and its social order. It is of relevance to this study to examine the emergence of dominant discourse in the area of teenage motherhood to identify the origins of dominant discourse portraying teenage motherhood as a societal problem.

The post-war period saw the creation of the welfare state which expanded welfare

provision for mothers and children. The Children's Act 1948 (Younghusband, 1949) and the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 (Mark, 2011) also led to the expansion of the duties and powers of local authorities to protect the welfare of children.

Bowlby (1966), a psychiatrist whose work was particularly influential among health and social care professionals (Appignanesi, 2009; Welshman, 2003; Riley, 1983; Rose, 1999), claimed that the interaction between mother and child during the early years of the child's life was crucial to enable healthy emotional development for the child. Also, a woman's ability to mother was a feature of her psyche.

The relationship between the mother and her child thus became permeated with political significance (Rose, 1999). This was important as in order to ensure the stable functioning of society and to ensure the health and well-being of the population, it was necessary to identify and help those mothers who were likely to raise the future delinquents and mentally ill members of society. Thus the seeds of the discourse promoting the problematisation of the teenage mother were sown and there was then much concern with the quality of mothering that a young teenage mother could provide.

4.3 The promotion of the teenage mother as an inadequate parent discourse

The view was promoted that unwed mothers were psychologically disturbed (Welshman, 2003). Bowlby argued that their illegitimate children should be adopted into "normal" family settings. If these children were not removed from their mothers' care, Bowlby maintained, illegitimate children were likely to grow up to become unwed mothers and fathers themselves (Bowlby, 1966).

The teenage mother was then deemed to be a problematic parent and in need of psychiatric assistance due to early separation from her parents. (Bowlby, 2005).

"Many of the girls are so young that they really require mothering and

their separation from their parents under these circumstances frequently results in a need for psychiatric help” (Medical Officer of Health, 1962, p.1).

Research shows that in the 1960s teenage single mothers were placed into mother and baby institutional homes to have their babies quietly and many were then pressured or forced to offer their children up for adoption (Nicholson, 1968; Spensky, 1992, Wimperis, 1960). Gough (1966), a visiting psychiatrist at mother and baby homes, stated:

“...I have seen many cases in which things seemed to be going seriously wrong with an infant’s development and response to mothering as the result of endless battles with a young mother who was incapable of providing ‘good enough’ mothering...”
(Gough, 1966a).

He went on to state that teenage motherhood was unfortunate because

“Ultimately, it is unhappy for the country itself, because it is often very doubtful whether these two sets of children can be assured the provision for normal emotional development which will enable them to become emotionally healthy citizens” (Gough, 1966b).

Gough was concerned here with the inadequacy of the teenage mother as parent. Using Donald Winnicott’s notion of the “good enough mother” (Winnicott 2005) he proposed that certain mothers, particularly those who were young, were unable to provide good enough care for their child.

4.4 The girls who went away

Extracts of interview data taken from *The Girls Who Went Away* (Fessler 2007) are presented below. These views are taken from teenage mothers who were placed in

institutions in which to give birth and then their babies would be offered up for adoption. Their views suggest that they were powerless, made to feel inadequate and unworthy of keeping their child, for the prime reason of being deemed an inadequate parent, in need of “support” by professionals who ‘know better’:

“Write down on this side of the paper what you can give your baby. Write down on the other side what the adoptive parents have to offer.” ... They said, “Well, just picture what he’s going to look like. You know, he’ll not have the nice clothes that the other children are going to have and on the playground, they’ll call him a bastard.”

“I feel as though I was preyed upon by this system, by these people that I was surrounded by”.

“You know what you did was wrong? You know that you are not really worthy of keeping your child? You can’t provide a home for that child. You can’t provide anything that child needs” (Fesler, 2007).

Ideological policy formation and ideology embodied in powerful social and political institutions led to the constitution of individual subject identities. This process of subjectification led the subject to consider as truth the inadequacy of one’s own parenting skills and ability to care and provide for a child.

Thus three significant assertions that would subsequently fuel dominant discourse and further underpin the problematisation within the discursive field were established:

1. The psychological immaturity of the teenage mother.
2. The risk of this psychological immaturity on the teenage mother’s child’s healthy development.
3. The legitimisation of government strategy in addressing the health of an individual as part of an effort to improve the overall health and well-being of the population (Foucault, 1998; Macleod & Durkheim, 2002). It was considered that with the right

professional intervention, both the young mother and her child could still become, in Gough's words, "emotionally healthy citizens".

Thus began the need for governmental political intervention in order to turn around the lives of the poor vulnerable, emotionally unstable teenage mother and her unwitting offspring. Hence the "scientific" problematisation of the teenage mother signalled the rise of a normalising and corrective form of power (Arney and Bergen, 1984) in the shape of grids or technologies designed to socially promote and portray the object in specific formative constructs within society. This then led to the development of policy formation which further regulated the object within society.

Rose claimed that the development of technologies represents 'any assembly of practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal' (Rose, 1996, p.26). It is therefore important to consider the actions of policy formation and its aims in accordance with FDA. Policy formation in this respect highlights the power differential and re-establishes just who or what is in charge here.

FDA highlighted the need for government to have "docile bodies" able to contribute to the healthy development of a structurally functioning society. Further consideration of this reinforces the perceived need to regulate time events for the individual in accordance with dominant discourse. For example, following a normative life pattern would promote the following: attending school, further or higher education, aspiring to and obtaining a successful career and within this life pattern there are assumptions that the individual would procreate at some point. This is the normative life pattern that many individuals are governed by.

Foucault called this "governmentality", and according to Foucault, this tool of government formation and regulation of docile bodies was so powerful that individuals followed this path of life without ever defaulting. This way of life ensured that society performed to its optimum, and all organisms and structures within society then functioned as they should.

Those who default from the normative order of life events such as the teenage mother are then perceived to be the “other”, the “deviant” who has “lost their way in life” or “fallen by the wayside” and these are the technologies produced that explicitly promote this construct so well. The deviant portrayed as the “other” thus becomes the socially excluded and grouped with other deviants classified or problematised as “those on the verge of society” for their very acts of defiance.

The “other” therefore becomes even more powerless as technologies produced by the government lead to further vilify the “vulnerable” object within specific systems of education, employment and welfare, for example seeking state accommodation or welfare payments.

The literature review established that many teenage mothers are placed in poor accommodation on sink estates and single parents under 18 receive reduced rates of income support and those under 16 have no entitlement at all (Selman and Glendinning, 1996). Yet this group are presented as morally and wholly financially dependent on the very regulators who initially problematised and subjectified their position in the first place. Hence it may appear that the teenage mother is vilified, punished or problematised for taking control of her ability to reproduce outside of normative functioning.

The literature review also previously established that the assumed order of progression in life, from primary to higher education, may not be suitable for all and Boli-Bennet and Meyer (1978) and Mayer and Muller (1985) proposed that there should be less emphasis on the state as the manager of the institutionalisation of the life course.

4.5 The promotion of the social exclusion discourse

Successive British governments therefore have regarded teenage pregnancy as a significant concern and moral and social problem. New Labour, through its Teenage Pregnancy Strategy (1999), linked early pregnancy to social exclusion rather than

personal morality, unlike the previous Conservative government. It aimed, instead, to reduce teenage pregnancy and increase young mothers' participation in education and employment. However, the problematisation of teenage pregnancy has been challenged by some researchers leading to some suggesting that teenage mothers have generally been made scapegoats for wider social and demographic changes.

With the Labour Government of 1997, the focus on teenage parents remained with the Home Secretary at that time, Jack Straw, quoted as facing the dilemma of how to deal with the pregnant teenager while,

...at the same time making the environment that creates teenage pregnancy a less friendly one.

(Bottomley, *Observer*, Feb. 1st 1998).

On the 8th December 1997 Tony Blair announced the setting up of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) to work on specific projects aimed at reducing social exclusion by producing “joined up solutions to joined up problems”.

The Unit produced a long and detailed report in June 1999 (SEU, 1999), which led to the “teenage pregnancy strategy” in order to attempt to cut rates of teenage parenthood and propose better solutions “to combat the risk of social exclusion for vulnerable teenage parents and their children”.

The 1999 report by the Social Exclusion Unit (p.17) notes that poverty is a key risk factor for teenage conceptions, but finds the assertion that pregnant teenagers choose to keep their baby so that they can claim benefit and housing both improbable and improvable (p.31).

The 1999 report by the Social Exclusion Unit also largely established teenage motherhood as a problem by publishing information that presented teenage mothers as a problem. The widely reported extract below presented by then-Prime Minister Tony Blair portrayed teenage motherhood as a problem, linking early pregnancy to low educational outcomes, social exclusion and low socio-economic status:

less likely to finish their education, less likely to find a good job, and more likely to end up both as single parents and bringing up their children in poverty.

The children themselves...have a much higher chance of becoming teenage mothers themselves. Our failure to tackle this problem has cost the teenagers, their children and the country dear.....

As a country, we can't afford to continue to ignore this shameful record....It can seem easier to sweep such uncomfortable issues under the carpet. But the consequences of doing this can be seen all round us in shattered lives and blighted futures.....

...that's why I asked the Social Exclusion Unit to study the reasons for record on teenage pregnancies....

Tony Blair, foreword, (1999) Teenage pregnancy: report by the Social Exclusion Unit, The Cabinet Office

The language used in the report is highly inflammatory and teenage motherhood reads as highly problematised and presented negatively. Further extracts state:

The facts are stark: This is a problem which affects just about every part of the country...

...This report sets out the Social Exclusion Unit's analysis of the problem; the decisions the Government has made about how to tackle it..... (p.6).

There is now a need to do better, drawing on a clear analysis of the problem (p.8).

'Chapter 10 details projects visited by the Unit which show promise in tackling the problems set out in this chapter....' Teenage pregnancy, (1999, p.61).

The report was supported by research into teenage motherhood which further

underpinned and supported the notion of teenage motherhood as a problem. It appeared that the government were problematising teenage mothers in a different way, one of problematising teenage motherhood through socio-economic, health and psycho-social language (Macavarish, 2010). The problem defined by the government then required further management in an attempt to reduce the high level of dependency on society as well as presenting it as detrimental to society in terms of the loss of knowledge and skills that could contribute to boosting the future economy of the country.

societies and economies become ever more dependent on skills and knowledge, the personal and societal costs of allowing significant numbers of teenagers to drop out of education are much higher than they were a generation ago...

This statement could be interpreted as:

1. Societal costs of welfare dependency which is portrayed as much higher than perhaps the 1970s.
2. Loss of new skills to the country's labour force and productivity (structural functionalism).

In a speech in 1998, the Home Secretary at the time, Jack Straw, stated that:

There is not much doubt in the minds of a lot of us that a combination of the collapse of unskilled and semi-skilled male employment, the availability of housing for single people from the age of 16 and the benefit system has created an environment in which the natural checks that existed before on teenagers having children and keeping them has gone in some areas. (Straw, 1998, Social exclusion and the third way).

Teenage motherhood is frequently seen as a social problem and is assumed to lead

to psychological distress, welfare dependence, and socioeconomic disadvantage (Furstenberg, 2003; Lee & Gramotnev, 2006).

The focus here perceives a lack of positive economic contribution to society and assumes high levels of welfare dependency accompanied by low levels of well-being for the teenage mother.

4.6 The main areas of problematisation

The problem or object then became “legitimately positioned” or formed within the following systems of:

1. Education
2. Social security/welfare dependency

Within these two major systems of formation the object was then largely presented in a very poor light. Dominant discourses became prevalent within these two fields, fuelled by powerful governmental macro policies in order to regulate and discipline the object accordingly.

This report sets out the Social Exclusion Unit’s analysis of the problem;
the decisions the Government has made about how to tackle it.....

Teenage pregnancy, (1999, p.6).

Hence teenage motherhood became portrayed as a problem within the field of welfare accompanied by low socio-economic status fuelled by poor educational experiences within the system of education. Thus the teenage mother became the embodiment of acute parental deficiency.

Media presented images of welfare dependency and social housing and researchers summarised as thus:

the teenage mother has received a poor experience of education, derives
from a low socio-economic background, is dependent on welfare benefits

and is seen as a less competent parent than a mainstream parent (Woodward, Horwood and Fergusson, 2001, pp.301).

The re-evaluation of early pregnancy as problematic means that, in some respects, teenage pregnancy has been “made” and “unmade” as a problem.

The researcher claims that society's negative attitude to young mothers is likely to marginalise an already excluded group and that efforts should be focused primarily on supporting young mothers and their children.

The benefits system does not seem to encourage teenage mothers back to work or education and lack of childcare hinders those who try.

Teenage parents get little of the right support – help back into education, into a job, proper housing and advice on how to be a good parent – and are too often given state support that isolates them from what they need most. This makes it all the more likely that they will remain isolated and on benefit for longer than they need to be. Statistically, the long term prospects for them and their children are poorer than average.

Teenage pregnancy, (1999, p.62).

Teenage lone parents are likely to be stuck on benefits for longer spells than other lone parents. (Burghes and Brown, 1995, p.24).

4.7 Subjectification

Extracts taken from the researcher's recent interviews below demonstrate one participant's subjective experiences of teenage motherhood. Participant's real names have been changed to protect anonymity.

It was the only place that I could be happy and be pregnant (Lisa).

It was the only place. And then, I'm not even gonna lie, when I went back to college after him, you do get looked down on a bit (Lisa).

They always have a stereotype, always have a stereotype. Erm, I mean when I was pregnant I got spat on. By a random member of the public (-) Walking down the high street with my mum shopping and I got spat on....I looked much younger, erm, and that was it. Even now when I go around with him, you get the odd looks from the older generation (Lisa). Erm, they look at the baby and go, 'ahhh,' and then they look at me and go, 'ahh,' and then clock that I am mum and then that's it. But like hang on a minute. Yeah, not sister, not cousin, not anything like that. Or they'd hear me call me mum and they'd be like, 'ahh he's cute,' at first, and then find out I'm mum (-) (Lisa).

It is apparent that the process of subjectification has an effect of pre-eminence on the subject and the subject is then always already interpellated (Althusser, 1971). It was quite clear that the interviewee's teenage motherhood status influenced how she was perceived by others in society, in relation to ascribed identity. In particular this may have influenced hostility from members of the older generation who may reconnect more rapidly with the 1960s discourse of morality than younger members of society.

The participant in question also recalled only being truly able to be happy and pregnant in one specific place where she did not feel judged by her teenage motherhood status.

This participant was able to show a level of awareness of the stigmatisation of teenage mothers in society and responded in the following way during the interview:

As a teenage mum, you have your first child....And I've watched so many people do it. I mean...well not most of them, but I know that quite a few of them are on their second, before their child's even getting their second birthday....This girl who lives down there, she's just turned

eighteen and she's just had her second child and her first one's just over one, just toddling. (-)And I think, I know full well, if you went back into collegeAnd you were around people your own age, you'd still be with your child but you would have that, do you know what I mean? (Lisa).

You'd have something to look forward to. You'd be like, right, ok, well I'm not just gonna sit at home and have a billion children.... I'm going to get qualifications, get a job, make something, not let it, you know.... Ruin everything, cos it doesn't ruin your life (-)...I think trying to get that across to people as well (Lisa).

Oh yeah, I could probably have two or three kids by now..... Sitting here at twenty, you know, that's it, that's my life planned out.....At least now, with him, I can still go and have a career, I can still go and do things....I can still, I'm not stuck, I'm not trapped..... I've still got qualifications behind me, even though I've no, I've got to the point where I've done my two years, I'm on my Cache Level three (Lisa).

This participant showed significant awareness of the negative portrayal of the teenage mother in society and was keen to provide alternative possibilities. She was also able to recall and present previous poor experiences at school:

And he turned around and said to me. I'm never gonna do anything, I've never going to pass my GCSEs, might as well just give up now and drop out of school. He would make me sit on a desk, outside the classroom, by myself, every lesson. I had maths three times a week.... every lesson. So obviously when one teacher says that to you, your whole new opinion of yourself, thinking well, if they're thinking that, why the hell am I

bothering (Lisa).

Why would I bother, if no-one's gonna back me up....I didn't have the mentality of, 'I'm gonna prove them wrong' (Jane).

The teenage mother who recalled these experiences felt deeply sad at this. She went on to state that she felt stereotyped and ultimately became disaffected, leaving school early without the option of sitting any exams. It was interesting that she was, on reflection of the experience, able to consider other possibilities and other discourses. In contrast it was quite clear that she had feelings of self-condemnation as a result of these poor experiences at school. It was enlightening to hear the participant challenge dominant discourse.

This participant had benefited from outreach agency support specifically for teenage mothers and this may have helped her to consider her life in other ways, and enabled her to self-identify as an academically able individual capable of achieving employment.

I could potentially walk into a nursery and start on twenty three-twenty four grand a year (Pam).

The "typical stereotype" which the participant refers to could be interpreted as "teenage mother devoid of morality".

She went on to state that "people didn't understand the circumstances behind it", therefore there was a need to justify her position to herself as well as to others. This revealed a form of subjectification as she appeared to be stating that she was able to achieve *in spite* of her teenage motherhood status. It was interesting that this participant presented specific circumstances and that she felt the need to perhaps legitimise her position in this way.

The bit they don't understand, the circumstances behind it, the reasoning

why you're in the position you're in (Rose).

From the corpus, participants' ontological experiences appeared to be affected by subjectification, perhaps not just because of teenage mother status but also because of a working class background which may have led these individuals to believe that those of working class backgrounds did not attend higher education but gained employment instead.

Uni's different from college and it's not my thing (Pam).

The comment below in particular appears to lack any individual want or desire or need to change the order of things, therefore portrays her as a "docile being":

But obviously you can tell...what's going to come out of life (Jane).

These participants did not receive any external support from agencies in the local community, therefore experiences may have been as a result of the subjectification process without alternative rhetoric to explore or consider. This may explain the projection and maintenance of a defeatist approach without alternative discourse to consider or employ.

The statements above seem to place the participants in a position of defeatism, an acceptance of social position demarcated by a technology of class and status which may have projected an ideology of social class and position.

4.7.1 Subjectification within the educational system

A persistent theme identified throughout the corpus is one of poor academic performance experienced by the majority of the participants interviewed. The participants in question declared that they did not perform well in school at all, projecting an element of self-blame and a position of a predicted bleak future pathway.

One participant viewed herself as "not very academic" and another participant

declared that University was “not her thing”. This might indicate that the participants in question did not see themselves as fitting the mould of the archetypal academic student but saw their futures mapped out elsewhere.

The participants may also have experienced the process of subjectification throughout their schooling years. Further extracts from the corpus state the following:

Not me, I, not me, they didn't encourage me to achieve. So that's why like, I just didn't like, didn't hardly turn up anymore (---) I'd had enough of it (Lisa).

I didn't do very well at school, I didn't do the whole of year 11 (Jane)

I wasn't the most academic student (Jane).

Or they chucked you out of the lesson. ..yeah that's what made me not want to do education. Cos I, just hated school (--) I dunno I just (Rose).

I was classified, no matter how good my results were, because I was never really in a lesson, or I'd walk into a lessons and they'd just be like, 'get out....even when I was in Year nine, even when pregnancy, any of that wasn't around (Pam)).

'It was very much a, er, 'why, why should I bother'...you were back of the classroom, out of the classroom, don't deal with you. ..we're only gonna deal with the really good students, they're the ones who give the great Ofsted reports, they're the ones who get more government funding for the school (Lisa).

I mean instead they could have gone, ‘ok, well if you think you’re so good, think of something harder.’ (Jane).

4.7.2 Interpretation of the subjective

In relation to view of sense of self, it would be useful to consider what spoken and unspoken signals or messages were being transferred to these young women when they were in school. FDA would promote the view that social technologies led to the problematisation of the subject within the education system. Dominant discourse may have influenced specific powerful ideologies which might have then have led to the promotion of specific groups over the exclusion of the subject. This may have been influenced by wealth, social class or gender, for example.

In relation to wider society, societal views of what constitutes the “academic” are therefore constructed towards the production of a certain type. Powerful social and educational institutions such as schools and universities send signals that are explicit or hidden to either include or exclude a certain type of individual in society, who is deemed non-academic.

Historically and over time, those who were deemed privileged in terms of class and status were automatically deemed to attend University. Those who were not, such as those of working class status, were automatically excluded from this option and were sent to work. Universities then were seen to promote specific ideology in relation to promotion of the archetypal student and this ideology immediately isolated and excluded those who did not fit with this model. This appeared to fit with normative practice and the structural functioning of society. This was then related to the tripartite school system of the 1960s in terms of education and classification.

The tripartite system was introduced to enable education for all and to promote and enable social mobility. After attendance specific life paths were automatically taken in relation to the type of school within the system that one attended. This resonates with an extract from the analysis of data of a participant who stated:

You can obviously tell how things will work out (Jane)

The tripartite system produced significant elements of inequality with grammar schools deemed to be the best part of the system largely for the academically gifted and the secondary modern largely perceived as the bottom tier of the system teaching practical skills for those children deemed to be of average and below average intelligence largely situated in slum areas and classified as sink schools.. (Sampson, 1965).

This ideology was therefore established as “the norm”, “the unquestioned”, the “black box” (Latour, 1981) which may have persisted in modern society, acting as the legitimate criteria or the technology of sign systems for the classification of those deemed academic and those who are not.

4.8 Dominant discourses

What emerged as dominant constructs impacting on the experiences of the subject as teenage mother were technologies of the subject as produced by social forces, rather than the subject acting as a powerful independent agent with a self-formulated identity. Specific types of individuals just do not attend University for a variety of reasons. It may be because of the unspoken signals and rules that served the archetypal student to the exclusion of all others.

The discursive categories identified were therefore deemed to be supportive discourses reifying these particular negative constructions producing an overwhelming sense that the women interviewed were discursively negated and positioned as “deviant” and “other”.

Is the dominant discourse so powerful therefore that specific pathways are established which individuals merely adopt and interpret as their unique way of life because “you can tell how things will work out?”

Is this according to what individuals are led to believe as a suitable outcome based on one’s background, class or socio-economic position?

This may therefore establish just how powerful dominant discourse is if individuals do not even realise that a course of life has already been mapped out and promoted by specific technologies established for a specific purpose.

4.9 Motherhood as a technology for transforming subjectivity and conditions of possibilities

From this position what also seemed to emerge were acts of resistance against discursive parameters and practices that constructed their position as negative or deviant, producing discursive options in which to reposition the subject.

And they don't realise what you've been through, they just see it as a certain way and that's it, end of story. 'Ahh single teenage mum.'
Typical stereotype, that's (-) (Lisa).

This participant was aware of particular stereotypes and was also aware of changing subjectivity particularly when talking about newly acquired views on education and self-positioning within the educational system, not as a deviant as previously experienced by some of the participants, but as a learner with newly formed aspirations for the future. The participants could also view themselves as able to learn, as worthy of entering further and higher educational institutions, regardless of their circumstances.

But then, I passed all my GCSEs...but then I was upset with myself cos I thought, 'If I did that without trying, then imagine...if I did try (Lou).

It kind of changed when I went to college anyway. Erma, cos they do treat you different at college anyway. That wasn't a big step up or, ok, you're not classified as children anymore, you're not in uniform, you're not one of the cattle, all you know, pushed into school (Lou)

You're now here, you're doing something that you have chosen to do, you don't have to do it, so it wasn't a case of, you're forced to go to this lesson, it was through choice, and I was doing something which I loved doing (Lou).

There was explicit awareness of their circumstances as one participant spoke about being "looked down upon" by other students in college. There was also explicit awareness of how teenage mothers were problematised. One participant spoke about "the stereotype of the teenage mother" and how she was presented and viewed by others in society according to grids of social regularities (Scheurich, 1997).

Some participants thought about higher education then dismissed it as they saw themselves as not very academic. This was a dominant trend throughout most of the transcription. It seemed that because these young women were seen as not worthy of contributing to the educational system, little effort was put into their early education and they were shown little interest or given little quality support and intervention.

It may have been deemed a waste of resources as one participant stated during the interview. Most of the participants stated that they perceived themselves as non-academic not taking the view that others, who retained the power within the education system at that time, influenced their thinking in this way. This view then became quite inherent, for example "You can obviously tell how things are going to work out", met with a "there, there, never mind" response.

Hence only tea and sympathy for the cause and the plight of those disempowered by educators, not encouraged to have great aspirations, and even more significantly, no action taken to redress the balance. Four participants interviewed left school early with few or no qualifications at all.

Family members also adopted this rhetoric and the mothers were not encouraged by their families to return to education to improve their future prospects. However this may be because education might not have appealed and work was perceived as a more practical option, as a means of "putting bread on the table".

The participants said that having a child changed their outlook on life and perhaps enabled them to view themselves differently too. They had a child to provide for; they had a dependent other. They wanted to provide in order for their child to have a good life and see the subject in a positive light, established as a positive role model.

Yeah, you have a child and you know you wanna do the best for them.

So he's given me more motivation to just want better for myself and him.

And given me more prospects because obviously I wanna move up, I don't wanna stay on the same level and erm... (Lou).

4.9.1 Researcher reflexivity

In respect of the researcher's positioning in relation to the research, it was challenging to present oneself internally and externally, although this was crucial.

As a result, it was a challenge being analytical within two domains. For example, acknowledging negative and dominant discourses of teenage mothers within the educational system and wider society whilst acknowledging the researcher's specialist role in relation to the subjects who were deeply affected by these responses.

As a trainee Educational Psychologist it was important to consider sense of self and self-positioning within the research, the discipline of psychology itself and its impact on strategy within the education system. The researcher who has assumed the identity of an ethnic minority based on constructs formed in society which may also, dependent on the stance of the reader, lead to further subjectification as a member of this group whose ancestry may have also experienced disadvantage based on the theory of Eugenics presented earlier in this chapter.

Alternatively, is the researcher's position that of advantage, expert and privilege because she was able to access educational institutions that were initially serving the archetypal student? This view may then place the researcher into the role of "expert" or moral guide.

The researcher is aware that at some level one's own position in relation to the research has been influenced by the dominant discourses that have existed in the culture and society in which one has been immersed, internalised and subjugated.

In the analysis, the researcher has attempted to reflect on and acknowledge these varied perspectives acknowledged whilst analysing the research. These include: interaction with the participants; the discursive exchange; the theoretical perspectives adopted; the areas of significant focus and interpretation of what was considered by the researcher to be 'the truth'; the process of interpretation itself, as well as the potential impact of the researcher's ideological position within the field of psychology.

In the study the researcher is located both as an insider, being already subjugated and also having awareness of the societal power differentials in relation to ethnicity, gender and class. In relation to intersections theory (Crenshaw, 1989), which presents the relationship between different modalities of oppression and subject formation, significant challenges are represented with a combination of these experiences.

As a researcher involved in trying to understand historical power relations over time, it was quite unsettling at times in relation to one's own lack of genealogy which is tragically limited to only three or four generations for a multitude of reasons associated with atrocious world-wide power differentials and extreme racist ideology. More recently in the form of the pseudo-science/bio-theory movement of eugenics in the form of racial engineering to include anti-miscegenation laws (Galton, 1883); the legacy of this ideology is apparent as according to critical race theory (Harris, 2002; Bell, 1995), societal and individual beliefs about race and incommensurable cultural differences die hard, white supremacy and racial power continuing to be strongly maintained over time.

The researcher could also claim to be an individual who has been positioned within predominately western discourses and influences. Initial interest in women's

subjective experiences of teenage motherhood was influenced by hearing the personal accounts of others, which to a degree highlighted the struggles and frustrations the individuals experienced.

Personal motivations to research the area arose out of desire to bring to conscious awareness, and challenge the exclusion and disempowerment that women experience when operating outside of normative expectations.

These motives and the way the researcher has constructed and presented power relationships has further been influenced by feminist views, yet further influenced by the study of post-modern Foucauldian theories, and the way the research has shaped further understanding of the discursive.

During interactions with the women who were interviewed, and in the interpretive process, it was attempted to maintain a sense of the asymmetrical power relationship between the researcher and the women interviewed, which, whether consciously acknowledged or not, inevitably played a role in producing ‘unintentional truths’, and contributed to the interpretation and construction of meaning (Kruger, 2006; Parker, 2005).

Also in the process of analysis the researcher tried to be conscious of the potential influence of the “audience” in the form of respondents, academics, and the professionals with whom there is contact (Parker, 2005).

By informing the reader of the theoretical position adopted in the study, the intention was to open up the process to further possible exploration, enabling the reader to contextualise their own understanding of the material and possibly supplement their own account of the interpretation. By doing so the researcher hoped to minimise the effect of a “methodological circle” that, through a process of induction, reconfirms assumptions (Danziger, 1985).

Put another way:

“The way in which we theorize a problem will affect the way we examine it, and the way we explore a problem will affect the explanation

we *give*” (Parker. 1994a p. 13).

4.9.2 Summary

This chapter presented findings from qualitative interview data analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. In the next chapter the researcher will explore and discuss the findings in further detail.

5. Discussion

5. Overview

This chapter will discuss the findings of the research in order to consider implications for the area researched and the implications for Educational Psychologists.

5.1 The problematisation of the teenage mother

The literature review highlighted that the “teenage pregnancy problem” appeared to be embodied in the image of the “multiple dysfunctional yet pitiable teenage mother” with poor educational outcomes, of single parent status, high welfare dependency, located within a culture of intergenerational low expectations.

The post-1997 discourse within the discursive field of the teenage mother which developed during the Thatcher years (1979-1990) was a view of the subject’s cycle of deprivation influenced and fuelled by a technology of propaganda based on the view that all teenage mothers were deemed morally deficient.

This technology was re-articulated by the Labour Government (1997-2010) in terms of cultural or psycho-social deficiencies, in particular local cultures of deprivation and dysfunctional parenting behaviour. This led to the introduction of the Teenage Pregnancy Strategy, launched in 1999 by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU, 1999). This was a popular initiative which underpinned the funding of a considerable amount of new research from the academic community, some of which was critical of the strategy’s aims and effects.

In particular, it has been observed that the strategy has been criticised for potentially stigmatising teenage mothers while offering very little real support (Arai,

2009; Duncan et al, 2010).

Critics have also disputed whether teenage pregnancy is a problem at all, challenging the strategy's evidence-based claims that teenage parenthood itself causes or exacerbates disadvantage and counter-posing with positive experiences of teenage parenting (Duncan et al, 2010; Arai, 2009; Seamark and Lings, 2004; Lawlor and Shaw, 2002). These critiques of teenage motherhood formulated within the realms of humanistic psychology (Maslow, 1943), present an alternative discourse on teenage motherhood instead of a pathological one. This particular discourse, although not yet dominant within the discursive field of teenage motherhood, has enabled the researcher to:

Introduce an important discussion on the need for government policy which acknowledges diversity and difference amongst teenage mothers in order to

1. Challenge the power and efficacy of government policy and interventions which seem to target the behaviour of individuals or particular groups identified by the government itself as problematic.
2. Critically challenge rationale and policy presented in the framework of "objective knowledge" that is culturally and historically dependent leading to the development of cultural "universalisms" (Gergen, 1985).

The researcher has highlighted the development of a technology of sign systems which appears to have influenced the formation of social constructs of young teenage mothers which, in turn, have tended to be overwhelmingly negative in relation to economic and social costs at the expense of harnessing any positive human potential.

It is argued here that to understand why these responses are particularly problematic, we need to look at teenage pregnancy through the wider lens of an understanding of the development of a technology on 'parenting culture' (Lee et al,

2010). This will be explored further in this chapter.

Parenting culture studies have developed some categories of analysis that are useful in understanding why teenage pregnancy has gained such political and cultural prominence in the recent period, and the particular characteristics of its problematisation today.

Firstly, the prevalence of the view that a widespread decrease in marriage and two-parent families has significantly triggered and underpinned contemporary socio-economic problems and secondly, the re-articulation of parenthood in a more infantilised, secondary form, with the migration of parental authority to “experts” and the government.

The dominant group, in this case the state, continues to justify its power with explanations and publications that appear to construct reality in ways which maintain its privilege and power. Hence, problematisation continues to be rationalised, leading to little self-examination by those individuals or groups who are subjugated.

5.2 The education agenda

Data interpreted from the interviews revealed that the teenage mothers had received poor educational experiences and felt that little was done to support their educational needs at that time. One interviewee stated that, according to her teachers, she was not going to make any difference to her school’s GCSE results, and was therefore considered unworthy of any specialised support from her educators. She demonstrated awareness of the difficulties that she had experienced in school and also anger that her educational needs were not met at that time. She rearticulated this by stating that her academic difficulties then became behavioural due to disaffection, which led to her being “policed” by a member of staff with no real input into her learning. This led to the formation of a construction of this young mother from a pupil with difficulties accessing learning to one of a pupil with behavioural

difficulties.

It appears that 4 of the 5 participants interviewed felt that they were often referred to by their educators in quite negative terms and were deemed “poor learners” or “aggressive”. As a result of this they had poor educational experiences which subsequently led to poor educational outcomes and technologies of self based on the self being uneducable. This in turn served to reinforce a negative construct which appeared to become reality through the self-fulfilling prophecy, known as the Pygmalion Effect (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). Rosenthal and Jacobson explain it thus:

one person's expectation for another person's behavior can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction simply for its having been made (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968, p.vii).

Merton (1948) introduced the term "self-fulfilling prophecy" to explain situations in which initial false beliefs become reality, arguing that self-fulfilling prophecies explained a multitude of social problems. In the arena of social psychological research, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968a) demonstrated that teacher expectations could influence student achievement (Brophy, 1983; Darley & Fazio, 1980).

It is difficult however to conclude that expectations create social reality or even influence social reality as experimental research presented by Raudenbush (1984), Rosenthal & Rubin (1978) and naturalistic studies by Brophy (1983), Jussim (1991) and Jussim & Eccles (1995a) did not appear to support the conclusion that self-fulfilling prophecies are a pervasive phenomenon.

Some sociological perspectives focus on the dynamics and politics of class and race and highlight the role of class and cultural dynamics in the problematisation of teenage parenthood, pointing out that teenage motherhood is prevalent amongst women from disadvantaged, poor socio-economic backgrounds. For example, Botting (1998) claimed that Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are more

likely than white women to have been teenage mothers and Berthoud et al (2003) claimed that young women from lower socio- economic backgrounds are twice as likely to become teenage mothers. This is an interesting point as it appeared that inadvertently, all participants in this study considered themselves to be of working class background.

It is also widely believed that:

“Privileged and middle class young women tend to pursue higher education and then proceed to build a professional career, postponing childbearing into their thirties or forties” (Luttrell, 2003; Rudoe and Thomson, 2009).

One participant revealed in the interview that she had, at the time of her schooling, wanted to have children at a very young age and this may have been communicated to her educators at the time. If this was the case, her identity as a potential young mother would have not only been formed at an early age but would also have been quite explicit to her educators. Although this was her choice in life, she was not targeted for a preventative intervention programme in school. This may or may not have led to higher level outcomes for this participant. The other participants did not plan on becoming teenage mothers, although they articulated an explicit dislike for school at that time and appeared to have been embroiled in a complex condition of low expectations and disaffection.

Analysis of discourse from the data appears to have revealed the following:

1. Participants in the study were deemed uneducable because of their perceived lack of interest in education which eventually led to a culture of disaffection.
2. Participants in the study were stereotyped and stigmatised in society, particularly in their associations with powerful social institutions.

3. Participants in the study received a poor standard of education because their educators had identified them at an early age as being “potential failures”. Hence the “self-fulfilling prophecy” was realised.
4. Covert signs and signals that influence policy and strategy in relation to identification of the “archetypal student” may appear to dictate the type of education that one would receive according to this stratification. This appears to be formed however, to the detriment of those who do not fit the mould, suggesting that there is a “right” type of student who is allowed to successfully advance through the education system.
5. Eugenics dictates the targeting of resources and in this respect, the working class, largely deemed uneducable, would not be eligible to receive a high standard of education, being ultimately perceived as unworthy of such. The spectre of eugenic anxieties regarding the fecundity of ‘the wrong type of people’ appears to persist despite an apparent change in societal attitudes (Hawkes, 1995). As several researchers highlight, “race” also frequently intersects with “class” and plays a part in engendering societal unease (Luttrell, 2003; Phoenix, 1993; Pillow, 2004).

It was interesting to consider whether these five factors contributed to the creation of an educational agenda based upon an elite model of education, originally established to create intellectualists, econocrats and technocrats instead of intellectuals, engineers and technicians. An elitist model or an educational agenda based on serving the elite could appear alien and may therefore serve to alienate disadvantaged pupils, leading to eventual estrangement from the educational system. Discursive elements within the field of education seemed to privilege ideas of what is “normal” by stressing “normative” morals and values. By stressing these values,

education has marginalised those who are perceived as not fitting into this category. The marginalised then believe and conform to the picture that this dominant discourse draws of her, understanding herself in the terms that this discourse allows.

An educational program built on the very language of the elite is thus, in its very creation, conducted in the dominant language of the “master”. The “master”, in this context, is the portrayal or symbol of he who has retained power within dominant discursive practices and within a capitalist-patriarchal society.

The researcher is aware that this stance may appear political and ideological in its very nature; however there is some validity, based on the findings from this research, in exploring this standpoint further.

An educational agenda based on or conducted within dominant discursive practices, representative of the dominant language, will ultimately deny disadvantaged pupils adequate tools for effective social interaction, critical thinking and adequate self-reflection. Thus, when denied the opportunity for self-reflection and critical thought, disadvantaged pupils are likely to look inward for an explanation for educational failure as they are ill-equipped with tools to view the periphery. This inward looking view ultimately leads to self-condemnation, poor sense of self and poor self-esteem and poor avowed identity which then further subjugates as it restricts one’s ability to aspire to future goals in life, thus rendering the subject impotent. This then serves to further maintain dominant discursive practices within society as the voices of the subjugated are silenced leaving them unable to contribute to the creation of new discursive practices. This may also be interpreted as a prophecy fulfilled.

The large numbers of young working class girls who left school early, or who represent the 70% of teenage mothers who are NEET, may not appear to represent failure on the part of the educational system but failure on the part of the individual, and such is its construction. In fact their very disaffection may reveal the triumph of the elite, invariably reflecting the educational system’s “hidden curriculum” that may

be interpreted as promoting the life outcomes of the elite at the expense of further decreasing the life chances of those who are not considered part of the elite.

The word “curriculum” in this respect refers to the discipline, rules, scheduling and academic tasks undertaken by the students each day. The term “hidden curriculum” can be compared to Foucault’s terminology of the “hidden cloak” as a metaphor for the covert crooked and dissimilar contours of the real practices that occur or, still further “bound fabrications that wear the cloak of metaphysical transcendence. ... to facilitate the discovery of a ‘true’ self that lies hidden beneath webs of power” Foucault (1972).

Educational Psychologists are aware that some students have difficulties in school in various forms, which may present as aggressive behaviour, corresponding to and in direct conflict with perceived aggressive elements in the curriculum that students may interpret as either alien or alienating. Students may be responding to an established curriculum and other material conditions in schools that they perceive to negate their histories, cultures, and day-to-day experiences.

Schools that exclude students perceived as aggressive might argue that they are only responding to the students’ behaviour with exclusion or even an air of indifference. This further isolates subjugated students from the practice of learning.

It may then appear that the very educational system and dominant discursive practices within society that may have created the situation of early failure for the teenage mother may then have severely restricted the ability of the teenage mother to earn a living or pursue educational ambitions later in life. This would then greatly reduce her chances of improving outcomes later in life.

Therefore the internal mechanisms of the dominant ideological and rational agenda that influences schools may be so covert that professionals, and in the context of this study, Educational Psychologists, operating within this field may be unconscious of these mechanisms which in their experience appear “rational” and “logical” in accordance with their ideological viewpoint.

According to Foucault, it is rationality itself that masks the mechanisms of power, cloaking it in principles and ethics, making it an efficient vehicle for domination. Therefore professionals may inadvertently be further reinforcing the status quo, and in this respect, Educational Psychologists may unknowingly be likened to the “Trojan horse” in Greek Mythology, a tale from the Trojan War about the subterfuge used by the Greek army to enter the city of Troy and overpower its citizens.

Further analysis of power relations would project that those who have power, for example, can define what is valid or not and what constitutes intellectualism. Once the intellectual parameters are set, those who want to be considered intellectuals must meet the requirements of the profile dictated by the elite class. To be considered intellectual one must conduct one’s practices in accordance with those with the power to define intellectualism.

The mythical and meta view of the universality of education’s agenda to better serve humanity leads many to blame the students themselves for dropping out as it is seen as their decision if they want to remain and succeed in school. This is an example of the meta-narrative of “universally valid reasons into countless micro-narrative accounts of contingent, power infested rationalities that again wear the cloak of metaphysical transcendence” (Foucault, 1972).

It is also worrying that those who negate the very political nature of pedagogy may continue to either believe or to unconsciously promote the superficial yet meta-narrative that education is portrayed as serving all, thus ensuring that the education agenda continues to serve the function of the dominant class, for whom it was perhaps established.

Research states that young teenage girls who are disaffected in education might see early pregnancy as a viable option or an only alternative to employment. There is growing recognition that socio-economic disadvantage can be both a cause and a consequence of teenage parenthood (Swann, Bowe, McCormick, and Kosmin, 2003). However, only one of the participants interviewed declared that she had planned her

pregnancy at an early age with a view to continuing her education later in life. This may be interpreted as disaffection with education at the time or, in her view, prioritisation of motherhood before establishing a career for herself, which is in direct contrast with normative functioning as we know it. The other participants did not plan to become pregnant at an early age and had considered future jobs at the time of leaving school. They appeared to have experienced a high level of disaffection in school which may have contributed to a lack of immediate aspirations at that time accompanied with a want to just starting any type of work instead of going onto further education and planning a future career.

In the researcher's interpretation of data, these outcomes may have precipitated an early pregnancy for these teenage mothers in the formation of a viable option; however the participants did not state this.

5.2.1 The Educational Psychologist as a progressive educator

It is useful at this juncture in the research to explore "How Educational Psychologists could improve outcomes for teenage mothers". The initial theory was of the view that school age and post school age teenage mothers were generally disengaged with education. This view was largely taken due to the high numbers of teenage mothers who are NEET. The researcher has become accustomed to using published material to further support professional practice and exploring literature in this discursive field enabled the researcher to become critically aware of material published as "truth or fact". Some of these materials and publications could in fact, be interpreted as a technology of production or information to "problematise" and position the teenage mother within society. Hence Educational Psychologists working within this field will be required to critically analyse materials and publications used, analyse theoretical viewpoints presented by other professionals in the field and also critically analyse their professional (and personal) theoretical standpoint within specific aspects of their work.

The Educational Psychologist, according to the researcher (as Trojan horse), is viewed as a progressive educator operating within dominant discursive practices. As a result of this, however, some intervention programmes are likely to be conducted in the standard language of the dominant class, thus undermining the establishment and development of any emancipatory programs.

Therefore educational or emancipatory programs will need to be conducted in the language of those who are deemed as subjugated. It is through the native language that students can begin a dialectical relationship with the dominant discursive in the process of transforming the socio-political structures that continue to suppress and imprison them in their silence. Therefore a person is literate to the extent that the individual is able to use language to reconstruct the socio-political climate. Without the reappropriation of cultural capital, the reconstruction of a new discursive will not come to fruition.

5.2.2 The alternative response in relation to the literature review

The alternative response, in the researcher's view, would be to address the meta-narrative and the larger socio-political and socio-structural concerns. The literature review identified and critically reviewed research in the discursive field; however a large majority of the research focused on the plight of the teenage mother post-conception. It is clear that additional research of the young teenage mother's life before pregnancy is needed in order to identify any factors that might have affected educational attainment, before disaffection became established.

Research presented earlier in the study suggests that disadvantage sets in at an earlier stage than at post-conception stage. This was supported by Dawson and Hosie (2005), Grogger and Bronars (1993), Geronimus and Korenman (1992), and Ermisch and Pevalin (2003) who researched the socio-economic consequences of early teenage pregnancy and concluded that outcomes are shaped by poverty and not by teenage parenthood.

There is also growing research in the field that further challenges the negative view of teenage pregnancy (Higgenbottom et al 2005; Phoenix, 1991), which found that motherhood seemed to have encouraged some young women to return to education or seek employment.

Jewell et al (2000) stated that the perspectives of teenage mothers need to inform government policy and Swann et al (2003) stressed the need for more qualitative research in this area with which to present the views of teenage mothers.

However this study has shown that deprivation and the lack of power in which to reposition oneself may be a factor in teenage pregnancy due to the lack of real opportunities available to young working class women disaffected at an early stage by the education system. This micro strategy of disaffection can be perceived as serving the wider, meta-educational strategy or agenda of promotion of the education of the “archetypal” student or the elite at the expense and detriment of the subjugated student. The combination of these two strategies serves to power the turning of the cogs of power within society within which the status quo is maintained.

5.3 Realities of teenage pregnancy

It appears that the researcher may have also chosen to focus on the consequences of teenage pregnancy, rather than the precursors (Osofsy, Hann & Peebles, 1993). This line of thinking is in aligned with dominant discourse within the discursive field. It may appear easier to focus on the consequences rather than seeking to explore the difficulties affecting particular young women within the educational system. There is awareness that a range of theories have been challenged: for example, the view that teenage motherhood is generational. This has been contested by researchers (Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn & Morgan, 1987; Furstenberg, Levine & Brooks-Gunn, 1990). Another view challenged by researchers is the view that teenage pregnancies necessarily place the children of teenage mothers at risk of long term socio-economic disadvantage (Geronimus & Koreman, 1991).

The power relations in society appear embedded so that one does not view them as such. The researcher has established that the teenage mother as an individual has inbuilt qualities that have been unexplored or perhaps presented as a secondary factor in relation to the identified precursors of the teenage mother's predicament.

Researchers have focused on isolated correlations and variables of teenage pregnancy such as poverty and educational underachievement with little focus on how and where these variables fit into an overall contextual framework.

There is awareness that correlations are often presented as evidence of the motivational force of the independent variable, especially in the power differentials and dynamics of the relationship between state and the teenage mother. The selective strategic focus on sociocultural and socio-economic correlations of adolescent pregnancy has seemed to neglect deep psychological and development factors (Musick, 1993).

According to Musick, (1993, p.9) "inner realities have not really been explored at all". The "inner realities" are seen as motivators that govern the teenager's response to local opportunities. Musick has suggested that a solution to the wider, meta-agenda of children and families living in poverty has been overlooked by a long extended list of socio-economic and generational patterns, and sensationalist stories of teenage pregnancy. Musick has restated the need to eco-explore teenage pregnancy at "deeper more analytical levels of inquiry" (1993, p.14), combined with research on a large scale to empirically study the complex relations among cultural and psychological variables related to teenage mothers.

Cultural relativism (Mead, 1928) promotes the view that individual psychological variables are subsumed by culture and this might be another theory that clouds the judgements of professionals. Teenage mothers may therefore be at risk of being assigned identity and grouped as a subculture with particular behaviours or practices deemed characteristic of that culture. Schweder stated that "behaviour follows the curves of culturally defined realities and no other forces are required to explain what

we do” (Schweder, 1990, p.13). This is a crucial point as self-categorisation theories may further seek to reinforce a culture of low self-esteem and self-worth. Furthermore, cultural norms and expectations will remain unchallenged.

Levine (1982) claimed that the unconscious needs and wishes of individuals develop in early childhood and are primarily social stimuli which are by-products of socio-structural features of family environments. This social stimuli influences significant action patterns which in time influence and direct duty and desire (Spiro, 1961). Therefore this theory may suggest that individuals within society are unknowingly socialised into specific social, class and economic positions at an early age.

The researcher is of the view that somewhere on the continuum, there is a perspective on individual psychological and sociological motivation for socially significant action that may be initiated through inherent and natural stimuli. There is, however, a view of the individual and social as interdependent poles that are contained within the conditions for change, therefore reliant on each other for survival. The reliance agenda is thus: members of specific groups may appear to internalise stereotypic images that have been constructed via social interactive situations in order to:

maintain and reinforce state power. These images have continued to preserve and reinforce the oppression of the marginalised groups (teenage mothers).

At various points in the research, the researcher made reference to various theoretical positions that implicitly adhered to a dialectical perspective in thinking about complex systems of human behaviour, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (1943) in particular. This research provided clear evidence of the participant’s desire to attend further education in order to “better their position” or to “do it for him” (make a better future for their child). There was a desire from all young mothers interviewed

to present their career aspirations as motivated by the desire to provide a good future for their child. Worryingly, self-condemnation was apparent in the form of regrettable behaviour whilst in education. This factor is significant in the preservation of the problematisation of the teenage mother as it serves to reinforce the view of the teenage mother as dysfunctional and as the very problem itself. This can only reinforce continual self-demoralisation whilst bolstering the power of the oppressive state.

It appears that although some of the participants were aware of the social construction and ascribed identity assigned to the teenage mother and they demonstrated awareness and acknowledgement of this negative construct, a challenge remained on the part of each of the participants to try to develop individual avowed identities without these external pressures. This is a factor contributing to the continual demoralisation of those who are marginalised.

Participants acknowledged that self-categorisation (Turner et al, 1994), had taken place and that this was mainly due to low self-confidence and a lack of belief in their ability to study further stemming from poor previous educational experiences. It was interesting that all the interviewees stated that others in their lives had suggested they should return to education.

For example, in the case of one interviewee, she stated that her housing support officer had suggested she should return to education and had continued to encourage her to do this. It was worrying though that 4 of the interviewees stated that their mothers had encouraged them not to return to education. This may indicate that their mothers either saw no value in their daughters returning to education, or they may have emphasised the need for the teenage mothers to stay at home with their child, thus ascribing their identities as mothers, rather than individuals contributing to the world of work. It may also indicate cultural resistance within specific communities. The interviewees declared difficulty developing individual talent and promoting their personal identities, whilst acknowledging a strong desire to project a positive image

and a strong, positive sense of self. Self-actualisation was evidently lacking and although the interviewees talked about their future aspirations, there was little evidence of equilibrium between the interviewee's sense of who they are (self) and their view of who they think they should be (ideal self).

In relation to aspects of Positive Psychology (Seligman, 2002) and Humanistic Psychology (Maslow, 1943; Rogers, 1961), the interviewees acknowledged that there was thought given to improving aspects of their normal life and displayed motivation towards nurturing individual human talent, especially to give their child a positive start in life and high level future outcomes, rather than seeking individual self-fulfilment. The interviewees, however, mentioned challenges in doing so, in the form of a lack of affordable childcare, lack of supportive family or lack of a support network.

5.4 Teenage motherhood and the parenting deficit

In many respects, today's teenage mothers are experiencing a considerably lesser degree of stigmatisation than a young, unmarried mother of the 1960s or 1970s. They are able to keep their babies, continue at school, expect welfare support and can be validated for "struggling through" as single mothers.

Even though there is political and social disapproval of teenage pregnancy as a problem, the teenage mother does not appear to be held morally responsible for her behaviour, instead it appears that she is portrayed as a mass of dysfunctions (Macvarish, 2009), and hence, a deficit parent.

Production technologies in society depict the teenage mother as a poor, struggling dysfunctional mother (Arai, 2009; Duncan et al, 2010; Cater and Coleman, 2006; Seamark and Lings, 2004), though this study found quite the opposite. It found young women who were evidently responsible mothers, with clear aspirations and in control of their future lives. Although out of work, they had the support of their extended families or their partner and they had clear future aspirations and presented

images of trying to be positive role models for their child. This viewpoint is further supported by one of the participants in the study who appeared to gain great fulfilment in her role as mother and had intentionally “deviated from the planned pathway of life”. In this respect she placed a high level of focus on the positive benefits and experiences of becoming a parent and on her own individual strengths as a mother.

A major feature of the deficit culture of parenting is the idea that a major determinant of social problems is a parenting deficit. The history of the “policing of families” (Donzelot, 1979), in particular mothers, who were not regarded as capable of child-rearing, is well documented. As well as an attempt to reintroduce order to chaotic and dysfunctional families, the policing of teenage mothers, who are presented in popular discourse as lacking in the morality or maternal instincts to care for their children, serve as a lesson in what acceptable, normative family life is supposed to look like.

The “parenting deficit” is not just projected ahead, but is also related to the past. High profile cases of young pregnant teenagers seem to add to the portrayal of teenage pregnancy as a major factor in toxic parenting. Politicians such as erstwhile former Labour Government Children’s Secretary Ed Balls and then-future Prime Minister David Cameron chose to comment on the case of “Alfie Patten, 13 year old dad” (*Sun*, 14 February, 2009). However the fact that a vast majority of teenage parents are aged 17 -19 is obscured by these sensationalist stories (Duncan et al, 2010).

In these cases, the parents of the teenage parents are portrayed as perhaps neglectful or too liberal by allowing their young teenager to become pregnant. The evidence suggests that parents are often extremely disappointed by their daughter’s pregnancy, but are likely to be supportive of their daughter’s choices, whether that is to terminate or to continue with the pregnancy (Macvarish and Billings, 2010; Lee et al, 2010).

5.5 The power of the state

It has been argued that in the late twentieth century we saw a move away from reliance on the family as a socially supported institution entrusted in the majority of cases to raise children, relatively untouched by state intervention in the parent-child relationship (Parton, 2006; Furedi, 2008). A new model of the family has developed which individualises the family to its component parts of parent and child and is less trusting of the parent as mediator between child and state. It is argued that the state identifies directly with the perceived welfare of the child (Reece, 2006) and undermines the parent. This agenda was clearly presented in 2007 by then Secretary of State for Health, Alan Johnson, in his introduction to the *Every Parent Matters* report:

Government needs to consider carefully its role in enabling all parents to play a full and positive part in their children's learning and development. We want to create conditions where more parents can engage as partners in their children's learning and development, from birth, through the school years and as young people make the transition to adulthood. (Johnson, 2007).

Here we can see that parents in general are cast as secondary players in the raising of their children. The justification for this demotion of parents lies in the apparent difficulty of raising children in the twenty-first century. Although, according to Johnson, "being a parent is – and should be – an intensely personal experience and parents can be effective in very different ways", they are inadequately qualified for the role of raising children in the face of "a growing understanding, evidenced from research, about the characteristics of effective parenting" (Johnson, 2007).

Johnson also claimed that parents recognise this skill deficiency, leading to a demand from as many as "75% of parents" for expert-led advice and support. This perspective can also be found in the words of the current Conservative Education

Minister, Michael Gove, who, while Shadow Children, Schools and Families Secretary, said on BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme:

We all know that it is in the first few years of a child's life that the greatest strain is placed on the family's household income. One of the things we want to do is say the state can be there in practical, human-centred ways to help people cope with difficult times. One of the things we are particularly keen to do is to expand the system of health visitors. Health visitors are almost one of the friendliest faces of the state. What they do is they ensure that before and after childbirth there is a trained professional there in order to help mother in what can be a time of great strain and tension, cope with the arrival of a new child (Gove, 2008).

The birth of a child is described here only as a "time of great strain and tension". The mother requires state support not just to learn how to physically care for an infant but to "cope" with becoming a parent. In respect of this agenda, the "friendly" Health Visitor is then portrayed as the Trojan horse, a mechanism in which to influence and regulate families within society. It is clear that once the "hidden cloak" is metaphorically removed, the real agenda of how this strategy supports reinforcement of state power is revealed.

The re-conceptualisation of family life as fraught with difficulty opens up the practice of raising children to claims that "evidence-based risk-managing skills and techniques can, and should, be applied to the task" (Macvarish, 2010; Furedi, 2008; Clarke, 2006). It appears then that the capacity of the parent to manage those risks sensibly is doubted (Lowe and Lee, 2010; Macvarish, 2010; Kukla, 2005).

The many ways in which parental behaviour is blamed for child outcomes would appear to suggest that few parents can be expected to avoid posing at least some level of risk to their child. The threat posed by parents can be perceived with regard to the child's health, for example by failing to breastfeed the baby or overfeeding the

toddler, but also as emotional or psychological by, for example, failing to exercise adequate discipline, or failing to develop a pedagogical relationship with the child or even pushing the older child too hard to attain. It may even be perceived thus:

It seems like if you can't quote Vygotsky or something, *then you don't have any validity to speak about your own kids* (Billings & Tate, 1995).

Perceived difficult parents are those who literally fail to recognise this, and are therefore defined as “hard to reach”, meaning that they are reluctant to engage with experts within the field of health, education, or other agencies. They stand as struggling to balance the pressures of everyday family life and as being more isolated than previous generations of parents.

These two types of family have a presumed vulnerability in the face of social change. The difference between them is that the dysfunctional teenage mother is seen to exacerbate the vulnerability of the “hard to reach family” by producing socially threatening children who drag down attainment in schools or who are a drain on resources.

Although the individual parent is cast as the ultimate determinant of their child's future, the high risks of inadequate parenting mean that the important task of child-rearing is now undertaken in a supportive (mono-directional) partnership with the “caring” state. Parton (2006) describes how our anxious relationship to an uncertain future, embodied in the vulnerability of childhood, allows “intensification”. Hence, in this respect, the power of the state forges an overarching agenda of “state parenting”.

As explored in the previous chapter, New Labour's agenda that strategised the problem of parenting was created in part from the attempt to distance its policies on “problem parenting” from the previous Conservative government's aggressive rhetoric on the teenage mother and her illegitimate child. To avoid alienating Labour supporters and deterring the “hard-to-reach families” from engaging with state

services, New Labour moved away from stigmatising teenage mothers in the moral discourse of illegitimacy, to problematising teenage pregnancy through the language of health, psycho-social risks and poor socio-economic outcomes (Macvarish, 2010).

It was clear that the language of morality remained, however, represented most strongly by the *Daily Mail* (Hoggart, 2006), and other newspapers.

The “hard to reach” families were still presented as a social problem in need of support or re-education to equip them with the “skills and confidence” they need to talk to their children about sex education.

Miriam Rosen, Ofsted’s Executive Director at the time, is quoted below:

No matter how difficult it may be, parents and teachers have to discuss sensitive issues with their children ... certainly teachers who have been specially trained are more confident. One practical suggestion is for parents to start talking to their children about what they have done at school and go from there (*Times*, 2007).

Once again, parents are placed in a secondary position in relation to child-rearing, this time to the “specially trained” and “confident” teachers.

5.6 Social biography and normative functions

Social biography discourses are those discourses that convey social roles and normative expectations. Gordon (1990) writes of the socialisation into femininity and “the context within which subjectivities are constructed” (p.21). She notes the silent messages and subtleties of everyday micro-level interaction and practices that outline messages of what’s expected.

It may appear that the ways in which teenage motherhood is problematised would seem to contain lessons for other teenage mothers or would-be teenage mothers. When these inadequacies are highlighted, they inevitably reinforce the “right” and “acceptable” behaviour of normative pregnancy and present mature, responsible

mothers as appropriate and acceptable mother figures.

Teenage mothers are presented as largely outside of perceived normative functions within society. The power of the state may be viewed as impotent in this respect, viewed as having little or no control over a teenage mother's timing of conception.

The normative pathway seen as rejected is perceived to be an act of defiance. From this perspective, governmental concern with teenage motherhood can be seen as problematising working-class fertility for this exact reason. In relation to government regulation and governmentality, the teenage mother is presented as defiant, dysfunctional, out of control and non-compliant with the timing of normal events in society. In this respect therefore, the teenage mother appears to have been constructed and presented as the embodiment of acute parental deficiency in complete defiance of government regulation.

The demand for reproductive rights without judgement unconsciously mirrors capitalist-patriarchal ideology as over-emphasising a woman's reproductive rights which might therefore lead to the negation of her economic productive role.

Individuals who are subjugated and living within a system dictated by external state coercion may feel that the immediate task is to achieve a democratic society where both men and women can display free will and are of equal gender status.

In the process of achieving that society, women will aim to achieve reproductive rights, however those rights may remain incompatible with political and economic rights – hence existing within a capitalist-patriarchal culture which has kept women reduced to normative reproductive functions and biological regulation throughout history.

The reproductive power of women is a natural power and the appropriation of this power establishes a certain relation between men and women as individuals within a society, and between these individuals and state regulation of that society.

In relation to state power, a woman's natural state, biology and generative power is explicitly manifested in the gender division of labour and the institutions of

marriage and family. The social role of woman seems to be an extension of her natural role. Research must therefore continue to accelerate awareness of a need to transform this perceived natural state that has gained power through regular reinforcement throughout the generations.

It should be a new relationship with our personhood and our body, and a new social relationship with society with regard to the natural power we carry inherently rather than direction or regulation by the power of state regulation.

To create new reproductive relations, women must demand the transformation of society that is indistinguishable from the demand for democratisation of the world in general. There will also need to be a critical analysis of each and every technology to determine the extent to which it is an extension of capitalist patriarchal domination.

Taking into account some of the multiple perspectives framing the construct of women, including various psychological and social perspectives, Ireland (1993) purports that “maternity is still considered the equivalent of adult female development”. (p.104), whereas the equivalent of adult male development may well be defined in economic, bourgeois terms.

5.7 Woman-mother discourses

The process of deconstructing woman-mother constructs utilised by the women interviewed revealed a complex web of discursive elements sustaining the ideology. These are discussed below:

5.7.1 Deviant ‘other’

Simone DeBeauvoir first coined the term “Othering” in 1949 to depict the process by which women were defined in terms of a dialectical relationship to men. This use of the word has since been further developed to illustrate exclusionary practices based on normative standards (De Souza, 2004; 8).

The repercussions of being positioned as “other” evidenced in discursive practices

such as negative positioning presented a lack of shared meaning or available discourses. One of the respondents in the interviews was shocked by the negative comments of a member of her community and described feeling publicly scrutinised and attracting hostile reactions. There are undoubtedly very strong negative connotations attached to young motherhood, exacerbated by the social constructs of young mothers (Gillies, 2006 and 2008).

Women-centred discourses & constructs around womanhood and the mother role have fostered an interpretation that positions womanhood as synonymous with timely motherhood, often idealising the role for women and portraying as deviant those or the “other” who fall outside of this construct (Hare-Mustin & Broderick, 1978). Duncan et al (2010) reiterated this position in connection with the teenage mother’s operating outside of normative functions.

In the accounts of the women interviewed, what emerged as more common than negative judgment from others was the sense of being negated, a sense that there was a lack of space in which to position themselves. Ireland (1993) interpreted this as a response to the threat that these women pose in relation to normative functions. Teenage mothers, by their very presence as children, question the assumption that women’s role, and not the child’s role, is as mother, destabilising dominant ideologies. By making teenage mothers “invisible”, “deviant” or seen as “non-contributors to society”, the state can therefore choose to either “ignore their existence” or, as identified in this study, “problematize” their very existence.

5.7.2 Innate motherhood

Innate motherhood discourses formulate motherhood as natural, instinctual, an urge, and an assumed timely part of life for adult women (Gordon, 1990; Wager, 2000). It generally has the effect of creating expectations of having a child in due course.

The teenage mothers interviewed showed variation in the degree of dominance within which innate motherhood discourses were held in their construction of

womanhood and identity. The majority stated that early conception and conception per se interestingly was not part of their life plan. One participant had planned to return to college in later life and stated that her intention to do this was quite strong very early on in her schooling. She stated that she had always wanted to have children even at a very early age and, viewed this as a natural and timely process.

5.7.3 Intensive motherhood

The value placed on “intensive motherhood” (Hays, 1996) presents an opportunity for mothers to resist calls for them to go out to work after the birth of their child. This also appears to rationalise the opposite, the lack of real opportunities available to teenage mothers to pursue educational ambitions due to the high cost of childcare.

This alternative construct that places the role of the adult mother above professional accomplishments is suggested as a preferred route for older mothers who may have had timely births and are therefore “rewarded” with this pedagogically preferred option. However, in respect of the teenage mother, this is not an available route and the discourse is then replaced with one of over-reliance on welfare benefits.

5.8 Dismantling the master’s house

In 1861, Harriet Jacobs published *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, an account of her life in slavery. Throughout her years in slavery, Jacobs is typified, abused, sexually harassed, and attacked by racist and sexist discourses. Language is used as a tool of power by her owner, in a way which is directly of dominant, white, phallocratic discourse: he induced her to become his mistress through sexual abuse and the use of language as its mechanism of power.

The problem Jacobs faced was how to use language as a way of achieving liberation, when language itself is a large part of her oppression. How can literacy be used in a way which liberates one from the dominant language and dominant

discursive practices of society? To speak in the “master's” tongue is to remain trapped within a system of discourse which denies, dominates and continues to enslave her.

Lorde (1934) asserted that “the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house” (p.99). This means that one cannot overcome oppression by using the very tools used to oppress, and if language is an instrument of oppression, using it will not lead to liberation, nor will it lead to dismantling the master's house.

At one point, Jacobs stated that she used the “master's tools” to try to destroy his house; however, using the language of the master without rejecting its abusive and coercive underpinnings proved fruitless.

Educational theorists Freire and Macedo (1986) have coined the term “critical literacy” to mean those who are critically literate and who can then begin to “transform the social and political structures that imprison them in their culture of silence” (p.159). Literacy, in this sense, is not only reading the words on the page, but reading the world as it stands. Literacy therefore “becomes a vehicle by which the oppressed are equipped with the necessary tools to reappropriate their history, culture, and language practices” (p.157). According to this definition, “a person is literate to the extent that he or she is able to use language for social and political reconstruction” (159).

Applying Freire's and Macedo's concept of critical literacy to Jacobs or to those who remain subjugated demonstrates that the real struggle is not learning to read and write the actual words on the page, but learning to read and write the world itself.

Critical literacy involves an understanding of how dominant language practices and dominant discourses have functioned to keep the subjugated disempowered and imprisoned within a “culture of silence” for many years.

The powerless voice of the teenage mother may therefore have been silenced but, crucially, “the voice” enables communication of realities and experiences, which is ultimately needed to complete the analysis of “the problem”.

This highlights the importance of having a voice in order to name one's own reality.

The story of one's experience and situation can lead to the realisation of how one came to be oppressed and subjugated in the first place, and may allow the subject to consider the imposing detriment of the self-infliction of mental violence or the continual condemnation of self upon the individual and the individual's relationship with society.

Critical literacy involves an attempt to transform the structures of oppression: not simply to replicate the master's house as it stands, but to dismantle it and perhaps rebuild it with a different blueprint and different materials. In order for the teenage mother to gain critical literacy, she will need to understand how language has functioned over time to disempower her in order to begin to challenge these dominant practices and discourses. There will be a need for the teenage mother to develop a new relationship to language and find a voice that will challenge as it creates its own. In so doing she is attempting to achieve the critical literacy described by Macedo and Freire, of transforming rather than merely serving the dominant social order and the dominant discourse. This may prove difficult as it is dominant discourse that has historically retained power and has been used to serve and reinforce the power of the state and its institutions.

There is awareness that the realities and legacy of slavery live on many generations later through the manifestation of mental slavery (Gutman, 1976). Even if the teenage mother is critically literate, it will take many years to dismantle the house and start again. The validity of the discourse is established and promoted through its very test of time – and herein lies the challenge for the teenage mother. Foucault maintained that truths are situational and social reality is constructed by the formulation and the exchange of these “truths” established or dismantled over the course of time, therefore only time will tell.

5.9 Reflexivity

This study has been an intense journey for the researcher and it has challenged many previously held assumptions about the world as experienced. The researcher appeared guilty of exploring the discursive field through the role of an Educational Psychologist working within an acceptable agenda that appeared to reinforce the subjection and dysfunctions of the teenage mother because that was viewed as an acceptable stance to take within the current rhetoric of bias. Thus the aforementioned status of “Trojan horse” existed.

This may represent the perceived, or even the true, intellectual parameters within the academic field and those who want to be considered intellectuals, as discussed before, must meet the requirements of the profile demanded by the dominant. Therefore to be considered intellectual or “professional”, one must do as those with the power to define do. This demonstrates that more reflection and exploration of one’s professional role is needed as well as exploration of the parameters of the very practice itself within which one practices.

The researcher focused further on exploring the discursive field whilst assumptions about teenage mothers may have developed and been allowed to gain momentum whilst studying and working within the field where the very dominant discourses exist and are unconsciously re-created.

The research has influenced and possibly forced the researcher to acknowledge the complex nature of teenage pregnancy, which may have been overcast by macro-level factors. Micro-level factors may have been negated and this may be because the researcher, belonging in one aspect to the dominant group, may have unconsciously categorised the ‘teenage mother’. In relation to power dynamics, the researcher held the power in terms of professional status knowledge and may have attempted to explore the life and educational outcomes of the teenage mother through “expert” eyes. Every aspect of the research, apart from the qualitative interviews, was written by an individual belonging to the agencies that retain power and dominance over the

teenage mother – namely the state; the educational institutions; various healthcare agencies. It would take a process of unpicking information used to problematise the teenage mother and information used to project reality for the teenage mother. This was attempted in the research however the researcher was forced to shed views based on cultural relativism (Mead, 1928) and “pedagogical expertise” in order to be clear and unbiased in her thoughts whilst being conscious of this process as a professional and as an educator.

The task in respect of this thesis was to improve educational outcomes for teenage mothers and explore educational programmes that Educational Psychologists or other professionals would be able to support or facilitate.

The reader, having read this study, may now be aware that even the title of the study has used language contained within dominant discursive practices and this title immediately demarcates a power differential within the relationship of researcher and teenage mother. It is also clear that the researcher presumed the role of “expert” in this field and the qualification for the “expert” label was based on power differentials contained within dominant discourse and in the relationship between the Educational Psychologist and the teenage mother. In this respect the Educational Psychologist was viewed as the “intellectual” extracting the views of the teenage mother. Furthermore, in respect of this study, the use of perceived professional status was deemed a prerequisite for undertaking this study.

Exploring “feel-good” interventions that may be implemented to support outcomes for teenage mothers may ultimately have served to reinforce the status quo and at the same time reinforced the “feel-good” role of the researcher.

The researcher has also at times had to adopt a position outside of the research as well as within the research and this has proved to be personally difficult. There was appreciation of the willingness of the women to involve themselves in what, at times, showed itself to be an emotive experience. Their willingness to share transposed the researcher’s position from one that was academic, to a more personalised

understanding of their lives.

It is clear that mental oppression is still in existence today and it is paradoxically apparent that two worlds in which an individual exists, the dominant discursive (in which the researcher is employed) and the cultural language contained within the researcher's personal sphere have come together, enabling some insight into both spheres of society where the hierarchy of valid intellect is dominant .in one and the oppression of inequality is paramount in the other.

This study has enabled the researcher to realise that a relationship to black vernacular speech may be fragmented because it may be deemed inferior or inappropriate within the predominantly white professional settings where dominant language is the norm. Even in this respect, it appears that the dominant language has prevailed to the detriment of that deemed secondary. The researcher is aware, as a result of this study, that there is personal work to be done to integrate both languages within a variety of settings.

In the process of writing up the study, there was awareness of the anticipated audience and the need, as researcher, to reflect accurately the experiences of the women who showed such willingness to share.

There was also awareness of not wanting to present a judgmental account of the educational psychology profession, without shying away from reflecting critical views that emerged in the literature and in the personal experiences shared by the women involved in the study of dominant discourses and practices.

This study has taken the researcher on a difficult but enlightening journey. The destination reached is one that the researcher would never have envisaged reaching. Yet although the researcher can empathise with some of the experiences of the teenage mother, there was little anticipation of this before the start of this journey.

Dominant discourse remains dominant because it is perceived as the norm, restricting alternative discourse. Once enlightenment occurs in the form of conscious thought and actions, the world is viewed as a very different place indeed.

5.9.1 The Educational Psychologist and implications for future research

This study has shown that disengagement from school is explicitly evident in some students.

Educational Psychologists are skilled at identifying and implementing, with other agencies, prevention strategies to enable students to re-engage with education. Prevention strategies should put measures in place to especially identify young women who are losing interest at school and help them to identify a Key Stage 4 learning package that engages them. Further research is needed to clearly identify precursors to poor attainment for the disaffected, potentially at risk and vulnerable groups. Educational Psychologists are equipped to undertake this. However, researchers in this field may be required to critically challenge theory and practice further. It is crucial to recall (from chapter 1 and 3) that constructionist psychologists such as Gergen (1985) state that what is perceived as “objective knowledge” is actually culturally and historically dependent and that this should encourage the Educational Psychologist to challenge cultural “universalisms”.

Universalisms can only be challenged if an individual is aware of its existence. Therefore it is important to be aware of and reflect on this in order to gain an understanding of how these “universalisms” function to reinforce social epistemology of what is perceived to be “rational truth” within the fields of academic research and applied psychology.

After reading this study, the reader may take the view that further ‘feel-good’ interventions may appear tokenistic in approach and content, containing little tools to enable the teenage mother to better her outcomes and create her own voice, the reason being that the very tools on offer would directly add an extension or further storeys to the master’s house. These interventions may go some way to present the perceived effect that change is occurring or may be presented as a solution to the

“problem” of the teenage mother within dominant discourse, whilst unintentionally seeking to remind those who are negatively affected exactly of their position in society.

Implementation of intervention will also be viewed as “doing something about the social ills of society” (Ward, 1991). Change will only occur through the breaking down of dominant discourse and through re-establishing an alternative discourse.

This study has also identified that further research in this field is needed on a large scale in order to identify the individual qualities and needs of the teenage mother, and not the characteristics of a sub-group or meme to which they have been relegated.

According to Ward, although intervention programs have taken on the mission of supporting teenage mothers with “fluffy” educational, social, health and parenting training (Ward, 1991, p.7), these programs have not supported the re-education of the teenage mother and are possibly, according to Ward, on a par with the provision of “tickets to zoos”.

Educational Psychologists, and further research in this field, must acknowledge the meta-narrative ideological educational agenda created and sustained through its application of dominant discursive practices and its use of the dominant language contained within this paradigm.

There must be awareness that this agenda has historically ignored the crucial relationship between education and the language and cultural capital of the students attending its institutions.

The result is the need for the development of a literacy agenda. The analysis of praxis in its social context reveals new knowledge which was previously covert, thus demythologising previous false interpretations.

Thus, in relation to the ontological stance of the researcher as a critical realist, it is the empirical ontological domain of experiences which gain validity and rationality, and the subject can apply thought and language to real events.

It is, thus, a way to enable the oppressed to reclaim “those historical and existential experiences that are devalued in everyday life by the dominant culture” (Freire & Donaldo, 1987).

5.9.2 Summary

This study has enabled the researcher to re-evaluate the role of the Educational Psychologist in the application of the “tools of expertise” used within everyday practice. This study has shown that the development of sophisticated methods of tool application is needed in order to support the creation of an alternative rhetoric for vulnerable and subjugated client groups.

It has been established that the implementation of, for example, a reading intervention program to support teenage mothers in developing reading skills, may not help the teenage mother or the subjugated student if it is developed within the dominant discursive fashion. A reading program of this kind may not assist in the acquisition or the development of the critical tools needed to liberate the subjugated from their suppression or even to liberate the subjugated from their distorted or mystified view of themselves and their world. Hence educators may need to consider whether, alongside the implementation of a reading program, the teenage mother will also need to develop skills of critical literacy/verbal reasoning in order to learn how to apply critical language and critical thought to her world in order to re-position, rather than being positioned.

Educators and other professionals within the field of education must understand the overwhelming and all-encompassing role that the dominant language has played in this mystification and distortion process. There must also be recognition that language considered subordinate can pose a threat or challenge to the dominant language; dominant language superiority must be demystified if power differentials within different groups in society are to be affected.

Research must develop educational programs and, in particular, literacy programs

based on the theory of cultural production which encompasses the culture, history and language of those who are subjugated. In other words, disadvantaged students must become actors in the reconstruction process of new discourses within society.

Data presented in the study strongly indicated that there is a need for government policy which acknowledges diversity and difference amongst teenage mothers. Data presented in this study also highlighted that the teenage mothers found motherhood fulfilling and motherhood was in fact an important motivational factor in their future aspirations, indicating contrast to ascribed identity.

Educators must also realise the everyday realities of micro and macro strategies which restrict individual progressive movement and may serve to restrict real opportunities available to teenage mothers post-conception. It is important to appreciate and be aware of the development of micro strategies, in the form of a perceived rationale, and the crucial role played in bolstering and reinforcing the meta-narrative and the power of the state.

6. Conclusion

6. Overview

The research incorporated the subjective experiences of the teenage mother through the employment of FDA and exploration of the wider discursive field. It was hoped that findings from the research would guide the researcher towards an alternative perspective when considering intervention in order to generate a greater sense of agency and empowerment for the teenage mother.

The intention in undertaking this study was to also consider the role of the Educational Psychologist in supporting positive educational outcomes for teenage mothers.

To explore the aims further, four research questions were presented in order to contextualise the research:

- a) What are the views of five teenage mothers living within an outer London Borough about their individual educational experiences?
- b) What similarities and differences are there between their avowed identity and ascribed identity?
- c) What are their future aspirations?
- d) Where is the teenage mother situated in structural society?

This study has observed prevailing discursive constructs that have positioned teenage mothers as a sub-culture situated within dominant ideologies and discursive practices. These ideologies have rendered the teenage mother as “deviant” for performing the biological function of motherhood outside of normative functioning.

To ensure the smooth running of normative functions, various bodies or agencies

of the state such as health or education provide support in which to regulate and ensure individual conformity. It has been established through the study that the teenage mother, rendered subordinate, has long been identified as being a “burden” to the state, as a non-contributor to this ideological framework. The teenage mother was therefore vilified for this act of subordination, and language used in dominant discursive practices served to further position and negate the subject in order to produce representations of the “truth” in social reality.

6.1 Summary of findings and reflections on experiences

Through the application of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as a method and approach to exploring power differentials in society, the discursive field and the narratives presented by the interviewees, a synopsis of what emerged was a sense of the teenage mother, as subject, being positioned as powerless within society and micro-regulated by technologies of power. These micro strategies invariably powered or bolstered a wider ideological framework, which in turn served to further reinforce definition of the “truth” and further reinforce established discursive formations.

Further exploration in relation to normative female practices within society was explored and deriving from this was a myriad of related discourses, including social biography discourses, and those that supported innate motherhood. These discourses presented women as maternal objects, weak in their ability to contribute to society economically, whose generative practices were largely regulated by the state.

Psycho-social ideologies and dominant discourses, which project parenting as being an innate part of healthy normative development and motherhood as necessary to womanhood, have directly promoted an agenda which has served to maintain the smooth running of society in accordance with normative functioning and governmentality

Drawing on Foucault’s work, it was the intention to explore the exclusion of

specific discourses and the wielding of power that allowed certain individuals or groups to silence and marginalise others and in the process, continuing to legitimise and validate dominant discourses within specific discursive fields.

Being negated and relegated to the position of ‘other’ or of ‘deviant’ showed itself to have the effect of silencing and marginalising the teenage mothers interviewed and further reinforcing the production of a “truth” within social reality.

By not conforming to the normative expectation that all women become mothers in due course, teenage mothers appear penalised, vilified and portrayed as deficit of effective parenting skills. This technology rationalised the need for localised strategies through which to ‘up skill’ the teenage mother, facilitated by local “experts” in order to develop or enhance parenting skills. In doing so, the state continues to retain power and enforces and reinforces its expert role not only as “parent” but as regulator too within structural society.

The findings show that society’s social institutions are influenced by dominant discourses and established discursive practices are characterised by social and political exclusion, exploitation and unequal distribution and access to resources. Invariably this has led to a system where there are winners and losers and certain individuals or groups of people become trapped in a particular social situation. Implications include power inequity, poverty, and the denial of basic human rights, leading to unmet basic human needs. Without social justice, the individual and individual potential is unable to be recognised and actualised.

Unjust structural forces contributed to educational failure or limited access to a good education, discrimination, and inadequate employment opportunities.

The implications for the teenage mothers interviewed appeared to be a felt sense of early academic failure and self-condemnation, contributing to portrayal of a negative ascribed identity in society, therefore internalisation of what was perceived as the “truth” within social reality. This seemed to be exacerbated by a lack of voice with which to reposition themselves.

There was clear evidence that the participants had failed in education and had left school early, without the opportunity to take exams at the end of year 11. Research findings indicate that present processes within structural society are ineffective at dealing with the “fallout” and that teenage mothers continue to make up high numbers of NEET- hence the system contains instead of encouraging or developing personal growth. This continues to feed the established “truth” within social reality:

...the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth
(Foucault, 2000, p.133).

It is therefore important that an ideological educational agenda in virtual contrast to portrayal of the “truth” within social reality encompasses the cultures, histories and languages of those subjugated and relegated to exclusion in order to equip students with skills of critical thinking and critical literacy. It is only through the application of critically reflective tools that the teenage mother can analyse her position within society further, using critical literacy skills to reposition herself, leading to the production of a new social reality, effecting structural change.

It appears as though in order to improve outcomes for the teenage mother, Educational Psychologists must apply preventative strategies to students perceived as at risk, in contrast to picking up the pieces at the end of educational failure – and herein lies the challenge for Educational Psychologist Services.

In relation to the aims of the research, the findings presented the view that teenage mothers were motivated to re-engage with education post-pregnancy, in direct contrast to ascribed identity. Findings indicated that the teenage mothers found motherhood fulfilling and motherhood was in fact an important motivational factor in their future aspiration, hence a counter-discursive had begun. The difficulty, for the researcher, lies with whether Educational Psychologists are able to support the long-term educational outcomes of teenage mothers without being Janus-faced, nonetheless receptive to formation of a new social reality.

Data presented in the study strongly indicated that there is a need for discursive formations which provide a fair and equitable forum for acknowledgement of diversity and difference amongst teenage mothers as well as acknowledgement of their strengths and potential.

This study, which also related to the journey of the researcher, who has presented her own personal journey as author of this research, has enabled the author to 'learn to unlearn' cultural and social perspectives produced by dominant discourse in society in order to reflect on the journey undertaken to complete this study. There is awareness that confinement of thought and restriction of alternative conceptual models of the 'ethnic minority' construct was propagated in order to feed the reproduction of dominant discourse. Going beyond the mental restriction of one's mind has enabled the researcher to challenge that, which had previously functioned as a tool in which to restrict desire for the 'truth'.

6.2 Future study

Further research is needed to clearly identify precursors to poor attainment for the disaffected, potentially at risk and vulnerable groups, such as teenage mothers. Educational Psychologists and researchers in this discursive field must also acknowledge the wider educational agenda created and sustained through its application of dominant discursive practices and its use of the dominant language contained within this paradigm.

It is important to give teenage mothers effective tools with which to utilise their voices leading to the creation of a new discourse, which may in time replace those which remain dominant.

Research must develop educational programs and in particular literacy programs based on the theory of cultural production which can encompass the culture, history and language of the subjugated teenage mother.

In other words, teenage mothers must become actors in the reconstruction process

of a new discursive role within society. Change may only take place when a counter-discursive is produced and communicated, requiring possession of the means of communication and of self-representation. It is only when this is realised and actioned will the teenage mother be situated in a stronger position, with reformed ideology, in which to negate social stigmatisation and effectively negotiate better outcomes for herself and her child.

The potential role of the Educational Psychologist in delivering interventions of real meaning around the notion of a critical sense of self.

This study has highlighted the need for interventions in which to enable teenage mothers to reposition themselves in society. The study has shown that there is a need for conceptual framework programmes that will support the teenage mother or those belonging to a subjugated group to have a voice in which to re-situate and re-position themselves in society.

Intervention will need to focus on the individual learning to critically reflect, juxtapose and challenge concepts and constructs that serve to further subjugate, presenting self-perceptions based on one's own enforced perspective of position and the limitations of this. Therefore the researcher is proposing an intervention based on the development of self-reflective skills to enable the teenage mother to develop critical reflective skills and awareness of her present position. This will develop awareness of skills in which to explore new conceptual models in which to reframe and situate herself within society, developing new consciousness and self-awareness. This will create a framework in which to apply new learning to one's own context and put new learning into practice in order to consider and achieve alternative, yet positive outcomes.

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Appendix 1

Research questions

a). Views on individual educational experiences.
b). Avowed identity vs. ascribed identity.
c). Future aspirations.
d). Position of teenage mothers in structural society.

Interview questions/ guide

- a) Can you describe your educational experience? How did you explore career options whilst you were in school? Did you complete schooling? How were you treated by teachers and peers in school?
- a1). Were these goals realised pre pregnancy or have they recently changed because of motherhood? If so, how have they changed?
- a2). Did you receive any support or additional interventions during your education in primary and secondary school?
- b) How do you now perceive future outcomes for yourself and your child?
- c) What plans have you made to return to or re-engage with education in the future?
- c1). What support is needed to support this or further support realisation of specific goals?

- d) What are your views on the perception of teenage mothers in society today?
 - d1). How do you fit into this model, or don't you? If not, how would you describe yourself as an individual?
- e) Do you think that there is a marked or perceived difference in terms of pre and post pregnancy perceptions of young women in society?
 - e1). Why do you think this is?
- f) Did you receive any support from your family before, during and after pregnancy?
 - f1). What were their views on your pregnancy?
- g) What support did you receive from external agencies while you were pregnant?
 - g1). What was the nature of this support?

Appendix 2

Research Information Sheet

Teenage Mothers and education.

Can the Educational Psychologist improve outcomes for this group?

Please retain a copy of the information sheet. There are two parts to this information sheet.

Part A: Information about the research study:

Who is the researcher?

Janet McLeod (Trainee Educational Psychologist).

Where can they be contacted?

The Moor Lane Centre

Moor Lane

Chessington

Surrey

KT9 2AA

Tel: 020 8547 6699

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is voluntary. We would like you to consent to participate in this study as we believe that you can make an important contribution to the research. If you do not wish to participate you do not have to do anything in response to this request.

What is the research study about?

This study will aim to explore the presenting barriers that may prevent teenage mothers from returning to education as well as exploring how the role of the Educational Psychologist can support this re-engagement. This study will focus on the role of the Educational Psychologist in the reintegration of teenage mothers into

education and explore to what extent the Educational Psychologist can support this group to realise their academic potential. It will also explore how Educational Psychologists can support and promote best practice.

What will the participants have to do and how long will it take?

This study will gather the views of teenage mothers, through the use of interviews. Each interview will last about 1 hour. It will discuss experiences of education and the support received by various agencies in local context.

What will happen to the information collected

All information provided by you will be stored anonymously on a computer with analysis of the information obtained undertaken by the researcher.

The results from this analysis will be available in academic journals.

Part B: Declaration to Participants:

- Individuals will not be identified in any publication/dissemination of the research findings without their explicit consent.
- All information collected during conversation/meetings/interviews will only be viewed by the researcher, and his/her supervisor if requested, and remain strictly confidential.

If you take part in the study you have the right to:

- Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study up to the time of submission.
- Ask any further questions about the study that occurs to you during your participation.
- Be given access to a summary of the findings from the study, when it is concluded.

Researcher's Name: Janet McLeod

Researcher's Signature:

Contact details: 020 8547 6699

Date: 04 / 05 /11

CONSENT FORM

Title of thesis: Teenage mothers and education. Can the Educational Psychologist improve outcomes for this group?

Name, position and contact details of Researcher:

Janet McLeod, Trainee Educational Psychologist. The Moor Lane Centre, Moor Lane, Chessington, KT9 2SAA Tel: 020 8547 6699

Please Initial Box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the research process up until the time of submission, without giving reason.

☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

I agree to the interview / consultation being audio recorded.

☐

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

UEL\Research Ethics\ Consent FormJanet\teenage mothers.doc

Appendix 3

BPS checklist for evaluating qualitative psychology research	Yes	No
Does this work contribute to our knowledge of this area? How?		
Does it enhance or develop knowledge?		
Does the researcher provide the reader with a different perspective on research findings in the field?		
Are the research findings of worth or relevance?		
Is there evidence of a clear research question to the reader?		
Has the researcher used an appropriate design for the research question and theoretical approach?		
Are we provided with sufficient information to relate the findings reported here to another setting? (Context)		
Are there a good range of possible cases or settings used for this study? (Sampling)		
Considering data collection and analysis. Has the researcher used a systematic approach?		
Does the paper specifically address issues relating to sound audit processes? Are such processes reported clearly? Is informed consent reported?		
Is the reported account sufficiently reflexive? How does the author incorporate this in their research?		

Biggerstaff , D. (2012). Qualitative Research Methods in Psychology, Psychology - Selected Papers, Dr. Gina Rossi (Ed)., InTech. Croatia

Appendix 4

Office of National Standards (ONS) Inner London Local Authority under 18 number of conceptions:

	2010	2009	2001
Haringey	48	47	70
Camden	22	20	28
Hackney	44	43	77
Hammersmith and Fulham	23	40	37
Islington	29	31	49
Lambeth	50	57	103
Lewisham	51	59	58
Southwark	52	61	76
Westminster	23	21	19
Tower Hamlets	23	41	54

Office for National Statistics (2012) UK Statistics Authority.

Appendix 5

Outer London local authority number of conceptions

	2010	2009	2001
Barking and Dagenham	55	49	51
Barnet	35	35	24
Bexley	41	49	42
Brent	36	40	57
Croydon	63	71	85
Greenwich	51	56	73
Kingston	20	21	8
Richmond	16	12	14
Waltham forest	41	57	46
Sutton	25	29	41

Office for National Statistics (2012) UK Statistics Authority

Appendix 6

Teenage conception numbers in England and Wales (ONS) showing a decline of 9.5 % amongst the under 18 and 6.8% amongst the under 16.

	Under 18	Under 16
2010	34,633	6,674
2009	38,259	7,158

Teenage number of conceptions in London (ONS)

	Under 18	Under 16
2010	16,848	4,414
2009	16,944	4,977

Office for National Statistics (2012) UK Statistics Authority

Appendix 7

The Extra Discursive and Problematisations

- Under what circumstances and by whom are aspects of individuals being rendered problematic;
- According to what moral domains or judgement are these concerns allowed to circulate?
- What official discourses and counter discourses render these problems visible and intelligible?

(Willig & Rogers 2008).

Relating Meaning to the Extra Discursive and Conditions of Possibility

What was being presented? Was this a truth or a norm?

What evidence is used to form this construction? What is left out?

What is not being acknowledged in the text? What alternative meanings are ignored?

- a) What social structure or representation of power is the discourse serving? –
- b) What is it not?

What is the genealogy of this?

What is pathologised and portrayed as ‘deviant’?

What is normalised or deemed acceptable?

What identities, practices, actions are made possible by this construct of reality?

(Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine 2008, p.91).

Appendix 8

Guba and Lincoln (1985) proposed four criteria for judging the soundness of qualitative research.

Alternative Criteria for Judging Qualitative Research

Credibility

Transferability

Dependability

Confirmability

Credibility

The credibility criteria involves establishing that the results of qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research. Since from this perspective, the purpose of qualitative research is to describe or understand the phenomena of interest from the participant's eyes, the participants are the only ones who can legitimately judge the credibility of the results.

Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings. From a qualitative perspective transferability is primarily the responsibility of the one doing the generalizing. The qualitative researcher can enhance transferability by doing a thorough job of describing the research context and the assumptions that were central to the research. The person who wishes to "transfer" the results to a different context is then responsible for making the judgment of how sensible the transfer is.

Dependability

The traditional quantitative view of reliability is based on the assumption of replicability or repeatability. Essentially it is concerned with whether we would

obtain the same results if we could observe the same thing twice. But we can't actually measure the same thing twice -- by definition if we are measuring twice, we are measuring two different things. In order to estimate reliability, quantitative researchers construct various hypothetical notions (e.g., true score theory) to try to get around this fact.

The idea of dependability, on the other hand, emphasizes the need for the researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs. The research is responsible for describing the changes that occur in the setting and how these changes affected the way the research approached the study.

Confirmability

Qualitative research tends to assume that each researcher brings a unique perspective to the study. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. There are a number of strategies for enhancing confirmability. The researcher can document the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study. Another researcher can take a "devil's advocate" role with respect to the results, and this process can be documented. The researcher can actively search for and describe and *negative instances* that contradict prior observations. And, after the study, one can conduct a *data audit* that examines the data collection and analysis procedures and makes judgements about the potential for bias or distortion.

Lincoln, YS. & Guba, EG. (1985). Naturalistic Enquiry. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Appendix 9

'Concepts of Authenticity and Morality'

(Angen 2000):

- Authenticity- whereby the purpose of the study is clear, the research empowers the participants, acknowledgement by the researcher that the research serves the participants an element of respect and as a result of this, element of reciprocity in respect of how the research will enhance the local community.
- Morality or Ethical Validity – recognition and acknowledgement by the researcher of the political and ethical considerations of the research.

Additional issues of Quality and Validity

- Is research helpful to target population
- Are there alternative explanations?
- Did we really learn something?
- Researcher acknowledgement of the need to be reflexive and transparent.
- Prolonged engagement and referring back to participants (ensures credibility).
- Record keeping - standardisation of field notes, recording and transcribing.

(Angen, MJ. (2000). Evaluating interpretive inquiry: Reviewing the validity debate and opening the dialogue. Qualitative Health Research. 10(3) pp. 378-395

Appendix 10

Corpus statements selected from the transcripts and grouped according to meaning:

Motivation

270. 'yeah, you have a child and you know you wanna do the best for them..'

274.' So he's given me more motivation to just want better for myself and him.'

Self-fulfilling prophecy

308. ' Well if you're not gonna go to school, you'd better go to work'

357 (Interviewer) ' in relation to your long term goals, what are you thinking about doing now?'

358 (Participant)... 'erm'

Aspirations

364. ' And give me more prospects because obviously I wanna move up, I don;'t wanna stay on the same level and erm...'

Self-awareness

368 ' That's right yeah. I can and yeah, but it upsets me to think that I haven't(-) thought of it before (-)'.
370. 'and done better and had a child an'

260, 'If I didn't fall pregnant with x (-) I'd probably still be at Chelsea to be honest'.

260, 'If I didn't fall pregnant with x (-) I'd probably still be at Chelsea to be honest'.

Self-condemnation

265. '.. getting more qualifications?'

266.' No I would've stayed where I was'.

Appendix 11

Critical Review Form – Qualitative Studies (Version 2.0).

© Letts, L., Wilkins, S., Law, M., Stewart, D., Bosch, J., & Westmorland, M., 2007

McMaster University

CITATION:

Comments

STUDY PURPOSE:

Was the purpose and/or research
question stated clearly?

☐ yes

☐ no

Outline the purpose of the study and/or research question.

LITERATURE:

Was relevant background
literature reviewed?

☐ yes

☐ no

Describe the justification of the need for this study. Was it clear and compelling?

How does the study apply to your practice and/or to your research question? Is it
worth continuing this review?¹

STUDY DESIGN:

What was the design?

- ☐ phenomenology
 - ☐ ethnography
 - ☐ grounded theory
 - ☐ participatory action research
 - ☐ other
-

Was the design appropriate for the study question? (i.e., rationale) Explain.

1. When doing critical reviews, there are strategic points in the process at which you may decide the research is not applicable to your practice and question. You may decide then that it is not worthwhile to continue with the review.

Was a theoretical perspective identified?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

Describe the theoretical or philosophical perspective for this study e.g., researcher's perspective.

Method(s) used:

- ☐ participant observation
 - ☐ interviews
 - ☐ document review
 - ☐ focus groups
 - ☐ other
-

Describe the method(s) used to answer the research question. Are the methods congruent with the philosophical underpinnings and purpose?

SAMPLING:

Was the process of purposeful selection described?

- ☐ yes

☐ no

Describe sampling methods used. Was the sampling method appropriate to the study purpose or research question?

Was sampling done until redundancy in data was reached?²

☐ yes

☐ no

☐ not addressed

Are the participants described in adequate detail? How is the sample applicable to your practice or research question? Is it worth continuing?

Was informed consent obtained?

☐ yes

☐ no

☐ not addressed

DATA COLLECTION:

Descriptive Clarity

Clear & complete description of site:

☐ yes no

participants:

☐ yes no

Role of researcher & relationship with participants:

☐ yes ☐ no

Identification of assumptions and biases of researcher:

☐ yes no

Describe the context of the study. Was it sufficient for understanding of the “whole” picture?

What was missing and how does that influence your understanding of the research?

2. Throughout the form, “no” means the authors explicitly state reasons for not doing

it; “not addressed” should be ticked if there is no mention of the issue.

Procedural Rigour

Procedural rigor was used in data collection strategies?

☐ yes

☐ no

☐ not addressed

Do the researchers provide adequate information about data collection procedures e.g., gaining access to the site, field notes, training data gatherers? Describe any flexibility in the design & data collection methods.

DATA ANALYSES:

Analytical Rigour

Data analyses were inductive?

☐ yes no not addressed

Findings were consistent with & reflective of data?

☐ yes no

Describe method(s) of data analysis. Were the methods appropriate? What were the findings?

Auditability Decision trail developed?

☐ yes no not addressed

Process of analyzing the data was described adequately?

☐ yes no not addressed

Describe the decisions of the researcher re: transformation of data to codes/themes.

Outline the rationale given for development of themes.

THEORETICAL CONNECTIONS

Did a meaningful picture of the phenomenon under study emerge?

☐ yes

☐ no

How were concepts under study clarified & refined, and relationships made clear?

Describe any conceptual frameworks that emerged.

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Appendix 12

Subjectivity and Reflexivity Checklist

Consider an awareness, minimisation and potential impact of the following:

Husserl (1913/1931) originally identified several variants of ‘bracketing’. Applied to research, these involve:

1. The *epoche of the natural sciences* where the researcher abstains from theories, explanations, scientific conceptualisation and knowledge in order to return to the natural attitude of the prescientific lifeworld (i.e. return to the unreflective apprehension of the lived, everyday world).
2. The *phenomenological psychological reduction* where belief in the existence of what presents itself in the lifeworld is suspended. Instead the focus is on the subjective appearances and meanings.

Here the aim is to “bracket” previous understandings, past knowledge, and assumptions about the phenomenon so as to focus on the phenomenon in its appearing. Bracketing involves a process whereby the researcher refrains from positioning at all and looks at the data with an element of openness

More specifically, Ashworth (1996) suggests that at least three particular areas of presupposition need to be set aside:

1. Scientific theories, knowledge and explanation;
2. Truth or falsity of claims being made by the participant; and
3. Personal views and experiences of the researcher which would cloud descriptions of the phenomenon itself. Importantly, this

“setting aside” is carried out throughout the research process and is not just a first step.

Taken from: Finlay, L. (2008). A dance between the reduction and reflexivity: Explicating the “phenomenological psychological attitude”. Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 39, 1-32.

Appendix 13

Thesis timetable

Date	Research Activity
November 2010	Final Research Proposal submitted including research questions, UEL ethics form, participant information letter and consent form.
February 2011-June 2011	Planned visits to teenage mothers.
September 2011– December 2011	Data collection and analysis
January 2012- November 2012	Write up thesis findings
March/April 2013	Submit completed thesis

Appendix 14

A sample of transcription grouped by the Researcher (Participant- Jane).

55. (Jane) Yeah, no I didn't really like, wanna go college or university, I just wanted to go out and to work.

20. 'yeah, you have a child and you know you wanna do the best for them..'

263. (Jane) I dunno, I think it's like as I've been getting older you see all your mates, like, even some of my mates now with kids, they like, still haven't changed, and like looking back on them I think it's made me realise that I don't wanna be like that.

279. (Jane) Yeah definitely, cos I hadn't got any GCSE's anyway. I'm getting them all back now. So when I wanna go and do work, instead of something little that I'm not going to get paid that much for, I can go that one step further, like because I've got the grades behind me and then I can just go out and do it.

321. (Jane) And like once, hopefully, I can complete all of them and then in the future if I am really really good like, and save up some money, I would like to open up my own hair and beauty shop. But that's in like years and years (-).

322. (Interviewer) (-) Uh-huh.

323. (Jane) ...to come, that's what I would like to do, so I can have my own business and then I know, nothing could go wrong for X and it's something for X as well.

324. (Interviewer) And did you, thinking back, would you have ever thought you could have achieved that?

325. (Jane) No! Hah! (Laughs) No way! No way!
326. (Interviewer) (Laughs) Okay, so what's been the main change then?
327. (Jane) I think, being here.
328. (Interviewer) Just, being here?
329. (Jane) And having X and the support here
- 274.' So he's given me more motivation to just want better for myself and him.'
213. (Jane) I knew for a fact. I don't even wanna go back to work now, until X has walked and spoke and everything cos I don't wanna miss out on nothing. But I realise that, cos all my life I wanted to be a hair and beautician, and like now I've got X I found a college that would let me take X in with me, cos I don't wanna leave him with anybody, so now I can do that and now I'm starting to do my hair and beauty course.
248. (Interviewer) Yeah! So how do you see yourself in terms of before you had him and in terms of now, how do you? (-).
249. (Jane) (-) I think I'm better off that I've had X (-).
247. (Jane) ...I'm just about to start my hair and beauty course, so er, I've done so much.
215. (Jane) I dunno, I just thought I wanted a better life for my son, (-).
229. (Jane) Well, I dunno really, it's the support an like everyone saying 'just cos you've got a kid, like, it's not the end of the world!'
230. (Interviewer) Uh-huh.
231. (Jane) It just pushes you to do more things, which is good.
243. (Jane) But it's good though, cos ever since I've been back to college, I done all my GCSE's that I didn't do after school.
244. (Interviewer) Brilliant!
245. (Jane) So, and I'm doing everything, I'm doing Maths, English, PSV and I'm starting erm a parenting course, I've nearly finished and (-)

151. (Jane) But after having X, things just all changed, so that's what made me change my mind really.

308. ' Well if you're not gonna go to school, you'd better go to work'

357 (Interviewer) ' in relation to your long term goals, what are you thinking about doing now?'

358 (Participant)... 'erm'

364. ' And give me more prospects because obviously I wanna move up, I don't wanna stay on the same level and erm...'

368 ' That's right yeah. I can and yeah, but it upsets me to think that I haven't(-) thought of it before (-)'.

370. 'and done better and had a child an'

260, 'If I didn't fall pregnant with x (-) I'd probably still be at X to be honest'.

6. (Jane) And then erm, my cousin opened up a café on her own in X and she asked me to be the manager of it for her and I went up there and then I started, like working there and after like 6, 7 months she had it closed and on the like, last day, I found out I was pregnant. (-).

12. (Interviewer) So before you got the job, at your cousins café, in Essex (-) did you, were you thinking about (-) What were you thinking about then when you left school?

13. (Jane) I just wanted to work, (-).

14. (Interviewer) Okay.

15. (Jane) I just wanted to get stuck into work.

16. (Interviewer) So you weren't interested in staying in education at all, (-).

17. (Jane) No, not really.

18. (Interviewer) Was there, was there a reason why?

19. (Jane) I just don't like working with loads of people.

55. (Jane) Yeah, no I didn't really like, wanna go college or university, I just wanted to go out and to work.

56. (Interviewer) So from the very beginning, when you started in year 7, that's what (-).

57. (Jane) Yeah that's what I've always wanted to do.

58. (Interviewer) So you've found education quite, erm (-) did you go to school much then or were you (-).

59. (Jane) Yeah, no, I did but sometimes I didn't go. (Laughs).

265. '... getting more qualifications?'

266. 'No I would've stayed where I was'.

2. (Jane) No, before I was pregnant, erm, I left (-) I left school like when I was 16 but I didn't do my GCSE's.

3. (Interviewer) Did you want to? Or were you thinking about (-).

4. (Jane) I did want to, but I just didn't turn up for em. I don't know why, I, I just didn't. But then I did start working at X in X and I stayed there for over a year.

37. (Jane) What, when I done it?

38. (Interviewer) When you realised that you weren't gonna be put for, be put forward for GCSE's, did you say to anyone that you wanted to do em?

39. (Jane) Nah, I just really wasn't bothered at the time, nah.

40. (Interviewer) was there anyone at school who sort of, encouraged you?

41. (Jane) Yeah they all did encourage me to do it, but when the day came, I just didn't turn up.

42. (Interviewer) Okay.

43. (Jane) So (-).

44. (Interviewer) And is that because you, didn't really (-) why was that?

45. (Jane) Cos I started to work, I started working an that's what I thought would be best for me.
46. (Interviewer) Mmmm, so you didn't really think of a future in education, you just wanted to get out of it (-).
47. (Jane) Mmhmm.
48. (Interviewer) ...and work, so the minute you left school you were working then?
49. (Jane) Yeah.
50. (Interviewer) Okay, and you were happy with that?
51. (Jane) Yeah I was really happy, yeah.
20. (Interviewer) So did you have any difficulties at school?
21. (Jane) Yeah, I can't really learn with loads of people, that's why I got kicked out of my old school and got moved to X cos I weren't good.
22. (Interviewer) Right.
23. (Jane) In like, with like 30 people in there I just wouldn't stop talking.
24. (Interviewer) So what did the school do to support you?
25. (Jane) They sent me to X, and there was only like 3 people per classroom, so (-) and then that was it my grades just went up, so (-).
26. (Interviewer) So did you go back to your school?
27. (Jane) No, no they did offer me to go there (-).
28. (Interviewer) Okay.
29. (Jane) ...go back, but I didn't want to, I felt more (-).
30. (Interviewer) Because of the smaller (-).
31. (Jane) Yeah, I felt more comfortable.
32. (Interviewer) So did you feel, did you erm (-) did you leave school with GCSE's then?
33. (Jane) Erm, yeah, I have got a few, but not what I wanted to get cos

that was just for the coursework, with it, it weren't actually the exams I sat.

73. (Jane) I don't know I just get really easily distracted, and like cos loads of people were talking to me (-)

74. (Interviewer) Mmhmmm.

75. (Jane) like, I always seemed to get the blame (-)

76. (Interviewer) Okay.

77. (Jane) So that's when like I had a bit of an anger issue, (laughs)

78. (Interviewer) You felt like you had, you had a name?

79. (Jane) Definitely.

80. (Interviewer) Like a label?

81. (Jane) Yeah.

82. (Interviewer) And do you think because you had a label, no matter (-)

83. (Jane) What I did, Yeah it would still backfire on me.

. (Interviewer) Do you think if you hadn't had that label then things might have been quite different?

87. (Jane) Erm yeah I think I would have stuck at it, like, longer than what I did.

95. (Jane) Yeah there was only 3 classrooms in there, so, like, literally 2 people, 3 people to a classroom. Like you went in there, you didn't have to wear school uniforms, you wore your own clothes, you didn't call em sir you called em by their first name.

96. (Interviewer) Okay.

97. (Jane) So it was, like, really different, they made it like more fun for you to go and learn there.

98. (Interviewer) Okay.

99. (Jane) An I felt, more, like, at home.

100. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.

101. (Jane) Definitely.

102. (Interviewer) (-----) Good, good, okay that's interesting, (-) so there's a big difference then, between the formal sort of schooling and then going to the Pru, bit more informal then?

103. (Jane) Yeah.

104. (Interviewer) You tended to do better, so do you feel that perhaps if they'd changed the sort of erm, the way that they structure the lessons, if they changed certain things to make you feel more included then it might have worked a bit (-)

105. (Jane) (-) Yeah.

106. (Interviewer) But do you think that they er, didn't, as, I know you mentioned having someone in class to help you?

107. (Jane) Yeah.

108. (Interviewer) That was the only additional thing (-).

109. (Jane) (-) That they did, yeah.

110. (Interviewer) Oh right (-).

111. (Jane) Or they chucked you out of the lesson.

112. (Interviewer) Yeah.

113. (Jane) That was it.

114. (Interviewer) Even though you felt that it might not have been you (-).

115. (Jane) Yeah.

116. (Interviewer) (--) felt that you weren't the main person distracting everyone else, okay (-).

117. (Jane) (-) Yeah.

118. (Interviewer) Do you think then because of that experience, that made you then sort of want to work?

119. (Jane) Yeah that's what made me not want to do education.

120. (Interviewer) (-) Because of how you were treated at school? Okay, okay

(-) So why do you think they didn't erm, why do you think you got the label?

121. (Jane) (Laughs) Cos I was so talkative.

122. (Interviewer) Mmhmm.

123. (Jane) Like I did, cos people were talking to me and i would talk back, and like, I was quite an angry child (--) back in ser, secondary school, so my anger weren't too good.

124. (Interviewer) And did they do anything to help you?

125. (Jane) No, literally just someone would sit in there with me. That'd be it, yeah.

126. (Interviewer) So you didn't have any anger management lessons or anything? Or strategies to manage that?

127. (Jane) Er, yeah, I did, but (-----) it didn't really help that much because if I'm sitting in a lesson and someone's tormenting me an like, an really winding me up, they wouldn't get in trouble, it'd still be me!

128. (Interviewer) It'd still be you?

129. (Jane) So that's why like, I just didn't like, didn't hardly turn up anymore (---) I'd had enough of it

130. (Interviewer) Mmhmm, so you said that, erm, you get really angry; you get angry because of how they saw you?

131. (Jane) Yeah.

132. (Interviewer) Okay, and what would you do when you got angry? Would you not (Both laugh)

133. (Jane) I dunno, I just like, I dunno either probably start arguments with people and then get chucked out, or just walk out of school.

134. (Interviewer) Okay, so it just made things get kind of, worse then,

until they said 'Alright that's it you've... (-).

135. (Jane) (-) ...You've got to go.' Yeah, and that's when they asked me to go Lindberg.

140. (Interviewer) And you didn't go back to your, old school?

141. (Jane) No, they asked me to go back, but I felt more comfortable (-).

140. (Interviewer) And you didn't go back to your, old school?

141. (Jane) No, they asked me to go back, but I felt more comfortable (-).

142. (Interviewer) (-) Mmhmm.

143. (Jane) At (Can't make out), and I thought I was doing like, more well, and my grades were go up, so, (-).

144. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah

145. (Jane) ...I just stayed there.

146. (Interviewer) Mmmm. Okay, so when you erm decided that you were gonna go to work, was that, like before you were sent to the Pru? Or (-)

147. (Jane) I always, like, I always said I would go to work straight after I'd finished school,

148. (Interviewer) Okay (-) but do you think that if they had given you more of an opportunity to achieve, do you think it might have changed your views a bit (-) What do you think? (-).

149. (Jane) I dunno (--), I dunno, because back then I was just like, so set on kinda, going to work straight away

259. (Jane) Before I had X, like, I would go out with my mates, drinking and stuff like that and like having a bit of a temper on me. But now I've had X and like now I've been with my boyfriend for like over 2 years, like, its proper calmed me down and like I'm just focussed on doing what's best for X, instead of like always having a drink in my hand.

260. (Interviewer) Mmmm, so what's, what made the difference then? In

terms

of your life?

266. (Interviewer) And do you think you've grown in confidence?

267. (Jane) Oh yeah, definitely.

Interviewer) So once you've had him, before you had him. Do you think you would have had the confidence to start these courses and (-)

269. (Jane) No, not really.

270. (Interviewer) Okay, that's interesting.

271. (Jane) I just wouldn't have done it.

273. (Jane) I didn't think that I would be able to do it (-).

274. (Interviewer) (-) Okay.

275. (Jane) when I was in school.

273. (Jane) I didn't think that I would be able to do it (-).

274. (Interviewer) (-) Okay.

275. (Jane) when I was in school.

306. (Interviewer) So what was, what was difference then? If you weren't here, would things have been, do you think things would have been different for you?

307. (Jane) What even when I had X as well?

308. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah if you hadn't been here?

309. (Jane) I think the only thing what I would have changed like, I think I wouldn't have gone back to college.

Appendix 15

Interview: Lisa (Second Interview).

Length: 58 mins 25 secs

1. (Interviewer) Ok.
2. (Lisa) Erm, yeah my mum lives in X and but obviously now I've gone from temporary (-)
3. (Interviewer) X ?
4. (Lisa) X.
5. (Interviewer) Oh my gosh, that's so far.
6. (Lisa) I know, but I've gone from temporary, temporary, temporary, temporary, to, I'm finally in a place where I'm settled.
7. (Interviewer) Yeah.
8. (Lisa) And even when I moved in here, the whole, it was completely empty.
9. (Interviewer) Was it your choice to come to this area? Did you choose to, or?
10. (Lisa) Partly yeah and partly because this is one of the very few properties that actually, because it's a house (-).
11. (Interviewer) Yeah.
12. (Lisa) And it's isolated, erm, they've got the property barrier, so if anybody rings the police, even if they're standing outside the front of my house, erm, straight away it's like swat vans would turn up (-).
13. (Interviewer) Brilliant.

14. (Lisa) You know, and when you're in a flat, it's a little bit harder to do that (-).
15. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.
16. (Lisa) Erm (-).
17. (Interviewer) (unclear) it's got a nice feel to it, and his family are they?
18. (Lisa) They live on the coast.
19. (Interviewer) Ok, so it's quite a (-) yeah, very far away (-) So in terms of you getting your confidence back now and in terms of you returning to education (-) because that had changed for a while. You were thinking that you couldn't do it (-).
20. (Lisa) I think I just kind of got to the point where I was like right, ok; this is the time where I need to sort myself out. Max gave me the push to be like, 'if you're gonna do it, you're gonna do it now.' (-).
21. (Interviewer) Good.
22. (Lisa) Basically (-) which obviously I did (-).
23. (Interviewer) Yeah.
24. (Lisa) Erm, she helped me go through the application forms and stuff. Cos obviously it's quite a (-) for somebody who hasn't been in education for a year and a half, it is quite scary and bear in mind all I'd ever done before was Performing Arts, education wise (-).
25. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah, it's a different (-).
26. (Lisa) So going into something completely new, it was a bit like, 'well ok.'
27. (Interviewer) Yeah, wow you did really well.
28. (Lisa) And obviously, she prepped me for the interview.

29. (Interviewer) Excellent.
30. (Lisa) Helped me find (-) well told me which websites to go on so that I could look up for child-minders and stuff and then it was like, she, we'd keep that contact with each other once or twice a week, ring me up just to see how it is. She'd come get me from college sometimes, go for lunch.
31. (Interviewer) Arr, wow. (-).
32. (Lisa) And cos she knew (-).
33. (Interviewer) So you weren't isolated.
34. (Lisa) Yeah, she knew then, where my college was. If anything ever happened, like I knew how to get hold of her (-).
35. (Interviewer) Mmmm brilliant.
36. (Lisa) And vice-versa. And obviously then, she could track my progress as well.
37. (Interviewer) Right.
38. (Lisa) Cos obviously, no matter how hard I try to keep on top of things, it's so good having an outsider knowing from where you started off from (-).
39. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
40. (Lisa) To how far you've come. Erm, and especially education wise, to how far you can (-).
41. (Interviewer) You can go (-).
42. (Lisa) Cos on a day to day basis, you don't think, you don't remember, 'oh, in September.' (-).
43. (Interviewer) Where you were (-).
44. (Lisa) 'Oh I was like this, oh.' And now I'm really confident, so you just think, 'yeah, I'm really confident about it.' (-).

45. (Interviewer) Yeah, you just get on with it don't you, and you forget (-).
46. (Lisa) You don't realise how much you progress, and how much you learn, and you don't even realise that the things sink in.
47. (Interviewer) So not consciously thinking of it?
48. (Lisa) Exactly. You just think, 'this is today, this is today, this is today.' You don't think, 'actually, I did really well last week, and I did that.' You don't realise your own milestones that you're hitting.
49. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm. So as good as someone actually said that to you, like yeah, 'look at what you've done.' (-).
50. (Lisa) Yeah, it's kind of, when you have your down days, when you're feeling crappy. (Child cries).
51. (Interviewer) So that's a really good picture of where you've been and you know, where you're (-).
52. (Lisa) Yeah, I know. I mean like I said, when you have one of your really bad days. I mean Max has to listen to me winge and moan all the time.
53. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.
54. (Lisa) I'm just like, 'I don't wanna do anything today,' do you know what I mean? I'm in one of those moods where I just don't wanna do anything. Everything's crap, everything's shitty.
55. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.
56. (Lisa) And (-).
57. (Interviewer) Cos you're gonna have days like that.
58. (Lisa) That's it, and she goes, 'hang on a minute, look what you've done, look how far you've come, you're not sitting in a horrible grotty little flat anymore, with single paned windows, no

flooring, no nothing. You're now in your own house, you've done a two year course, you've managed to do this, that and the other.'

59. (Interviewer) Yep.

60. (Lisa) And especially whilst on the course, you have days where I've got so much work going on.

61. (Interviewer) Yeah.

62. (Lisa) And I've got him, and it wasn't (-) it's not so much of getting back into education when you're pregnant and you've got a child. It's actually being in it, and sticking to it.

63. (Interviewer) How did you manage it? How did you manage sticking to it? Cos you were, basically you were bringing him up on your own and you were going to college. How did you do all that?

64. (Lisa) Honestly (-).

65. (Interviewer) And have having been through everything you've been through as well.

66. (Lisa) I think I had a lot of good friends around me.

67. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.

68. (Lisa) Don't get me wrong; I had days upon days where I was like, 'I cannot do this, I cannot cope.' I was like, 'I'm having a mental breakdown.'

69. (Interviewer) Yeah.

70. (Lisa) Because I had never dealt with anything before and it had always been focused on, 'right, what am I going to do next, that's the past, put the past behind you. Right, what am I going to do next?' Erm (). being in education, and being around people my own age.

71. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

72. (Lisa) Who don't have any of those problems, who I could talk to, helped me deal with everything, having that friend support.
73. (Interviewer) Yeah.
74. (Lisa) Even something as simple as, I mean, even some of the lecturers were really, really amazing.
75. (Interviewer) So like you felt like you could talk to them about how you were feeling about (-).
76. (Lisa) Some of them, yeah. Obviously other ones, you just went to the good ones to bitch about the horrible ones (laughing).
77. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm.
78. (Lisa) You know, but they understood my position, when I went there, even when I had my very first meeting, I took X with me.
79. (Interviewer) Good, good.
80. (Lisa) It was, this is me (-).
81. (Interviewer) And this is my life (-).
82. (Lisa) This is my child. I'm not going to be able to do everything that all the other students do, because obviously that (-) they don't have children.
83. (Interviewer) Yeah.
84. (Lisa) Erm, this is the position that I'm in. I may not get every single deadline in because I'm gonna be stressed, I've got other things to do. I can't stay behind after college. I've got to be back in time to pick my child up.
85. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.
86. (Lisa) This is how it is. But they were really flexible about it.
87. (Interviewer) Did they have any sort of preconceived judgements about you as a teenage mother? Did they think, oh, erm (-).

88. (Lisa) I don't think they got a chance to really, I was just kind of like (-).
89. (Interviewer) (laughing).
90. (Lisa) this is how it is, this is what's happening, this is the course, I'm joining and (laughing) that's the end of the story. They were just like (-) 'ok, welcome, here's your registration card, and off you do. This is your timetable.'
91. (Interviewer) (laughing) Wow, and once you got on it, did you feel like you were treated any differently from the others?
92. (Lisa) If anything they push you more from cos they knew I could do it. They knew I was capable of it. (Child interrupts) Erm, I wasn't the eldest.
93. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
94. (Lisa) Erm, but I think I was definitely one of the eldest, and obviously there was one other girl who, that had like an eight year old. She's like twenty-five and she has an eight year old so, her child is much older. Completely different position.
95. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
96. (Lisa) Obviously X was just turned one when I started, he was one in June and I started in September. So he was still, he was still to me a baby.
97. (Interviewer) Yeah.
98. (Lisa) He was a baby baby. Erm (-) (Child interrupts) Erm, so obviously I was like, well this is what goes on. I think that people (-) find it quite hard as well. Cos they'll start talking about babies, and I'll go, 'well my child does this and my child does that.'
99. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

100. (Lisa) You know what I mean, cos that was the only way that I could relate.
101. (Interviewer) Right, so it was all centred around (-).
102. (Lisa) Yeah, cos that was mine.
103. (Interviewer) Yeah.
104. (Lisa) That was the way that I could relate to things, and obviously I never asked for extensions. I never had to really, cos it was a case of, in the lessons the teaching, honestly was crap. Quite bluntly, it was so slow.
105. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
106. (Lisa) And I was never challenged.
107. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
108. (Lisa) At all. (Child cries) Erm, so pretty much the teachers, I left school with A*'s, A's, B's, so I knew I had the potential. (Child interrupts).
109. (Interviewer) Isn't it hard for him to listen to it? Do you think he's ok with it?
110. (Lisa) He's fine, he's got quite er (-).
111. (Interviewer) Ok.
112. (Lisa) Unless it's got something to do with him, he blocks it out completely.
113. (Interviewer) Oh ok, I just wondered.
114. (Lisa) No, no, no, erm (-).
115. (Interviewer) Well, it's good that they challenged you.
116. (Lisa) Well the lessons were so dull and mundane. They would literally, I would be getting so frustrated with it, cos I wanted to move on, progress, and I wasn't being challenged, erm, they would just let me sit at the back of the classroom, put my

headphones in and let me get on with what I was doing. And then, if I had problems, I would just go and speak to them once the class was finished. Or when they were free to discuss what I needed to discuss and knew obviously I was eighteen, being in a class, bar one or two people, surrounded by sixteen year old kids, who all they cared about was their hair, their nails, their make-up, how drunk they're gonna get at the weekend.

117. (Interviewer) Yeah.

118. (Lisa) And I'm here to learn.

119. (Interviewer) Yeah.

120. (Lisa) See, if I didn't have X, it would be completely different, I'd be exactly the same.

121. (Interviewer) Yeah, it would have been different, yeah.

122. (Lisa) But it changes your opinion on things, changes how you think.

123. (Interviewer) Because you've got other priorities now (-).

124. (Lisa) Exactly

125. (Interviewer) That would have been a priority, if you were, you know.

126. (Lisa) If I wasn't a mum.

127. (Interviewer) Yeah.

128. (Lisa) Then I'd still be exactly the same.

129. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.

130. (Lisa) Exactly the same (-) Erm, but obviously I am, so it would frustrate me as well, and they could see that I was getting frustrated cos they would all be mucking about in lessons and I was going, 'if you don't want to be here, don't be here.'

131. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm

132. (Lisa) It's that simple, I'm not here to piss around. I'm here (-).
133. (Interviewer) You just want to get on with the work, yeah.
134. (Lisa) I'm here to learn. Erm, and I think they respected me as well, cos they didn't treat me like a child. Cos I obviously didn't act like a child would. I acted like an adult. So that's why they gave me more of an allowance with things like work and more freedoms. Cos they knew that I was going to get it done. They'd see me get stressed and they were like, 'just come out for a cigarette, calm down for a minute ok.'
135. (Interviewer) (laughing).
136. (Lisa) Cos I was near exploding, I was like (-).
137. (Interviewer) So how did you manage to get the work done then? Did you get? (-).
138. (Lisa) Honestly, I, in my head, prioritised what lessons I thought were important.
139. (Interviewer) Right.
140. (Lisa) And what lessons weren't.
141. (Interviewer) Ok.
142. (Lisa) Because first thing nine o'clock on a Monday morning, I wasn't going to go to a certain lecturers lesson cos, one, she did my head in, two, she taught the same lesson three or four weeks in a row and, three, I learnt (-).
143. (Interviewer) Nothing.
144. (Lisa) Nothing. Absolutely nothing. So then I'd use that hour and a half, to do this and that assignment. And then I'd use other times, where they're like, 'oh yeah, it's three o'clock, you're not meant to finish till five but you can go home now.' I'd be like, well I don't need to pick X up till six.

145. (Interviewer) So you made use of that?
146. (Lisa) I've got two hours to myself, where I can actually breathe, in my own pace, in my own time, not have anyone bugging me.
147. (Interviewer) Yeah.
148. (Lisa) Erm, and then with my friends as well, Alex, who you know, is basically X's aunty. I met her through being in college and for the first year, we were in the same lessons cos we were in the same tutor group. And then they split us up in the second year. (laughing) because (-) well, I think the first year, it was always going to be about, it's not so much about knuckling down and getting the work done, cos it never really is in your first year of anything.
149. (Interviewer) Mmmm, you're right.
150. (Lisa) It's always, you make friends, you socialise, you muck about (-).
151. (Interviewer) You get to know, yeah.
152. (Lisa) So we spent a lot of time drinking coffee and smoking.
153. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.
154. (Lisa) A lot of time. Erm, but then we got separated in the second year, and that was when we were both like, right ok, knuckle down time, and we're feed each other as well. Like if she did a question that I couldn't do and vice versa, then we would help each other, or just change a few words around.
155. (Interviewer) Mmmm, good.
156. (Lisa) You know, do what you do.

157. (Interviewer) Did you get that support if you, did you think that your network of friends grew then because you were at college, so you got support from some of your peers?
158. (Lisa) It helped, it does help. Before I went to college, obviously I was in between houses.
159. (Interviewer) Yeah.
160. (Lisa) The only people I knew, were the people in my block.
161. (Interviewer) Right.
162. (Lisa) Erm, and I was actually (-).
163. (Interviewer) So, you were quite isolated.
164. (Lisa) Yeah.(-) And then again, I moved into a hostel when he came out of prison, and then I had to move again to Telworth, and en obviously then, the only person I made friends with was a woman who had a daughter on my block. And the only reason we became friends was one of the neighbours was kicking off (-).
165. (Interviewer) Right.
166. (Lisa) So, obviously X was 1 and a bit and running up and down and the woman downstairs was moaning at me , ‘myeh, myeh, myeh.’ And so obviously this, you know (-) and then my friend, Lisa, she’s then come out and was like well actually (-).
167. (Interviewer) He’s a toddler, what do you expect? (-).
168. (Lisa) Exactly, and obviously we have remained friends out of there and my partner, his best friend is now her brother. So it’s all (-).
169. (Interviewer) Wow, excellent.
170. (Lisa) It’s all interlinked. But if you don’t have that interaction with your own age (-).
171. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

172. (Lisa) You go insane. You literally, and so many of my friends as well, that obviously, I've become, people that I've become friends, just through different networks and living in different places, obviously have had children, not necessarily when they're teenage teenagers, so like fifteen/sixteen, but maybe when they're eighteen/nineteen.
173. (Interviewer) Yeah.
174. (Lisa) And they are with their partners. They even find it hard to have that communication, to be at home, and then it's becoming stressful, their relationship, because when their partner gets back from work, or vice versa, they are arguing cos they've got nothing to do and they are having everything build up in their head. They've got no adult interaction.
175. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm, I see what you mean.
176. (Lisa) They are with the child all day.
177. (Interviewer) Mmm, all day.
178. (Lisa) Everyday, that can drive you insane. Hands down to the people who can do it, you know, real admiration for the people who can do it (-).
179. (Interviewer) It's hard work.
180. (Lisa) But at this age.
181. (Interviewer) Yeah.
182. (Lisa) I think it's so much harder. I mean I can understand how you know, middle aged women have had their whole lives and then settle down to have children find that hard.
183. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm.

184. (Lisa) That's fine, but obviously they're at an age where they've already got their network around them. They've got their huge support network. (-).
185. (Interviewer) Mmm yeah, they've got, yeah.
186. (Lisa) No matter what they do, they're gonna have certain people in their lives.
187. (Interviewer) And they're gonna be in similar situations.
188. (Lisa) If you're seventeen with a baby (-).
189. (Interviewer) Yeah.
190. (Lisa) Or eighteen with a baby, all your friends are going out clubbing. They're all making new friendships and you're sitting at home every night, with your child, doing the responsible thing (-).
191. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.
192. (Lisa) Of being, obviously you do get those teenage parents who do pass the kid off to mum and dad and they can go out and do what they do, but I know a lot of my friends that have, even now are having children and like, well hang on, all my friends are going out.
193. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
194. (Lisa) And I wanna do that. And it's hard, if you don't have that focus throughout the day, while everybody's at work, and if it's just you and your child throughout the day, and you're not in education, which is constantly stimulating your mind, and if you think you're not learning.
195. (Interviewer) Yes.
196. (Lisa) Your brain is still functioning and you've still got people around you, who, non-baby talk.

197. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
198. (Lisa) Oh, you don't have to worry about, you know, this, that and the other. You can actually have a normal conversation. 'Oh, did you see that on telly last night?' Not, 'Oh yeah, he wears this size shoe now, he weighs this much,' and bla bla. Cos it's great having all of that.
199. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm.
200. (Lisa) But there's only so much (-).
201. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
202. (Lisa) That you can take.
203. (Interviewer) Definitely.
204. (Lisa) Without going insane.
205. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah, I see what you mean.
206. (Lisa) Which I definitely think that most teenagers, if anything, it should be a; you have your child, you go back into education.
207. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm.
208. (Lisa) It's that simple.
209. (Interviewer) So if you haven't had met Max, what do you think would have happened? In terms of where you are now, and your future? How would that have (-).
210. (Lisa) If I hadn't had met Max, honestly, I would probably still be with my ex-partner, his dad.
211. (Interviewer) Right.
212. (Lisa) I'd still have no phone, no bank account, no life, be completely different circumstances. Wouldn't have gone back into education, wouldn't have obviously got the qualifications I've got now. Wouldn't have gained the experience, the confidence. I think it would have suffered on him.

213. (Interviewer) Mmmm, yes.
214. (Lisa) Big time, big time. Seriously, he feeds off everything.
215. (Interviewer) And because he's so bright as well, he would have been absorbing a lot (-).
216. (Lisa) Nothing gets past him at all.
217. (Interviewer) Nooo.
218. (Lisa) No matter how hard you try.
219. (Interviewer) Mmm, he's very bright.
220. (Lisa) He's very on the ball. But I think that that's a lot of, obviously I've learnt all about the childcare stuff.
221. (Interviewer) Yeah.
222. (Lisa) Obviously I speak to him a lot as well. I don't talk to him all baby and bla bla bla. It's very much, I have an adult conversation with him.
223. (Interviewer) Good.
224. (Lisa) Cos if he's going to behave the way he behaves, he can have an adult telling off.
225. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
226. (Lisa) Cos he's not a baby anymore.
227. (Interviewer) No, no.
228. (Lisa) As much as you want to mum them and keep them nice and baby and young forever (-).
229. (Interviewer) Yes, he's not, no (-).
230. (Lisa) That's not going to do him any good when going into school.
231. (Interviewer) No, no, you're right.

232. (Lisa) And especially nowadays, more than anything, cos you don't get, you know, if you still behave like a baby in school, you get treated like a baby.
233. (Interviewer) Mmmm, yes.
234. (Lisa) And he is very bright, he is very intelligent. The last thing I'd want is him going to school and being pushed back (-).
235. (Interviewer) Is that because of his character? You're right, you're right. (-) So you're education experiences, were they quite positive then? When you left school? I know you said you were performing arts, you were thinking about your future before you had the baby and you were (-).
236. (Lisa) Oh yeah, I had a completely different future planned out, completely different. I mean, I never really wanted to know what I wanted to do.
237. (Interviewer) Right.
238. (Lisa) But the whole of year ten/eleven, I wasn't really in school. Yeah, I got amazing results, but I was never there. My attendance was so bad that they wanted to kick me out, erm (-).
239. (Interviewer) And did anyone say anything to you about, what's going on, do you need some sort of support, or do you need (-).
240. (Lisa) Yeah (-).
241. (Interviewer) Or did they sort of (-) say, 'oh, you're really bright, you're really intelligent, you can achieve this,' did you ever get (-).
242. (Lisa) I was a very, very, very, very rebellious teenager.
243. (Interviewer) Ok.

244. (Lisa) Very rebellious, erm, if you told me all you've got to do is this homework, and you'll pass the whole year and you'll be fine (-) Nah. I'm not doing it.
245. (Interviewer) You wouldn't do it.
246. (Lisa) 'Don't care, don't care what it means. If I don't wanna do it, I'm not gonna do it. It's that simple.' Erm, I fell pregnant while I was in school, before I got pregnant with him. And they basically turned around and said to me, 'if you carry on, you'll get kicked out.' (). Which is obviously quite a bit of a, pfft, hang on a minute, I know I'm a bit of a shit in school, and I know you know still I do all my work, most of the time, do all my exams, and stuff but (-).
247. (Interviewer) Yeah, that's not the answer (-).
248. (Lisa) But I had quite old-school teachers.
249. (Interviewer) Right, right.
250. (Lisa) They were quite, you know, set in their ways and set in their beliefs and belived this is how the education system should be and bla bla, an over the top, tough love approach.
251. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.
252. (Lisa) To the point where (-).
253. (Interviewer) It was like that was the only option.
254. (Lisa) This is what we're telling you, so if you don't do it, you're out, you're done, and erm ().
255. (Interviewer) What about support from your parents, were they (-).
256. (Lisa) My family is quite old-school.
257. (Interviewer) Ok.
258. (Lisa) Quite old-school.

259. (Interviewer) So quite similar.
260. (Lisa) Er, I'm the first in my family. All my family are Scottish.
261. (Interviewer) Oh, ok.
262. (Lisa) Back thirteen generations. Quite heavily into, you know, our culture and into the way we are. They all speak Gaelic fluently, so the minute I get onto the phone to my nana, my Scottish accent kicks in (-).
263. (Interviewer) Aww, how nice.
264. (Lisa) But, I was the first person in my family, for thirteen generations, to have a baby with somebody who isn't Scottish. (). And I wasn't married, and I was in a horrible relationship, and it was like, woah, hang on a minute, a lot of my family still don't speak to me now. No matter how much I (-) obviously I've gone to college, proved myself, I've managed to juggle everything I'm doing, and still be alive (-).
265. (Interviewer) Well, yeah.
266. (Lisa) And not be in a mental institution. I haven't gone off the rails, drugs, haven't gone off the rails with drink. I don't, yeah; I mean I go out on the odd night.
267. (Interviewer) You need to, you need to.
268. (Lisa) You know, you'll regret it with the hangover in the morning.
269. (Interviewer) No, you're still young, you need to.
270. (Lisa) I think at any age you still need that (-).
271. (Interviewer) Something for yourself, yeah. So it's not always about you know (-).
272. (Lisa) I mean you always regret it in the morning, the hangover but (-).

273. (Interviewer) It was worth it (laughing).
274. (Lisa) (laughing) Oh, it was definitely worth it at the time. Your bank balance doesn't agree with you, but you definitely think (laughing) (-).
275. (Interviewer) How did you get through that then, when the school staff were sort of saying no, no, no, that's not going to happen and erm, how did you get through that?
276. (Lisa) My, er, his dad beat me up so badly that I miscarried (-) So it wasn't really a case of dealing with it.
277. (Interviewer) So it's no choice, it's just yeah (-).
278. (Lisa) It happened and obviously I was back at school.
279. (Interviewer) And did they, did you get any support from school? Did they (-) that was just (-).
280. (Lisa) I was classified, no matter how good my results were, because I was never really in a lesson, or I'd walk into a lessons and they'd just be like, 'get out.' Erm(-) even when I was in Year nine, even when pregnancy, any of that wasn't around, I had a really, really old fashioned maths teacher, who,(-) I've always been one of the lads. I could never do that girly girl, sitting there doing their nails and make-up. As much as I've got friends that are like that.
281. (Interviewer) Yeah.
282. (Lisa) I'm very much, down the pub with the lads, watching the football, watching the rugby, having a laugh you know, not worrying about stupid little things like 'I can't be (unclear). So obviously, even when I was younger I'd be in lessons, it would be me and the boys mucking about, you know, back of the classroom

as you do, and my maths teacher when I was in Year nine, I must have been about fourteen (-).

283. (Interviewer) Yeah, Year nine.

284. (Lisa) And he turned around and said to me. I'm never gonna do anything, I've never going to pass my GCSEs, might as well just give up now and drop out of school. He would make me sit on a desk, outside the classroom, by myself, every lesson. I had maths three times a week. Every lesson. So obviously when one teacher says that to you, your whole new opinion of yourself, thinking well, if they're thinking that, why the hell am I bothering.

285. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

286. (Lisa) Why would I bother, if no-one's gonna back me up.

287. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

288. (Lisa) I didn't have the mentality of, 'I'm gonna prove them wrong.'

289. (Interviewer) No (unclear

290. (Lisa) It was very much a, er, 'why, why should I bother?' And I think their schooling just went down (-) I don't think they were prepared enough to deal with teenagers and rebelliousness. They would literally, if you were classified as a rebellious child, you were back of the classroom, out of the classroom, don't deal with you. We're only gonna deal with the really good students, they're the ones who give the great Ofsted reports, they're the ones who get more government funding for the school.

291. (Interviewer) Yeah.

292. (Lisa) Cos obviously, they're the ones who are doing really well. They don't bother helping the children (-) I mean I was just bored, that's all it was. I was in top sets for everything (-).

293. (Interviewer) And then they were just (-).
294. (Lisa) Bored.
295. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
296. (Lisa) You know, I would be correcting the teachers (-) 'enough of that, that's back-chat, that's rudeness.'
297. (Interviewer) Yes, yes, so they could have channelled your energy and sort of (-).
298. (Lisa) I mean instead they could have gone, 'ok, well if you think you're so good, think of something harder.'
299. (Interviewer) Yes, yes, they didn't push you (-).
300. (Lisa) It was like, 'get out, your back-chatting.'
301. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah, and after you fell pregnant and everything, was there a different analogy to you, or did they (-).
302. (Lisa) It kind of changed when I went to college anyway. Erm, cos they do treat you different at college anyway. That wasn't a big step up or, ok, you're not classified as children anymore, You're not in uniform, you're not one of the cattle, all you know, pushed into school.
303. (Interviewer) You're individual.
304. (Lisa) You're now here, you're doing something that you have chosen to do, you don't have to do it, so it wasn't a case of, you're forced to go to this lesson, it was through choice, and I was doing something which I loved doing.
305. (Interviewer) Yeah.
306. (Lisa) I love dancing, and I love acting and performing, even the theory side.
307. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

308. (Lisa) I'd still sit down and write essay after essay and obviously I fell pregnant quite early on into my course.
309. (Interviewer) Yeah.
310. (Lisa) I found out I was pregnant, just over two months into my course.
311. (Interviewer) But you carried on, yeah.
312. (Lisa) My main tutor, Carlos, his wife found out she was pregnant at the same time as me.
313. (Interviewer) Aww.
314. (Lisa) So he was so excited.
315. (Interviewer) Aww that's nice.
316. (Lisa) And you know, I went on to, funny enough, was in then a film at the film festival for the media students cos they were casting for someone who was pregnant and going through pregnancy. That was their whole film and so I was pregnant at the time.
317. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
318. (Lisa) And getting bigger and bigger, so they were filming different stages throughout the pregnancy. (-).
319. (Interviewer) So you felt that was like a celebration really, wasn't it?
320. (Lisa) It was the only place that I could be happy and be pregnant.
321. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.
322. (Lisa) It was the only place. And then, I'm not even gonna lie, when I went back to college after him, you do get looked down on a bit.
323. (Interviewer) Yeah.

324. (Lisa) Obviously you're then surrounded by fresh sixteen year olds.
325. (Interviewer) Mmmm
326. (Lisa) Who don't understand, who don't have that mentality.
327. (Interviewer) Yeah.
328. (Lisa) And who don't realise what you've been through, they just see it as a certain way and that's it, end of story. 'Arr single teenage mum.' Typical stereotype, that's (-).
329. (Interviewer) Yeah.
330. (Lisa) The bit they don't understand, the circumstances behind it, the reasoning why you're in the position you're in.
331. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm.
332. (Lisa) And they just think, 'ah yeah, whatever.' And the college I went to as well, everybody was a bit (-) anyway.
333. (Interviewer) So di you think they had a certain image/stereotype?
334. (Lisa) They always have a stereotype, always have a stereotype. Erm, I mean when I was pregnant I got spat on.
335. (Interviewer) By?
336. (Lisa) By a random member of the public (-) Walking down the high-street with my mum shopping and I got spat on.
337. (Interviewer) Because of your age?
338. (Lisa) Because as well, I look, I was heavily pregnant, I wasn't wearing any make-up, I had my hair sprayed back just like I am now.
339. (Interviewer) So you looked much younger.

340. (Lisa) I looked much younger, erm, and that was it. Even now when I go around with him, you get the odd looks from the older generation.
341. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
342. (Lisa) You know?
343. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
344. (Lisa) The old school.
345. (Interviewer) Frowned upon because you're a young parent.
346. (Lisa) Erm, they look at the baby and go, 'ahhh,' and then they look at me and go, 'ahh,' and then clock that I am mum and then that's it. But like hang on a minute.
347. (Interviewer) Yes, yes, not sister.
348. (Lisa) Yeah, not sister, not cousin, not anything like that. Or they'd hear me call me mum and they'd be like, 'arr he's cute,' at first, and then find out I'm mum (-).
349. (Interviewer) How old are you, yeah. And that's when they change, their sort of image of you, yeah.
350. (Lisa) I think trying to get that across to people as well.
351. (Interviewer) Yes.
352. (Lisa) In college (child interrupts) it's quite difficult.
353. (Interviewer) Yeah.
354. (Lisa) I mean, if I could though.
355. (Interviewer) Yeah.
356. (Lisa) If it was down to me, I'd personally make every teenager go back into education.
357. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
358. (Lisa) Purely for the fact that you become less of a statistic, because you're less likely to have another child.

359. (Interviewer) Yeah.
360. (Lisa) Within a couple of years, which you do (-).
361. (Interviewer) You've got something else (-).
362. (Lisa) As a teenage mum, you have your first child.
363. (Interviewer) Yeah.
364. (Lisa) And I've watched so many people do it. I mean Max, most of her clients, well not most of them, but I know that quite a few of them are on their second, before their child's even getting their second birthday.
365. (Interviewer) Mmmm, it's tough isn't it, so tough. (-).
366. (Lisa) This girl who lives down there, she's just turned eighteen and she's just had her second child and her first ones just over one, just toddling. (-)
367. (Interviewer) .So tough, and you wonder how they manage (-).
368. (Lisa) And I think, I know full well, if you went back into college
369. (Interviewer) Yeah, you would have had more of a (-).
370. (Lisa) And you were around people your own age, you'd still be with your child but you would have that, do you know what I mean?
371. (Interviewer) You'd have that something else, yeah.
372. (Lisa) You'd have something to look forward to. You'd be like, right, ok, well I'm not just gonna sit at home and have a billion children.
373. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
374. (Lisa) I'm going to get qualifications, get a job, make something, not let it, you know.
375. (Interviewer) Mmmm Mmmm.

376. (Lisa) Ruin everything, cos it doesn't ruin your life (-).
377. (Interviewer) But it can change.
378. (Lisa) You know.
379. (Interviewer) So if you hadn't had that focus, if Max hadn't had got involved and said, 'right, well you know, I'm gonna put you on the right track,' you could have easily gone along that (-).
380. (Lisa) Oh yeah, I could probably have two or three kids by now.
381. (Interviewer) Yeah.
382. (Lisa) Sitting here at twenty, you know, that's it, that's my life planned out.
383. (Interviewer) Yeah.
384. (Lisa) At least now, with him, I can still go and have a career, I can still go and do things.
385. (Interviewer) Exactly, you (-).
386. (Lisa) I can still, I'm not stuck, I'm not trapped.
387. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.
388. (Lisa) I've still got qualifications behind me, even though I've no, I've got to the point where I've done my two years, I'm on my Cache Level three, I could potentially walk into a nursery and start on twenty three-twenty four grand a year.
389. (Interviewer) Or you could go and do, as you said, you can go back into education and so something else if you want to, cos you've got (-).
390. (Lisa) Or because I've got, I mean, I don't really want to be stuck with children right this second. I deal with a three and a half year old all day, every day. You know, I've done my course. I spent the two years focusing on that. Yeah I was with him in the mornings and evenings, but now I've done that. I want my little

bit of time with him, before he starts proper school, and you know, goes into all of that and I kind of lose that childhood.

391. (Interviewer) Yes, yes, it'll be taken out of your hands, you're right.

392. (Lisa) You know, this is the time I can really spend with him and really make an impact and an impression on how he's going to behave, and how he's going to grow.

393. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

394. (Lisa) And then I can go and get a job.

395. (Interviewer) Yeah, of course, so it's actually (-).

396. (Lisa) And I've still got that qualification that I did, to fall back on.

397. (Interviewer) Yes.

398. (Lisa) If need be, I'm not trapped thinking, cos I know as well, a lot of teenage mums have got shit grades at school.

399. (Interviewer) Yeah.

400. (Lisa) So they have their child, and then they can't find work because they've got no qualifications.

401. (Interviewer) Yeah.

402. (Lisa) Because they've been going out, doing what they're doing and falling pregnant and a young age, they've got (-).

403. (Interviewer) And also, not feeling supported like you know, you didn't.

404. (Lisa) Exactly.

405. (Interviewer) The school staff said to you, 'well that's it,' you know.

406. (Lisa) When I was pregnant with him, just after I had him, I became friends with the woman in my block and she had a

daughter who was about two years younger than me. So I became like a big sister to her daughter.

407. (Interviewer) Yeah.

408. (Lisa) Er, and that was Rhea. Rhea's friend went to (unclear) Girl's School.

409. (Interviewer) Ok.

410. (Lisa) (unclear) Girl's School or Holy Cross? (-) it was one or the other.

411. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm

412. (Lisa) She fell pregnant.

413. (Interviewer) Mmm.

414. (Lisa) She, for about four months. She for about four months had a tiny bump, got isolated, every single lesson, had to spend, cos obviously it was Holy Cross actually.

415. (Interviewer) Right.

416. (Lisa) Cos they're quite religious.

417. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.

418. (Lisa) Erm, she got isolated, so she wasn't allowed to integrate into the classroom cos it was too much of a distraction to the other pupils.

419. (Interviewer) So like a social outcast. Is that how you probably felt, that similar, if you'd gone through (-).

420. (Lisa) If I'd, yeah.

421. (Interviewer) If things had been different.

422. (Lisa) Yeah.

423. (Interviewer) You would probably have been ostracized.

424. (Lisa) Yeah, but that's how schools are because they see it as, ok you're too much of a distraction for the students. We're just

going to isolate you. Instead of integrating you, thinking like, oh it's a part of life, it's completely natural. These things happen, oh dear, never mind, let's move on, let's not make a big deal out of it.

425. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah. So they sort of said that your future was sort of, was it sort of written off, that's it, you can't do anymore (-).

426. (Lisa) Yeah, you become a stereotype, that's it, done and dusted. Errr, no thank you. (Child interrupts).

427. (Interviewer) I didn't know he was that strong, wow.

428. (Lisa) Oh he has days where he comes in head to toe, covered in mud.

429. (Interviewer) Oh, he loves being outside doesn't he.

430. (Lisa) He's going through that creature stage at the moment.

431. (Interviewer) He's bringing them in.

432. (Lisa) Oh yes, squashing them, pulling them apart, 'Mummy what's this one, mummy what's this one.' The biggest spiders, he's bringing them in. (laughing).

433. (Interviewer) (laughing) Ugh, in pieces!

434. (Lisa) If I catch a spider, I have the back door open all day. I got over my phobia.

435. (Interviewer) You had to, yeah.

436. (Lisa) So quickly. Erm, I don't even think about it now. Glass, paper under it, chuck it out, and then freak out. If I catch a spider, this one, 'mummy what's it doing, what's this one called, how big is it, how many legs.' He loves blitzing the garden, cutting all the bushes back. He's like, 'where are all the animals? Where are all the insects? I want to see them mummy, where are they?'

437. (Interviewer) Oh my God.
438. (Lisa) Worms, this is the child that's picking up worms, slugs, picking up snails.
439. (Interviewer) Oh X, you're a brave, brave person. (-) No way, I couldn't do that, no way.
440. (Lisa) There's me, running like, 'Ohhh,' and he's like, 'look Mummy.'
441. (Interviewer) Chasing you! (laughing).
442. (Lisa) He loves it. Loves every minute of it. (Child interrupts).
443. (Lisa) And I have my moments of being like (-).
444. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
445. (Lisa) I can't do this, by myself anymore; I'm going to break down.
446. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.
447. (Lisa) And especially when you're studying.
448. (Interviewer) Yes.
449. (Lisa) And you've got all that to think about, you've got exams the following week, coursework to hand in, and a two year old who just doesn't want to go to bed at three in the morning, and you're just like, have no sleep. (Child interrupts). But once it's done, it's done.
450. (Interviewer) Yeah, you're right.
451. (Lisa) And you can go into college the next day. Can go and talk to my friends and blab it all out. Which you don't get when you're at home.
452. (Interviewer) Yeah. (Child interrupts).

453. (Lisa) He's not a stress child though (Child cries) which, if you're at home with him all day. You're getting stressed and frustrated.

454. (Interviewer) Yeah.

455. (Lisa) They get quite stress and frustrated and he knows if I'm in a stress mood, he sees me storm about if I'm in a bad mood, and he's started doing it. If I tell him, 'no,' about something, then it's stomp, stomp, stomp, 'no, I don't want to do that.' And it's actually, 'no, you don't behave like that thank you. You're a child, I'm an adult, it's different behaviour.' (Child cries) Especially, if you don't have that release, of being about to go out.

456. (Interviewer) Yes.

457. (Lisa) And have a few hours break.

458. (Interviewer) Mmmm, that would have been (-).

459. (Lisa) It would have been so much worse. (Child interrupts).

460. (Lisa) (Child cries) And even friends of mine, who, I mean I've got two friends that, they've been together since (child interrupts) Year eleven, and they are both now twenty-one and they were like, right, ok, we want to have a child.

461. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.

462. (Lisa) Twenty four hours, spend twenty four hours with him.

463. (Interviewer) Yes, yes and they'd be.

464. (Lisa) And even at the age he is now. Cos when they're babies, they're great, they're fantastic (Child interrupts) all day long.

465. (Interviewer) Yeah.

466. (Lisa) But especially if a relationship breaks down, which it does, because you're growing up. (Child cries) You know, you

grow apart from people sometimes, your friendship groups' change. (Child interrupts) And my sister's from Cornbrook(*).

467. (Interviewer) Mmhmm.

468. (Lisa) Which is near Guernsey(*), it's like the other side.

469. (Interviewer) Yeah.

470. (Lisa) One of her friends, er, her mums a teacher, same place as mum. And they were in sex education. And so I took X in.

471. (Interviewer) Oh, you took him, ok.

472. (Lisa) That shocked them.

473. (Interviewer) Right, right.

474. (Lisa) The idea of having a baby, and it all being happy, just kind of thought you're naïve.

475. (Interviewer) Yeah. (Child interrupts).

476. (Lisa) You don't have a clue, you think you know everything, you think how much you read, everything, you're gonna know it all. Everything's gonna work out fine. It doesn't.

477. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

478. (Lisa) It's completely different but that's life. Erm and you have moments where it's stressful and you don't actually realise until it's too late.

479. (Interviewer) Yeah.

480. (Lisa) Sometimes that's a really bad way to put it, but (-) I mean some people, I've got a friend that I went to school with. She's had a baby, she's just married, she's my age, and she's being a mum, that's great for her.

481. (Interviewer) Right.

482. (Lisa) She can be with her child all day, every day, and that's fantastic and that's great.

483. (Interviewer) And she's probably got the support from her husband as well.
484. (Lisa) Yep, she got married. Both families are over the moon, and look after the child all the time. Erm, but that's rare, especially now a days when parents are more likely to divorce and move onto their own partners.
485. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.
486. (Lisa) Just like my mum, she divorced my dad, got a new partner, they had a child, so obviously my mum wasn't in a position to help with me.
487. (Interviewer) Sure, sure.
488. (Lisa) And X.
489. (Interviewer) Cos she's (-).
490. (Lisa) Cos she's got her own child now.
491. (Interviewer) Of course.
492. (Lisa) Erm, you know, parents are divorcing a lot more, there are more broken homes. There's more conflicts in the homes, so there's, it's not so widely (-).
493. (Interviewer) And so you haven't got that support network as you would have had years ago.
494. (Lisa) Exactly.
495. (Interviewer) When things were quite different, yeah.
496. (Lisa) I mean, even if you go slightly more up north.
497. (Interviewer) Mmmhmm.
498. (Lisa) It's less divorce, and it's more teenage parents living at home still.
499. (Interviewer) Right, right.

500. (Lisa) With their mum and dad and the baby. Or, I think a lot of single parents as well, single mums, if their daughter or son has a baby at a teenage age (-).
501. (Interviewer) Then they're at (-).
502. (Lisa) They they're at home still and the mum takes over quite a lot.
503. (Interviewer) So they're getting that support either way really.
504. (Lisa) Erm, but especially around here, mainly London, cos obviously it's quite career focused and (-).
505. (Interviewer) Yeah.
506. (Lisa) It's different.
507. (Interviewer) Yeah, it is.
508. (Lisa) You know.
509. (Interviewer) It hasn't got that family ethic as other places have. You're right. It's more fast moving and (-).
510. (Lisa) And it's ok, well. My mum's probably one of the most posh people you'll ever meet in your life, er, and it's tap on your legs (-) you did it, you now deal with it. This is the decision that you made, and I think if she hadn't have been like that, I wouldn't be so strong as I am now. I wouldn't have gone to college, I wouldn't have done what I've done, I wouldn't have raised him how I raised him. Erm, but it's finding that balance of, ok, tough love.
511. (Interviewer) Yeah. (-) So do you feel in terms of that, do you feel that they can see how different you are now then? Because you've done so much on your own, more or less.
512. (Lisa) I think with my family, it's different because it's not like you're a normal family. My mum's very much a career woman

with her new child and her new partner. My dad's very much, him and his new girlfriend. (Child interrupts) They're very much, they do what they do, and how they do it.

513. (Interviewer) They've got different sort of priorities now haven't they because (-).

514. (Lisa) And obviously, I moved out before I got pregnant, so that's what they see. They see well, you did it, so, that's your choice, it's your opinion, we're just gonna leave you to it.

515. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.

516. (Lisa) Erm, which I can understand why (-) but I think, especially when I was at college, my tutor was like my mum.

517. (Interviewer) Right.

518. (Lisa) You know, we managed to have that relationship where (-) if I had a problem, I could just go to her, which was nice. But you get other teachers (-) who were just like, every time I walk into the lesson, they'd stick their nose right up at me, every single time. Every single time I tried to relate to my own experiences, bla bla bla, they'd be like 'that's completely irrelevant.' Do you know what I mean? And it's a real shock, that even now, she wasn't even an older generation, she was quite young.

519. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

520. (Lisa) She must have been early 30's.

521. (Interviewer) You know why she did that? Was it because of your situation, or?

522. (Lisa) She's got two kids, she's married.

523. (Interviewer) Right, so, you didn't fit that norm.

524. (Lisa) Yeah, the criteria of how things should be done.

525. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.

526. (Lisa) And it fit the stereotype you know. I would turn up late to a lesson because he's been ill. I wouldn't be in because he's been ill basically. 'Oh yeah, I bet you're just taking the day off aren't you, bla bla.' (Child interrupts).
527. (Interviewer) So it would have been totally different if you hadn't had X and you were, you know, this aspirational teenager, she'd have pushed you in the right direction. Yeah, I see what you mean.
528. (Lisa) It's just like, it is in school though really.
529. (Interviewer) It's the stereotype, yeah. So did you leave school, did you get, do any exams in school?
530. (Lisa) Yeah, I got like three or four A*'s, couple of A's, B's.
531. (Interviewer) That's good.
532. (Lisa) I was also doing my dance diploma at the time.
533. (Interviewer) And was that (-).
534. (Lisa) Yeah, I was going to college.
535. (Interviewer) So did they channel you to (-).
536. (Lisa) Yeah, I was going to college on day a week, doing my dance diploma at the same time as school.
537. (Interviewer) And you chose to do that yourself? Or did they guide you to do it?
538. (Lisa) Yeah, no, it kind of got me out of school for a day.
539. (Interviewer) Ok, so you became that, sort of isolated in school, that you just wanted to (-).
540. (Lisa) Yeah.
541. (Interviewer) Yeah.
542. (Lisa) U was like, do you know what? I can't be bothered to do this, so I'm going to go and do something that I want to do.

543. (Interviewer) Yeah. (Child interrupts) So did they have a sort of stereotype of you in school by that point, would you say?
544. (Lisa) Unless you were straight A* student, with a hundred per cent attendance and perfectly behaved, or you were a very cheeky student hat you know, you can be naughty but get away with it with the teachers, and they loved you anyway cos you had a really great personality, then you were screwed.
545. (Interviewer) But you didn't fit (-).
546. (Lisa) Well, I wasn't about to suck up to the teachers.
547. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
548. (Lisa) I wasn't about to boost their ego.
549. (Interviewer) Yeah.
550. (Lisa) Just to save my own back, and I wasn't being challenged enough to do things.
551. (Interviewer) And they just sort of didn't even. (-).
552. (Lisa) Well it was like, 'ok, do what you want.'
553. (Interviewer) And they just left you.
554. (Lisa) 'Don't care.'
555. (Interviewer) Mmm.
556. (Lisa) And that's it.
557. (Interviewer) So if you hadn't been the sort of person you are, you just sort of though, well I'll go to Performing Arts, cos I wanted to do it, you could have easily just left with nothing.
558. (Lisa) Yeah.
559. (Interviewer) Cos they didn't channel you in the right direction.
560. (Lisa) Yeah, quite easily, and a lot of my friends did.
561. (Interviewer) Mmmm.
562. (Lisa) Which is sad.

563. (Interviewer) Yeah, it is sad (-) so it's all this sort of image about how teenage mothers are constructed in society, 'oh well, that's basically her life over, she's not going to achieve anything else.'
564. (Lisa) You see, that really winds me up.
565. (Interviewer) But do you think that still, I mean I don't know. From what I've been reading so far, it seems that is very much the image of, ok, 'teenage mothers, they're not going to go back into education, they're getting pregnant,' you know you've heard all of this,' they're going to get pregnant to get accommodation.'
566. (Lisa) Oh yeah.
567. (Interviewer) You know, you've probably heard all of those things Lisa.
568. (Lisa) Erm, I think it's gonna be like that for a long time.
569. (Interviewer) Yeah.
570. (Lisa) Because the, even though it's becoming more common, teenage pregnancies is becoming more common, a lot more common.
571. (Interviewer) Yeah.
572. (Lisa) It seems to be, like the older generation, their views and opinions are getting passed to.
573. (Interviewer) Mmmhmmm.
574. (Lisa) I mean I do it, I was a teenage mum, I got pregnant at sixteen, just before my seventeenth birthday and yet if I see somebody who looks under eighteen, walking along the road with a buggy, I'm a bit like,' phh, what's she doing?!'
575. (Interviewer) Mmmm

576. (Lisa) It's almost built into your brain. That's how it is. Even if you're (-).

577. (Interviewer) Yes, yes, and that's quite amazing, cos you've been there, done it.

578. (Lisa) I've gone through it, I know exactly what it's like, you know. People still look down on me now.

579. (Interviewer) Yes, yes.

580. (Lisa) And I've got tattoos. I walk around, if it's hot, I'm going to wear shorts.

581. (Interviewer) Yeah.

582. (Lisa) I walk around with him, and it's all, 'she's got tattoos, she's got dyed hair, she's a single mum.'

583. (Interviewer) So it's all about not fitting the norm, yeah.

584. (Lisa) Let me see, if I was ten years older and had a wedding ring on. (Child interrupts) If I was even twenty five and upwards, twenty five, twenty six and a stay at home mum, that's fine, yeah, that's acceptable.

585. (Interviewer) Yeah.

586. (Lisa) Because of my age and being currently a stay at home mum.

587. (Interviewer) Yeah, it's frowned upon, yeah.

588. (Lisa) It's completely different.

589. (Interviewer) Yeah (-) They automatically judge you, not knowing what you've achieved so far, they just think, 'oh well, you're a teenage mum, stay at home.'

590. (Lisa) They just think, blatantly one night stand, a little bit stupid, blab la.

591. (Interviewer) And that's it basically.

592. (Lisa) You know.
593. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.
594. (Lisa) And that's it.
595. (Interviewer) That is what society (-).
596. (Lisa) And it is really really sad.
597. (Interviewer) It is, it is sad.
598. (Lisa) Even going to open days for nurseries with him. You've gotta fill out the registration forms, contact details and your age and blab la. As soon as they read it, 'ar, ohhhh.'
599. (Interviewer) So of course you're not going to go back there, if that's what they're thinking.
600. (Lisa) Thanks.
601. (Interviewer) A real encouragement to send my child here. I mean, it's a real pity that society is that way (-) considering that you know, as you were saying, things were pretty much old school generations ago, and you think, how far have we really moved on.
602. (Lisa) We have, but at the same time it's still going on.
603. (Interviewer) It's probably going on, as you were saying, subconsciously
604. (Lisa) The older generation, to your generation, the older generation, that's still getting played down.
605. (Interviewer) Yeah.
606. (Lisa) Then to me, I mean even Max. Max's only, what, twenty eight/twenty nine and I'm only twenty, and she's still a different generation to me but then the views and opinions get played down to the youngsters. So it's never going to stop.
607. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah, you're right.

608. (Lisa) It's gonna become more common, it's gonna come to the point where it's now going to be unheard of to have a child past twenty five. (Child interrupts) and, but your still gonna get looked down on about it.

609. (Interviewer) Yeah.

610. (Lisa) It's not gonna change, schooling is gonna be the same. Because you're gonna have a new strain of teachers, who have gone through Uni and they're gonna be the only ones that don't have children.

611. (Interviewer) Yeah, you're right, you're right.

612. (Lisa) So it's either gonna be, when I was at college, one of my lecturers was jealous cos she couldn't have children. And obviously, me talking about X all the time, and showing photos, I had friends that used to come round and love playing with him and talking about him, blab la. And she'd get funny every single time. And I didn't know why and for good six or seven months, she'd penalise me every single time. Could not figure out why.

613. (Interviewer) Yes.

614. (Lisa) And so my tutor sat me down and she was like, 'she can't have children.'

615. (Interviewer) Mmmm.

616. (Lisa) 'That's probably why she's behaving the way she's behaving.'

617. (Interviewer) So you're getting it from that angle as well as (-).

618. (Lisa) Well it doesn't really matter what you do, you know, you're gonna get it (-).

619. (Interviewer) Either way, yeah (-) that's really tough, really tough.

620. (Lisa) But then you'll get, you'll have other people, some of Max's clients, who find it fine, haven't had a problem.

621. (Interviewer) Yeah, well it just depends on what support you get.

622. (Lisa) Yeah, it depends what your social network is as well, how you found it, how you are as a person to take things on. I'm quite (-) you can say what you say, you can behave how you're gonna behave. I'm still gonna do what I'm gonna do and what I need to do. I'm still gonna be a mum to him, I'm still (-) Whether you think I should or shouldn't be able to, well whatever (-).

623. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.

624. (Lisa) Whether you think I do or don't deserve to be in the position I am in.

625. (Interviewer) Yeah.

626. (Lisa) I don't care (-) that's your opinion, that's fine, you're welcome to your opinion. This is mine, this is how it's going to be (Child interrupts) Some people, especially younger mums who are more vulnerable (-) and obviously nine times out of ten, if they are a teenage parent, it's because their partner has gone, 'oh yeah, let's do this, it'll be really, really great.' It doesn't work out great, you don't see them ever again and then you're stuck. You're in a horrible relationship, where the kid is back and forth.

627. (Interviewer) Yeah.

628. (Lisa) And then you've got a very young vulnerable teenager in your hands, and then you've got people slating her. She sees her friends go back into college and she thinks, 'Oh, I can't do that, they can do that.' They don't have the confidence to do that, and

there isn't anybody who can sort of (Phone rings) (-) I mean, I'm grateful I had Max.

629. (Interviewer) Yeah.

630. (Lisa) I'm so grateful I had Max.

631. (Interviewer) Yeah, amazing.

632. (Lisa) And that's why I'm so annoyed, the fact that you know, the council are looking at cutting back.

633. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah, I know.

634. (Lisa) Cos it's like, hang on a minute, show me more screwed up girls.

635. (Interviewer) But do you think that (-).

636. (Lisa) The council can't sort out housing as it is at the moment.

637. (Interviewer) But they're perhaps; we don't treat teenage mums as a priority. It could be that.

638. (Lisa) Oh no, definitely not, we're not priorities, hell no, they all think we should still be living at home with mum and dad.

639. (Interviewer) Yeah, yeah.

640. (Lisa) But I think it's good, the fact that like, with Max and with us girls, we know what we've been through.

641. (Interviewer) Yeah.

642. (Lisa) None of us have had an easy ride. We've all had a lot of different issues and problems and so we know, I mean a couple of us work with a group called, 'Straight-talking,' which goes in to schools, says, 'don't get pregnant.' It's gonna be hard.

643. (Interviewer) Yeah, see what happens.

644. (Lisa) Not gonna be easy.

645. (Interviewer) Good, good.

646. (Lisa) And you know, we can relate our own experience to the people, because we've got the confidence to talk about it.
647. (Interviewer) Yeah, exactly.
648. (Lisa) When Max first met me, I was shut off completely, I wouldn't talk about anything, I wouldn't deal with anything, I wouldn't. I'd still blame myself over everything, his dad, I blamed myself for getting beaten up for three and a half years.
649. (Interviewer) Mmm, cos that's what you were (-).
650. (Lisa) And Max, at every meeting that we had, I mean at first, cos obviously it was protocol, you'd write down what you discussed.
651. (Interviewer) Yeah.
652. (Lisa) And then she showed me bits of, like, 'look what you wrote on that day, you said it was all your fault anyway.' This was months after he'd already gone to prison. It took me so long to open up about everything and be like, actually. And it's having that person, to talk to, that you can trust, that's not in your friendship circle.
653. (Interviewer) Yeah.
654. (Lisa) But you can still feel like, that it's an older person that has that form of responsibility. It's nice having that (Child interrupts).
655. (Interviewer) So if you hadn't had that, things would have been so different, because you wouldn't have had your family to fall back on to. So when you started the relationship, did you plan, or was it something that, ok, and then did that throw you then. Yeah, yeah, so that's, and that's the thing isn't it? Because your

emotions are all over the place, and that's when you need the support don't you (-)

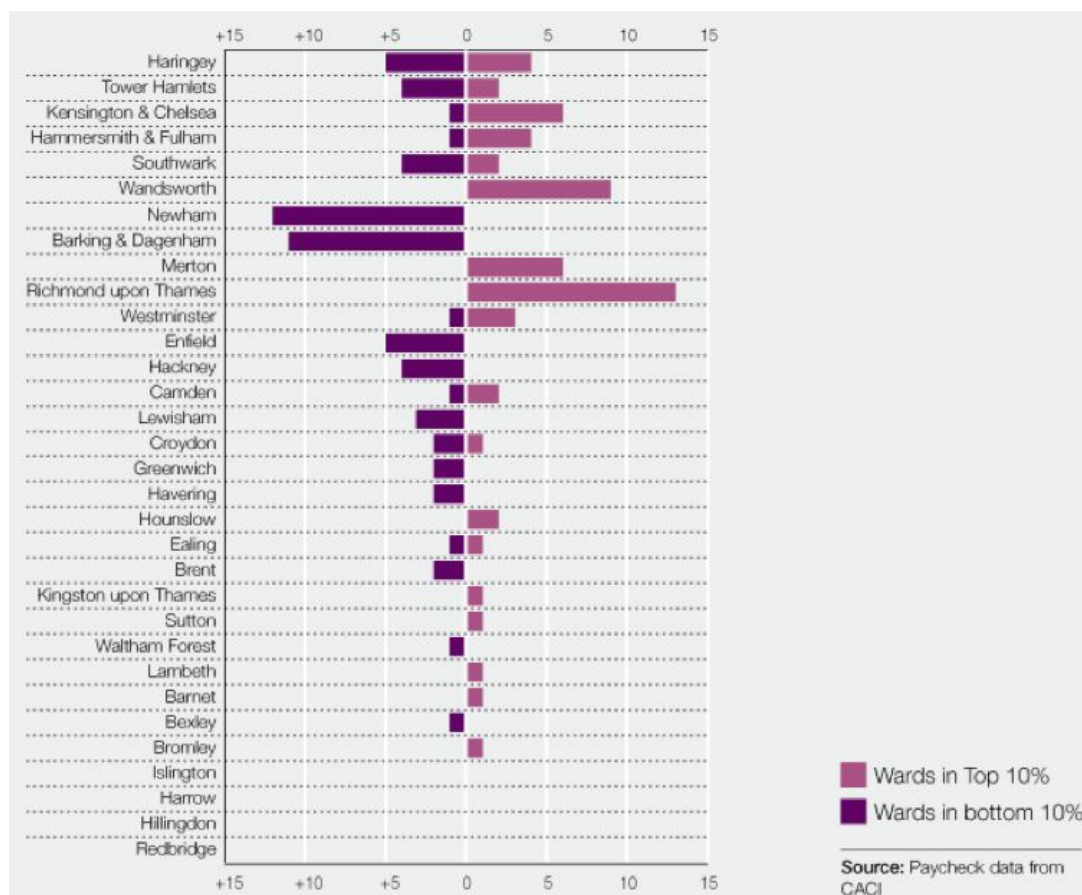
656. (Lisa) Oh yeah, big time.

657. (Interviewer) And if you're not getting it, yeah (Phone rings).

End of Interview

Appendix 16

London's Poverty Profile- High income wards and low income wards by borough



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Appendix 17

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis to include 'Conditions of possibility'

1 Identification of corpus statements

- Samples of text that constitute a 'discursive object' relevant to the research;
- Samples that form 'conditions of possibility for the discursive object';
- Contemporary and historical variability of statements. For example, how is the same object talked about differently? How and why do statements change over time?

2 Subject positioning

- Self-positioning- a perspective from which to view a version of Reality. 'A location for persons within a structure of rights and duties for those who use that repertoire' (Davies and Harre,1999:35)

3 Subjectification

- This refers to the making of the subject via technologies of power and self.
- Formation of subject via technologies of the self. This is linked to self-regulation via technologies of the self or an 'ethics' of self-formation in relation to a moral code (self).
- Domination by acts of subjection. How the subject is construed by acts of domination or subjection (power).

4 Positioning of researcher

- Positioning of researcher within the discourse
- Positioning of researcher outside the discourse.

5 ‘Conditions of possibility’ (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine).

- What could be realised from the data?
- What could constitute an alternative discourse?
- How do the individuals use discursive resources of their own to counteract dominant discourses?
- Consider un-covering the significance of alternative discourses through the discourses of those voices historically dismissed
(Parker 2002, 10).

Adapted from:

Willig, C. (2003), ‘Discourse Analysis’ in J.A. Smith (ed). Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods, Chapter 8, pp. 159-183.

Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine 2008, 91.